A GLOSSARY
OF THE
TRIBES AND CASTES
OF THE
Punjab and North-West Frontier Province.

Based on the Census Report for the Punjab, 1883, by the late
Sir DENZIL IBBETSON, K.C.S.I.,
and the Census Report for the
Punjab, 1892, by
Sir EDWARD MACLAGAN, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
and compiled by
H. A. ROSE,
of the Indian Civil Service.

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PREFACE.

The compilation of this, the 1st volume of the Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province has occupied my leisure since the year 1903 when the Ethnographic Survey of India was inaugurated by the late Sir Herbert Risley. Fourteen years may appear a long time to have spent on this compilation, but the leisure of an official in India is necessarily limited and I feel that another four or five years might with advantage have been devoted to arranging my material better and completing various lines of enquiry. I may for instance cite the section on Hinduism, especially on Hinduism in the Himalayas, which seems to me to be painfully incomplete and is probably inaccurate. The enquiries made by Mr. H. W. Emerson, I.C.S., in the Bashahr State show that many primitive customs which have been more or less worked into the various forms of Hinduism survive in that part of the Himalayas and I have no doubt whatever that similar survivals could be discovered by keen-witted officers in Kulu, Chamba and elsewhere. Officers who are gifted with flair often discover matters of historical and ethnographical importance which their less-talented predecessors have overlooked, despite all their efforts to add to our knowledge. Mr. G. C. L. Howell, I.C.S., has, for example, unearthed some valuable historical facts regarding the ancient kingdom of Makarisa in Kulu and the old Tibetan trade-routes in that valley. He has shown that these trade-routes have left their influence on the ethnical constituents of that part of the Himalayas and I have no doubt that facts of equal interest await sagacious investigators in other parts of these Provinces. But too often during the fourteen years that I have been occupied in my enquiries I have felt that as an official my leisure was entirely inadequate to do justice to them, and I have also felt that other officers also had little or no leisure to supplement my materials. I feel that one of the greatest perils which awaits an investigator in India is the temptation to overlook points which come within his personal observation and to shirk personal inquiry, because it involves personal responsibility. One always likes to have 'authority' to cite for a fact or its explanation. But I have also felt the truth that there is in India 'neither collaborator nor substitute in official 'ty' as Mr. J. C. Jack, I.C.S., and temporarily of the Royal Field Artillery, expresses the isolation which an investigator is always 'feel in India.' Hence I trust that the present
volume will be acceptable not as a work on the religious and social observance of the Punjab people so much as a compilation of raw material on which fuller and more systematic investigations may be based. This volume has been pieced together as material came to hand and as new books and writings came to my notice. For example in writing on Jainism I laboured under the great disadvantage of not having Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's work *The Heart of Jainism* to refer to before that section had been printed. That valuable work only appeared in 1915. The section on Islam is to my great regret very incomplete, because when I began to compile it I had no conception of the wealth of material which existed to throw light on the continuity of Islamic thought and tradition from medieval times down to the present day. An Indian friend has proposed to translate this section into Urdu and publish it separately with a view to the collection of additional material and the correction of the numerous errors into which I must have fallen. I hope that this proposal will materialise and that some day an Indian scholar with a competent knowledge of Arabic and Islamic religious literature will write a work which will altogether supersede the fragment which I have been able to compile. Hinduism is so vast a subject that I do not think any one inquirer could do justice to it. It appears to me for example that a thoroughly scientific study of the worship of Devi would be of immense interest and importance not only as a contribution to the history of Hinduism but also as a chapter in the evolution of human thought. The excellent series of booklets on the religious life of India inaugurated by the Right Revd. Dr. Whitehead, Bishop of Madras, in *The Village Gods of South India*, will provide an investigator with materials for such studies, but in the history of such cults as those of Devi a vast deal remains to be done and the same remark will doubtless apply to the forthcoming studies on Vaishnavism, the Shaiva Siddhanta and kindred topics. It is understood that Dr. J. P. Vogel is taking up the study of Naga-worship which fully merits scientific examination and analysis. I for one do not regard Naga-deities as the idols of a primitive or degraded superstition. Just as Islam has its unseen world, so pre-Buddhist India had evolved a belief in an under-world of spiritual or immaterial beings who manifested themselves in two main things that came from the earth, the serpent and the stream. Both are associated with fertility, as the earth
is the mother of vegetation and the sun its father. But on this simple basis of metaphorically explained fact metaphysical thought has built up endless theories which find expression in an infinite range of popular beliefs as well as in philosophic literature. The only way in which the mazes of Hindu thought can ever be made intelligible to the Western mind will be by a scientific systematization of each phase of that thought.

I have not attempted to write an introductory essay on caste, but I may commend to the reader's notice the valuable chapter so entitled in the late Mr. R. V. Russell's work on *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*. The more one studies castes in the works of Nesfield, Ibbetson, Risley and other writers the more one sees, I think, that caste like law may be defined as a function of economics. In the lower groups of Indian society this function is easily recognised and it is practically the only function which caste expresses. In the higher castes the function is not so transparently clear but examination seldom fails to reveal that it is the dominant function and always the originating function. But the history of caste closely resembles the history of law. Human society begins by organizing itself in the manner most effective to produce material results and defend itself against its enemies. Thus caste in its inception embodies, as Sister Nivedita has pointed out, the conception of national duty. But duty carries with it certain privileges. The man who does his duty to society is justly entitled to his reward. The tenant-in-chief who held land in feudal England under the King held his lands as a reward for and as a condition of the military service which he was bound to render to the State in time of need. But a right contingent on the performance of a duty always seems to tend to become an absolute and unconditioned privilege. The feudal right or tenure passes into an indefeasible right of property which belongs to the holder adversely to the State as well as to his fellow-subjects. It appears to me that the history of caste has followed a very similar line of development. Caste privileges begin as a reward for services rendered or due to be rendered. In course of time the obliga-

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1 To cite one of the scores of parallels which might be cited: Athens born by the waters of Triton was at first a water-goddess and then a goddess of irrigation. Associated with the Erichthonian snake, she finds her prototype in the snake-goddess of the shrine-depository of the Minoan palace of Knossus in Crete, so that the principle on which her cult is founded is of great antiquity. Kaines Smith, *Greek Art and National Life*, 1914, p. 190.
tion to render service is forgotten, or at any rate less keenly felt than it was originally, and so by degrees privileges are established without any corresponding obligations. I do not think that any novelty can be claimed for this view, but I think that the parallel suggested is a new one. I will not attempt to work it out in any detail, but I may give an instance of its practical working. The Hon'ble Mr. H. J. Maynard, I.C.S., has pointed out in a paper read before the Punjab Historical Society that Indian Rājās used caste and the governing bodies of caste as administrative agents. Not only did they do so but in all probability they created governing bodies within the caste for administrative purposes. They probably used what lay to hand, but where they found no agency ready to hand they created or developed new institutions on existing and customary lines. The result was that new castes could be created, old castes promoted and existing castes sub-divided by the creation of privileged sub-castes within them. But the political conditions of India being what they are the privileges thus bestowed seem to have remained, when the justification for their existence had long been forgotten. In a small State like Kahlūr the Rājā probably promoted the outcaste Koli to a recognised status within the pale of caste because he needed his services as a soldier; whereas the Katoch Rājā refused to remove the ban on the Kolīs of a tract like Rajgiri, where the clan is pretty numerous because he had no need of their services in a military capacity. 1 Where the Rājā was autocratic or powerful and above all where he had a divine power behind him, he could bestow the thread of caste, even it would seem, on individuals; and doubtless he could, in extreme cases, resume his grant. But it is characteristic of the East, just as it was of the West, that privileges tend to become hereditary even where they are not conferred expressly in tail or remainders and we rarely, if ever, hear of degradation from caste being made by royal authority. Within itself caste is democratic and intensely jealous of its privileges. It is no doubt ever ready to expel offending members, especially women who offend against its moral code, and to split itself up into sub-castes which observe its canons with greater or less rigour. But nearly all the forces at work combine to maintain privileges rather than enforce duties. And by a very

1 The late Sir James Laidlay says the negotiations have always failed through, because the bribe offered was not sufficient. We may conjecture that in earlier times military necessity might have even compelled the Katoch Rājā to adopt a liberal policy as was imposed on Kahlūr.
similar process law degenerates into legalism, which preaches the values of individual rights and ignores the countervailing duties of the citizen to the State.

The history of the Brahman ‘caste’—which is by a current and invincible fallacy regarded as the highest of all—illustrates both the processes. Beyond all question, the title or status of a Brahman was originally to be earned by scholarship or a holy life, but when the status became hereditary all inducement to attain its qualifications disappeared.

The result has been that the Brahman, when unable to make a living by begging alms, enters domestic service, especially as a cook. Yet we do not hear that the abandonment of learning by the Brahmans as a caste ever brought upon them any ruler’s displeasure or involved them in forfeiture of the privileges bestowed on them. No doubt we find very many instances of Brahmans whose status is mediocre or even debased. But the degradation is always due to economic necessity or the acceptance of contaminating functions. The cultivating Brahmans of Kangra and the Jumna valley have been driven to the plough by the pressure of want and the Mahâ Brahman has been compelled by hunger to accept offerings which are at once unclean and uncanny. But the higher groups of the caste still retain all their sanctity, inviolability and other privileges which as individuals few of them would have earned by their attainments.

The latest writer on the origin of caste contends that the system must have been found in existence when the Aryan immigrants made their irruption into India and proceeded with their conquests. He also surmises that at the outset the system had for its object the due adjustment of sexual relations, that the measures adopted with this view were found to promote economy, benevolence, and morality and have accordingly been adopted by the Hindu religious authorities and been strengthened by religious ceremonial. It is not improbable that the pre-Aryan races of India had evolved the rudiments of a caste system, but such

1 Punjab Census Report, 1922, p. 371. But the progressive Mahâ Brahman, who has achieved all priestly functions, are not harrassed by any prejudices against similar employment and thrive in the professions and in Government service.

2 Mr. A. H. Benton, I.C.S. (Retired), in India’s Moral Instruction and Caste Problems, 1917, pp. 26 and 17.

3 ib., pp. 18, 20 and 21. It can hardly be doubted that the Dravidian had class distinctions even if they had not ‘castes’ in the Hindu sense. Indeed, the difficulty is to find any society which has not such distinctions and does not enforce restrictions on marriage on their basis.
Dravidian or Kolarian tribes as exhibit such rudiments seem to have failed signally in legislating against immorality in sexual matters. In the most highly developed and organised castes it may be that the rules regulating marriage within the caste but prescribing all kinds of exogamous, isogamous, and hypogamous restrictions in unions between the various sections and groups into which the caste has divided itself were intended to adjust sexual or connubial relations. But if that was their intention they have proved remarkably unsuccessful in practice, and they seem to afford a remarkable proof of the theorem suggested that rules which human society devises for its protection and conservation soon become fetters which hamper its development and ensure its degeneration. If Hindu social reformers framed regulations designed to promote sexual relations which would be socially wholesome and eugenically effective they must have been disappointed to find that they only created the institution of Kulinism, not only in Bengal but in the Punjab and not only among Brahmans but among Khatris, Siial Rajputs, and other castes, over-producing brides in one group and not leaving enough to meet the demand in another. But to write:—"The basis and starting point of the whole system are obviously the fact that the community consists of sections, the members of which are under agreement to exchange brides with each other on certain customary conditions. These sections have not been formed by priests or rulers but solely by the members among themselves, either subsisting from of old or varied from time to time of fresh consent. Priests and rulers, if they were ever so anxious, could not produce such associations. The need for brides was one that had to be met somehow, if the existence of the community was to be continued. If we scan the benefits, which are derived from the caste system, as above set forth, we shall not find a single one, which would compel people to bestir themselves and take action to secure it, save this one. They were, however, obliged by necessity to undertake the solution of the problem—How to find brides when wanted?"—seems to postulate the division of the community into groups before any social problems affecting inter-marriage arose. The simplest solution of the matrimonial difficulties which exist under the caste system and mostly in consequence of its complexities would be its abolition. As a matter of fact exchanges of brides are far from universal and their purchase
is by far the most prevalent rule, at any rate in the Punjab. The purchase of a bride is an economic need as well as a social necessity, and her price tends more and more to be regulated by the laws of supply and demand. It can hardly be imagined that the original division into a few castes was based on anything but function. It is singularly unfortunate that we do not know what were the 'eighteen elements of the State' of the Kashmir and Chamba inscriptions, whether they were occupational groups or tribes, but they can hardly have been anything but functional groups. But the origin of caste is a matter of academic interest rather than of pressing importance when we are considering its utility. Let it be assumed that unequal matrimonial transactions are the exception and exchanges of brides on equal terms the rule, how can it be said that the restrictions on the free choice of a bride operate for good under modern conditions? The restraints seem to have been imposed in order to ensure purity of blood by a conquering race or a succession of invading tribes. But once the fashion was set it became capable of endless amplification and capricious modification. Society fell a victim to its rules, just as it is sacrificed to legal formulae which when they were forged made for progress but which under changed conditions and altered ideals yet obsolete institutions on generations which had no say in their designing. Moreover the rules of caste seem to go far beyond the necessities of the case, if they were designed to facilitate the wife-supply. The rules restricting smoking and eating with and taking food and water from the hands of a lower caste seem entirely superfluous if child-marriage presents any individual selection of a partner for life, and they can only accentuate and embitter a cleavage which is already sufficiently marked. Whatever the origins of caste may have been and however expedient its codes of rules and restrictions may once have been, its apologist can hardly deny that they now regard man as made for caste and not caste as made for man.

A very striking example of the sanctity which once attached to caste is also cited by Mr. Benton. Diodorus says that the whole agricultural class was sacred and inviolable, insomuch that they could carry on their operations in perfect security, while hostile armies were contending in their immediate neighbourhood: neither side dared to molest or to

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\[1\] The system extended as far east as Kulu for a proverb says: 'All the 15 castes are in Nagar.' Dindik, Kulahki Dindik, p. 88.
damage agricultural property. Such a rule seems to have been based on an instinctive or far-sighted view that the destruction of the food-supply, even in the hands of an enemy, would recoil on the destroyer's own head. The economic importance of the cultivator made his function semi-sacred - but only for a time. The rule did not become permanent nor was it apparently observed universally even in India. So rules however humane and foreseeing are not always adopted, but a rule once adopted may flourish like a green banyan tree and encumber the ground. It seems at least as difficult for the East to eliminate the waste products of its thought as it is for the West. It is a historical fact that human thinking has been enormously improved by the invention of logical rules in the past. But we have outgrown some of them and Aristotel's formal syllogistic scheme seems to us now so poor and clumsy that any insistence upon it is a hindrance rather than a furtherance to thought."

I have not thought it desirable to deal with such latter-day movements as the Arya Samaj or the Ahmadiyas. The literature on these topics is already voluminous. Scholars like Dr. H. Griswold have discussed the Arya Samaj in The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, and The Arya Samaj, an account of its aims, doctrines and activities by Lajpat Rai adds many details that merit profound study. But the object of the Ethnographic Survey was not the discussion of modernist or up-lift movements so much as the rescue from oblivion of much that must else have perished before it was brought to record. To the ethnographer the principal interest in a work like the one just cited lies in its attitude towards the nityaga, a custom of immense antiquity which has a certain sociological value. It is defensible on the ground that the continuity of the family is so essential that the need to ensure it should override individual jealousies or inclinations. It is also interesting to the student as illustrating the impossibility of escape from national temperament. Just as character is fate, so racial temperament seems, when all is said and done, to influence the forms of its social institutions. A strongly individualistic race would not produce women willing to accept certain forms of the nityaga or other institutions which lower their social value. But the Indian tendency to merge the individual in the

group is just as inevitable, given a country exposed to incessant invasion, as the evolution of a caste system from economic needs.

Inquiries into religious beliefs, social usages and custom too often ignore what is already known and start with the supposition that the field of investigation is still virgin soil. It is of the highest importance to an investigator to find out first what work has been done and to build on that, instead of starting afresh. For example, several very full and apparently exhaustive accounts of customs in Kulu have reached me, but a reference to Sir Alexander Dacz's Kutchi Dialect of Hindi shows that many usages and institutions must have existed and may still survive in that subdivision which my correspondents do not mention. The glossary in that work tells us that cross-betrothal exists under the name of dori desi (p. 60) and that a cash payment called budopati (p. 48) is by the parents of the older fiancée to compensate for the excess of her age over that of the younger. The system of working for a bride exists, as to earn a wife by labouring for her father is ghānd (p. 62). Old maids are not unknown, as land set aside for an unmarried female of a family is called pharoyal (p. 84). No term for a best man is traceable, but a bridesmaid is balhari (p. 49). It is common for a bride to stipulate that her husband shall not marry a rival wife (sankaran) (p. 89) except under certain circumstances, such as her proving barren, and when a husband takes a second wife he has to pay her compensation called bhuk pit (p. 52). Married women hold private property called chhetti (p. 56). Adultery was mulcted in a fine, ranā (p. 86), payable to the injured husband. Abduction of a married woman was of two kinds or possibly degrees, for the seducer who eloped with his neighbour's wife and settled the matter with him was not obliged to cross the border and was called niau karu (p. 80), while he who absconded with her across the border was dhul karu (p. 59). Legitimacy was a question of degree.

* Apparently limited to cases where a brother and sister are betrothed to a sister and brother.

* Such an agreement would probably be void under section 26 of the Indian Contract Act which is taken from the draft Civil Code of New York. Literally construed it has been taken to void all agreements in restraint of polygamy; see Pullock and Miller's Ed. 1913, p. 155. The history of the section and the construction placed upon it are pregnant with warning.
FINAL LIST OF ADDENDA, CORRIGENDA AND CROSS-REFERENCES.

Vol. II, Page 1—

Add under Abdãi:

See also Vol. I, p. 524 supra.

Page 3, insert:—

Aderi: Formerly a powerful clan but almost annihilated by the Gakkars, the Adra or Ader hold 7 villages in tahsil Gujar Khan: Cracroft's Rawalpindi Sett. Rep., § 318.

Aghori: the word is variously derived (1) from Sanskr. ēkora, hideous and is really ēkora, or (2) from ēkora, 'without fear', an epithet of Shiva. These cannibal faqirs are also called Aghorpanthis, and appear to be sometimes confused with the Oghar. See under Jogi, at p. 404, Vol. II, also.

Page 9—

Add under Akali:—

For the Bibek Akalis see Vol. I, p. 729 supra.

Page 12—

Andarwa, a body-servant: Mandi Gazetteer, App. VII, p. 16.

Page 12—

Ardasi, a Sikh title:

Arghon: see Tarkhan (2) in Vol. III. Argun, the offspring of a Chãháng by a Lohár woman. Should a Chãháng take a woman of that caste into his house he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Chãhángs will eat from his hand. An Argun will marry with a Lohár: Kula Gazetteer, 1888-89, p. 120.

Page 24—

Arfr, a sect of Jogis who considered themselves released from worldly restraints: Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, I, p. 162.

Avni, see under Satw.

Page 31—

Bantã (3): a section of the Sirkikhel. See under Hath Khel, and on p. 330 read Tohla for Tohla, and Babla for Babla: Bannu Gazetteer, 1907, p. 56.

P. N. Q. I, § 375, 385 and 41. In P. N. Q. III, § 305, an account of their origin is given, but it does not appear to be known in the Punjab.
Addenda.

Page 33—
Insert after Baghur:

Bagid (Janjua)—see Bugial.
Insert after Bagri:


Page 35—
Rai, see under Hathikhel.

Page 36—
Under Bairagi add:


Page 39—
Bakshish sadha, a term applied to two Sikh sects, the Ajiit Mal and Dakhni Rai sadhas, because their founders received the baksh, or gift of apostleship from the Guru (which Guru?). The followers of Ajiit Mal, who was a masand or tax-gatherer, have a gaddi at Fatehpur. Those of Dakhni Rai, a Saddhu, have a gaddi described to be at Ghuranco or Dhillan dian sagran vichh.

Bakkar, see under Hathikhel.

Page 40—
Bakka Khel, probably the most criminal tribe on the Bannu border. A branch of the Utmansai Darwesh Khel Wazirs, they have three main sections: Takhti, Narmi and Sardi. The first are the most numerous and wealthy, possessing extensive settlements in Shavali. The Mahals are encroaching year by year on the hill territory of the tribe and driving them to the plains, in which their settlements lie about the mouth of the Tochi Pass. Much impoverished of late by fines etc. Bannu Gazetteer, 1907, p. 57.

Page 56—
Add under Baloch:

The Baloch of the Sandal Bahr are mainly Jatois, but at some places there are Chadders, Gaddors and even Kharrals who, from working with camels, are called Baloch. The Baloch almost always form their raahna as a square facing inward, the mosque and common kitchen being in the middle.

In Muzafullarun the Gopangas, Chandias (two of the principal tribes), Ghazlanis and Sarhanis have the worst of characters, but are no worse than the neighbouring Jata: Gazetteer, 1908, p. 65.
BANDA-PANTHI. The followers of Banda Bairagi are said to form a sect in the south-west of the Punjab. Cunningham's Hist. of the Sikhs, p. 378.

Under BANGALI add:—The Bangali sepse include Bambu, Gharo, Lodar, Ma(n) dahar, Qalander, Kharshar and Teli. The Bangalis also affect Baba Kulu of Pachnangal, the saint of the Jhiwars.

Tradition has it that Baba Goda's son Ichar went to Bengal and there married Ligao, a Bengali woman—so he was outcasted: Hand-book of Criminal Tribes, pp. 34-5.

Under BANJARA insert:—

The Banjaras are, Briggs observes, first mentioned in Muhammadan history in Nihamat-ulla's Tarikh-e-Khan-Jahân-Lodi, under the year 1505 A. D. [when their non-arrival compelled Sultan Sikandar to send out Azam Hamayun to bring in supplies,] as surveyors to the army of Sultan Sikandar in Rajpután: E. H. L., V., p. 100.

The feminine is Banjana or Banjari, i.e. Vanjana, Vanjari.

BANOTâ, BANAUTâ, a commission agent.

BâNS-phûr-tor, s. m. The name of a caste who work in bamboos.

BÂNTH, a scullion: Mandi Gazetteer, App. VII.

BÂNWAYATâ, s. m. a manufacturer.


BARABAKKI.

See Legends of the Punjab, II, p. 134.

Add. under BARA. In Kuluhi the form is Barrá or Bárda: Dinck, Kalâki Dialect of Hindi, p. 47.

BARETA, barethu, fem. barethan: a washerman or fuller: Platts' Hindustâni Diction., p. 151.

The Barhai or drummer of Lyall's Kângra Sett. Rep., p. 34, should probably be Bharai, while the Barhai of p. 33 is the sawyer as there given.
Addenda.

Page 69—
Insert after Barda's:

Barora, the offspring of a Saniasi, who broke his vow of celibacy, in Kumaur, the descendants of a Dakhani Bhuta who married the daughter of a Hill Brahman: Report on Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, p. 194.

Page 69—
Add to:

Bashqali (not -dili). Their seats are the valleys of the Bashgal river and its tributaries but their settlements extend to Birkot on the Chitrál stream: J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 1.

Page 70—
Insert:

Barwal—see Barwala. In Mandi the batwal is one who puts weights in the scale when salt is being weighed: Gazetteer, p. 51.

Page 70—
Add: Ben (2), in Láhul the bed or physicians hold land called man-sing, rent free: see under Jodsi.

Add under Bipa:

Diac described the Beda as a dancing caste in Kulu: Kulaáí Dialect, p. 50. A. H. Francke places the Bhoela (= 'difference' in Sanskrit) as a caste below the Mons who may be descended from their servants: Hist. of Western Tibet, p. 78.

Page 79—
Bhrilwála, a half mythical race of gigantic men, whose mighty bones and great earthen vessels are even now said to be discovered beneath the sand-hills in the Thal of Miánwáli. They are apparently the Bahlúm Ráiputs.

Bhavní, see Qassab.

Insert before Betti:

Bhút, baihthá, a Dagi attendant on a Kanét family: Diack, Kulaáí Dialect, p. 31. Members of a bethú family have the sole right of performing ceremonial functions.

Cf. paikhú.

Bhánswál, a tribe of Muhammadan Ját, found in Gujrat. It claims descent from Ghalla, a Janjú Ráiput, who had three sons, Bhakúri, its eponym, Natha (founder of the Nathuí), and Kanjúh (founder of the Kanjíl).

Page 83—
Bhánswál, a Ját tribe or got (from bháma, buffalo) which is found in the Dádri talául of Jind.

Page 84—
Add to Bhánwála: This got claims to be descended from Bhaan, its eponym. It is found in Jind talául where it has been settled for 24 generations.
Addenda.

Page 101—
Add to Bhútta: Lyall in Kángra Sett., Rep. § 69, p. 65, speaks of the Bhútta as the most numerous among first grade Brahmans, but Bhútta here appears to be a mistake for Batnih. The Bhútta clan is described as inhabiting the Tirá and Mahi Mori téláqas.

Page 82—
Bhandári: a keeper of a store-house or treasury (bhandár), e.g. in Mandi. Cf. Bhandári.

Bhandí, an officer in charge of dharmadh: an almoner: Mandi Gazetteer, App. VII.

Page 84—
Bhanjíra (sic)—an important and industrious class in Mandi. It makes useful articles of bamboo at very low rates: See Gazetteer, p. 53, where a proverb is quoted.

Page 101—
Add to note 6: For a Bhättia Rája (ally of Jaípal) see Briggs’ Persia, p. 9.

Page 100—
Bhau: for an account of this Rájput tribe see the forthcoming Gazetteer of Sialkot by Mr. D. J. Boyd, C.S.

Bhau, a tribe of Játs found in Kapurthala, whither it migrated from Delhi: Cf. Bhanwáli, supra.

Page 90—
Insert after Bharol:—

Page 106—
Bhútva, a Brahman in charge of the materials of worship: Mandi Gazetteer, App. VII.

Add under Bherda: a Ját tribe of this name, said to be derived from bhédá, a wolf or sheep, is also found in tahsil Sangrur and Dadri of Jind.

Page 114—
Insert after Bhising:—
Bisht = máxir, Díack, Kuláhi Dialect, p. 53. Cf. Basith under Megh. In Kamour the form is bishláng.

Page 116—
Bohár, a sweeper of the palace: Mandi Gazetteer, App. VII.

Bisán Khél, one of the 5 sections of the Ahmadzai Darvesh Khél Wástr, with 3 sub-divisions, the Danlat, Isán and Umar Khín in the plains, and 4th, the Mughal Khél, in the hills. Sattled on the left bank of the Kurram in Banná. The Painá Khél is a cognate clan: Banná Gazetteer, 1907, p. 57.
Addenda.

Add under Bohra:

In Bashahr their customs are looser and they marry Kansh girls. They came from the Deccan with Raja Sher Chand—their ancestor being his wasir: Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bashahr, p. 19.

Page 116—

Boz, a clock: Mandi: Gazetteer, App. VII.

Boza, one of the main divisions of the Umarzai.

Bangara, see Wangargar.

Page 121—

For Dabijia read Dahlia, —which suggests a connection with dahli, 'portico.'

For Bubhal read Bhumwal, or after Bubhul read 'or Bhumwal.'

Page 142—

Insert after Boni:

Budhal, a clan found in Gujjar Khans and Kaluta tahsils: like the Bhakral in origin and customs they claim descent from Prophet's son-in-law: Rawalpindi Gazetteer, 1893-94, p. 111.

Page 146—

Add under Chango:—Changar was one of the two provinces of Katoch—Palam being the other. It comprised the hilly country to the south of Palam and round Jawalamukhi.

Chakka, a master: Mandi, App. VII.

Page 151—

Insert after Chaman:

Chamial—a Rajput sept to which Pipa Bhagat belonged: P. N. Q., III, § 125.

Page 159—

Add as a footnote:

The Luni country is the Salt Range. The only Nakodar known is in Jullundur. The Chatti-Painti—35 and 36— is a tract now unknown by that name, as is the Diniar-des. The latter cannot be the Dhani.

Page 160—

Chokhi:—see under Kang-chumbo.

Page 152—

Add under Chandar:—Sahibbaan was betrothed in the Chardar tribe: Legends of the Punjab, III, p. 20.

Page 170—

Addenda.

Page 181—

CHORA, a hereditary astrologer, in Spiti. The word is probably derived from Chau-ved, one learned in the 4 Vedas.

Page 270—

Add to DAIMIA: These Brahmins appear to be much on a level with the Khandelwals. They are fed on the 13th day after death and take neither black offerings nor graha ka dhan. Hissar Gazetteer, 1902, p. 78. (2) There is also a Dahima clan of Rajputs, as to which see TAHIM, and note* on p. 238 in this volume.

Page 221—

DAHRIA, a Persian term, denoting atheist.

DAHRU, a head orderly: Mandi. Gazetteer, App. VII.

Page 222—

Add to DAMMAR. They are found in the south of Muzaffargarh. The name suggests a connection with the Damaras of Kashmir, whose rise dates from c. 700 A.D.

Page 235—

DHANOTR, a Jat tribe, found near Kinjhir in Muzaffargarh.

DHER KARRHAL, see under Valana. The Hand-book of Crim. Tribes, p. 126, refers to Alu-i-Ahbari on Kharrals.

Page 238—

Add to DHILOON. The Dhillon of Dhillon, a village in Khalra tahsa, Lahore, are proclaimed under the Criminal Tribes Act.

Page 240—

In Dhind for Khalora read Khalora.

Page 242—

DIWALA, a Jat tribe found in the centre of Muzaffargarh.

Page 247—

The Doshi is also found in Mandi: Gazetteer, App. VII.

Page 247—

DOTAL, see under Ranks-dotal.

Page 249—

DUDHLA, a caste of milkmen found in Ambala Cantonment: P. N. Q., III, § 119.

Page 272—

GAURI, one of the principal Jat gots in Gurdaspur: found in Batala tahsil.

v Kula Gazetteer, 1888-9, p. 132.
Addenda.

Page 274—
GAMLAR, see Katkhar.

Page 278—
GANGA-TILA, one who keeps drinking-water: Mandi Gazetteer, App. VII.

Page 279—
GANI, a prostitute.
Under Gâ, After Râja in line 4 insert Pâ.

Page 280—
Gâ, Gâ, said to be a distinct caste in Spiti, where an agriculturist cannot take a Gâ woman to wife without becoming a Gâ himself.

GAWAL, a branch of the Janjua: Rawalpindi Gazetteer, 1893-4, p. 111.

Page 282—
Under GELUKPA add: see Kâdamâ in List of Addenda, Vol. I.

Page 283—
Add to GHANGHAS: In Karnâl the Ghanghas claim descent from Badkâl, whom they still worship. He has a shrine at Pûthar. They hold the thâna of Mandi and say they came from Dhanana near Bhiwâni in Hissar.

Page 284—
GHARIBDAS, a modern sect of the Karbharpuris: I. N. Q., IV § 245. But see under Sâdu. According to the Punjab Census Rep., 1912, § 189, they are a declining branch of the Dâdupanthis.

Page 285—
The GHÂZI are described as a Baloch tribe in Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, 1908, p. 65.

Page 287—
GHOTAKHOB, diver: see Toba.

Page 301—
GILGAR, -KAR or -SÂZ, a worker in clay; see under Kumhâr.

Page 302—
GORAKHPANTHI, a Jogi who is a follower of Guru Gorakhn. Punjab C. B., 1912, § 150.
Addenda.

Page 303—
Gorkun-kand, a grave-digger; said to be generally a Kumhár.
Gulreli, fem. -an, a wandering tribe, generally known as Bázgar or Nat.-The name may be derived from gubel, a sling. -In the Bahawalpur Gazetteer, 1904, p. 340, it appears as Gilail.

Page 420—
Kadamha, a Lamaistic sect, founded by Atiča, Dīpamkara-Sri-Jnáná who was born in Bengal in 980 and died in 1053 A. D. Domton or Tomton (Hbromston) and Márpa re-united his followers into a sect and founded Radeng: Milloué, Bod-goult ou Tibet, 1906, p. 177.

Page 435—
Add: Maheb is a synonym of Karás in Gardaspur, Gazetteer, 1891-2, p. 63.

Page 438—

Page 476—
Károyut-pa, a Lamaistic sect; see under Sakyapa;
Vol. III., page 25—
Insert after Lallána.—For the Lalji see Shahpur Gazetteer, p. 83.

Page 39—
Insert after Lungeère:—
Lumba, a maker of toys, luqqa stémas, caps etc.; also keep donkey-stallions; in Zafárál‼ tahsil, Sialkoé.

Page 57—
Add under Malang:—
For the Malangs in Kurram, see Vol. I., p. 586.

Page 66—
Insert after Mangal Khel:—

Page 72—
Add under Masand:—
G. C. Narang derives the terms from masnad-i-ali = 'Excellency.' They were appointed to the 22 provinces or sees and apparently still survive among the Banda-panthís, but by them are called Bhais; Transformation of Sikhism, pp. 35 and 23.

Page 73—
Insert after Matu:—
For the Mulasanti see Shahpur Gazetteer, p. 84.
Addenda.

Page 75—
Add under Māwī:

Māwī was the old name of Akbar's offies: *Ain-i-Akhbār*, I, p. 282, cited in Russell's *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, IV, p. 388.

Page 77—
Add under Māgh:

Baith is from Sanskrit, Washisht, "one who resides at a court." Cf. Bisht in Diack's *Kukkhi Dialect of Hindi*, p. 53.

Page 86—
Add under Meora (not -ra):

The definition should be 'a Guru's messenger' not 'priest.' The meora were natives of Mewāli, famous as runners, and excellent spies; they could perform the most intricate duties: *Ain-i-Akhbār*, I, p. 252. For the dāk-meora of Khāl Khān, cf. I, p. 243.

Page 128—
Add under Mon:

Manchad, ... the religion of which is akin to that of Kanaur: A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*.

Page 139—

Page 155—
The Nānakahāli are described as descendents of Sri Chand, founder of the Udāsa, by S. Muhammad Latif, *Hist. of Lahore*, p. 150.

Page 176—
Add after Omara:


Page 198—
Insert after Pahulia:

Palkhu, a low caste attendant, a Dāgi, employed at death ceremonies: Diack, *Kukkhi Dialect of Hindi*, p. 81.

Page 193—
Insert after Pālinda Khel:

Pajori, an assistant to a nagi or pālār: Diack, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-2.

Page 194—
Insert after Pālinda:

Page 194—
Add to PÁNDA:—' a Brahman who receives donations at an eclipse.' *Dicty. of Pahári* in J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 217.

Page 203—
Insert after PÁRMAI:—

Page 205—
Add to footnote—
Sir Richard Burton says Pathán is supposed to be a corruption of Ar. Patbán, 'conqueror,' or to be derived from Hindi 'patthad,' 'to penetrate' (hostile ranks). The synonymous Salámání recalls the phrase 'Salamání Zarámi,' the Salamánis are ruffians in Arabic: *Pilgrimage to Al-Madina*, 1, p. 48.

Page 206—
For Wdyána read Udyána, and in footnote.*

Page 218—
For Khílái read Khilchi under Ghilzai.

Page 234—
After PÁNHHÉ insert:—

Page 237—
After PÁHU, insert:—
Prámú from prava, 'masonry'; a mason, assistant to the thádi or carpenter: Diack, *Kaláhi Dialect*, p. 85.

After PúR-PÁLÁ insert:—
Puhál, Palhál, a shepherd: Diack, op. cit., p. 85.

Page 264—
For 'him' in 3rd para. read 'them.'

Page 286—
After 'temple' in 4th line read 'to pay.'

Page 273—Under A add:—
1. Jannáli from Jammu.
2. Samiál " Sánba.
3. Chárák " Chakri.
5. Salári (Chak) " Lunda Satár in Shakargarh.
9. Jaggi " Jagiaín in "

*In Zafarvál,
Addenda.

3. \{ Kadičl from \\
     Punni \}
     Kadča \\
\} Intermarry with Kātil now on equal terms.

2 are Thakkars.

Page 275——
Add a footnote:——

Mr. D. J. Boyd, C. S., writes.—'Three or four years ago the saillād of Charwa, Moti Singh, a Chārak Rājput, called a meeting of Chāraks, Salehrians and others of about the same grade and persuaded them to agree to dhāra marriages and to refuse brides to the more lofty goths. The Manhā people would not touch the proposal and have great difficulty in getting brides in consequence. The Chāraks and Salehrians have scored. I am told that the Mahārāja of Jammu held an opposition meeting later to try to break the compact but it remains in force with, of course, many qualifications.'

Page 322——
Add under Ranghār:——
The term Ranghar used to be more widely used. Thus Khazān Singh writes of the Ranghars about Morinda and Bāghānwāla in Ambālā and round Sathilā and Batālā in Gurdāspur: *Philosophic Hist. of Sikism*, I, pp. 211 and 240; they were also known in Sirmār: *Gazetteer*, p. 49.

Page 334——
After Rongar add:——
Rono, fr. Rajauri—a tribe or class found in Gilgit.

Page 351——
Insert after San:——
Prefix to art. SHAHID.—Among Muhammadans the term Shahid, from the same root as shahid, ‘witness,’ is applied to a martyr who dies for the faith and extended to anyone who is killed or executed, provided he does not speak after receiving his death-stroke. 1 In popular hagiography the term is frequently confused with Sayyid. 2 Many shrines in northern India are undoubtedly tombs of Moslem warriors who were killed in the Muhammadan invasions and wars, and occasionally such shrines are styled Mashhad or ‘place of martyrdom.’ Thus an Imam Nasr-ud-din is said to have met his death at a spot in the Mashhad quarter of Sonapat town, near Delhi. 3 But more commonly the term Ganj Shahid-i-an or ‘enclosure of the martyrs’ is applied to traditional cemeteries containing such graves, but these are not regarded as shrines or worshipped. A Ganj Shahid-i-an at Sâmân in Patâla probably commemorates those who fell when that fortress was taken by Timur in 1398 A.D. 4 The Shahids do not appear to have belonged to any of the Muhammadan orders nor do their shrines seem to be affected by any particular order or sect. They are often minor shrines, representing the militant side of Islam, not its mystical or Sufistic tendencies. Such are the shrines of Makki and Khâki Shah, Shahids at Pinjaur in Patâla, at which food and sweets are offered on Thursdays. 5 Shâdâna Shahid-i Multân has a naqâzz or tomb 9 yards in length, but as a rule naqâzas are not tenanted by Shahids. Shâdâna Shahid had a mother who tempted the saint Bahâwal Haqq and then accused him falsely, as Potiphar’s wife did Joseph, but the child, then only 10 months old, gave miraculous evidence against her and when done to death by her was restored to life by that saint. He is now invoked by anyone who wants a thing done in a great hurry. 6

But other Shahids have a less exalted origin. Thus in Bahâwalpur State the roofless shrine of Khandu Shahid commemorates a Rajpoot who was killed by the kinsman of a Jât woman who had fallen in love with him. Another Jâmali or Jamali Shahid is presented with offerings after marriage both by Hindus and Muhammadans. 7 Other shrines of the same clan commemorate chieftains who fell in a tribal feud, and vows are made at them, especially by their clansmen.

1 P. N. Q. I., § 617.
2 Ibonson, § 291. For an account of how one of these Sayyids met his death see ibid., Karnal Scott Rep., § 376. A Hindu Rajâ used to exact the droit de seigneur from virgin brides, and the father of a Brahman girl thus outraged appealed to a Sayyid, Mirâm Shâh, for redress. He raised a Moslem host and the Sayyid shrines in the neighbourhood towards Delhi are the graves of those who fell in the campaign against the tyrant. Lamps are lit at them on Thursdays, but offerings are seldom made except in illness or in fulfillment of a vow. They take the form of a foul or goat, and especially, a goat’s head; and are the penance of Muhammadan fâqi‘a. Sayyids are very fond of blue flags and a favourite prescription in illness is to build a shrine to one with an imaginary name or even no name at all. A son minor or imperial mule-stone near Karnal town has been converted into a Sayyid’s shrine. Mirâm Shâh himself went on fighting without his head, but before he died he exclaimed haqq! haqq! ibid., § 391; and so apparently he is not himself a Shahid.

3 Delhi Gazetteer, p. 213.
4 Plutâkian States Gazetteer, p. 23; for another Ganj Shahid-i-an at Kalâka in Jind see p. 262. The Ganj Shahid-i Lahore is the burial-place of Sikhs who were executed by a Hindu governor under the later Moghals: Muhammad Latif, History of Lahore, p. 182.
5 Ibid., p. 81.
7 Bahâwalpur Gazetteer, p. 173.
Addenda.

Apparently, it will be observed, most of these shrines are old, but that of Mūsa Pāk Shahid, a well-known shrine at Multān, is almost modern. Shaikh Abulhassan Mūsa Pāk was a descendant of Abdul Qādir Gilāni, born at Uch in 1545. Post 1600 he was killed in a skirmish and in 1616 his body was brought to Multān. It is said that it was not at all decomposed and that it was carried in sitting on a horse. The shrine is largely affected by Pathans and has a small melo on Thursday evenings.

All over the eastern Punjab small shrines exist to what are popularly called Sayyids. These shrines are Muhammadan in form, and the offerings, which are made on Thursdays, are taken by Muhammadan fakirs. Very often however the name of the Sayyid is unknown, and diviners will even invent a Sayyid hitherto not heard of as the author of a disease, and a shrine will be built to him accordingly. The Sayyids are exceedingly malevolent and often cause illness and even death. Boils are especially due to them and they make cattle miscarry. One Sayyid, Bhūra, of Bari in the Kaithal tahsil of Karnāl District, shares with Mansa Devi of Muni Mājīra in Ambālā the honour of being the patron saint of thieves in the eastern Punjab. Thus the Sayyid has annexed many of the functions of Devī, both as a godling of disease and as the prototype of the martyr who immolates himself for the tribal weal. This theory would also account for the curious tradition that the saint Nizām-ud-din Aulā was a patron of thieves alluded to above on p. 493. It is no doubt possible that thags elected to regard him as their protector, just as thieves in Europe chose to affect St. Nicholas, the patron saint of Eton College. But a change of creed does not necessarily involve a change in moral principles, and just as Muhammadan thieves transferred their allegiance from Mansa Devi to Sayyid Bhūra so the Muhammadan thags seem to have transferred them from Bhawānī Devi to Nizām-ud-din. The parallel is complete.

Among Hindus the term Shahid has a similar meaning. Thus Rām Mal, a Jāt chieftain, is known as Buddha Shahid, because he was murdered by some Jāts of the Chīma tribe into which he had married with the connivance of eldest son. When wounded he begged for wine but he died before it could be given him and so his kinsmen sprinkled some over his shrine, and to this day wine is sprinkled over it at the rite of bhog tharna and the rest given to the tribal bards murdās to drink.

1 Multān Gazetteer, p. 346.
2 Shibners, loc. cit., p. 226.
3 St. Nicholas was a great patron of mariners, and also of thieves who long rejoiced in the appellation of his clerks: cf. Shakespeare, I, Henry IV, Act II, i, 67. Cervantes’ story of Sancho’s detecting a sum of money in a swindler’s matting is merely the Spanish version of a ‘Lay of St. Nicholas’: Ingoldsby Legends, Ed. 1903, p. 192. St. Nicholas took over one of the functions of Hermes, who was known at Pella as elektor and became the patron god of thieves, liar and defrauders. For a discussion of the origins of such attributes see Parnell, Cults of the Greek States, V, pp. 28-5.
4 This rite is observed at the close of the period after child birth during which the mother avoids the use of collyrium for her eyes, bhang for her hands, the scent of flowers, and contact with dyed thread. All these things are then offered at Buddha Shahid’s shrine and the restriction on their use is then removed. It must be observed on a Monday in the bright half of any month.
Errata.

Page 14, line 36, for "Elliott" read "Elliot."
22, footnote, line 2, for "Partar" read "Tartar."
23, line 8, delete "the."
33, lines 17, 21, 29, for "Appoloni" read "Apolloni."
43, line 6, for "views" read "wvses."
45, line 2, for "called" read "culled."
46, line 11, for "Kanishka" read "Kanishka"; for "Aristic" read "Avestic."
54, line 4, for "Mahábhárata" read "Mahábhárata."
56, line 45, for "cussiously" read "cussiously."
57, line 10, for "Zul-akar" read "Záll-ákar."
58, footnote, for "Barrett" read "Barnett."
66, line 4, for "Macaulliff" read "Macaulliffe."
69, line 22, for "Buddha" read "Buddha."
69, line 26, for "abbotts" read "abbots."
71, line 20, for "pratégé" read "protégé."
76, line 12, for "abbott" read "abbot."
84, line 8, for "abbott" read "abbot."
85, line 31, for "Chalys" read "Chalya."
85, note, add in blank 188: after "Mahadeo" 267.
187, line 19, insert 212 after "page — ."
174, note, line 7, read "slave."
182, line 29, for "Langs" read "Lang."
183, line 19, for "shrada" read "shráddha."
200, note, line 3, for "Duryodhara" read "Duryodhana."
218, note, line 9, for "Elliott" read "Elliott."
317, note, line 2, for "Goraknáth" read "Goraknháth."
338, line 47, for "operation" read "apparition."
389, line 42, for "Buddha" read "Buddha."
420, line 16, for "Bhát" read "Bhút."
422, line 20, read "is a Bhardawai Brahman."
511, line 25, for "Oralisi" read "Oralisi."
547, line 20, for "Nês" read "Ucht.’
645, line 10, for "phathic" read "phallic."
646 line 18, for "repitition" read "repetition."
Page 639, line 24, for "expulsion" read "expulsion."
600, line 8, for "states" read "States."
602, line 9, for "states" read "States."
608, lines 5, 22, for "states" read "States."
702, line 23, for "proclaimed" read "proclaimed."
703, line 25, for "Fatih" read "Fatih."
704, note, for "Cunningham" read "Cunningham."
704, note, for "pute" read "pute."
712, line 1, for "sacha" read "sacha."
712, lines 33, 39, for "gur wadra" read "gur wadra."
719, line 26, for "sacha" read "sacha."
731, in heading for "Rights" read "Rites."
739, line 2, for "un-ginat" read "un-ginat."
739, line 15, for "planets" read "planets."
743, line 1, from bottom, for "Gayatri" read "Gayatri."
750, line 11, for "kasa-kha" read "kasa-kha."
751, note, for "struck" read "stuck."
757, line 18, for "Uarna" read "Uarna."
769, line 10, for "maleda" read "malida."
771, line 16, for "chhila" read "chhila."
778, line 38, for "tribunal" read "tribal."
784, line 12, for "Phalguni" read "Phalguni."
796, line 7, insert "bargain after "paciary."
801, line 4, for "conscientiousness" read "consciuosness."
803, line 34, for "mukhata" read "mukhata."
805, line 2, from bottom, for "Suyid" read "Suyid."
808, lines 33, for "Id-ul-fiter" read "Ida-l-Fitr."
822, line 39, for "ridegroom" read "bridegroom."
840, line 2, for "Gar" read "Gar."
840, line 15, for "tilanjali" read "tilanjali."
855, line 2, for "chhona" read "chhona."
857, line 15, for "Gar" read "Gar."
860, line 30, for "nues" read "nues."
878, line 10, for "chain" read "chin."
885, lines 9, for "quila-khaini" read "quila-khaini."
885, line 13, for "futka" read "futka" and so on next page.
890, lines 18, 28, 31, 34, for "kul or kul-khaini" read "kul-khaini."
902, note, for "Ambergine" read "Ambergine."
907, note, for "Tashkira" read "Tashkira."
and for "Mulk" read "Mulk."
909, the article on Caste and Sectarian Marks is continued from p. 902 on pp. 921-23.
CHAPTER I.

PART I.—BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PUNJAB AND NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCES.

I. HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PROVINCES.  

The Punjab with its feudatory States and the North-West Frontier Province with its Agencies and Tribal Areas cover an area of 175,348 square miles and include a population of 38,006,777 souls, or one-tenth of the whole area and one-twelfth of the total population of the Indian Empire. They number among their inhabitants one-fourth of the Muhammadan, one-twentieth of the Hindu, and eleven-twelfths of the Sikh subjects of the King. Occupying the angle where the Himalayas, which shut in the peninsula to the north, meet the Sulaimán, which bound it on the west, and lying between Hindustán and the passes by which alone access from the great Asian continent is possible, the old Punjab Province was, in a very special sense, the Frontier Province of India and guarded the gateway of that Empire of which it was the last portion to be won. This description now applies with even greater accuracy to the North-West Frontier Province which was carved out of the Punjab in 1901, its area being increased by the addition of the protected territories which form the Political Agency of Dir, Swát and Chitrál. This new Province is thus bounded on the north by the Hindu Kush mountains, which shut it off from the Pámirs, and on the east by the territories of the Mahāraja of Kashmir and by the Punjab; in the south it is bounded by the Dera Ghāzi Khán District of the Punjab, and on the west by the kingdom of Afgánistán. Ethnologically indeed it includes the eastern part of the Afgánistán or ‘land of the Afgán,’ and it is essentially a Pathán or Afgán country. It falls into three main divisions—(i) the cis-Indus District of Hazāra, and the trans-Indus territories of Dir, Swát and Chitrál; (ii) the comparatively narrow strip between the Indus and the Afgán hills which forms the districts of Peshawar, Kohút, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khán; and (iii) the rugged mountainous regions on the west between those districts and the border of Afgánistán which form the Political Agencies of Wazístán, Southern and Northern, the Kurman and the Khyber. The North-West Frontier Province is ethnologically of great interest and importance to the student of the races of the Punjab, but the materials for its history are scanty and uncertain, as compared with those which, imperfect as they are, exist in the case of the Punjab.

Historically the Punjab is of equal importance to the student of Indian ethnology. The great Aryan and Scythian swarms which in successive waves of migration left their arid plateaux for the fruitful plains of

*See the article Chitrál in Volume II. An article on the Kâfirs of Kârfistán will also be found in that volume as the Kâfirs appear to represent the aboriginal population of the Indus Kohistán and the mountainous territories of Dir, Swát and Chitrál. The Kâfirs offer many points of resemblance and more of contrast to the Muhammadanised races which have supplanted or converted them.
India, the conquering armies of Alexander, the peaceful Chinese pilgrims in search of the sacred scriptures of their faith, the Muhammadan invaders who came, driven by lust of territory and pride of creed, to found one of the greatest Muhammadan empires the world has ever seen, the devastating hordes led successively by Qutbshah, Timur, Nādir Shāh, and Ahmad Shāh, the armies of Bābur and of Hamayun—all alike entered India across the wide plains of the five rivers from which the Province of the Punjab takes its name. The great central watershed which constitutes the eastern portion of the Punjab has ever been the battlefield of India. Its eastern valley was the Jumna was in pre-historic times the scene of that conflict which, described in the Mahābhārata, forms the main incident of one of the oldest epics in existence; while in later days it witnessed the struggles which first gave India to the Muhammadans, which in turn transferred the empire of Hindustān from the Lodi Afghans to the Mughal dynasty and from the Mughals to the Mahrattas, which shook the power of the Mahrattas at Panipat, which finally crushed it at Delhi and made the British masters of Northern India, and which saved the Indian Empire in the terrible outbreak of 1857. Within the limits of the Punjab the Hindu religion had its birth and the most ancient sacred literature in the world was written; and of the two great quietist movements which had their rise in the intolerable nature of the burden laid by the Brahmanas upon men’s shoulders, Sikhism was born, developed into a military and political organisation, and after a period of decline now flourishes again within that Province; while, if the followers of Buddha are now represented in the Punjab only by a few thousands of ignorant hill-men, it was from the Punjab that sprung the founder of the Gupta dynasty, under whose grandson Asoka the Buddhist religion attained, there as elsewhere, a supremacy such as it never enjoyed either before or since in India.

2. INTEREST OF THE PROVINCE TO THE ETHNOLOGIST.—And if the Punjab is historically one of the most important parts of that great eastern empire which has fallen in so strange a manner into the hands of a western race, it yields to no other Province in present interest and variety. Consisting for the most part of the great plains of the five rivers and including some of the most and some of the least fertile tracts of our Indian territories, it stretches up to and beyond the peaks of the Central Himalayas and embraces the Tibetan valleys of Lālu and Spiti; and while on the east it included the Mughal capital of Delhi and the western borders of Hindustān and on the south encroaches on the great desert of Rājpūtāna, on the west it embraces, in its trans-Jhelum territory, a tract which except in respect of geographical position can hardly be said to belong to India. Nor are its inhabitants less diverse than its physical aspects. It does not indeed contain any of the aboriginal tribes of India, at least in their primitive barbarism; and its people, in common with those of neighbouring Provinces, include the peaceful descendants of the old Rājpūt rulers of the country, the sturdy Jāt peasantry which forms the backbone of the village population of North-Western India, and the various races which are allied to them. But the nomad and still semi-civilised tribes of its great central grazing grounds, the Balochis of its frontier, so distinct from all Indian races,
Their sociological importance.

the Khatri, Aroras, Sûles, Bhâbras and Paráchas who conduct its commerce, and the Dogras, the Kauca, the Thákurs and Gbîrths of its hills, are almost peculiar to the Province; while the Gakhurs, the Awans, the Kharrals, Kâthias, Khâtars, and many other tribes of the Râwalpindi and Multân Divisions present a series of problems sufficiently intricate to satisfy the most ardent ethnologist. Within the confines of the Province three distinct varieties of the great Hindi family of languages are to be found, two of them peculiar to the Punjab; while Bâlochî, Kashmiri, Pâshû, and many of those curious hill dialects which are often not separate languages only because each is confined to the valleys of a single stream, have their homes within its borders, and Tibetan is spoken in the far mountain of Sûlû.

3. INTEREST OF THE PROVINCES TO THE SOCIOLOGIST.—To the student of religion and sociology the Provinces present features of peculiar interest. In the earliest days of Hinduism the people of the Punjab Proper were a by-word in the mouths of the worshippers of Brahma, and Brahmanism has always been weaker there than perhaps in any other part of India. Neither Islam nor the Hindu religion has ever been able to expel from the lives of the people the customs and superstitions which they brought with them from the homes of their ancestors; and the worship of godlings unknown to the Hindu pantheon, the social customs which still survive in full force among the majority of the nominal adherents of either religion, and the peculiar cults of the inferior and outcast races, offer for investigation an almost virgin field full of the richest promise. In the Punjab hills the Hindu religion and the caste-system to which it gave birth are to be found free in a very unusual degree from alteration by external influences, though doubtless much deteriorated by decay from within. Sikhism must be studied in the Punjab if at all, and among the Bishnûles of the Hâriâna is to be found a curious offshoot from the national religion which is peculiar to them alone. For the inquiry into primitive institutions and the early growth of property in land the Punjab and North-West Frontier Provinces afford material of singular completeness and importance. Tribal organisation and tenures are to be found nowhere in India in such primitive integrity as on the western frontier of the latter Province, while in the eastern plains of the Punjab the village communities are typically perfect in their development. Between the two extremes every step in the gradation from one form to the other is exemplified, while in the hills of Kângra and Simla community of rights, whether based on the tribe or on the village, is unknown.

The Punjab can show no vast cities to rival Calcutta and Bombay; no great factories, no varied mineral wealth; but the occupations of its people are still not without an interest of their own. The husbandmen of the Punjab furnish to the English market supplies of wheat. The pursuits of the nomad pastoral tribes of the western doabs and of the river populations of the Indus and Sutlej, the Powndan traffic of Dera Ghâzî Khân and the salt mines of Jhûlum are all well worthy of investigation and description; while the silk and pâshû fabrics and embroideries of Delhi, Ludhiana and Amritsar, the enamels of Multân, the damascen—
The Punjab Himalayas.

ing of Sialkot and Gujrat, the pottery of Multan, and the beautiful jewellery and miniature painting of Delhi, have acquired a fame extending far beyond the limits of the Province.

Ibbetson, § 4.

4. Boundaries and Administrative Divisions.—The Punjab Province, together with Kashmir, which lies to its north and the North-West Frontier Province on its west, occupies the extreme north-western corner of India. Along its northern borders run the Himalayas which divide it from Kashmir. On its west lies the North-West Frontier Province from which it is separated, broadly speaking, by the Indus river. To its south lies the great Râjpútâna desert, in which indeed is included a large part of Bahawalpur; while to the east the river Jumna divides it from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

In shape the two Provinces are something between a dice-box and an hour-glass, the axes crossing at Lahore and the longer axis running nearly E. by S. The constriction in the middle is due to the fact that the northern boundary runs up into the hills of Chamba and Kulu in the east and of Hazâra in the west; while to the south the Punjab stretches down the fertile banks of the Jumna to the east and the Indus to the west, between which two rivers the arid desert of Râjpútâna extends northward to within a hundred miles of Lahore.

Ibbetson, § 5.

5. The Punjab includes two classes of territory; that belonging to the British Crown, and that in the possession of the thirty-six feudal chiefs of the Province, almost all of whom pay tribute in some form or other, and all of whom are subject to a more or less stringent control exercised by the Punjab Government. The area of British territory is 99,779 square miles and its population 19,874,956; the corresponding figures for the collective Native States are 36,551 and 4,312,794. British territory is divided into 32 districts which are grouped under 5 divisions, and each of which, except the sanitarium of Simla, comprises as large an area and population as can conveniently be controlled from its head-quarters. The dominions of the thirty-six native chiefs vary in size from the principalities of Patiala and Bahawalpur, with areas of 6,000 and 15,000 square miles and populations of 1,407,659 and 780,641 respectively, and ruled over by chiefs subject only to the most general supervision, to the tiny State of Dadhí, with an area of 25 square miles and a total population of 244 souls whose ruler is independent in little more than name.

Ibbetson, § 6.

6. The Himalayan Tract.—Along the eastern portion of our northern border, and within the great net-work of mountain ranges which fringe the central system of the Himalayas, are situated the States of Chamba, Mandi and Suket, with Bashahr and the twenty smaller states which are under the charge of the Superintendent of Hill States at Simla and Sirmur, while among them lie the hill stations of Simla and the great Kangra District, the latter including the Kulu Valley which stretches up to the mighty range of the mid-Himalayas, and the cantons of Lâhul and Spiti which, situated beyond the mid-Himalayas, belong geographically to Ladakh and Tibet rather than to India. This mountainous tract includes an area of some 19,840 square miles, much of which
is wholly uninhabited, and a scanty population of about 1,589,000 souls living scattered about the remaining area in tiny hamlets perched on the hill-sides or nestling in the valleys, each surrounded by its small patches of terraced cultivation, irrigated from the streams which run down every gully or fertilised by the abundant rainfall of the hills.

The people chiefly consist of hill Rajputs, including Thakurs, Rathis and Rawats, and of Kanets, Ghirths, Brahmans and the Kolis or Dagis who are menials of the hills. They are, either by origin or by long isolation from their neighbours of the plains, very distinct from the latter in most respects; and they speak dialects peculiar to the hills, though belonging to the Hindi group except in the trans-Himalayan cantons where Tibetan is spoken. They are almost exclusively Hindus, but curiously strict as regards some and lax as regards others of the ordinances of their religion. The nature of the country prevents the growth of large towns, trade is confined to the little that crosses the high passes which lead into Tibet, and the people are almost wholly rural, supplementing the yield of their fields by the produce of numerous flocks of sheep and goats, and by rude home manufactures with which they occupy themselves during the long winter evenings. They keep very much to themselves, migration being almost confined to the neighbouring mountains and low hills.

7. THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN HILLS.—In many respects the most interesting part of the Punjab is that which forms its northeastern corner. In this, the eastern hills, are included the Himalayan area and the Siwalik range which separates it from the plains between the Beas and the Jhelum. Throughout this tract of low hills with wide dales and lofty mountains with deep and remote valleys the ascendency of a type of Rajput society is well marked, and this part of the Province might almost be called ethnographically the Rajputana of the Punjab, as it has called its Switzerland from its physical characteristics. The hill Rajputs with their subordinate grades, the Kanases, Miinds, Rathis and Thakurs, are probably those among all the peoples of the Punjab who have retained their independence longest, and probably a still older element in its population is represented by the Kanets and Kolis, the Gaddis, Ghirths and Chatangs or Bahtis who form the mass of its agricultural classes. The Brahman is found disseminated all through this wide tract, and in many parts of the Himalayan area, for instance, in Kangra, Kulu, Chamba and the Simla Hills he forms a well defined cultivating caste, distinct both from his namesakes who exercise sacred or professional functions on the one hand and from the secular castes on the other. He is not however by any means rigidly endogamous, and the Hindu population of this tract is singularly homogeneous, owing to the fact that hypogamy is the normal rule among and between all the castes which can be regarded as within the pale of Hinduism. The ethnical character of the tract is due to its inaccessibility and remoteness from the lines which foreign invades into India have always taken. Often invaded, often defeated, the Raja of the Kangra Hills succumbed for a short period to the Mughals in the reign of Shah Jahan, but they soon threw off the imperial yoke, and it was reserved to
The races of the submontane.

Ranjit Singh to annex to his dominions the most ancient principalities in Northern India, and to penetrate into the remoter valley of Kulu. Thus the Kangra Hills are that portion of the Punjab which is most wholly Hindu, not merely by the proportion which the number of real or nominal Hindus bears to the total population, but still more because there has never been any long-sustained Musalmân domination, which should either loosen the bonds of caste by introducing among the converted people the absolute freedom of Islam in its purity, or tighten them by throwing the still Hindu population, deprived of their Rajpût rulers, more wholly into the hands of their priests. It is here then that we might expect to find caste existing most nearly in the same state as that in which the first Muhammadan invaders found it when they entered the Punjab, but it is difficult to say with certainty, as Ibbetson wrote, that here the Brahman and the Kshatriya occupy positions most nearly resembling those assigned them by Manu. One is almost tempted to believe that the type of Hindu society still found in this tract preserves an even more archaic organisation than anything described by Manu. The Khatri is indeed found among the Gaddis of Kangra, but he is, if tradition is to be credited, a refugee from the plains, whence he fled to escape Muhammadan persecution. The type of society found in the eastern hills no doubt bears many resemblances to that feudal Rajpût system which was evolved, as far as can be seen at present, after the downfall of the Kshatriya domination in the plains of India, but it differs from it in several respects. In this tract we do not find a distinct Rajpût caste which disdains all marriage with the cultivating classes, but a Rajpût class itself divided into two or three quite distinct grades, the lowest of which accepts brides from the Kanot or Ghirth. The constitution of Rajpût society in the Kangra Hills will be found fully described in the article on Rajpûte.

The Himâlayan canton of Spiti is purely Tibetan by race and Buddhist by religion, while the cantons of British Lâhul, Chamba-Lâhul, and Kang in Bashahr are half Indian and half Tibetan, Buddhist in creed with an ever-thickening varnish of Hinduism.

8. From the borders of Chamba, the westernmost portion of the tract, to the river Jhelum, the frontier between Kashmir and the Punjab lies immediately at the foot of the mountains, which are wholly included in the former; and the eastern hills are the only mountainous portion of the Latter Province with the exception of the Salt Range and the country beyond it which adjoins the North-West Frontier Province.

9. The Submontane Tract.—Skirting the base of the hills, and including the low outlying range of the Siwaliks, runs a narrow submontane zone which includes the four northern tahsils of Ambâla with the Kullu State, the whole of the Hoshiâpur District, the three northern tahsils of Guriâpur, tahsils Zafarwâl and Siâlkot of the Siâlkot District, and the northern portion of Gujârat. This submontane tract, secure in ample rainfall and traversed by streams from the neighbouring hills, comprises some 6380 square miles of the most fertile and
The Sikh inroads on the submontane.

thickly-peopled portions of the Province, and is inhabited by a population of about 8,010,000 souls who differ little in race, religion, or language from their neighbours of the plains proper described below in paragraphs 17 to 20. The tract has only one town, Sialkot, of more than 60,000 inhabitants. Its trade and manufactures are insignificant, and its population is almost entirely agricultural and in the low hills pastoral.

10. THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN SUBMONTANE.—All along the foot of the Siwaliks from Ambala to Gurdaspur the dominant population is Rajput and Jat, interspersed with numerous foreign elements, such as Pathans, a few Moghuls, Shaikhs, Awans, Khokars, and many others. Of these elements all are modern, except the Rajputs and possibly some Jat tribes. But in the eastern part of the Ambala submontane the Jat is certainly a recent invader; and he owes his position in this tract to the Sikh inroads, which once carried the arms of the Khalsa across the Jumna, but only succeeded in permanently establishing a single Jat state of any importance, viz. that of Kalaia in the Ambala District which owes its name to one of the Sikh musts or companies. In this tract the Jat to some extent displaced the Rajput, whose most ancient tribes, the Chauhan and Taoni, were dominant in it down to the Mughal period. How old their settlements in this tract may be it is impossible to say; but the Chauhans at least were probably firmly established in the Ambala submontane before the Muhammadan invasions.

Further north beyond the Sutlej the Hoshiarpur submontane is held by Hindu Rajput tribes or Rajput tribes partly converted to Islam. Their settlements undoubtedly owe their origin to feudal grants made by the Hill Rajas to military families under their own leaders as a condition of service against Muhammadan invaders from the plains. They may thus be regarded as outliers of the Hindu Rajput system of the Himalayas. As a counterbalance to their power the Muhammadan emperors planted Pathan colonies at a distance of 4 or 5 miles from the Siwaliks in a line stretching from the town of Hariana to the border of the Garhshankar tahsil, and the place-names of the district still mark a considerable number of these settlements, such as Urmur-Tanda, Jahlan-Khelan, and Ghilzian.

Upon these irregular lines of opposing forces the Sikh movement launched Jat tribes, but not in any great numbers. The Kanhiya and Rangpura jats obtained large tracts in the north, but in the earlier period of the Sikh risings the Rajput states of the hills often afforded an asylum to the Sikh gurus and their followers. At one time the gurus, who had sought refuge in the Hill States of Sirmur, Mandi, and Nalagarh, might well have hoped to convert their Rajas to the Sikh faith, but as the Sikh power grew in strength the gurus visited the Hill States less frequently and were content to establish strongholds at Uma and Amandpur in the Jalswan Dung. The Jat movement however did not even penetrate the barrier of the Siwalik, and their subsequent encroachments under Sikh chiefs had little permanent effect. The Jats, whose villages lie scattered all along the foot of the hills from Ambala to Gurdaspur,
are not separated by any definite line of demarcation from the Sikh Jāts of the Central Punjab to the south-west or from the Jāts of the western submontane to the west. Perhaps the only tangible distinction is that the Jāts of the eastern submontane are, broadly speaking, Hindus, while those of the western submontane are Muhammadans, and those of the central districts Sikhs, but followers of all these religions are to be found in almost every tribe. In character and position there is nothing to distinguish the three groups, save that those of the eastern submontane never enjoyed the political importance which distinguished the Sikh Jāts under the Khālsa. The Jāt of this tract cannot be regarded as in any sense under the Rājpūt. The Jāt communities are independent of his influence and stand aloof from him. They have no aspirations to be called Rājpūt or to form matrimonial alliances with men of that caste. Some of the Manj Rājpūts of Gurdāspur have no doubt become Jāts by status or are called Jāts by others, but as a rule the distinction between the two castes is rigidly fixed.

11. THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE WESTERN SUBMONTANE.—Along the western part of the northern border of Gurdāspur, and all along the Jammu border in Siālkot, Gujānwāla and Gujrat, the conditions closely resemble those found in the eastern submontane, but the line of demarcation between Jāt and Rājpūt is fainter. The true Jāt, such as the Chima, Varaich and Tārār, are mainly confined to Siālkot and Gujānwāla. The typical Rājpūt tribes are found close under the Jammu Hills and include such interesting communities as the Rajput Rājpūts and the Chhillā, with many minor clans towards Gurdāspur. The Jāt looks to the south for his affinities in religion and marriage, but the Rājpūt regards the Jammu Hills with their ancient principalities of Bhimbar, Rajauri and Jammu as his ancient home. And from Jammu and Kashmir the lower castes are also reinforced. Of the Jāts of the western submontane Sir Denzil Ibbetson wrote:—

"The most extraordinary thing about the group of Jāt tribes found in Siālkot is the large number of customs still retained by them which are, so far as I know, not shared by any other people. They will be found described in Mr. Roe's translation of Amin Chaudhūrān's History of Siālkot, and I shall notice one or two of them. Nothing could be more instructive than an examination of the origin, practice, and limits of this group of customs. They would seem to point to aboriginal descent. Another point worthy of remark is the frequent recurrence of an ancestor Mal, which may perhaps connect this group of tribes with the ancient Malli of Multān. Some of their traditions point to Sind, while others are connected with the hills of Jammu. The whole group strikes me as being one of exceeding interest, and I much regret that I have no time to treat it more fully." Further investigation has shown that their customs are more widespread than Sir Denzil Ibbetson thought, not only among the Jāts, but among such castes as the Khatri.

12. THE EASTERN PLAINS.—The remainder of the Punjab, with the exception of the tract cut off by the Salt Range which will be described presently, consists of one vast plain, unbroken save by the wide model

* A work of great value, despite its countless typographical errors.
valleys within which the great Punjab rivers ever shift their beds, and by the insignificant spur of the Aravalli mountain system which runs through the Gurgaon District and the south of Delhi and re-appears in the low hills of Chiniot and Kirâna in Jhang. A meridian through the city of Lahore divides this wide expanse into two very dissimilar tracts which may be distinguished as the Eastern and the Western Plains. East of Lahore the rainfall is everywhere so far sufficient that cultivation is possible without irrigation in fairly favourable seasons; but over the greater portion of the area the margin is so slight that, save where the crops are protected by artificial irrigation, any material reduction in the supply entails distress if not actual famine; and while the Eastern Plains, comprising only a quarter of the area of the Province, include half its cultivation, nearly half its population, and almost all its most fertile portions, they also include all those parts which, by very virtue of the possibility of unirrigated cultivation, are peculiarly liable to disastrous failure of crops.

13. Physical Divisions of the Eastern Plains.—A broad strip parallel to the submontane zone partakes in a lower degree of its ample rainfall. It is traversed by the upper Sutlej, the Beas, the Ravi, the Râri Dâsāb Canal, and many smaller streams which bring down with them and deposit fertilising loam from the lower hills; irrigation from wells is everywhere easy, and the tract is even superior in fertility, security of produce, and populousness to the submontane zone itself. It includes tahsil Amsalâ and the Thânesar tahsil now in the Karnâl district, the northern portions of Patiâla and Nâbha, the whole of the Ludhiana, Jullundur and Amritsar Districts and of the Kapurthala State, and so much of the Gurdaspur and Sâlkot Districts as is not included in the submontane zone. Its area is some 8600 square miles and the population about 4,006,207 souls.

14. The next fertile strip is that running along the eastern border of the Province parallel to the river Jumna. It enjoys a fair average rainfall, it includes the low riverain tract along the Jumna itself where well irrigation is easy, the Saraswati and its tributaries inundate a considerable area, and much of it is watered by the Agra and Western Jumna Canals; so that it is for the most part well protected against famine. It comprises the whole of the Delhi Division with the exception of the Kaithal and Rewâri tahsils of Karnâl and Gurgiâon, together with the small state of Patiala and the Gohâna and Sâmpla tahsils of the Rohtak District; its area is about 4870 square miles, and its population some 1,727,481 souls.

15. Along the southern border of the tract runs the Hissâr District with the small states of Unjâna and Lohârû, the Muktsar tahsil of Ferozepur, the Rohtak and Jhajjar tahsils of the Rohtak District, the Rewâri tahsil of Gurgiâon, and some outlying portions of Patiâla, Jind and Nâbha. This is the most unfertile portion of the tract. A large part of it skirts the great Râjpûtâna desert, the soil is often inferior, the rainfall always scanty and precarious, while, except in the south-eastern corner, where alone wells can be profitably worked, irrigation is almost unknown save where the Western Jumna Canal
enters Hisar and the Sutlej borders the Ferozepur District. The area is about 11,570 square miles, and the population about 4,880,900. This and the central portion next to be described are the parts of the Punjab where famine is most to be dreaded.

16. The remaining or great central portion of the tract includes the greater part of the states of Patiala, Nàthia and Jind, the Kaituhl tahsil of Karnal, the three northern tahsils of Ferozepur, the two eastern tahsils of Lahore, and the states of Faridkot and Måler Kotla. Its area is some 19,800 square miles and its population about 2,735,430. It occupies an intermediate position in respect of fertility between the two preceding tracts, the rainfall generally being highest and the soil best to the east, west and north in the direction of the Jumna, the Sutlej, and the hills, and lowest and worst in the centre and south, while to the north-east the Ghaggar system of hill streams inundates a certain area, and well irrigation is practised along the Sutlej and the northern border.

17. ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN PLAINS.—The plains east of Lahore have thus been split up into zones of varying fertility by lines running for the most part parallel to the hills. But the boundaries which separate religion, race and language are somewhat different from these. A meridian through the town of Sihind or Sichind, nearly due north of Patiala and once the capital of a Mughul sultan, but razed to the ground by the victorious Sikhs in 1703 in revenge for the assassination of the children of Guru Govind Singh which had taken place there some 40 years before, roughly divides the Punjab Proper from Hindustan and the Panjabi from the Hindi language, and forms the eastern boundary of the Sikh religion. So much of the Punjab plains as lies east of that line, namely, the Delhi, Gurgaon, Karnal, Ambala and Rohtak Districts, and the States of Kalsia, Jind and Pataudi, differs little if at all in the character of its population from the western districts of the United Provinces. Except in the Rohtak District, Jats form a smaller and Rájpúts a larger proportion of the population than in the tract immediately to the west, while Kamboks, Rohs and Gujaris are numerous in Ambala and Karnal, Tagás in Karnal and Delhi, Ahirs in Rohtak, Delhi and Gurgaon, and Meos and Khánzidas in Gurgaon.

The Hisáir District to the south of the tract differs from the districts just mentioned chiefly in that, lying as it does on the confines of Bikaner, the dialect and people are more akin to those of Rájpúta than to those of Hindustán, Rájpúts being very numerous, and there being a considerable Ahir population. The religion is still Hindu, with a certain admixture of a curious sect called Bishnoi. The Sírs tract which forms the western portion of the southern border of the tract was all but uninhabited till it came under English rule, and it has drawn its settlers pretty equally from Hindu and Hindu-

* A certain area is also inundated by the overflowing floods of the lower Ghaggar.

* But the Sirhind Canal opened in 1852 protects a large part of the central and some portion of the southern tract.
speaking Hissár and Rájpútána, and from the Sikh and Panjabí-speaking Jâts of state of Patía, while its western portion is occupied by Muhammadan immigrants from the lower Sutlej.

In all the remainder of the tract Panjabí is the language of the people. Immediately below the hills Sikhism has obtained but little hold, and the Hindu element, strong in Hoshiárpur, gradually gives way to the Musalmán as we pass westwards through Gurdísápur till it fades into comparative insignificance in Sálkot. But all the centre of the tract, the great Phulkán States of Patía, Jind and Nábha, the States of Faridkot and Maler Kotla, and the Districts of Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Lahore and Amritsar, and in a less degree of Jullundur and Kapúrthala, form the very centre and stronghold of the Punjab Sikhs. Even here however a very large proportion of the population is Musalmán, a proportion constantly increasing from east to west, and it is the Hindu element alone which is displaced by the Sikh. In the matter of race the population of this portion of the tract is very uniform, Rájpútis, Jâts, Gújars, and their allied tribes forming the staple of the agricultural population, largely supplemented by their attendant menials. Among the Siwáliks and immediately under the hills Jâts are few and Rájpútis and Ghiriths numerous, while somewhat further south the proportion of Jâts increases and Gújars, Sainis and Atáins, and in Kapúrthala Kambohs, Mahtoaus (Mahtans), and Dogras, become important elements in the population. In the Lahore Division, Faridkot, and the Phulkán States the mass of the population is Jât; though in Lahore, Ferozepur and Faridkot Kambohs and Mahtans, and in Ferozepur Dogras, hold large areas, while in Patía, Jind and Nábha there is a considerable admixture of Ahirs. The Changás and Sánis of Amritsar and the surrounding districts, the Báwarías of the upper Sutlej, the Bâwals of the northern districts and Lahore, and the Ahers of the Delhi Division are curious suteast tribes, some of them probably aboriginal; and as we pass westwards and northwards from Hindustán and Rájpútána into the Province, the Bânia of the Delhi territory gives place to the Khütrí of the central, the Súd of the northern, and the Ároa of the western Punjab.

The tract includes all the most fertile, wealthy and populous portions of the Province, and may be called the granary of the Punjab. Within it lie the three great cities of Delhi, Amritsar, and Lahore, besides a very large proportion of the larger towns; and the population is by comparison with that of the western Punjab largely urban. Trade and manufactures flourish, while with the exception of the south-western portions where flocks and herds still pasture in extensive jungles, the greater part of the cultivable area is under the plough.

18. The three most distinctive elements in the population of the eastern plains are the Sikh Jâts of the central districts, the Jâts, mainly Hindu, of the south-eastern districts, and the Rájpútis of the country to the west of the Jumna. The so-called Jâts of the Salt Range and the Western Punjab possess well marked characteristics of their own, but directly we leave the Salt Range behind us and
enter the tract which is under the influence of Lahore and Amritsar, directly in fact we come within the circle of Sikh religious influence as distinguished from the more political influence of the Sikhs, we find the line between Jat and Rajput sufficiently clearly marked. The Jat indeed, here as elsewhere, claims for himself Rajput origin, but a Varnish for instance does not say that he is still a Rajput. He is a Jat and content to be so. The fact is that within the pale of Sikhism Rajputs were at a discount. The equality of all men preached by Guru Govind disgusted the haughty Rajputs, and they refused to join his standard. They soon paid the penalty of their pride. The Jats who composed the great mass of the Khalsa rose to absolute power, and the Rajputs who had despised them was the peculiar object of their hatred. Their general policy led them to cut off such poppy-heads as had not sprung from their own seed, and their personal feeling led them to treat the Rajput, who as a native-born leader of the people should have joined them, and would if he had done so have been a very important element of additional strength to the cause, with especial harshness. The old Settlement Reports are full of remarks upon the decadence, if not the virtual disappearance, of the Rajput gentry in those districts where Sikh sway was most absolute. Thus the Jats we are considering are far more clearly marked off from the Rajputs than are those of the western plains where everybody is a Jat, or of the Salt Range Tract where everybody who is not an Arab or a Mughal calls himself a Rajput; indeed there is if anything a tendency here to call those Jats who are admitted to be Rajputs further west. Only on the edge of the group, on the common border line of the Sikh tract, the Salt Range, and the great plains, do the Mekan, Gondal, Raniya and Tara claim some to be Jats and some to be Rajputs. The first two were described by Sir Denzil Ibbetson under Rajputs, the last under Jats, but this was more as a matter of convenience than of ethnic classification. The Jat tribes of the Sikh tract are, except perhaps on the confines of the Gujranwala Bahr, essentially agricultural, and occupy the same social position as do those of the eastern plains, whom indeed they resemble in all respects. The Jats of the Sikh tract are the typical Jats of the Punjab, including all those great Sikh Jat tribes who have made the race so renowned in recent history. They occupy the central districts of the Punjab, the upper Sutlej and the great Sikh States of the eastern plains. All that has been said regarding the absence of any wish on the part of the Jats of the Khalsa to be nought but Jat, applies here with still greater force. A Sidhu claims indeed Rajput origin, and apparently with good reason. But he is now a Sidhu Jat, and holds that to be a prouder title than Bhatti Rajput. The only tribe among this group of which any considerable numbers return themselves as Rajputs are the Virk; and among them this has happened only in Gujranwala, on the extreme outskirts of the tract. These men are the backbone of the Punjab by character and physique as well as by locality. They are stalwart, sturdy yeomen of great independence, industry and agricultural skill, and collectively form perhaps the finest peasantry in India. The Jats of the Sikh tract are essentially husbandmen, and the standard of agricultural practice among those at any rate of the more fertile northern districts is as high.
as is reached in any portion of the Province. Special attention may be
called to the curious traditions of the Bhular, Mán, and Her tribes, which
claim to be the original nucleus of the Ját caste.

19. The JÁTs of the South-Eastern Plains.—The group of Ját
tribes, which occupies the Jumna Districts with Jind, Rohtak and
Hissar, call themselves Ját not Ját, and are the same people in every
respect as the Ját of the Jumna-Ganges Doûb and the lower Jumna
valley, differing however in little save religion from the great Sikh
Ját tribes of the Málwa; though perhaps the latter, inhabiting as they
do the wide unirrigated plains of the central states, are of slightly
finer physique than their neighbours of the damper riverain. The
eastern Játs are almost without exception Hindu, the few among them
who are Musalmán being known as Múla or “unfortunate,” and
dating their conversion almost without exception from an ancestor who
was taken as a hostage to Delhi and there forcibly circumcised. Indeed
these men were not unfrequently received back into caste on their return
from captivity, and their descendants are in this case Hindus, though still
known as Múla. Their traditions show them to have come up either
from Bikaner and Rájpútáná, or northwards along the Jumna valley,
and very few of them appear to have come from the Punjab to the
Jumna. The Ját of Gúrgání indeed still look upon the Rájá of Bhart-
pur as their natural leader, and the fall of Bhartpur made such an
impression on their minds that old men still refer to it as the era from
which they date events.

The Ját of these parts is, if anything, even a better cultivator than
the Sikh Ját; and that chiefly because his woman assist him so largely
in the field, performing all sorts of agricultural labour, whether light
or heavy, except ploughing, for which they have not sufficient strength,
and sowing, which is under all circumstances a provocative strictly confined
to the male sex. Directly we leave the south-eastern districts and pass
into the Sikh tract, women cease to perform the harder kinds of field-
work, even among the Játs; while in Musalmán districts they do not
work at all in the fields. So essentially is the Ját a husbandman, and
so especially is he the husbandman of these parts, that when asked his
caste he will quite as often reply  swami  or  Ját, the two names being
in that sense used as synonymous. The social standing of the Ját is
that which the Gújar, Ahír, and Ror enjoy; in fact these four castes eat
and smoke together. They stand at the head of the castes who practise
kárema or widow-marriage, a good deal below the Rájpút, but far above
the castes who grow vegetables, such as Aráin and Málí. If the social
scale is regulated by the rules of the Hindu religion they come below
Báñás who are admittedly better Hindus. But the manly Ját despises
the money-grubbing Báñás, and all other castes and tribes agree
with him.

*Or. more accurately, Ját, the double if compensating for the loss of the long á.
The difference is purely dialectical, and to speak of Játs and Játas are racially distinct.
as is done in E. H. I. IV, p. 210, is absurd and misleading. The Mahomedan peasantry
of the Punjab are not necessarily Jats or Jat too though many Játs and Játas are Mahomed-
áná.
In the extreme south-eastern corner of the Punjab the Jāts who have come in from the north and west, from Rājpūtāna and the Punjab, are known as Dhe, to distinguish them from the original Jāt tribes of the neighbourhood who are collectively called Hele, the two sections abstaining from intermarriage and having in some respects different customs. In Sirsa again, that meeting place of races, where the Bāgrī Jāt from the Bīkāner prairies, the Sikh Jāt from the Mālwa, and the Mūsalmān Jāt from the Sutlej valley, meet the Jāt of Hissār, the last are distinguished as Desi and the Mūsalmān Jāts as Pāchhīde or western; but these terms appear to be unknown to the people in their respective homes. There the superiority of the Sikh and Desi Jāts over the stunted Bāgrī and the indolent encrusted Jāt of the Sutlej is most strikingly apparent.

There is an extraordinary division of the Jāts of Delhi, Rohtak, and Karnāl, and indeed of the other land-owning castes who have for the most part taken the one side or the other, into two factions known as Dehis and Haulānis. The following passage from Sir Denzil Ibbetson's Settlement Report of Karnāl and Pānīpat describes these factions:

"The Dehis are called after a Jāt tribe of that name, with its head-quarters about Bhagāū in Singapat, having originally come from the Haulāna near Delhi. The Haulāni faction is headed by the Ghūwālī or Malā Jāt, whose head-quarters are Dīms-Ka-Abūlāna in Gohānā, and who were, owing to their successful opposition to the Rājpūts, the accepted heads of the Jāts in these parts. Some one of the enmities called them in to assist him in opposing the Māndāhar Rājpūts, and thus the old enmity was strengthened. The Dehis Jāts, growing powerful, because jealous of the supremacy of the Ghūwāls, joined the Māndāhar against them. Thus the country side was divided into two factions, the Gūjarī and Tāqā of the tract, the Jāgān Jāts of thapa Nauliha, and the Lāmār Jāts of Rohtak, joining the Dehis, and the Huddā Jāts of Rohtak and most of the Jāts of the tract except the Jāgān, joining the Haulānis. In the Mutiny, disturbances took place in the Rohtak District between these two factions, and the Māndāhar of the Nahalī ravaged the Haulānis in the south of the tract. And in summing my courts I had to alter my proposed division so as to separate a Dehis village which I had included with Haulānis, and which objected in consequence. The Dehis is also called the Jāt, and occasionally the Māndāhar faction. Even Sir H. Elliot seems to have been unaware of the existence of these factions. The Jāts and Rājpūts seem independently of these divisions, to consider each other tribally speaking, as natural enemies; and I have often been assured by Jāts, though I do not believe it, that they would not dare to go into a Rājpūt village at night."

Mr. Macnachie quoted a Delhi tradition which makes two brothers from Rājpūtāna called Mom and Som the respective ancestors of the Haulāni Rājpūts of the Doṅb and the Haulāni Jāts of Rohtak.

Here again, in the south-eastern districts the distinction between Jāt and Rājpūt is definite and well-marked, the Jāt nearly always practising and the Rājpūt almost always abstaining from karewa; though Ibbetson did not think that here a family could raise itself from the former to the latter caste by discontinuing the custom, as would appear to be possible elsewhere.
The western plains.

20. The Rajput of the Eastern Districts.—The Rájput tribes of this tract are divided into two groups. All but the last four are almost confined to the Delhi territory, at least as Rájputs proper; and are roughly arranged in order from north to south down the Jumna valley, and then westwards through Rohtak and Hissár. The last four tribes carry on the series through Patiala, Ferozepur and Gajranwál, and connect the Rájputs of the eastern with those of the western plains. The first group belongs chiefly to the great royal families of the Rájputs who, occupying the Delhi territory, have not as a rule superseded their old tribal designation by a local name, as has been so often the case in the west of the Punjab. The great majority of them are descendants of the Tánwar and Chauhán dynasties of Delhi. Their local distribution is fairly well marked, the Tánwar lying to the north-west of the first group, and shutting off the Játi tribes of the central plains from the Rájputs of the Delhi territory, their line being broken only by the Chauhán colony on the Ghaggar of the Hissár border. Next to them come the Chauhán, Mandawar and Pundir of the Kurukshetra, and the Ráwát, Gaurwa, Bargañár and Jádú of Delhi and Gurgón followed by the Ját, themselves Tánwar, and the Bágri of Hissár. The Punwári colony of Rohtak is an off-shoot of the Panwári of the western plains. The Játs of this tract are very largely if not wholly true Játs, who preserve strong traditions as to the Rájput tribes from which they claim to be descended. The Rájput of these parts is a true Rájput. Living in the shadow of Delhi, the capital of his ancestral dynasties, he clings to the traditions of his caste. He cultivates largely, for little other occupation is left him; but he cultivates badly, for his women are more or less strictly secluded and never work in the fields, while he considers it degrading to actually follow the plough, and will always employ hired ploughmen if he can possibly afford it. He is a great cattle-grazer and as great a cattle-thief. His tribal feeling is strong, and the heads of the village or local group of villages have great influence. He is proud, lazy, sometimes turbulent, but generally with something more of the gentleman about him than we find in the more rustic Ját.

21. The Western Plains. The great plains lying to the west of the Lahore meridian present a striking contrast to those to the east of that line. They form the common termens of the two Indian monsoons, which have exhausted themselves of their vapour before they reach their goal; and the rainfall, heaviest in the north and east and decreasing towards the west and south, is everywhere so scanty that cultivation without irrigation is absolutely impossible. But in this very circumstance they find their security against famine or distress from drought; for their cultivation is almost independent of rain, a failure of which means little worse than a scarcity of grass, in itself a sufficiently serious calamity. In many parts, indeed, more danger is to be anticipated from excessive floods than from deficient rainfall. The tract is traversed throughout its length by five great rivers, the Sutlej, Rávi, Chenáb, Jhelum and

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1 Rain, of course, is needed here as elsewhere. But its absence means only a diminished yield, and not none at all; and so little is sufficient if the fall comes at the right time, and absolute drought occurs so seldom, that the crops may be said never to fail from this cause.
Indus; and along either side of each of these runs at a distance of a few miles a more or less distinctly marked bank, which defines the excursions of the river within recent times as it has shifted from side to side in its course. These banks include between them strips of low-lying land which are periodically inundated by the rising floods as the winter snows of the Himalayas melt under the summer sun, or in which the nearness of the sub-soil water makes well-irrigation easy. All outside these narrow boundaries is a high arid plain. Beyond the Indus, and between the Satlej and the Jhelum and its continuation in the Chenab, it consists of soil which, wherever water is available, is sufficiently fertile save where north of the Satlej that saline efflorescence which has so puzzled geologists clothes the surface for miles together like a recent fall of snow. But between the Indus and the Jhelum-Chenab and south of the Satlej it is covered by great parallel lines of rolling sand separated by narrow hollows in which the original soil is exposed.

Ibbetson, § 19

The Gujrânwâla and Wázirábâd tahsils of the Gujrânwâla District secure a fair amount of rain by their vicinity to the hills. Numerous streams, for the most part of intermittent flow, which run down from the Sulaimân mountains to join the Indus, and innumerable small inundation canals carried out from the Satlej, the Lower Chenab, the Upper Jhelum, and the Lower Indus across the zone of well-irrigation into the edges of the central steppes render cultivation possible along their courses; while wells sunk in the long hollows of the Thal or sandy desert and the drainage of the Bôr or stiff loam uplands collected in local depressions perform a similar office. But though some of the finest wheat in the world is grown on the wells of the western Thal, the proportion of the area thus brought under the plough is wholly insignificant. The remainder of the tract is covered by low stunted bush and salsolaceous plants and with short grass in good seasons. Over this range great herds of camels which thrive on the saline herbage, and of cattle, sheep and goats. They are tended by a nomad population which moves with its flocks from place to place as the grass is consumed and the scanty supply of water afforded by the local hollows exhausted, or in search of that change of diet which camels love and the varying local flora afford. The tract includes the whole of the Multân Division and the State of Baháwalpur, the Districts of Shâhpur and Gujrânwâla, the greater part of Gujrât, and the two western tahsils of Lahore. Its area is some 69,870 square miles or more than two-fifths of that of the whole Province, while its population, numbering about 4,885,000 souls, includes little more than one-fifth of the people of the Punjab, and it comprises not one-quarter of the total cultivated area.

* In physical characteristics parts of Gujrânwâla, Gujrât and Lahore belong rather to the northern portion of the eastern plains; but as they lie west of the Lahore meridian and their area is small, they have been included in this tract of which they form the north-eastern corner.
23. **Natural Divisions of the Western Punjab.**—It is the fashion to describe the Punjab Proper as marked off by its rivers into six great Doabs which constitute the natural divisions of the Province. This description is true in a sense; but the sense in which it is true possesses but little significance, and its chief merit seems to be that it can easily be verified by reference to a map. To the east of the Lahore meridian such rivers as there are lie close together, the whole of the country between and beyond them is comparatively populous, and there are no natural boundaries of any great importance. But west of that meridian, or throughout the greater portion of the Punjab Proper, the real obstacles to inter-communication, the real barriers which separate the peoples one from another are, not the rivers easily crossed at any time and often fordable, in the cold weather, but the great arid steppes which lie between those rivers. The advance of the agricultural tribes has followed almost invariably the courses of the great rivers, the newcomers having crept along both banks of the streams and driven the nomads from either side into the intermediate Doabs, where they have occupied the portions nearest the river lands from which they had been ejected, leaving the median areas of greatest aridity as an intangible but very effectual line of separation.

23. **Ethnography of the Western Plains.**—Between the Sulaimānis and the great sandy deserts of Bahāwalpur and the Sindh-Sāgar Doab the dominant race is Baloch. Descending from the hills this Iranian people overcame a miscellaneous collection of tribes which, still forming a very large proportion of the population, have been included by their conquerors under the semi-contemptuous term of Jāt—here an occupational as much as an ethnological designation—till they have themselves almost forgotten their original race. In the remainder of the tract the divisions of the people are rather tribal than racial, the great majority of them being Jāts and Rājputs, or belonging to races, perhaps in some cases of aboriginal origin, which can now no longer be distinguished from them. In Gūjrāt, the importance of the Gūjar element is indicated by the name of the district, while Sayyids are numerous to the south-west. The number of clans into which the people of these great plains are divided is enormous. The Dāndāpota, Jōiya, Wattu, Dogar and Mahtam of the Sutlej, the Kharral and Kāthia of the Rāvi, the Siāl and Khokhar of the Chenāb, and the Khokhar and Tiwāna of the Jhelum, are some of the most important. The curious river-tribes of the Sutlej and Indus, the Jhabel, Kehal and Kutāna, also present many interesting features. The Indus Pathāns and a certain proportion of the Baloches speak their national Pashtu and Balochi. The remaining population of Dera Ghāzi Khān, Muzzaffargarh, Multān and Bahāwalpur speak Jatki, a language holding an intermediate position between Panjābī and Sindhi. Panjābī is the speech of the remainder of the tract. The population is essentially Muhammadan, the proportion being largest on the west and smallest to the east and south. Multān is the only town of just upon 100,000 inhabitants, and the population is very markedly rural. There is no manufacture of importance, and the important Równadaw traffic between India and the countries to the west only passes through the tract.

*The Sindh-Sāgar Doab lies between the Indus and the Jhelum and Chenāb.*
on its way to the commercial centres of Hindustán. Pastoral pursuits occupy a more important position than in the rest of the Punjab, agricultural produce being largely supplemented by clarified butter, wool, hides, and barilla.

24. THE SALT RANGE TRACT.—There still remains to be described the north-western corner of the Punjab. Situated in the angle occupied by the Salt Range and separated from the rest of the Province by the upper Jhelum, it includes the Districts of Attock, Rawalpindi, and Jhelum. It presents in almost every respect the strongest possible contrast with the Punjab Proper, and indeed, as has already been remarked, can hardly be said to belong to India save by mere geographical position. The outer Himalayas, crossing the Jhelum, run up the eastern boundary of the Rawalpindi District and cut off the Murree and part of the Kahuta talisins. There they and the mid-Himalaya meet on the banks of the Indus in a confused mass of mountains. The curved ranges which connect the extremities of the mid-Himalayas with the Sated Koh by the Salt Range which, starting from opposite the point where the mid-Himalayas abut upon the Jhelum, runs along the right bank of the river through the south of the Jhelum and the north of the Shâhpur District, crosses the Indus in the north of Mianwâli, and turning down the right bank of the Indus through the latter District, enters the North-West Frontier Province and follows the boundary between Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan till it joins the Sulaimâns. Rising abruptly from the river and the great desert which lie to the south of it, the Salt Range of Jhelum and Shâhpur falls away imperceptibly to the north into a great table-land enclosed by the range itself, the Hazâra hills, and the river Indus, crossed in every direction by chains of low hills, and cut up by the streams which issue from them into innumerable ravines. It is this table-land which constitutes the Districts of Jhelum and Rawalpindi.
PART II.—HISTORICAL NOTES.

No attempt will be made in this compilation to give a history of the Punjab in the ordinary sense of that term, but the following notes are intended to sum up from the imperfect and fragmentary data at present available, all that is known of the ancient political and ethnic conditions of the Punjab and North-West Frontier:

PRE-HISTORY.

In the domain of pre-history nothing has been done for the Punjab and probably very little will ever be found possible of achievement. Its plains were formed of vast alluvial deposits which must have concealed all pre-historic remains beyond hope of recovery, save by some lucky accident, and the physical features of the hills are rarely favourable to their preservation.

The Stone Age has left its traces in India, but palaeolithic relics are mostly localised in the South, while the neolithic artifacts are much more widely spread. The distribution of the latter is naturally influenced by the prevalence of rocks suitable for their manufacture. Neolithic implements are found over the greater part of Southern India, but instances of their occurrence in the Punjab, Rajputana, and Sind, except at Rohri, are rare. Some finds of pre-historic pottery in Balochistan are tentatively considered to be neolithic.

The first use of iron in Northern India must be carried back to a very remote antiquity. The literary evidence indicates its introduction into the North-West subsequently to the composition of the Rg Veda but before the Atharva Veda was written and the latter work is not later than 1000 B.C. Before that date copper occupied the place of iron. All the Indian implements discovered are certainly of extreme antiquity and must be dated back to before 1000 B.C.

At two sites in Balochistan implements of practically pure copper have been found. At Mathura, east of the Jamna, Cunningham excavated a flat copper celt and copper harpoon heads are said to have been frequently found in its vicinity. At Kohistan Hill and Tank, probably not very far from Gwadar, in Western Balochistan, copper arrow heads have been discovered. These and other finds in Northern India carry the range of copper implements all over that area from the Hugi on the east to the Indus on the west, and from the foot of the Himalayas to the Cawnpore district, but no specimens from the Punjab have been recorded.

Thus India as a whole had no Bronze Age. In Southern India the neolithic period passed directly into that of iron, but in Northern India a Copper Age intervened between the neolithic period and the Iron Age. The South was severed from all intercourse with the North, and in 700 B.C. Panini, who was born at Salatera, (Lahor) in the Peshawar valley, knew nothing of the South, but about that time the intrusive northern races began to penetrate the broad and nearly impassable barrier of forest which then covered the natural defences of the Vindhyas and their associated races.

1 This is also Canon Gunnewell’s conclusion; see Vincent Smith, The Copper Age and Prehistoric Bronze Implements of India, Ind. Ant., 1901, p. 59.
The Iranian dominion.

The Dravidian element.

Is there any Dravidian element in Northern India? The problem is a difficult one. A Dravidian speech survives among the Brāhū of Balochistān, but none is traceable in the Punjab. The question not only remains insoluble but raises further and larger questions. Steen Konow has detected some resemblances between Dravidian and the remains of the Etruscan language, but Prof. Jules Martha, the latest writer on this subject, says nothing of this theory and regards Etruscan as a branch of the Finno-Ugrian group of languages.

The antiquity of the Vedic culture.

Scholars are divided in opinion as to the probable date of the rise or introduction of the Vedic culture into India, and the Aryan invasions may date back to a period as remote as 3000 B.C., or even earlier; but it is certain that the 15th century B.C. saw chiefs in northern Mesopotamia bearing Aryan names or worshipping Vedic deities, and this fact lends some support to Kennedy's view that the Aryan conquest of the Punjab can scarcely have taken place before 1700 B.C. and may well have been a century or two later. Steen Konow accepts this view and points out that it is consistent with the linguistic evidence.

The Iranian Dominion.

As we shall see presently the great Persian empire which was overthrown by Alexander the Great had established its power on the confines of the Western Punjab and deputed a Greek to explore or survey the Indus. These facts point to a strong Iranian influence over India centuries after the pre-historic Aryan invasions, and Farishta's History of the Muhammadans in India preserves many traditional details of the Iranian dominion over the North-West Frontier of India and the Punjab and the present writer wishes to invite special attention to his Chapter on the Hindoos. What Farishta tells us has not received the attention it deserves. He is a careful historian and his statements appear to be founded on authorities, lost to us, but trustworthy, and to be handled by him in a critical spirit. For instance he is quite sound in his account of the origin of the Rājpūts. As he says the Brahman and Kshatriya existed from time immemorial; but the Rājpūts are only known since the beginning of the Kaliyuga. They attained power after Vikramajit's demise, something more than 1800 years ago (when he wrote) and he derives their origin from the children of vīda by female slaves, the sons of Rājā Sūraj being the first to bear the title of Rājpūt.

The history of Rājā Sūraj is closely connected by him with that of Persia. He makes Krishna, elected king by the people of Beba, contemporary with Tahmuras of Persia. Krishna's eldest son Mahrājā

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3 Pt. iiii of Beige's Translation.
4 Farishta is careful to point out that this is not the Krishna of Mathra.
5 Apparently the Telamans, called the Dea-band or Magician-hunter, of Malcolm's History of Perusa, i, p. 14. He ruled Persia for 30 years and was succeeded by the famous Jamsah, who fell before Zuluk.
succeeded him and divided the people of India into tribes (7 castes). He named the [Rājput] tribes Rāntor, Chanbān, Punwar, Bais, etc. after the chiefs of each. He kept up a friendly intercourse with Persia, but his nephew Dongur Sain sought refuge with Faridūn of Persia and the latter king despatched a force under his son Kūrshāp to invade the Punjab, and Mahārāja was compelled to cede a part of his kingdom—doubtless a part or the whole of the Punjab—to Dongur Sain. Passing by the interesting statement that the islands of Acheem, Malacca, Pegu and the Malabar coast broke away from his empire, Farishta tells us that it was simultaneously threatened by an attack on its north-west frontier and that Mahārāja was compelled to send his lieutenant Māl Chand of Mālva to defend the Punjab but was obliged to cede it to Persia. Some writers, adds Farishta, say that Faridūn even possessed the Punjab and that the descendants of his son Kūrshāp held it together with Kābul, Tibet, Sind and Nimroz down to the time of Rāstūm, i.e., for four generations.

Farishta’s account may have to be supplemented from the Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī. When Faridūn had deposed the soner Zuhāk he despatched an army to dispossess Bustām who held the dominion of Hindustān at the hand of Zuhāk whose descendant he was, and Bustām retreated into Shignān and Bāmidān and eventually devoted his energies to the colonization of the mountains of Ghor. He made peace with Faridūn and the Arab tribes akin to Zuhāk took up their abode in those mountainous tracts, and from him Muhammad of Ghor claimed descent.

Mahārāja, after a reign of 700 years, was succeeded by Kesu Rāj who invoked the aid of Manūkehahr against the Rājās of southern India. Sām, son of Narimān, was sent to his assistance and they joined forces at Jālandhar in the Punjab. The allies compelled the recalcitrant rulers to pay homage to Kesu Rāj. Manur Rāj, son of Kesu Rāj, succeeded him in Oudh, but he forgot his debt to Persia and when the

1 Farishta distinctly speaks of Gursāhp as the son of Faridūn. But—

Jaimāhī <br> Ahra <br> Gursāhp <br> Narimān <br> Sām <br> Zāl <br> Rastān.

are the pedigrees given in Malcolm, pp. 24 and 21. The Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī gives the sons of Faridūn as Halīk and says that Irāq held Irāq with Hind and Sind, while the Basmat-ul-Tahārin says he held Khurasān with only a portion of Hind and Sind. P. N., I, p. 309.

1 Farishta expressly says that it derives its name from Māl Chand. It appears to be the Māla of Central India, not the tract in the Punjab.

1 Hereditary prince of Steisān, according to Malcolm, p. 24.
Turk, Afrasiab, king of Turân, invaded that kingdom, he wrested the Punjab from Žāl, the son of Sām, and made Jālandhar his capital. He acknowledged fealty to Afrasiab and it remained in his possession till Kâlkobâd deposed Rûstâm, son of Žâl, to reconquer it. Rûstâm expelled Manûr Râj and placed Sàraj, a Hindu chief, on the throne. He gave his sister's daughter to Rûstâm, and died after a reign of 250 years! Of his 35 sons Bhai Râjâ, the eldest, succeeded, and some say that he invested his brothers with the title of Rûptât. But he abandoned the regulations established by Mahrâja and incurred the enmity of Kidâr, a Brahman of the Siwâlik mountains. Here Farishta or his translator must be alluding to the Siwâlik kingdom—Sapuâlaksha. Kidâr defeated him and took his kingdom, but had to pay tribute to his contemporaries Kai-Kaûs and Kai-Khûsrau.

Farishta's account now becomes confused. Afrasiab re-appears on the scene. He confesses the government of India on Rohat, son of Sankal Râjâ of Lakhnauti or Gaur in Bengâl, but Rohat dying without issue Mahrâja II, a Kachhâhâ Rûptât of Mârâwâr, places himself on the throne and his nephew Kidâr wrests the Punjab from Rûstâm's descendants. He lived for some time in Behera (?Bhore), but built the fortress of Jammu where he left Durga, the Bâhlâ, one of his kinsmen, in charge, but Durga allied himself with the Khokars and Chaubeas, "the ancient Zamindârs of the Punjab," and with the hill people between Kâbul and Kandhâr and expelled Kidâr Râjâ from the Punjab.

1 Žâl-umâr—Žâl of the golden hair—held the city of Zâbul, which gave its name to Zâbulistân. It was also called the city of Zhulik, and Vigne—(Okdani, Kâbul and Afghanistân, p. 109)—described its position thus:—"On the continuation of the even-topped ridge of the Sar-i-Koh [which Raverty—Notes on Afghanistân, p. 607—says is the seat of the great range of Mâhir Salâma, bounding the Ghazni state on the east] are to be seen, as I was informed, the ruins of a large city, called Zulâka, after the king who reigned there before the time of the Mussulmen. The ruins of Zâbul appear to lie in the Mâhilâ–Kûrân according to Raverty (op. cit., p. 455). For a note on Zâbulistân see the Appendix to this Part.

8 Son of Kâlkobâd.

9 Sankal Râjâ, according to Farishta, founded Lakhnauti in Bengâl, after wanton Kidâr's throne. He maintained a vast army and refused to pay tribute to Afrasiab, and Piran-Wiwa, the son of Afrasiab, was sent against him with 50,000 Turkí horses, but compelled to retreat. Afrasiab however joined him with 100,000 horses and carried off Sankal Râjâ to Turân, where he was eventually killed in action by Rûstâm. Malcom is completely silent as to this episode. Possibly this is the Shânkal "King of Sindh," who supplied Bahram Gor with 12,000 or 10,000 swift-riding ministrals from his kingdom. They became the ancestors of the present Dûri or Dûli, the mainstay gypsy tribe, of modern Persia; A. C. Woolmer in Punjâb Historical Society's Journal, II, p. 150. Local tradition in Sahirápur preserves the name of a 'Muhammadan tyrant,' named Aftârak, who burnt down the sacred grave in Kankhal near Hardwar: Calcutta Review, 1874, p. 194.

** Which tribe has inhabited that country ever since," adds Farishta.

10 Farishta says Gaklûs, but he always confuses them with the Khokars and the latter must be meant.

11 The name Chaubea is extremely puzzling. Conjecturally it is misreading of Joly's but this is very uncertain. We find Choubin as a Farsâr name (Malcolm I, p. 51, note). But Bahram who took possession of the Persian throne in 587 A. D.—at a much later period—was also called Chaubin, or the "stick-like," probably from his appearance; (ibid) p. 152, note 2).
These tribes, hitherto separate, now formed a single powerful state and Farishta imagined them to be those now called Afghans, though he quotes no authority for his theory. After Kidar's death Jai Chand usurped the throne. He was contemporaneous with Bahman and Darab. Daha, his brother, usurped the throne and founded Dehli. He was however attacked by Phur, a Raja of Kumaun, and taken prisoner. Phur refused to pay the Persian tribute and opposed the invasion of Alexander, according to the Brahminal and other historians. After Phur's death Sansar Chand (Chanda Gupta) made himself master of India, but sent tribute to Gudarz, king of Persia, until Juna, nephew of Phur, regained the throne. He was a contemporary of Ardashir Babeghan, who invaded India but was induced by Juna's presents of gold and elephants to stay his advance on the frontier. Juna reigned at Kanauj and was succeeded by his son Kaliar Chand.

Farishta now turns to the history of Malwa. He makes Vikramatjii Punvar also a contemporary of Ardashir Babeghan, but notes that others make him contemporary with Shapur. He lost his life in a battle with Shalivahana, a Raja of the Deccan, and from his death the Hindus date one of their eras.

Malwa then fell to Raja Bhoj, also a Punvar, while one Vasdeo (Vasudeva) seized the province of Kanauj. During his reign Fairangor, king of Persia, visited Kanauj in disguise, but was recognised by the Indian ambassador who had carried tribute to Persia, and so Vasudeva seated Fairangor on his throne, gave him his daughter in marriage and escorted him back to Persia. Vasudeva left 33 sons, but his throne was usurped by Ramdeo Rahtor, who expelled the Kachwahas from Marwar and established the Rahtors in that province. He also extorted tribute from the rajahs of Siwilk, after subduing the Raja of Kumaun, and plundered Nagarkot. Thence he marched on Jammu, and though its Raja opposed him in the woods he was eventually defeated. The fort of Jammu fell and Ramdeo secured a daughter of the Raja for one of his sons.

Ramdeo, says Farishta, was contemporary with the Sassanian Firoz, and to him and his son Kaikobad tribute was paid by India. After

1 Uncle of his infant son and so doubtless Jai Chand's brother.
3 Gudarz is the only one of the Askanian kings mentioned by Farishta, p. 67, and he must have reigned long after Chanda Gupta's time. There were possibly two kings of this name, Bahrman Gunthar the third of the Arsakides, who reigned after Christ, and Gudarz, son of Pulkas. Malcolm, op. cit., pp. 85-87.
4 Arsaces, the Sassanian, 226-240 A. D., p. 93.
5 Ardashir II (acc. 391 A. D.) has clearly been confused here with Ardashir Babeghan.
6 Shapur III, acc. 388 A. D., Malcolm, p. 112.
7 Bahram V, acc. 421 A. D.
8 This tale is also noticed by Malcolm, op. cit. L, p. 118.
9 Ramdeo then reached Shyorkot Pind, situated at a small distance on the top of the neighbouring hill at Nagarkot. There he summoned the Raja to meet him at the temple of Durga, which goddess he reverence. The Raja bestowed a daughter on one of Ramdeo's one—in acknowledgment no doubt of his suzerainty.
10 Acc. 428 A. D.
11 Acc. 438 A. D.
Ramdeo's death civil war again ensued, and his general, Partab Chand, a Sisodia, seized the throne. He refused the Persian tribute and Naujirwan's ambassador returned empty-handed, so Persian troops invaded Multan and the Punjab. Partab Chand submitted and paid the annual tribute thenceforth without demand. After his death each of his generals seized a province. Of these Anand Deo, a Bai Bajput, was the most powerful, but his power did not extend apparently over the Punjab. He lived in the era of Khusru Parvus and died after a reign of 16 years. At this time, says Parshita, a Hindu, named Maldeo, collected a force in the Doab and seized Delhi and Kanauj, but he left no son to succeed him and civil war ensued everywhere on his death. After him no single raja ruled over India, and Mahmud of Ghazni found it divided thus:

Kanauj, held by Kukar Rai.
Mirath, held by Harat Rai.
Malavans, held by Gulchaund Rai.
Lahore, held by Jaipal, son of Hatpal.

In 1079 Ibrahim bin Mas'ud I Ghaznavi, having extended his conquests to Ajodhan (now Pak Patan) returned to Rudpal—a fort on the summit of a steep hill. Thence he marched to Dera, whose inhabitants had originally come from Khorassan, having been banished thence for frequent rebellions. They had formed themselves into a small independent state, and cut off by nearly impassable mountains from intercourse with their neighbours, had preserved their ancient customs and rites, by not intermarrying with any other people. Dera was well fortified and remarkable for a fine fort about a parasang, and a half in circumference. The Muhammadans took it, and carried off 100,000 persons into captivity.

This closes Parshita's account, but in this connection Mr. Vincent Smith may be quoted. After the decay of the Kushan power, as he points out, coins of Vasudeva continued to be struck long after he had passed away, and ultimately present the royal figure clad in the garb of Persia and manifestly imitated from the effigy of Sapor (Shahpur I), the Sasanian monarch who ruled Persia from 283 to 289 A.D. Bahram (Varahran) II is also known to have conducted a campaign in Sistin between 377 and 394; and two great paramount dynasties, the Kushan in Northern India and the Andhra in the Deccan tableland, disappear together almost at the moment when the Arsacid dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sasanian. It is impossible to avoid hazarding the conjecture that the three events were in some way connected, and that the Persianizing of the Kushan coinage of Northern India should be
explained by the occurrence of an unrecorded Persian invasion. But Fariabta appears to preserve the records of the revival of Persian influence during the period which elapsed between the overthrow of the Kushan power and the Muhammadan inroads.

The theory of the predominance of the Iranian element in North-western India is confirmed by the thesis advanced by Sten Konow that in Bashgal, which may be taken as the type of the language of the Siihotk Kafirs of Northern Kafiristan, we have a dialect derived from an ancient Iranian dialect which had retained the Aryan * and not changed it to $. We also know of the existence of such a language, spoken by tribes who in the 14th century B.C., worshipped gods such as Mitra, Varuna, Indra and the Nāsatyas.

The latest view is that the Kambojas were an Iranian tribe. Both Brahmanic and Buddhist literature refers to their fine breed of horses. The Nepalese tradition may be due to the fact that the early Tibetan mode (or one of the Tibetan modes) of disposing of the dead was similar to the Iranian, but exposure of the dead to be devoured by birds is a fairly widespread practice and does not prove identity of race in those who practise it. The Kambojas seem to have esteemed it a sacred duty to destroy noxious or Ahramanie creatures, as did the Iranians, but such a belief would not be proof of racial identity. The Iranian affinities of the Kamboja are however accepted by Kuhn, G. K. Nariman and Zimmer.

But however strong may have been the Iranian element in the population of the Hindu Kush and on the north-western frontier many indications show that it was not advanced in civilisation. The tribes which occupied the modern Kafiristan, Gilgit and Chitril were called Pisachia or ‘eaters of raw flesh,’ and traditions of ritual cannibalism still survive among the Shins of Gilgit, the Wai and Bashgal Kafirs and in Dardistan. Indeed the Dards of Gilgit had a reputation among the Kashmiris for cannibalism as late as 1806. It must, however, be pointed out that very similar legends of ritual cannibalism are very common all the world over and that cannibalism was supposed to exist in Muzaffargarh as late as 1850. The Romas or shaggy and the Singi-nars or horned men are mentioned in the Mahabharata as if they occupied the same seats as the Madrakus and Pahlavas, and if so they must have been settled in the plains or at least in the sub-montane.

On the other hand the Iranian element may have been a highly civilising influence, bringing Zoroastrian ideas into the Punjab plains and the hills on their western frontier, but unable to penetrate the Indus Kohistan and Hindu Kush to their north. In the present state of our knowledge the evidence is accumulating but it is at present fragmentary and conflicting. The question of Zoroastrian influences on Indian religions and religious art is now being raised for the first time and is noticed briefly below.

1 Early History of India, pp. 254-5. See the countries which appear on Vasudera’s coins, see in Appendix to this Part.
2 J. R. A. S., 1911, pp. 1 and 46.
3 See J. R. A. S., 1911, pp. 355-7, and references there given.
4 J. R. A. S., 1906, pp. 354-5. Greswol says that a connexion between Pisachia and the Pashtu Kafir is phonetically possible, but Pasht is not the name of a sect. It is the name of a valley.
The Punjab in Buddhist Times.

Summary.

It is now necessary to hark back and discuss the condition of the Punjab prior to and after the episode of Alexander’s invasion.

Of the sixteen States of Northern India enumerated in the most ancient literary traditions¹ at least four and possibly five lay, in whole or in part, within the modern Punjab or on its frontiers. These were—

(i) Gandhāra,² which included the modern Districts of Peshāwar, Attock and Rawalpindi. It appears to have derived its name from the Gandhāra tribe which is mentioned as holding the Yavanas the Kābul valley and the regions still further west. The Persian satrapy of Gandara was distinct from those of India, Arachosia (Kandahar) and Aria (Herāt). It comprised the North-Western Punjab. Its capital was at one time Takahāsil, but at others Prabhkalavatī.

(ii) Kamboja, which adjoined Gandhāra, and lay in the extreme north-west, with Dwāraka as its capital.³ Mr. Vincent Smith however points out that Kambojadessa is the name applied in Nepalese tradition to Tibet.⁴ Dwāraka may be the Dārva of Dārśabhisara, i.e. Dārva and Abhisarā, the whole tract of the lower and middle hills between the Jhelum and the Chenab, including the modern Rajauri. But this would make Kamboja too far to the east to be in agreement with Rhys Davids’ view.

(iii) Kurū, held by the Kurus, with its capital at Indrapramtha close to Delhi.

(iv) South of the Kurus and west of the Jumna lay the Matsya or Maccnas, possibly represented by the modern Meos of the Mevāt.

(v) The Surasena, whose capital Madhura (doubtless Mathura) was in the Jumna valley and who thus lay immediately north-west of the Maccnas and west of the Jumna.

In addition to the great cities mentioned above we find Sāgala, probably the modern Sālikot, described as the capital of the Maccnas.

Professor Rhys Davids has called attention to the fact that the earliest Buddhist records reveal the existence, side by side with more or less powerful monarchies, of small aristocratic republics, with either complete or modified independence, in the 6th and 7th centuries B.C. When Buddhism arose there was no paramount sovereign in India, but four great monarchies existed in north-east India. None of these however included, or even adjoined, the Punjab, and the countries held by

¹E.g. the Arthasastra, and Vayuana Texts.—See Buddhist India, p. 233.
²Nāl Kundahar (in Professor Rhys Davids thinks), op. cit., p. 28.—See Vincent Smith, Early History of India, pp. 33, 35, 25 and 27; also pp. 297 and 300. The kingdom of Gandhāra was overwhelmed by the Huns in 350 A.D. and regained by Mihirāntra, the Huns, from its ruler, perhaps himself a Huns, about 553.
³Op. cit., p. 29.—See also the map at the end of that work. Cf. also Vincent Smith, op. cit., p. 55.
⁵Clearly not south-west as in Buddhist India, p. 27.
the Kurus, Matsyas and Sarasasakas did not apparently form kingdoms, but were doubtless rather tribal confederacies, loosely organised and with ever-changing boundaries, like the Mewat or Bhittiana of more recent times. At the time of Alexander’s invasion these conditions had undergone little change, though the tendency to form kingdoms had become more marked. The Macedonian invaders found the Indus the boundary between India and the Persian empire.

Somewhat later Persian influence began to make itself felt in the north-west frontiers of India, and in 516 B.C. Skylax, a Carian Greek, explored the Indus under Darius’ orders. Sailing from Kasparyros, a city of the Gandharis, in the Pakisthghē (the land of the Paktyes) he made his way down that river to the ocean, and his surveys enabled Darius to annex the Indus valley. The Persians formed the conquered territory into an Indian satrapy, which extended from Kālībāgh to the sea, and perhaps included territories on the east bank of the Indus. It certainly excluded Gandhara and Arachosia (Kandahār).

Elsewhere, in the territories not included in the Indian satrapy, the conditions described above had undergone little change, though the tendency to crystallise into organised monarchies had become decidedly more marked in the northern or submontane tracts of the Punjab. Peukulaotis (Peshkalavatī, the capital of Gandhāra), the capital of a tract (also so called after it), which corresponds to the present Yūsufzai country, was overrun by Alexander’s generals, who were accompanied by Omphis ‘Taxiles,’ the king or feudatory chief of ‘Taxila.’ Alexander himself advanced from near Jalālābād into Bājaur by the Kūnār valley. In Bājaur he encountered the powerful Aspasians, and took Nysa, a town and hill-state which probably lay on the lower spurs of the Koh-i-Mor. Thence he crossed the Gourais (Panjkor) and attacked Massaga, perhaps Manglaur, the old capital of Swat, in Assakenian territory. This was followed by the capture of Aornos.’

Although no part of these Provinces has, as far as can be learnt from historical records, undergone less change than the hill tracts to the north of Peshāwar, the conqueror of Alexander’s conquests remains. The tribes mentioned in the histories of his invasion have disappeared, and the cities he captured cannot, in any one case, be identified with any certainty. Yet the social system remains much the same—a loose congeries of tribes under nominal chiefs who are known by territorial names.

Crossing the Indus, probably at or near Und or Ohind, Alexander advanced to Taxila, whose ruler was then at war with Abisares, the ruler of Dārva and Abhisara, the whole tract of the lower and middle hills, lying between the Jhelum and the Chenab, and which included Rajauri.

1 Or Kasvpa (possibly Kasvapura (Maltin), which was, we must conjecture, a dependency of Gandhāra.

2 Just as Ambā (Omphis) assumed the title of Taxiles on his accession to the throne of Taxila, so Abises, the ruler of Urasa, would appear to have taken his name from his realm and the Paktiān chiefs of the present day in Dir and Swat have a precisely similar system. In each of the same way tribes like the Kashmir and Dogra derive their names from the territories which they occupy or in which they are dominant.

Abisares indeed sent convoys to Alexander, but he was in secret league with Poros, the Paurava, who ruled between the Jhelum and the Chenab. After defeating his forces in a great battle probably on the Karri plain, just above Jhelum, Alexander crossed the Chenab to attack another Poros, nephew of the former and ruler of Gandarises, which may have corresponded to the modern Goundal Bar. Poros was not however absolute ruler of this tract for it was partly held by independent tribes, and adjacent to it lay the Ghausai or Glaukanikoi.

Similarly on the east bank of the Ravi lay the Kathaioi, and still further east, on the Beas, the Oxydrakai (Kshudrakai), while to their south-west, along the lower course of the Ravi below Lahore were the warlike Malloi. These tribes formed a loosely knit confederacy, but the Kathaioi were attacked before the Malloi could reinforce them, and while only supported by the minor clans in their immediate neighbourhood. Thus Alexander was able, after crossing the Ravi and receiving the surrender of Pimprama from the Adraiskai, to invest Sangala into which the Kathaioi had thrown themselves. After its fall Alexander advanced to the Beas which he probably reached just below its southward bend below Pathankot. Indeed if speculation be admissible we may conjecture that Pimprama was Pathain and that the Kathaioi are represented by the Katoch. However this may be, Alexander appointed Poros king of all the conquered territories between the Beas and the Ravi, then occupied by the Ghausai, Kathaioi and 5 other nations, and comprising no less than 2000 townships. Taxiles was confirmed in his sovereignty, formerly somewhat shadowy, over all territory between the Jhelum and the Indus. Lastly, he made Abisares satrap of Bhimbar and Rajauri, together with the overlordship of Urukai.

On his return march Alexander reached the Jhelum, having first secured control of the southern part of the Salt Range which formed the kingdom of Sophytes (Saubhuti). Near the confluence of the Chenab and Beas, then probably close to Jhang, Alexander landed troops from his pterilla to forestall an attempt by the Siboi and Agalassoi to join the Malloi, who lay lower down the river. The Siboi, a rude tribe clad in skins and armed with clubs, submitted, but the Agalassoi mustered 40,000 foot and 3000 horses to resist the invader and were apparently exterminated. Both their principal towns were taken, but the capture of the second cost the Macedonians many lives. It is clear from this account that the tract round Jhang was then highly fertile and densely populated, partly by a backward race (the Siboi), partly by a well-organised nation, the Agalassoi, which possessed fortified towns. The citadel of their second town escaped destruction, and was garrisoned by a detachment from the Macedonian army.

The Malloi still remained unconquered. It appears certain that they held an extensive and fertile tract, along both banks of the lower Ravi, and that they were in ordinary times at feud with the Oxydrakai.

1 The guess that Poros might be Paurava, says Mr. Vincent Smith, "is not very convincing," op. cit., p. 56. In the Satavahana chronicles the name appears as Pa-thai. The Kathaioi have been identified with the modern Kathias, who settled in the Montgomery district about 11 generations ago from Kathiwara. The Kathias never had any settlements east of the Ravi according to their own traditions.—See Montgomery Gazetteer, 1899, pp. 82-3.
But in this emergency the two tribes formed an alliance, cemented by a wholesale exchange of brides, and endeavoured to combine against the invaders. But Alexander acted too promptly to allow their forces, which united would have formed an army of 100,000 men, including 10,000 horses, with 700 or 900 chariots, to collect. Crossing the Bár, even at that period a waterless steppe, between the Chenáb and Rávi, he surprised the Maltai in their fields. Those who escaped were shut up in the fortified towns, one of which, with a citadel situated on a commanding height, was stormed and 2000 of its garrison slain. Pushing on Alexander caught up the flying Maltai at a ford across the Rávi, and inflicted further severe loss upon them; and, crossing the river into the Montgomery district, he took a Brahman stronghold, perhaps Shorkot, the ancient Shor.1

The Maltai too had still another stronghold in a small town 80 or 90 miles north-east of Multán. This offered a desperate resistance. Alexander was wounded in the assault; in revenge all its inhabitants were massacred. At the confluence of the rivers - with the Indus, or possibly at their confluence with the Hakr, Alexander founded a city. In its neighbourhood lay the independent tribes styled Abastanoi, Xthrí (Oxothri, 2 Kshatriya) and Osaddi by Arrian. Curtius, however, says that Alexander came to a second nation called Mallj and then to the Sabarca,2 a powerful democratic tribe without a king, who numbered 60,000 warriors with 500 chariots. Further south the extremity of the modern State of Baháwalpur lay within the dominions of Mousikanes.

Thus the political conditions in the Punjab were, as we shall always find them, strongly marked and deeply contrasted. In the Punjab proper ruled dominant tribal democracies,3 the tribes or tribal confederacies of the Maltai, Oxydrakai, Kathaioi, the precursors of the Sikh commonwealth; while the hills which en circled them were held by petty chiefs, Saubhāsi, Ambhi of Taxila, Abissar, Arzakes and the two chief towns or kinglets designated Pora. Sind then, as often later, formed a kingdom or group of principalities.

Of the states in the north-west Punjab few were of any great extent. The dominions of the elder Poras between the Jhelum and Chenáb only comprised 500 townships,4 whereas the country from the former

1 Shor was identified by Cunningham with Alexandria Soriana, but Dr. Vogel has shown that its ancient name was Shhipura. Shabi was a tribal name, often mentioned in Sanskrit literature, and Chinese Buddhist tradition places a Shhibi-raj in the Upper Swat valley.—Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, I, p. 174.

2 Distorns calls those Sambar, and adds that the Muslim and Massanat occupied both banks of the river. (I Indus).

3 The Kathaians were not ruled by kings like the tribes which lay nearer the Indus (in the Salt Ranges and other hills), but were autonomous, each of the communities into which they were divided being self-governed.4 McNeill's Ancient India, p. 37, n., in which the words in Italics are apparently the author's own dedication. No authority is cited, and it is not based on Arrian, who speaks of the Kathaians and other tribes of independent Indians, which does not necessarily imply that the Kathaians were autonomous at all. Strabo indeed expressly says that they allowed no king, the best-conditioned man, probably meaning that no one physically deformed could succeed to the kingship. But in any event, the rule of a king would be quite consistent with the existence of autonomous village communities.

Ancient India, p. 35, § 39 (Strabo).
The conditions under the Mauryans.

The conditions under the Mauryans.

river to the Beas was held by no less than nine nations with 5000 township, though the latter number may be exaggerated.

The state of civilisation then existing in the Punjab is described with some detail in the Greek histories.

Under the Mauryan dynasty the Punjab became a mere province of the empire, and with Kashmir, Sind and the territories west of the Indus formed a viceroyalty governed from Taxila. Yet few traces of the Buddhist code imposed on its people remain. Again from the time of Demetrios (100 B.C.) to the overthrow of Hermias (c. 56 A.D.)—a period of two centuries and a half the Punjab was dominated by Greek or Graeco-Bactrian influences which have left still fewer traces, although it was signalised by the reign of Menander (Milinda in Prakrit), the king whose brilliant capital was at Sāgala (Sīalkot) and who was converted to Buddhism. Sāgala lay in Madharattha, the country of the Madhas, the Madras or Madrakas of Sanskrit literature. With the Madras and the people of Sāgala, the Kshudrakas and Mālavas were all included in the general term Bāhaika, and the inhabitants of Sāgala itself formed a class of the Bāhika called Jārtika. The Graeco-Buddhist civilisation was destroyed by the Parthians, and they in turn fell before the Indo-Scythian dynasty, whose greatest ruler, Kanishka, also became a convert to Buddhism. But the Buddhism of his time was that of the Mahayana or Great Vehicle, largely of foreign origin and developed as the result of the complex interaction of Indian, Zoroastrian, Christian, Gnostic and Hellenic elements, chiefly made possible by the unification of the Roman world under the earlier emperors. The centre of the Indo-Scythian power lay in Gandhāra and Kashmir, and Kanishka's capital was Purashapura (Peshāvar), but his great Buddhist council sat at the Kūta monastery at Jālandhar, and in Kashmir. Sir John Marshall is now in possession of proof that Kozoulo-Kadphis I was reigning in 79 A.D. so that Kanishka was reigning in the 2nd century of our era. This should settle the controversy regarding Kanishka's dates.

From Kanishka's time date the Gandhāra sculptures, many of whose characteristic features are due to the cosmopolitan Graeco-Roman influence.

1 Anc. India, pp. 9 and 91, but in the Invasion of India, p. 112, the number is given as 500—clearly an error, for Stadium twice says 5000.
2 Dr. D. B. Spooner regards Maurya as equivalent to Meruvan and observes that the founder of the dynasty, Chandragupta, was certainly not a Buddhist; J. R. A. S., 1915, pp. 414 and 415.
3 References to the Bāhaika, Bāhika or Vahika are frequent in Sanskrit literature, but it is difficult to locate them with precision. Cunningham (A. S. R., I, p. 188) placed the Bāhika country, which was named after Bāhi and Bika, two demons of the Beas river, in the Jālandhar Dalh, while Lassen, on the authority of the Tīrākā Saheb, says the Bāhika are the same as the people of Trigarta. Cunningham apparently followed the authority of the Mahākāra, but that term also describes the Madras as well as called Bāhika and Jārtika, 21, V, p. 15. They must not be confused with the Šahara or Pahlara as has been done by a writer in J. R. A. S., 1917, p. 258. It is tempting to suggest that they are represented by the modern Bikan of Sīalkot.
4 Or Northern School, which, still prevails in Japan, China and Tibet, in Spiti and in very impure form, in Lahaul and Kangwār.
5 Vincent Smith, op. cit., p. 98.
6 Early History of India, p. 234: it probably sat at Jālandhar in the cold weather and in Kashmir in the hot season (cf. p. 229 for the treatment of the Chinese hostages).
The kingdom of Thanesar.

The Kushán power in the rest of India undoubtedly decayed under Vásudeva, whose name shows how thoroughly Indianised the invaders had become; but in the Punjab and Kábul they held their own until they were overthrown in the 5th century by the Ephthalites or White Huns. But about the middle of the 3rd century the Kushán coinage became Persianised, and possibly this is to be ascribed to the unrecorded Persian invasion, discussed above, pp. 24-5.

During the Gupta ascendancy, the Punjab, with Eastern Rájputána and Málwa, was for the most part in the possession of tribal democracies, or confederacies, which had subsisted through all the dynastic changes and invasions of the preceding centuries. The Madrakas still held the Central Punjab, but a new tribe, the Yaulhayas (Joiyas), now appear as occupying both banks of the Sutlej, while the Abhiras with the Málwas held part of Eastern Rájputána. The Kushánas, eventually confined to Gandhára and Kábul, maintained diplomatic relations with Sámadragupta, but neither their territories, nor the Punjab as a whole, was much influenced by the Hindu renaissance of the Gupta period.

The White Huns assailed the kingdom of Kábul and thence poured into India in 455-458 A.D. Ten years later they overwhelmed Gandhára under the leadership of Toramána, whose son Mihirakula made Ságala (Sialkot) his capital. His reign was chiefly remarkable, as far as the Punjab is concerned, for his persecution of the Buddhists, and a great massacre of the people of Gandhára on the banks of the Indus, the king being a bigoted worshipper of Shiva, his patron deity. But he died soon after, in 540, and his kingdom did not long survive him, for in 556-7 the Turks and Persians overthrew the White Huns in the Oxus Valley, and thus destroyed the root of their power in India. For nearly 500 years India now enjoyed almost absolute immunity from invasion of her North-Western Frontier, but during this long opportunity she failed to create any organised State powerful enough to protect her when the tide of invasion once more flowed in upon her. Nothing is known of Punjab history in the latter half of the 6th century, but by 604 A.D. we find a powerful kingdom established at Thánásar (Sháhísvam) in the holy circuit of the Kurukshetra. Here, towards the end of the 6th century, Prabháhara-vardhana had raised himself to eminence by successful wars against the Hindu settlements of the North-West Punjab and the clans of Gurjara (Gujrát). His son Harsha, who reigned from 606 to 648, established a great kingdom over Northern India from the Himalaya to the Narmada, but its administration compares unfavourably with that of the Guptas. Violent crime was rare, but the pilgrim Huen Tsang was more than once robbed by brigands.

Imprisonment of the cruel Tibetan type was now the ordinary penalty, the prisoners being left to live or die, but mutilation was often inflicted for serious offences—such as filial impiety—though it was sometimes commuted into banishment. Ordeals were much in vogue. Nevertheless the civil administration was founded on benign principles. The rent of the crown lands, fixed in theory at 1/4th of the produce, was the

1 Kartirpur, a place which gave its name to a kingdom embracing Kumrau, Alamira, Garbwal and Kangra, is identified by F. G. B. with Kartárpur, but that town appears to owe its origin to the Sikhs. Hutchison mentions Brahmaputra as a more ancient kingdom comprising British Garbwal and Kumroo: Chanda Gazetteer, p. 69.
The connection with China.

principal source of revenue, taxes were light and compulsory labour was paid for. Moderate personal service was exacted and liberal provision made for religious communities. Officials were remunerated by grants of land. Education was widely diffused especially among the Brahmans and Buddhist monks, and records of public events were kept. Harsha's court was the centre of an accomplished literary circle, which included Bāna, the Brahman who composed the Harsha-charita, or 'Deeds of Harsha,' still extant. The religious position was however confused. In his latter days Harsha favoured the Buddhist doctrines, first in their Hinayāna, then in the Mahāyāna, form, but he also worshipped Siva and the Sun. Near Mālutā he also built a vast monastery of timber in which he entertained strange teachers, apparently Zoroastrians for a time; but finally he set fire to the structure in which 12,000 followers of the outlandish system, with all their books, perished. For a century this holocaust restricted the religion of the Persians and Sakas to very narrow limits. Such is the tradition preserved by Tānūth, but according to Huien Tsang about 644 Multān was a province where the Sun-god was held in special honour and formed, like Po-la-to which lay to its north-east, a dependency of Ta-thia, a kingdom which comprised the greater part of the country between the Indus and Beās, and had its capital close to Sāgala. Kashmīr, which was then the predominant power in the north, had reduced Taxila and Singhpura (the Salt Range), with the Uraus plain, Pānch and Rajāwar to the rank of feudatories.

The pilgrim returned, after a month's stay at Jālandhar, to Chima, penetrating the defiles of the Salt Range with difficulty, crossing the Indus, and following the route over the Pamirs and through Khotan in 646 A.D.

The connection of India with China at this period was indeed close. Harsha sent a Brahman envoy to the imperial court of China, and in return a mission was sent which only reached India after Harsha's death. To go back to the first half of the 6th century China had then lost Kāshgār, but in the 7th and 8th centuries she made great efforts to recover her lost ground, and in 661-65 she enjoyed unparalleled prestige. Kāpīsa, the country to the north of the Kābul river, was a province of the empire, and at its court were ambassadors from Udyāna (Swat) and all the countries from Persia to Korea. After some vicissitudes her activity revived in 713 against the Arabs, who had blocked the roads over the Hindu Kāsh, and the Tibetans. In 719 the Arabs sought alliances with the petty states on the Indian borderland, but the Chinese raised the chiefs of Udyāna, Khotāi (most of Badakhshān), Chitrāl, Yāsin, Zābulistān (Ghazān), Kapīsa and Kāshmīr to the rank of kings, in her attempts to form a bulwark of states against Arabs and Tibetans alike. In 651 however the Arabs, aided by the Karluk tribes, overthrew the Chinese and direct contact between the politics of India and China ceased for more than twelve centuries.

It is convenient now to consider what influences the almost incessant political changes of the foregoing centuries had brought to bear upon India, and what racial elements they had introduced. From the earliest period apart from the pre-historic Aryan invasions, the only Indo-European elements supplied by the invasions were Iranian and Greek, if the latter

1 See the appendix to this part.
term can be justly applied to the heterogeneous mass which is called
Greco-Bactrian.

**The Parthian influence.**

Closely connected with the migrations of the Sakas and allied
nomad tribes was the development of the Parthian or Persian
power under the Arsacid kings. Mithradates I (174 to 136 B. C.),
king of Bactria, had extended his power as far as the Indus and
possibly to the east of that river, and the Saka chiefs of Taxila
and Mathura took the title of satrap, presumably because they
had become feudatories of the Parthian monarchy. About 120 B. C.
Maues or Manes attained power in the Kabul valley and the Punjab.
The most famous of his successors was Gondophares, and the coins of
his nephew Abdagases are found in the Punjab only, but those of his
successor Orthagnes are more widely spread. The Indo-Parthian
princes were however expelled from the Punjab by the Yuezhi by the
end of the first century A. D. Towards the close of that century
Appollonius of Tyana visited Taxila and found it the capital of a
sovereign who ruled over what was of old the kingdom of Porus. He
bore the name of Phraotes, apparently a Parthian name, but was an
Indian king, who had been educated by Brahman and married the
daughter of a king beyond the Beas. Appollonius was the bearer of a letter
from the Parthian king Bardanes at Babylonia, and this he presented to the
satrap of the Indus at its crossing, and he, although no officer of the Parthian
king, supplied them with boats and a guide to the Ravi out of regard for him. It thus appears that the Parthian power did not then extend
even to the Indus at Attock. Appollonius’ object was to study the rites
and doctrines of the Scramans and Brahman; and he found many monuments of Alexander’s invasion and considerable traces of Greek influence. 4

The account of Appollonius’ visit to India does not come to us at
first hand, but it is confirmed indirectly by the fact that Hermiaios, the
last Greek ruler of Kabul and possibly other territories adjoining it, was
not overthrown by the Kushans till about 50 A. D., and even his downfall was gradual, for Kadphises I at first struck coins in their joint names, and then replaced the bust of Hermiaios by the effigy of the Roman
emperor Augustus, showing that he acknowledged a shadowy suzerainty
in Rome through his immediate overlord, the Parthian monarch,

**The Central Asian Inroads.**

While the earlier invaders of India appear to have been
Aryans, Iranian, or Greek, the first or second century B. C. brought
down upon India a torrent of Central Asian peoples which only

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1 It might be tempting to suggest some connection between Manes and the Maws of the Sintas hills if the former name did not appear as Moga.

2 Cf. Phraotes, a Parthian name.

3 *India and Rome*, by Frawley, pp. 11-12 etc.

4 The term Indo-Scehtian, which appears to the present writer wholly unjustifiable and misleading, appears to be due to the fact that, as Herodotus records, the Persians termed all Scythians nomads Saka. But the Saka originally held territory to the west of the Wu-shan horde, apparently situated between the Chu and the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) rivers to the north or south of the Alexander mountains. From those seats they were expelled by the Yuezhi. Moreover, as Dr. D. E. Stavely now points out, even Herodotus used the term Saka in more than one application and for long periods Saka denoted Indians, not Scythians at all. As Dr. Frawley has contended there were no Scythians in the north of India in early times and Shakyanami should be translated 'Iranian sage.'
ended with the Mughal invasions. The earliest of these invaders were the Sakas who overran the valley of the Helmund and gave their name to that country, so that it became known as Sakastan or Sistana after them, some time after 139 B.C. Other branches of the horde, penetrating the Indian passes, established satrapies at Taxila and Mathura, which were closely connected. Very little is known about the Saka civilization. They adopted, it would appear, the religion of the Persians, presumably Zoroastrianism, for according to Tarnâth, Harsha of Thanesar in the 7th century A.D. built the great monastery of timber near Maitân, but eventually set fire to it and burnt all its heretical denizens as already described. But as a ruling race the Sakas probably disappeared from the Punjab before the great Yueh-chi invasion under Kadphises I, who was chief of the Kushân section of that tribe. He probably conquered Kâbul about 60 A.D. and his successor, Kadphises II, finally extinguished the Indo-Parthian power in the Punjab and Indus valley.

Thus these nomads, who may have been a Mongolian or Turk stock or a mixed race known as the Yueh-chi, had established themselves in Kipin, probably north-eastern Afghanistan if not Kasmir, and in the Kâbul territory by 60 A.D., and the kingdom of Kadphises I doubtless included all modern Afghanistan and extended to the Indus. Between 50 and 160 A.D. the Yueh-chi dominion was extended all over north-western India, and the Kushân dynasty lasted till 225, a period of nearly two centuries. But the Turki Shahiyas of Kâbul were, or at least claimed to be, descended from Kanisha, the Kushân, so that the Turki element apparently held its own at Kâbul from A.D. 60 to c. 900.

As a race the Yueh-chi were not snub-nosed Mongols, but big men with pinkcomplexions and large noses, resembling in manners and customs the Hsiung-nu, a tribe of Turki nomads of the same stock. They came originally from the province of Kan-suh in north-western China and must have comprised, at the time of their defeat by the Hsiung-nu, about 500,000 or 1,000,000 souls with 100,000 to 200,000 bowmen. What were the numbers which accompanied Kadphises I and Kadphises II into the Punjab we have no means of knowing. All that is known is that their great successor, Kanisha, wielded a military power so vast that he was able to wrest Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan from China. He embraced the Buddhist faith and founded at Peshâwar, his capital, the Kanik-châtya which Alberuni alluded to as late as 1030 A.D. But though Kanisha was a Buddhist the coins of the Kushân continued to bear images of Zoroastrian deities, such as Mithra, the Sun-, Vata, the Wind-, and the War-gods. But other coins bore the names and figures of non-Iranian gods, and those of

1Mr Vincent Smith speaks of this as an Indo-Parthian dynasty and some of them bear Iranian names, e.g. Qushinas. But Mosse and Aalen believe to be Scythian names and Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar would regard them as Sakas, some of whom assumed Iranian names just as Greeks took Buddhism and even Hindu names: Ind. Ant., 1911, p. 10, e. 10.

2The Tibetan histories of Buddhism.

3P. 22 supra. See Early Hist. of India, p. 296. The text gives a very imperfect idea of the probable extent of Zoroastrian influences during this period. References can only be made to Dr. D. E. Soper's valuable paper on The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History in J.R.A.S., 1915, page 205 f.

4Early Hist. of India, p. 217. The Hsiung-nu were not Huns or Ephthalites.
Vásudeva are restricted in their types to the more or less barbarous representations of a few non-Zoroastrian deities. Almost all the coins of this Kushān, like those of Kārttikeya II, exhibit the figure of Śiva with the bull Nandi.

**Chinese and Tibetan Influences.**

As has already been shown China exercised at least for a time an important influence in the extreme north-west of India in the 7th and 8th centuries. When her power decayed that of the Tibetans increased and in 747 A. D. they (and not the Chinese, according to Waddell) invaded north-eastern India, but apparently did not extend their inroads to any part of the modern Punjab. The population of Western Tibet, says the Revd. A. H. Francke, is the result of a long process of blending of at least three stocks, two Aryan, viz. the Mons of North India and the Dards of Gilgit, and the third, and most numerous, Mongolian which is the Tibetan nation.

Of the Mons little is known as they were overlaid by the Dard migrations, except in Zangskar, even before the Central Tibetans overwhelmed them. In Zangskar all Indians, Kashmiris or Dogras are called Mons and Mr. Francke thinks that the ancient Mons were an Indian tribe, but it is not necessary to assume this. The &amp;#216;enay, the wild sheep and the wild yak had their feeding grounds much further to the west than they are now-a-days and though Tibetan nomads may have extended as far as Gilgit as far back as the time of Herodotus, it appears more probable that the Mons came not from India or the south but from the west and represent a stream of direct Aryan migration rather than one which had filtered through Kashmir from India. However this may be the Mons had some connection with pre-Lamaist Buddhism, as imposing remains of ancient Buddhist art are found among the ruins of their settlements in Zangskar and Ladakh.

Of the Dards a good deal more is known, but though their influence in Western Tibet must have been enormous they cannot have affected the population of the Punjab or more than very slightly that of the Indus Kohistān.

About S.-E. A. D. however Chamba was subdued by a race of foreigners called Kerās who were probably Tibetans, while Kulu seems to have often been liable to Tibetan inroads and for centuries it remained tributary to Ladakh. Kashmir and Kashmīr had also a later period of Tibetan rule¹.

**The Hun and Turkish Elements.**

If historical material for the third century A. D. is lacking very little is available for the history of the second half of the sixth century, but after the golden age of the Guptaś, which had lasted from 370 to 455 A. D., the Huns must have poured into India in ever-increasing numbers. These White Huns or Ephthalites held a comparatively short lived supremacy over Northern India, for the Turkish tribes ².

¹ J. H. A. S., 1911, p. 338, and A. Q. R., Jan. 1911. The introduction of Buddhism into Tibet was probably the result of the invasion of 747.

² The existence of the wild sheep in Ladakh, where it has been extinct for centuries, is proved from rock-carvings in the eastern A History of Western Tibet, pp. 12, 18, 19, 20, 65, 182.

³ Ibid., p. 65.
in alliance with the Persian king destroyed them between 563 and 567 in the Oxus valley and the Turks were soon able to extend their power as far southwards as Kapisa and annex all the countries once included in the Hun empire. But soon after the Huna came the Gurjaras who may indeed have come along with them, though the Gurjaras are never heard of until near the end of the 8th century, as the records frequently bracket them with the Hunas. Recent investigation has shown that the Pratihaaras (Parthian) clan of the Rajputs was really only a section of the Gujars and this fact raises a strong presumption that the other 'fire-born' Rajput clans, the Solanki (Chaulukya), Punwar (Paramara) and Chauhans (Chahamana) must also be of Gurjara origin. The Tunsars (Tomaras) must be assigned a similar origin. The Gurjara empire was of great extent. At the beginning of the 9th century it included or dominated the Bhoga, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadava, Yavana, Gandhara, and Kir kingdom, practically the whole Punjab. It certainly comprised the modern district of Karnal and extended to a point below Jullundur. The Gurjaras gave dynasties to Kanauj, Ajmer, and other states and from their ruling clans descended the mass of the modern Rajput clan.

The nomadic Gujars, on the other hand, colonised a line running from Mewat (the 'Gujarat' of Alberuni) up both sides of the Jumna valley, and thence following the foot of the Punjab Himalayas, right up to the Indus. Now it is undoubtedly true that the Gujar is one of the few great 'castes' or races of northern India which has retained its own dialect. Even in the extreme north-west, amongst Pisacha-speaking peoples in Swat and Kashmir the nomadic Gujar graziers and shepherds speak a language which closely resembles the Rajasthani of Mewat and Jaipur. In Kashmir this dialect is called Primi. In the north-western hills and indeed in the Punjab generally the Gujar has not amalgamated largely with the other tribes indigenous or immigrant and in Attock it is remarkable how much they are disliked and despised by other tribes. Though good cultivators and often well off, they seem to be looked upon as little better than menials, and the appointment of a Gujar to any place of authority over any other tribe is always the signal for disturbance. They are good landlords and among the best cultivators in the district, and in physique of the same type as the Jat whom in many ways they much resemble. Prone to thieving, when circumstances permit, quarrelling and intrigue are blots on their character, but not much more evil can be said of them. They differ entirely in character from the idle, thievish and cowardly Gujars of the southern Punjab—and it is a great grievance that the army is closed to them, but a good many find their way into it by assuming another tribal name. That some of the great Rajput tribes then may have been formed from Gurjara elements is by no means inconceivable, but if the Rajput as a body are Gujar by origin it is difficult to account for the above account of the esteem in which they are held. Moreover to be perfectly frank, the present writer is not quite as convinced as he was

Vincent Smith, op. cit., p. 278.
2 J. R. A. S., 1900, p. 53.
3 ib., pp. 258, 260.
4 ib., pp. 264, 267, 268.
6 Attock Gazetteer, 1907, p. 91.
of the Gujar origin of the Rajputs. Assuming that pratibhāra means 'durward' that surname may have been adopted by a Gurjara family which attained to Rajput or gentle rank, but it would not follow that all Pratihāras were Gurjaras and still less need it be assumed that all the Rajput clans were Gurjaras.

Further the theory leads almost of necessity, to other theories still more difficult of acceptance. It follows that if the Rajputs were Gurjaras all tribes of Rajput origin must be Gurjaras too. For example the Kanets would be Gurjaras by blood, but Sir George Grierson would restrict that origin to the Rāo (Rahu) Kanets and assign to the Khass or Khasa a Khasha descent. The Khasas are frequently mentioned as a northern tribe addicted to cannibalism like the Pisachas, in the Mahābhārata and many later works. They appear to have been once settled in Western Tibet, but in historical times they were restricted to a comparatively limited region, the valleys lying immediately south of the Pir Panjāl range between the middle Jhelum and Kishtwār, all now in Kashmir territory. That they spread further eastward over the hills of Chamba and Kangra into the Kulu valley can only be conjectured from the similarity of their name to that of the Khass Kanets. The different groups among the Kanets have no traditions of different descent, indeed their divisions appear to be sectarian by origin. This is at least true of the Kumar Kanets of the Simla hills. The Khassas of the Jhelum valley are almost certainly the modern representatives of the Khasas, but if the Khass Kanets are to be identified with them it would appear equally probable that the Khashai or Khakhai Pathans, progenitors of the Yusafzai, Tarkhanī and other Pathan tribes, are Khass also.

In the eastern hills the Gurjara strain may have amalgamated much more readily with the indigenous tribes. Grierson indeed suggests that the earliest known Indo-Aryan or Aryan inhabitants of the Himalaya tract, known as the Sapādalaksha, were the Khasas who spoke a language akin to the Pisacha languages of the Hindū Kush. These are now represented by the Khas clan of the Kanets. Later on the Khasas were conquered by the Gurjaras, who are now represented by the Rajputs, and also by the Rāo (Rahu) clan of the Kanets which represents those Gurjaras who did not take to warlike pursuits but remained cultivators — whence their claim to be of impure Rajput descent. Over the whole of Sapādalaksha Gurjaras and Khasas amalgamated gradually and they now speak a language mainly Gurjari, but also bearing traces of the original Khasha population.

As will be seen later many of these Gurjaras of Sapādalaksha invaded Rājputāna and there developed the Rājasthāni tongue. Subsequently there was constant communication between Rājputāna and Sapādalaksha and under the pressure of the Mughal domination there ultimately set in a considerable tide of emigration back from Rājputāna into Sapādalaksha. This great swirl of population appears

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1. Accepted in Vol. III, p. 360 infra.
4. So Grierson, but it is suggested that the tide set in much earlier, in the time of the earliest Moslem invaders.
to the present writer to have extended right round the Punjab. Grierson suggests that during the period in which Rájput rule became extended over the Punjab the Rájput (Gurjara) fighting men were accompanied by their humble pastoral brethren.

The Kurans Kanets appear to be looked down on by both the Khask and Hau Kanets on religious grounds as will appear from the following valuable note by Mr. H. W. Emerson:

The Kurans are looked down upon by other branches of the Kanets and as they can neither take nor give wives outside their own group, they are forced to intermarry among themselves. So great are the difficulties thus created that several villages but little larger than hamlets have divided their houses into three or more sub-divisions, intermarriage being permitted inside the village but not within the sub-division. The main grounds on which the Kurans are looked down upon are three in number. In the first place they summon no Brahman at death or other ceremonies. Secondly they erect in honour of the dead at a local spring or cistern an image which consists of the head only, not of the whole body. Thirdly, they ill-treat their gods. The gods of the tract are five in number, and all of them came from Kashmir with Mahása when that deity chased Chasralu, his immortal enemy, across the mountains. The fugitive at last slipped into a deep but narrow cleft where none was bold enough to follow him and there he still lurks, watched by the five gods whom Mahása sent to watch him. But he is still associated in worship with his warders and his cavern is the scene of strange rites. But for four months in the year he sleeps and his guardians need not keep strict watch over him. Each year they go to sleep when snow begins to fall on the mountains and do not wake until their worshippers arouse them. This is the occasion for the great festival of the Kurans and it is held at each of the five temples of their gods at the full moon in Phágán. In each temple is a small open window let into the outer wall. Below this inside the building is placed an image of the god and two bands, each of from 8 to 11 men, are chosen from his worshippers. These men fast for some days before the festival. One represents the god’s defenders, and the other side attacks them. Both are armed with snow-balls. The defenders station themselves close to the window and try to beat off the attacking party whose object is not to hit them back, but to arouse the god by their missiles. If they fail to do this before their supply is exhausted they are fined several rams, but if they succeed in hitting him on the head it is peculiarly auspicious and then they dance and leap for joy, shouting that the god has risen from his sleep. The defenders on their part revile them for the sacrilege, hurl stones at them and chase them through the village, firing shots over their heads. When a truce is called the god’s opinion is asked through a diviner in an ecstasy, but while he invariably commends his defenders for their zeal he thanks their assailants for awaking him, and joins in the festival which lasts for several days.

Where the Gujars settled in the plains they lost their own language, but as we enter the lower hills we invariably come upon a dialect locally known as Gujari. All this is pre-eminently true, but to the present
writer it appears that the Rajput-Gujars and the Gujar settlements of the modern Punjab may owe their origin to administrative or military colonisation of the Punjab and its eastern hills by the great Gujar empire, whose rulers found the Punjab difficult to hold and had constantly to enlist Rajput or Gujar condottieri with alodial fees held on condition of military service.

The Huns.—The first recorded invasion of India by the Huns is ascribed to the reign of Skandagupta, and must have occurred between 455 and 457 A.D. It was repulsed by their decisive defeat, but this first invasion must have been made by a comparatively weak body since about 500 A.D. the nomads appeared in greater force and overwhelmed Gandhāra. From this new base they penetrated into the Gangetic provinces and overthrew the Gupta empire. Indeed Toramána, their leader, was actually established as ruler of Máiwá in Central India prior to 500 A.D. and on his death in 510 A.D. his empire passed to his son Mihiragula whose capital was at Sāgala in the Punjab. Sung-Yun, the Chinese envoy, also found a Hun king ruling over Gandhāra in 520, though whether this king was Mihiragula or not is uncertain and unimportant.

Again in 547 A.D. Cosmas Indicopleustes describes Golasa, a White Hun king, as lord of India. Mihiragula probably died in 540, but even after his death it is certain that all the states of the Gangetic plain suffered severely from the ravages of the Huns during the second half of the 6th century and it was in that period that the Rāja of Thanesar gained renown by his successful wars against the Hun settlements in the north-west Punjab. In 604 his eldest son had advanced into the hills against them, but he was recalled by his father's death and we have no record of any final destruction of these Hun settlements. Harshā's conquests lay in other directions. The Hun invasion thus began in 455 and we still find the tribe established on the north-west frontier in 604—150 years later.

In later Sanskrit literature the term Hūna is employed in a very indeterminate sense to denote a foreigner from the north-west, just as Yāvanna had been employed in ancient times, and one of the thirty-six so-called royal Rajput clans was actually given the name of Hūna! This designation may, however, quite possibly have been its real name and denote its real descent from the Huns, a tribe of dynasty of that race having, we may assume, established itself in India and, as a conquering or dominant race, acquired Rajput status.

Appendix to Part II.

A NOTE ON ZABLULISTAN.

On coins of Vásudeva occur the names of three countries, Takan, Jánlistán and Sapardalakshan. The latter is the later Siwálík.

Takan or Takan was according to Stein the name of the province which lay between the Indus and Beas and it was known as early as the 8th century A. D.¹

Rhandarkar suggests that Takan should be Ták=Takka, and Ták was apparently a town which lay in Zablulistan. But Ták or Ták meant an arch and the place-name Tank would appear to be derived from it and not from Ták or Takka.

The name Zablulistan or Zábulistan would appear to mean the ‘land of Zábul’ and it was also so called, but strictly speaking Zábul was its capital. Its situation has already been described. Cunningham’s identification of Jánlistán with Zablulistan is incontrovertible and Rhandarkar takes that to be Zablulistan, an equation which appears hardly open to dispute. It is equally probable that the Jávula Taramána of the Poehawa inscription derived his title from Zábul, but beyond that it appears unsafe to go. The coins of the Sháhi Javála or Jábula, the Taramána Sháhi Javála of the Kur inscriptions from the Salt Range, must be those of this king, but it does not follow, as Høernaë says, that there was a Jávula tribe. Still less does it follow that the Jávulas were Gurjaras: or that, as Vincent Smith implies, the title Jánula was a Hun title.

It would be out of place here to discuss the extent or history of Zablulistan, but one or two points may be noted. It did not correspond to Seisistán, but it included the Sigiz or Sigizí range whence Rustam derived his name of ‘the Sigizí’ and which may have given its name to Seisistán, and the towns of Badaq or Bák, Ták and apparently Uh of Sijistán, which was afterwards called Rám Shahrístán. Zablulistan lay north-west and south-west of Ghazni, but did not include that city. Le Strange says the high-lands of the Kandahar country, along the upper waters of the Helmand, were known as Zablulistan.²

¹Rajatarangini 1, p. 203, note 152. Grierson suggests that Takri is the script of the Takkas: J. R. A. S. 1911, p. 302.
³Ibid. 1958, p. 288.
⁴Pobajd-t-Násiri, I, p. 184.
⁵Ibid., pp. 67, 855-6, and II, p. 1129.
⁶Ibid., II, p. 1129.
⁷Ibid., p. 71, and II, p. 1038.
PART III.—THE ELEMENTS OF THE PUNJAB PEOPLE.

THE MUTABILITY OF CASTE.

Before attempting to give any history of the modern Punjab tribes it will be well to attempt a sketch of the foreign elements in the Hindu population of India generally as determined by recent scholarship. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar has pointed out that the orthodox theory of Hindu society as once split up into four distinct castes is untenable. The Vedic castes were not absolutely distinct from one another. A Kshatriya, a Vaisya, even a man of the lowest origin, could aspire to Brahman-hood. Vishvamitra, a Kshatriya, founded a Brahman family. The sage Vasishtha was born of a hariot, but became a Brahman by religious austerities. "Training of the mind," says the verse of the Mahabharata, "is the cause of it." The reputed compiler of that epic, Vyasa, was born of a fisherman and Pandhara, the sage, of a Chaupasi woman. "Many others, who were originally not twice-born, became Brahmanas." So in the Punjab of the present day we find that it is function which determines caste, and not birth. Two of the old royal and essentially Rajput families in the Kangra hills, those of Kotlehr and Bangahal, are said to be Brahman by original stock. So too is the ruling family of Jubbal. Its founder was Bhur Bhat and his son by his wife, who was of his own caste, became the pariah or spiritual guide of his two half-brothers, sons of his father by the widowed Rani of Sirmuir, and also of his uterine brother, her son by his Rajah.

Not only was it possible for men of humble origin to attain to Brahman-hood, but marriage between the castes was frequent. Kshatriyas married with Brahmanos on equal terms. But the son of a Brahman by a Sudra woman was a Nasaji and numerous instances might be given of new "castes" formed by similar mixed marriages. But such unions did not by any means always produce new castes. On the contrary by a process very analogous to what goes on in the Punjab at the present day among the Asht-bans Brahmanos, the female issue of a mixed marriage could by degrees

1 Jea. Aed, 1891. January.—What follows is practically taken from this invaluable paper with details and illustrations added to emphasize the applicability of Professor Bhandarkar's facts to those Provinces. That the present writer is in entire accord with them will be apparent from his paper in Man, Vol. VII, July 1908, No. 55. Mr. W. Crooke's important paper on the Stability of Caste and Tribal Groups in India (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Eastern India. 1914. Vol. ALIV, p. 270 ff.) may also be consulted with advantage.

2 The ruling family of Kotli, a fief of Kashmir State, in the Simla Hills, is a branch of the Kotlehr Rajas. Its gift is said to be Kasadiya, and the children of its founder Ran Pail, being of a Rajput wife, become Rajputs. Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Kotli, p. 5.

3 Ibid., Jubbal, p. 4. The legend is of much interest as showing the absence of prejudices against widows re-marriage also.

4 See Vol. II, post, p. 201.

regain their place. Thus if a woman born to a Brâhmaṇa of a Sudra wife married a Brahman her issue would rank lower than a Brahman, but if her daughter again married a Brahman and their daughter again did so, the issue of the six female offspring would, even if a son, be regarded as a pure Brahman. In other words the Sudra taunt would be eliminated in seven generations, or as a verse of the Manus-árti says: 'If a female sprang from a Brâhmaṇa and a Śûdra female, bear (female) children to one of the highest castes, the inferior (tribe) attains the highest caste within the seventh generation.' This is not, strictly speaking, paralleled in British Lâhul at the present day. In that remote canton the Thâkurs take to wife Kanet women as "srîjat," but not as lâhri or full wife; and though the sons of such women are not at first considered pure Thâkurs, yet in a few generations they become equal always, we must assume, on condition that they can find Thâkur brides. Very similarly Brahmanas also have Kanet women in their houses, and the sons of such women succeed as if legitimate. Their fathers, however, will not eat from their hands, though they will smoke with them. They are known as gers and marry Kanets or women of mixed castes, if they can find any. There are many of these gers in Lâhul, but they call themselves Brahmanas and are probably accepted as Brahmanas in a few generations. In fact no new 'castes' of gers appear to have been formed. Here we see in operation a principle by which the male descendants of a mixed marriage eventually regained their father's caste. By an analogous principle women of lower castes could aspire to marriage with men of the highest castes, but not in a single generation. It takes the Ghîrth woman seven generations to become a queen, but the Râhî's daughter can aspire to that dignity in five. In other words, by successive marriages in a higher grade a Ghîrthi's daughter, daughter's daughter, and so on, is in seven generations eligible to become the bride of a Râja. An exact parallel to the Mitakshara rule is not found in the modern Punjab, but the analogies with and resemblances to it are striking. It would also appear that in ancient times a Brahman's male descendants by a Shûdra woman would in time regain Brahmanical status, just as they seem to do in modern Lâhul, for Manus ordained that "if a Parásava, the son of a Brahman and a Shûdra female, marries a most excellent Parásava female, who possesses a good moral character and other virtues, and if his descendants do the same, the child born in the sixth generation will be a Brâhmaṇa." Here we have a new 'caste,' the Parásava originating in a mixed marriage, but never developing, it would seem, into a caste, because its members could by avoiding further admixtures and rigidly marrying tâlās again become their ancestral status.

1 This rule comes from the Mitakshara.
2 Cap. X, v. 64. It is suggested that by children, female children must be meant. It is not clear that male offspring could regain the full status of a Brahman.
3 Srîjat is equivalent to the Panjabi sarât, Paûtu sarât. Such women are in Lâhul termed chhânâ or workers.
4 Kangra Gazetteer, Parts II to IV, 1899, p. 86 of Part III, Lâhul. It is not stated that any such condition is in force, but judging by analogies it is highly probable that it exists.
In ancient times, however, the effect of an union between two different castes was ordinarily the formation of a new caste. No doubt the intermarriage of two castes of more or less equal status had not such a result or at least it only resulted in forming a new group of much the same status. For instance the Brahma Hari Chandras, surnamed Rohiladhi, had two views, a Brahman and a Kshatriya. His children by both were called Pratiharas, but the sons of the former were Brahma Pratiharas and those of the latter Kshatriya Pratiharas. And the Pratiharas, in spite of their Gujer origin, became a Raja clan, one of the four Agnikales. But when the disparity between the contracting parties was great, or when by what was termed a pratihana marriage a man espoused a woman of higher caste than his own, a new caste was generally formed. Numerous instances of such new castes could be cited from Colebrooke's Essays. The late Sir Denzil Ibbetson excerpted the following note from Colebrooke's work:—

"It would seem that the offspring of marriage and of illicit intercourse between different castes were called by the same name; but this is open to some question (p. 272). Those begotten by a higher or a lower are distinguished from those begotten by a lower or a higher class (p. 273). The third is sprung from inter-marriages of the first and second set; the fourth from different classes of the second; the fifth from the second and third, and the sixth from the second and fourth. In all these four, the tribe's sons of outcastes. The Tresti named many other castes (the above are apparently got from the Puranas); (p. 274) Except the mixed classes named by Manu, the rest are terms for profession rather than tribes, and they should be considered as denoting companies of artisans rather than distinct races. The mention of mixed classes and professions of artisans in the Asara Sinda supports this conjecture (p. 274). The Jata makes a list of mixed classes of the second set (above). They, like other mixed classes, are included in Sutra; but they are considered most abject; and most of them now experience the same contemptuous treatment as the abject mixed classes mentioned by Mann (p. 275). The Tresti says, 'avoid the touch of the Chandra and other abject classes; and of them who eat cow flesh, often utter forbidden words, and omit the prescribed ceremonies.' They are called Mlechhi, and going to the region of Yavana have become Yavanas. Again: 'These seven, the Baika [? mason], Karmakara [smith], Na/a [dancer, actor?], Barada [? ladrak?], Kavarta [fisherman], Medabhitila are the last tribes and pollute by contact, mediate or immediate. A man should make oblations for, but should not dally with, women of Na/a, Kavala, Rajaka, etc."

1 The son of a Brahman who married a Kshatriya woman by consent was apparently himself a Brahman.
2 This surname indicates a point to a northern origin.
3 Chambertin's Id. deerkeeper. This is, however, doubted by Professor Bhandarkar.
4 The Pratiharas are represented in the modern Punjabs by the Pathiya Jada in Gora Ghazi Khan. Pratiharas is the Sanskritized form of Pathiya. For the origin of pratihana, see Vogel's Antiquities of Chhat, p. 135 and 334.
5 Or rather 'Meals and Bulls.' Colebrooke does not explain all these names. Rajaka is not traceable. Plate gives Mekhala as a bird or bowman, but it can hardly be a powder-maker.
Nâpîta (barber) castes, and prostitutes. Besides their special occupation, each mixed class may follow the special occupation of his mother's class; at any rate if he belongs to the first set (above). They may also follow any of the Sûdra occupations, menial service, handicraft, commerce, agriculture.

Indeed so firmly established was this principle that a marked nihilism or a pratiloma marriage founded a new caste, that it apparently became customary to define the status of a caste of lowly origin, aboriginal descent or degraded function in the terms of an assumed or fictitious mixed marriage. Thus in order to express adequately the utter degradation of the Chandâla he must be described as the issue of a Shûdra man, begotten of a Brahman woman, just as the uncleanness of the Dakaut Brahmans can only be brought out by saying that they are descended from the rishi Daka by a Shûdra woman.

The formation of new castes on the principles set forth above was a very easy matter; so easy indeed that new castes might have been multiplied to infinity. But new factors came in to check their unrestricted creation. One of these factors was occupation, another was social usage. These were the two determining factors. Thus a Râjput who married a Jât wife did not necessarily sink to Jât status, but if his descendants tolerated widow re-marriage he certainly did so, and if they took to cultivating the soil with their own hands they probably did so in time, and having lost their status as Râjput adopted widow re-marriage as a natural corollary. Countless Jât tribes claim, doubtless with good right, to be descended from Râjput ancestors who fell by marrying Jât women, or Gujars or others of like status. For a converse instance of promotion by marrying a woman of higher status see the case of the Dohâl Baloch at p. 45, Vol. II.

Professor Bhandarkar arrives at the conclusion that even in the highest castes purity of blood is not universal, and he goes on to show how foreign elements were absorbed into the Hindu population. This appears to have been effected by a two-fold process. The descendants of invaders or immigrants were admitted into the pale of Hinduism according to their degree. The priestly Magian became a Brahman and the warrior a Kshatriya, precisely as in modern Lâbul the Thâkurs or gentry and gunadâm rulers have begun to assert a Râjput origin, though more or less pure Mongolians by blood, just as the Kanets, at any rate in the valleys of Gâra and Rangoli, are pure Bhotias or Mongolians. The second process was intermarriage.

9 Vol. II, p. 125, Of the foot-note* on p. 139 as to the origin of the Sawat Brahmins.
10 The real Kanets of Patan who are Hindus look down upon the Kanets of Gâra and Rangoli and call them Bhotias and regard them as of inferior caste. But this may be due to the fact that they are Buddhists; see Kangra, Gazetteer, 1897, Parts II to IV, Part III, p. 29, compared with the top of p. 21, Crooke, op. cit., p. 271, accepts the present writer's view that Sir T. H. Holland's conclusions, referred to at p. 456, Vol. II supra, regarding the Kanets are vitiated by his failure to distinguish between the mixed and unmixed groups of the Kanets in Lâbul.
Professor Bhandarkar illustrates the first-named process by some very interesting historical facts, called from all parts of India. He cites the recently discovered inscription at Besnagar in Gwalior for an instance of a Greek ambassador, a Yavana-duta, with the Greek name of Heliodorus, erecting a ārāda column to Vasudeva, god of gods, not as a mere compliment but because he was a Bhagavata of the god and therefore fairly to be described as a Vaishnava and a Hindu. The Yavana men however were often better Buddhists than Hindus. They were succeeded by the Sakas, also a foreign tribe, whose dynasty ruled Afghanistān and the Punjab. Some of their brāhmanas or satrapas were Buddhists, but others affected the Brahmanic religion, as did also many private individuals among the Sakas. At about the same period came the Abhiras, the modern Ahirs, described as bandits and foreigners, but undoubtedly Hindus. One of their sub-castes is closely associated with the cult of Krishna and claims descent from his foster-father Nanda. Abhiras Brahmas are found in Rājputāna and elsewhere, but not apparently in the Punjab. After the Sakas came the Kushanas, whose kings had Türkī names and Mongolian features. After the Buddhist Kanishka the Kushān kings did homage to Śiva and other deities of the Brahmanic pantheon.

Of more special interest, however, are the Magas or Shākavipī Brahmas who must be assigned to about this period. They were undoubtedly Magi, and were brought into Jambudvīpa by the son of Krishna Śamba, who was suffering from white leprosy and was advised by Nārada to build a temple to Sūrya on the Chenab. This temple was erected at Multān or Sambapura, one of its earlier names. The Magas were also called Bhogjakas and wore an anganga or girdle which was originally the skin of the serpent-god Vāsuki, and Professor Bhandarkar points out that the name of their originator, Jarashasta, bears a close resemblance to that of Zoroaster, and he is informed that the pājāra of the temples of Jagadāshā and Jawalāmukhi (in Kāṅgṛa)

* J. R. A. S., 1900, p. 1069.

1 See Vol. II. p. 5. Are we to take it that the Nand-banāl Abhiras are descended from Abhiras who adopted the cult of Krishna, while the Jānghasil are descended from those who took Yādava wives, i.e., intermarried with the indigenous races? The legend goes that Arjuna, after cremating Krishna and Balārāma, was marching through the Punjab to Mathura with the Yādava widows, when he was waylaid by the Abhiras and robbed of his treasures and beautiful women.

2 This agrees with Alī Bihānī-Berma, who says that the names of Multān were Kāshī, Hām, Ṛṣag, and finally Multāpūr. Mālāthān was the name of the idol and from it is derived the modern name of the town. The temple of the Sun was styled Adīva. Below it was a vault for storing gold. See Raverty in J. R. A. S. 1882, Part I., pp. 191 et seq. Elliot's translation in his History of India, I, pp. 14, 15, 35, were incorrect.

3 The sage Bīhlīya, of the Mihira gṛha.

Sūrya, the Sun × Nakshathā.

Jarashasta or Jarasahāda = equated to Jarashasta or Zoroaster.

Mihira is the Sanskritized form of the Old Persian mēhr.

* Professor Bhandarkar's information is correct the derivation of Bhogja suggested on p. 107 of Vol. II. is untenable and the Bhogjas of Kāṅgṛa are the Magas or Bhogjakas.
are Sákadrvípi Brahmans, as are the Sewak or Bhojuk, most of whom are religious dependants of the Oswáí Sívávaks (Sarnaquis) in Jodhpur. These Sewaks keep images of Súrya in their houses, and worship him on Sunday, when they eat rice only. They used to wear a necklace resembling the cast-off skin of a serpent. The Paríshári Brahmans of Pushtkar were also originally known as Sewaks and Sákadrvípi Brahmans. About 505 A. D. we find the Magas spoken of as the proper persons to consecrate images of Súrya, and c. 550 it is complained that in the Kaliyuga the Magas would rank as Brahmans. In all probability then the Magas came into India about the middle of the 5th century or earlier with Kanishka as his Aviatic priests. It may be of interest to add that the presence of the Magian fire-worshippers in the Panjáb would explain a curious passage in the Zafaránás, which states that Timúr found the inhabitants of Sámán, Kuthal and Astão to be mostly fire-worshippers. The people of Toquhtikpur, 8 kör from Astão, belonged to the religion of the Magi (saravriya) and believed in the two gods Yazdán and Altínán of the Zoroastrians. The people of this place were also called Sálún.3

After the power of the Kusánas was overthrown and that of the Guptas established, India enjoyed respite for about two centuries. During the first half of the 6th century the Húnas penetrated into India with the allied tribes of Gurjaras, Maítirakas and so forth, eclipsed the Guptá power and occupied northern and central India. The Húna sovereign Míhirakula, in spite of his Persian name,2 became a Hindu and his son bear the bull—an emblem of Súrya—on the reverse. The Húnas, undoubtedly the White Ephthalites, or Húnás, had come to be regarded as Kshátriyas as early as the 11th century, and became so thoroughly Hinduized that they are looked upon as one of the 36 Rájput families believed to be genuine and pure. The name is still found as a sub-division of the Rájáíí caste.4 The Gújar, Sanskritised as Gurjaras, were undoubtedly another foreign horde, yet as early as the first half of the 7th century they had become Hindus, and some of them at least had actually acquired the rank of Kshátriyas, being commonly styled the imperial Pratihár dynasty. One inscription speaks of the Gurjaras-Pratiháras. Among the 33 royal families of the real Rájputas again we find the Bánosíán, who represent an aristocracy of Gújar descent and of Rájput status. The Gújar-Gaur Brahmans are also, in all probability, Brahmans of Gújar race from the tract round Tháwásar. The late Sir James Campbell identified the Gújaras with the Khazars who occupied a very prominent position on the borderland of Europe and Asia, especially in the 6th century, and who are described as "a fair-skinned, black-haired race of a

2 Míhirakula is the Sanskritised form of Mihrgul, 'Rose of the Sun.'
3 A Professor Bhauáíkar says that Húna is now-a-days found as a family name in the Panjáb, but the present writer has not come across it. He is, however, in entire agreement with Professor Bhauáíkar's view that the Rájput Húna are Húna by origin, see Max, 1903, p. 100.
remarkable beauty and stature. Their women indeed were sought as wives equally at Byzantium and Baghdad."

Another Rájput tribe, which is in all probability of Gújar origin, is the Cháluksya or Chaunukya. Two branches of this tribe migrated from northern India. One, called Cháluksya, descended from the Siwálik hills in the last quarter of the 6th century and penetrated far into southern India. The other, the Chaunukya or Solanki, left Kanaúj about 950 A.D. and occupied Guzerat, but Solanki Rájputs are still to be found in the Punjab in Hoshiárpur and in the tracts bordering on Rájputána in the south-east of the Province. Like the Pádhiáras they are regarded as Agníkula.

The Cháhuánas, the third Agníkula tribe, are now the Chauháns. Professor Bhandarkar would attribute to them a Sásanian origin and read Cháhuánas for Vahtmana on the coins of Vásculva, who reigned at Multán over Tákká, Zábulístán and Sapádalaksha or the Siwálik kingdom. Vásculva's nationality is disputed. Cunningham thought him a later Húna. Professor Rayson would regard him as a Sásanian and Professor Bhandarkar as probably a Kházar and so a Gurjara. However this may be, the Cháhuáñas were undoubtedly of foreign origin, and they were known as the Sapádalaksha-Cháhuáñas or Chauháns of the country of the 125,000 hills, which included not only the Siwálik range, but a territory in the plains which included Nágaur on the west as well as the Punjab Siwálik and the submontane tracts as far as Chambal and Tákká or Ták, the province between the Indus and the Beas.

The Maitraka tribe probably entered India with the Húnas. Their name appears to be derived from maitra, the sun, a synonym of usháka, and to be preserved in Mért, Mait, and it may be suggested Med, unless the latter term means boatman, of Balochi Metha.

Closely associated with the Maitrakas were the Nágar Brahmanas whose origin Professor Bhandarkar would assign to Nágarokot, the modern Kángra. One of their sharanas or name-endings was Mitra. But into the Nágar Brahmanas other castes appear to have been incor-

This theory leaves unexplained the dislike and contempt by which the Gújeres are held by other tribes. Even when, as in Attock, good cultivators and well-to-do, they seem to be looked upon as little better than menials, and the appointment of a Gújar to any place of authority over any other tribe is always the signal for disturbances. Attock Gazetteer, 1907, p. 91.

To the references given by Professor Bhandarkar may be added Beverley's Tábakát-i-Názirí, pp. 110, 290, etc., "Nágar of Siwálikh" was spoken of in early Muhammadán times. The tract from the Sutlej to the Ganges extending as far south as Húnsí was called the Siwálikh, and some native writers include the whole of the Alpiné Punjab below the higher ranges from the Ganges to Kashmír under the name of Koh-i-Siwálikh, 666. p. 468. As to the Abluhátras, which John Amos also mentions as the capital of Jangóla, placed in the Malhárára near Mátíróa, it appears to be the modern Amrav in Jándiana, identified with Abluhátra by the late Sir Atur Singh of Bhadaúr. But Hotelling was also called Abluhátra, Nágá, as well as Abluhátra. Cunningham identified Abluhátra with Arhatpur; Jândiana Gazetteer, 1904, pp. 14 and 237.
ported, and among others the Vaisya name-suffix Datta is found as a
sharma of the Nágar Brahman, just as it is among the Muhír Brah-
manas. On the other hand, the Nágra Játs probably derive their name
from Nagar, a place described as not far from Ahichhatra, which
was either the Ahichhatra now represented by Arura (or possibly by Hatúr)
or a place in the Siwálík hills.

THE ABORIGINES OF THE PUNJAB.

It has long been the practice to speak of aboriginal tribes in the
Punjab, but it is very difficult to say precisely what tribes or elements
in its population are aboriginal. Both these Provinces are on the
whole poor in early historical remains, and both are singularly destitute
of relics of pre-history. In the Thal or stepppe of Míánwállí local
tradition attributes the first possession of the country to a half mythi-
cal race of gigantic men, called Belumus, whose mighty bones and
great earthen vessels are even now said to be discovered beneath the
sand hills. But the Belumus can hardly be other than the Sáhibíns,
a tribe still extant as a Rájput sect. It was established on the Indus
previous to the Soors [Stars] and Mackenzie mentions it as extinct,
but not apparently as a very ancient race: Leina and Binkkar. Sett. Rep.
1865, § 32.

Thorburn records that the Marwat plain was sparsely inhabited
by a race which has left us nothing but its name, Potthi, and this race
appears to have been found in Marwat so late as three or four centuries
ago when the Nízíds overran it from Tángk.

Raverty also notes that the Budli or Budni, who consisted of
several tribes and held a large tract of country extending from
Nangráhár to the Indus, were displaced by the Afghans when they
first entered Bangash, the modern Kurram. He deprecates any
hasty conjecture that they were Buddhists, as the Khund Darveza
says they were Káfirs, that is, non-Musulmáns, but he does not say
they were Buddhists. Raverty adds that the Budlás were expelled
from Nangráhár by Sultán Bahrám, ruler of Pich and Lamgháán.

1 Vol. II, p. 121.
2 Professor Bhandarkar postulates at least three Abichchatras, one in the United
Provinces, about 22 miles north of Bhatír, a second not located but a third in the Hímálayas
in the Jángala country near Márche, which was situated between the Charsí and Sultáj.
If the Márche is to be identified with the Márche Das the Jángalas would certainly appear
to be the modern Jángal tract of the Márche country, south of the present Sultáj valley,
and Arura lies in this tract. Probably there were two Abichchatras in the Punjáb, to
wit, Arura, and one in the Hímálayas, possibly in Kángra, in which Dírísí Chátat is still
the name of a village. But a Chátat is also found near Bárír in Jutáns territory. And
the place name may be connected with the institution of káifás and mákás among the
Rájputs.

3 Bánás or our Afghán Frontiers, p. 18. Potthi suggests a connection with Potho-
har or war-a region lying between the Jhuní river and the Indus. But strictly
speaking, the limits of Potthar are confined to the four ancient parganas of the Marí-
Ábburi, viz., Pachypár Bóní, now Ráulwándí, 'Almosthád Tákhír-pá, Dáungáli and
Pharwála or Pharhálah.'-J. G. Dønlørch in P. N. Q. L., § 617.

Tribal nomenclature.

Thence they fled eastwards, according to the Akhund, and there found others of their race. Raverty hazards a conjecture that the Awans, Kathars and Gakhars were some of the Budli or Budni tribes who crossed the Indus into the Sindh-Sagar Doab.

In the Peshawar valley we find the Khands, but it is doubtful whether they can be regarded as even very early settlers in that tract, though it is tempting to connect their name with the Gandhara.

In the Central Punjab Murray describes the Kathis as "a pastoral tribe, and as Juns, their other name denotes, they live an erratic life." But Sir Alexander Cunningham correctly describes the Juns as distinct from the Kathis, though he says that both tribes are tall, comely and long-lived races, who feed vast herds of camels and black cattle which provide them with their loved libations of milk. Cunningham however appears to be speaking of the Juns, "a wild and lawless tribe" of the southern Bure Doab, which has apparently disappeared as completely as the Juns, though Capt. J. D. Cunningham, writing in 1840, speaks of the Juns as being, like the Khattars, Siats, Karrals, Kathis and other Tribes, both pastoral and predatory; see his History of the Sikhs, p. 7.

In the northern Punjab tradition assigns the whole of the modern Sialkot district to the Yahan or Yeers, who lived in juns (jans) or rude mud huts. The Yeers also held the Jeh and Sindh-Sagar Doabs, and were known as Juns and Puehadas in the Rechna Doab, and in the Bure Doab as Bhular, Mau and Her, the three original tribes of the great Jat 'caste'. The Soon Dul were also recorded as the most powerful tribe in the Punjab in the time of Bikramjit. It is impossible to say whence these traditions were obtained or what substratum of truth there may be in them. The Juns, Juns or Jans thus appear to have left a widespread tradition, yet they are unknown to history, unless we may conjecture that they preserve the name of Yona or Yavanas, the territory of the Greco-Bactrian King Milinda whose capital was Sagar.

The aborigines of Lahul were the Mon or Mon-pas, and Cunningham thought that the ancient sub-Himalayan people were the Mon or as they are called in Tibetan, Molan.

Tribal areas and tribal names.

The Punjab is studded with tracts of very varying size, which derive their names from the tribes which now, or at some recent period, held sway therein. Along its northern border lie the Khattar, 4 Kahutani and Bala Gheb tracts in Rawalpindi. The Bala Gheb or

1 History of the Punjab, p. 33.
2 Prime's Sialkot Settlement Report, 1855, p. 35-6.
3 Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 166.
4 From the Khattar tribe, according to the Rawalpindi Gazetteer, 1883-84, but the name appears to be obsolete as applied to the tract held by this tribe.
Gahep, literally Upper Gheb, derives its name from the Ghebas. It is held by Ghebas calling themselves Rawals of Mughal descent. The Ghebas also gave their name to Findi Gheb, a township now held by the Jodhras. According to Raverty, Chakkawal, now Chakwal, was one of the principal places in "the Dhani Gahep."—Dhani being the name of the tract, and Gahep a great Jat tribe. But the Gahep cannot be other than the Ghebas and they do not now hold the Dhani, "west Chakwal" tahsil. The name Dhani appears to give their name to the DHANIAL Rajputs and to be so called from dhan, 'wealth,' owing to its fertility. The Kahuts have given their name to the Kahutani tract in Chakwal tahsil and the Kahuta hills and town preserve memories of their former seats. The Bugail tract, described by Cunningham as lying on the bank of the Jhelum under Bahlut, is also called Bagisram or the 22 villages. Cunningham says it derives its name from the Bugail branch of the Janjua, but as there is also a Gakkar sept of that name he suggests that the Bugail septs in both those tribes derive their name from the locality—a not improbable conjecture. The Awans hold the Awankavi in the Salt Range and a smaller tract in the Jullundur District bears the same name.

In the District of Gujrat, a name which itself denotes the territory of the Gujars, lie the Herat and Jats. The latter clearly means the Jat realm, but the derivation of Herat is obscure. It is popularly derived from Herat in Afghanistan, but this derivation is hardly tenable. Cunningham's derived Hairat, which he says is the original name of the city of Gujrat, as Hairat-des was of the district, from the Aratta. But tempting as the derivation is, it is difficult to accept it. The Aratta appear to be identical with the Sanskrit Arasiktra, "the king-less," which name is well preserved in Justin's Arastas, Arrian's Arastes, and the Andrestes of Diodorus. But Aratta was also equivalent to Madra, Jartikka, and the thieving Bahlka of the Mahabharata, as the Kauthar of Sangala (? Sirkot) are stigmatized in that poem. The term king-less might well have been applied to the democratic Punjab tribes of that period, but it is doubtful if the Her Jat tribe derives its name from Aratta. The

1 Bagivalpindi Gazetteer, 1893-94, p. 67. Rawal is apparently a mistake. Rawal can hardly be meant.
2 The statement that the Dhanial give their name to the Dhani, on p. 236 of Vol. II, is made on Thebon's authority: Census Rep. 1881, § 48. The Dhani is very variously defined. One writer says it is the same as Pothowar: P. N. Q. I., § 290. The eastern Dhani was a lake which was only drained under Bhabar's order. It was held by Gujjar graziers from whom the Kahuts collected revenue to remit to Delhi: Jhelum Gazetteer 1904, p. 109. It was called Baluk Dhan from Bal, ancestor of the Kasars or Maluk Dhan from the Janjua chief Mal of Malot: ib., pp. 107-08. Lastly Dhan appears to mean a pool or lake.
3 A. S. R. II, p. 27. For the Bugail mandie, see p. 267 of Vol. II, infra.
4 Gujrat denotes the Gujar tract; Gujranwala the Gujars' village; a distinction overlooked in Baden Powell's Indian Village Community.
5 Ancient Geography of India, p. 179.
6 According to Grierson this is a doubtful explanation: The Pahari Language, p. 4, note 27, in Ind. Ant., 1915.
7 Cunningham, op. cit., p. 215.
modern Jatātar does not quite correspond to the ancient country of the Jārtikas whose capital Sākala lay on the Apagā (now the Alk) to the west of the Ravi, if we are to understand that the Jārtikas did not extend to the west of the Chenab. But the Madra country or Madra-des is said by some to extend as far west as the Jhelum, though others say it only extends to the Chenab, so that the modern Jatātar may well represent a Jārtika tract of the Madra-des, if we may assume that the term Jārtika was strictly only applicable to the western tribes of the Madra-des: Cunningham also records that in the Chaj or Chaktiv Doab we find a Rānja Des, so called from the Rānjhi tribe, and a Tārā tapa, while in the Rachina Doab we have a Chīma Des, to the south and west of Siāl-kot. The two latter names are derived from the Jāt tribes which pre-dominate in those tracts, but all three appear to be obsolete if not obsolete.²

Further east, in Siāl-kot, lies the Bajwāt³ or territory of the Bāju Rājputs, whom it is tempting to identify with the Bāhikas of Sākala or Sāgala. In Gurdaspur the Riār Jāts give their name to the Riārkī tract.

In Jullundur the Manj ki Dārdhak or Dārdhak, which appears as a mahal in the Māni-Abbāri, included the modern tahsil of Rākon with parts of Phellaur and Phagwāra. The Manj or Manjki tract, on the other hand, includes the western part of the Phellaur tahsil and a large part of Nakodar. The modern Grand Trunk Road separates the Manj tract from the Dārdhak. It is, however, doubtful whether either tract derives its name from the Manj tribe. Quite possibly the Manj or Manjki is named from the tribe which held it, but it is not impossible that the tribe takes its name from the soil or the situation of the tract.

In Hoshiārpur the Khokhars hold the Khokharmīn, a tract on the Kapūrthala border. And the Jassān Dūn⁴ is named from, or more probably gives its name to, the Jassālī Rājputs.

The Gaddis of Chamba and Kāngra occupy the Gadderan, a tract which lies across the Dhaola Dhār.

It is very doubtful if the name Kula can be derived from the Koli tribe, but in the Simla Hills the Thākurs gave their name to the Thākurai⁵.

In the Simla Hills the Mangal Kanets give their name to the Māngal tract, while the petty sīf of Rawahin or Rawain is probably so named from the Rao or Rāhu Kanets. In Hissār the Punwār Rājputs held a Punwārwatī.

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1. Ibid., p. 185.
2. A. S. B. II, p. 99. He also mentions Mīlāl Gondal but that is only a village.
3. Princip. (Siāl-kot Settlement Report, 1865, p. 39) gives the term Bajwāt. This would appear to be the older form of the word; e.g. cf. Bāhikāti and Nākānti. The former appears to be the country round Bāhikāti, the latter the tract round the town of Nākānti. Cunningham, however, calls the country round Paṭānākot Patihāwat, a name now apparently obsolete; cf. ed., p. 144.
4. It is possible that the ancient form of the name was Jassānti; cf. Bajwāt and Nākānti.
5. In Kula the Thākurai was the period of the Thākurs' rule.
In the extreme south-east of the Province lies part of the Mewát, so called after the Meos, but in its turn it gives its name to the Meawâtis, or people of the Mewát. The Mewát further comprises the Djangalwati, Naiwärâ and Pahâtawârâ, three tracts named after the pada of the Meos which hold them. The Jâj country round Palwâl is also called the JatÎyât, and the Ahûr country round Rewârî, the Ahûráwât. But the latter term is apparently only used by the Ahûrs themselves, as the Meos call the country west of Rewârî the Râth or Bighautâ. The Râth is also said to be distinct from Bighautâ and to be one of the four tracts held by the Ahânî Chauhâns. It was the largest of those tracts, lying for the most part in Alwar, but including the town of Nârnau, which was also named Nârrâshtra.2 Nârrâshtra must, however, be the name of a tract, not a city, and it is suggested that Râth is derived from Nârrâshtra. The Râth is said to have lain to the south of Bighauta, which tract followed the course of the Kasôti river stretching southwards along the west of the modern taluis of Rewârî in Gurgaon. The Dhandot tracts lie between Bighauta and Hariâna. It was a sandy stretch of country running from east to west across the centre of the Jujâjar taluis.—P. N. Q. L., §§ 183, 370, 678.

The Bhattâs give their name to at least two tracts, the Bhattiâna which comprised the valley of the Ghaggar from Fatehabâd in Hisâr to Bhâtnâ in the Bikaner State, together with part of the dry country stretching north-west of the Ghaggar towards the old bank of the Sutlej; and also to the Bhattiâna, a considerable tract in Jhunjhunnu lying between the Shâh Jiwas villages in the west and the Lâli country in the east. The Bhattiâna is thus in the Chiniot taluis, north of the Chenâb. Numerous place-names, such as Bhâtna, which Cunningham appears to identify with Bhattistâla,3 Pindi Bhattiân and Bhâtioâl, are called after this tribe. According to Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, the Bhâtîyât in Chamba is probably also named from the Bhatti caste, but it does not appear that any such caste was ever settled in Chamba. Bhattiyât appears to be a modern form, and Dr Vogel thinks its termination is a Persian plural. It has lately been introduced into official documents, and it is often indicated by the name Bâra Bhâttia, which points to its having once consisted of 12 parganas. Geographically nearly the whole of this territory belongs to the Kangra valley, and it is noted as the recruiting ground for the Chamba army.4 It is suggested that its name is derived from kâfo, a soldier, and that it means 'the 12 huts held on a military tenure' or simply 'the 12 military parganas.'

1It is suggested that Palwâl may be the Upaplava of the Mahâkhârâfa. It was the capital of the King of Mâtâna who brought mountain chiefs in his train. Parmatar suggests that the Meos must have come from the northern part of the Aravalli hills, but it is suggested that they are the modern Meos. Palwâl is now-a-days said to mean 'countersign.'
3The derivation of Bhattiâna from the tribal name Bhatti, put forward in Vol. II, p. 101, must be abandoned. Its ancient name was Tabarhâd or possibly Hairund. But the latter name can hardly be derived from Bhatti. See Phulkian States Gazetteer, 1904, p. 129.
4The Antiquities of Chamba State, 1, pp. 4 and 13.
The Gondal Jâts give their name to the Gondal Bâr, the length of which is some 30 âs from north-east to south-west, with a breadth of 20 âs. It is difficult to accept Cunningham's identification of this tract with the Gandaris of Strabo, which was subject to the younger Porus, and it is not correct to speak of the Gondal- or Gundar- Bâr Dâdâ, as this Bâr never gave its name to the tract between the Jhelum and the Chenab, nor does its upper portion now form the Gujrat district. The people of Gandaris, the Gandaridas, are also said to have been subjects of Sophytes. Gandaris therefore appears to have stretched right across the Chenab from the Jhelum to the Ravi, its western portion being held by Sophytes, while its eastern part was subject to the younger Porus.

In the North-West Frontier Province the Pathân tribes give their names to many tracts, such as Yusufzai, Razzar, Marwat as well as to numerous villages. Instances of other tribes giving names to tracts are however rare, though in Dera Ismail Khan there is another Jâtâtar.

The whole question of these tribal areas is one of considerable interest and corresponding difficulty. The system under which a tract is named after the tribe which holds it or is dominant in it must be one of great antiquity, as indeed we know it to have been in other parts of India. Yet in the Punjab the only tribal tract-name of any antiquity seems to be Gujrat. In Kashmir the Khashas gave their name to the valley of Khassâlaya, now Kaishâl, which leads from the Marshali Pass down to Kiâshâvîr. But with hardly an exception the ancient tribal names of the Punjab have disappeared. Thus Vardhamihanira writes:

"In North-East, Mount Meru, the kingdom of those who have lost caste, the nomads (Pashûpâlas, possibly worshippers of Pashupati, or more probably cattle-owners), the Kiras, Kashmirs, Abhisâras, Daradas (Pardâs), Tangâmas, Kulûtas (people of Kulû), Sairindhâras (who may possibly be "people of Sibrind"), Forest men, Brahmapuras (of the ancient kingdom whose name survives in Harman in Chamba), Dâmaras (a Kashmir tribe, but Dâmaras are also found on the Indus), Foresters, Kivâtas, Chûnas (doubtless the Shins of Gilgit, but we still find Chûma and Chûna Jâtâs in the Punjab plains), Kauûndas, Bhallas (still the name of a Khatri section), Patolus (unidentified), Jâtauras (? Jatâs, or Jâ heroes or warriors), Kunâtas, Khashas, Ghoshas and Kuchikas.

Here we have not only tribal names but also occupational terms and Ghoshas and Kuchikas recall the goškandwâl or sheep-folk and kuchas or nomads of Dera Ismail Khán. There are difficulties in nearly every identification suggested, as for instance in deriving Kanet from Kunata or Kûninda (Kaninda), as Grierson points out, the more so in that the Kulû people are already mentioned once as Kulûtas and we should have to identify the Kûnindas with the Kanets of the hills excluding Kulû. But it is several times suggested, as for instance in deriving Kanet from Kunata or Kûninda (Kaninda), as Grierson points out, the more so in that the Kulû people are already mentioned once as Kulûtas and we should have to identify the Kûnindas with the Kanets of the hills excluding Kulû. But it is

Sir George Grierson writes: "I never saw the equation Sibrindha from Sibrind, it looks most enticing."

Sir George Grierson writes in a private communication: "As regards Kanet having derived from Kunâte (juniper or hede), the derivation is phonetically possible, but only possible and also improbable. From Kunâte, we should ordinarily expect some such word as Kannâ, with a cerebral l aspirated, whereas Kanet has a dental t unaspirated. There are isolated instances of such changes, but they are rare. I have a memoir of a class of village messengers in Bhir called Kanet (bowman; I think, from âs, 'arrow'). Perhaps Kanet may have a similar origin. That is, however, a matter of history."
not necessary to find a racial term in every name. If we insist on doing so the number of tribes becomes bewildering.

To the above several names may be added from various works. Thus the *Makādhāra* class the Madras, Granthāra, Vasātis, Sindhus and Sauviras (two tribes dwelling on the Indus) with the despicable Bāhikas. We have still a Jāt tribe called *Simur* and its name can only be derived from Sindh or the Indus, but no trace exists of the Madras, Vasātis and Sauviras. To this list remain to be added the Prasthalas whose name suggests some connection with *pratishtha* and who may have been the people settled round Pathānkot or akin to the Pathān. Then we have the Kankas, Pāradas (apparently associated with the Dāradas), Tukhāras, all from the north-west, and Ambasathanas, who were close to the Madras, besides tribes like the Aratta already mentioned.

Why should these tribes have nearly all disappeared, leaving no certain trace even in place-names? The answer appears to be that they were non-Brahmanical in creed and foreigners by race. *Whether* I next sing the songs of the Bāhikas in this Sāgala town, says the poet of the *Makādhāra*, *after having feasted on cow's flesh and drunk strong wine*? When shall I again, dressed in fine garments in the company of fair-complexioned, large-sized women, eat much mutton, pork, beef and the flesh of fowls, asses and camels?* The Bāhikas can only be the Bāhika tribe which came from Balkh (Bāhikas) and in close connexion with them we find the Māgadhās, the warrior class of Shākātulwipa or Persia, spoken of contemptuously. The Bāhikas had no *Veda* and were without knowledge. They ate any kind of food from filthy vessels, drank the milk of sheep, camels and asses and had many bastardies. The Aratta in whose region they lived occupied the country where the six rivers emerge from the low hills, i.e. the sub-montane from Kāpar to Attock, yet they are described as the offspring of two Pishāchas who dwelt on the Beas. But the value of such a pedigree is well described by Mr. J. Kennedy. As he says, 'primitive men

*Grierson says the Khasias and Tukhāras were Iranian inhabitants of Balkh, and Balkhshāh, the Tukhārīstan of Muhammadan writers, see his valuable introduction to the volume of the Linguistic Survey dealing with the Pahari languages published in *Ind. Anti.* 1915.*

*With the Kalkayas the Ambasathas inhabited the Kralpindi country and Gandhāra in the days of Alexander according to J. Kennedy, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 522. Possibly Amb in the Salt-Range may commemorate their name and locality. A descriptive note might be written on the name of Ambasath. An Ambasath-ja appears in a Pāli legend about the origin of the Sākhya and Kolka family; *e.g.* *e.g.* p. 490. He had five sons, of whom three bore astronomic names. He disinherited his sons by his senior wife and they migrated to found a new colony. Does this mean that the Ambasats were an offspring of the fire-worshipping Iranians who settled in the Punjab were compelled to intermarry so closely that they were reputed to espouse their own sisters? Then again we have Ambasathas—Vādyas, physician; *e.g.* Colebrooke's *Zoroastrians*, II, p. 160.

*If the Jarthikas, a clan of the Bāhikas, be the modern Jāt, the latter term may be after all Iranian and the nucleus of the Jāt *castra* Iranian by blood, a far less difficult hypothesis than the Indo-Syriac theory. Grierson says Bāhikas were outsiders (op. cit., p. 5) but is this anywhere stated? It would be quite natural for Brahmanical writers to style Bāhikas proudly Bāhikas.

rarely, perhaps never, conceive of a great country, the Punjab for instance, as a whole; they name a tract after the people who inhabit it or they give it a descriptive title. And some of its tribes may in turn derive their names from those descriptive titles. It is only in a more advanced stage that they arrive at the conception of a country inhabited by various peoples, as a unity, and give it a common name, and when they do invent for it and its inhabitants a common ancestor. This is the eponymous ancestor. A felt community of interests is only conceivable as a community of blood. The Punjab furnishes an excellent illustration of this. Anu is the progenitor of all the Punjab tribes. Eighth in descent from him we have:

**USHINARA.**

- **Shivi,** founder of the Shivi.
- **Yaduneya** (Jolua).
- **Ambantha**
- **Founders of two minor kingdoms.**
- **Madrahas,** **Kalkeol,** **Sanvira,** **Vrishadrabhas.**

But the Shivi and Ushinara are as old as the Anus. All that the pedigree indicates is a growing sense of national unity cemented by the fiction or revival of racial kinship.

Local legends in the Punjab itself rarely throw much light on its history or ethnology, but on the North-West Frontier legendary history though hopelessly inaccurate is sometimes interesting.

"The following" writes Mr. U. P. Barton, C. S., "is the legendary history of Kurram as related at the present day. The aboriginal inhabitants were deos or demons who lived under the domination of their king, known as the Suffed Deo, or white devil. This mythical kingdom was finally broken up by two equally mythical personages styled Shudani and Budani who are said to have been brothers. They came with a great army from the north and after fierce fighting overthrew the armies of the demons. The legend gives full details of the last great battle in which the deos finally succumbed, but it is hardly worth while to repeat them. I may mention that a Düm resident in Zerán claims to be a descendant of the victorious brothers. Having completed the conquest of Kurram the invaders settled in the valley, where their descendants held sway for many centuries, until displaced by fresh immigrations from the north. There may be a grain of truth in the legend implying, as seems to be the case, the extinction of the aborigines by an invading horde of Aryas.

I have not been able to trace any other legend of local origin. It is true that the people delight in legendary lore, but the stories most recounted are almost invariably the common property of the Afghans generally. Doubtless the 'Düms' are largely responsible for the
wide range of these tales of the people. I give the following of those most frequently heard:

Once upon a time there was a king of the fairies named Nimbulla. He had a friend named Timbull. The two friends often made visits to far off countries together. On one occasion they were travelling through the Swat valley, when they met a girl named Begum Jān. She was very beautiful and Nimbulla fell in love with her. This Begum Jān was the daughter of a Khan of the Swat valley. Nimbulla took invisible possession of his inamorata, to the great consternation of the Khan, her father, and his court. Every effort was made by the mullas or priests from far and near to exorcise the spirit but in vain. At length a famous mulla, Bahādur by name, appeared on the scene, and promised to expel the fairy’s soul from the girl, on condition that the girl herself should be the reward of his efforts. The Khan promised his daughter to the priest who after great exercise of prayer succeeded in exorcising the spirit which together with that of Nimbullah he confined in an earthen pot. Both fairies were then burnt, despite the entreaties of the seven sisters of the captives. The mulla was then united with the rescued fair one. But he had incurred the enmity of the fairy tribe by his treatment of the two friends, and in an unwary moment was seized by the ilās and ignominiously hanged. This is a very favourite legend and the Dūms frequently sing metrical versions of it at weddings and other occasions of rejoicing.

Yet another legend of Yūsufzai origin is often recited by the Kurrum Dūms. It enshrines the lives of Mūsa Khan and Gīlmakai, their quarrels and final reconciliation. It is very well-known I believe on the Peshāwar side, and has probably been already recorded.

The legend of Fāth Khan and Bibī Rabia is of Kamdhāri origin. Here a male friend named Karami shares the affections of the husband, an irregularity which leads to the estrangement of Bibī Rabia from her spouse. Meanwhile the Kamdhārī attack general Shams-ud-Dīn, one of the Mughal emperor Akbar’s leading soldiers, on his way to India sīd Ghāzī. The Kamdhārīs are defeated and Fāth Khan mortally injured. On his death-bed he is reconciled with his wife who remains faithful to his memory after his death, refusing to remarry. This also is a very common legend among the Afghāns. 

Colonel H. P. P. Leigh writes as follows:—‘Close to Kirmān is a peculiar mushroom shaped stone, which is the subject of a curious legend:—

At this spot, Hamza, son of Mir Hamza, nephew of the Imām Ali, is said to have given battle to the armies of Lāngābūr and Soghar, Kāfirs, in the time gone by. They were defeated and Hamza is said to have erected this stone to commemorate his victory. It is a timeworn block of granite, with a thin vein of quartz running through it, which is looked upon as the mark of Hamza’s sword. It is stated that colossal bones are found occasionally in the vicinity, and curiously enough, not many yards from the spot is a line of three enormous
The first Aryan immigration.

graves, each six paces in length; the head and heel stones are blocks of granite, deeply sunk in the earth, and the intermediate spaces filled in with earth and smaller stones. They have an ancient look, and are confidently pointed out as the graves of Kāfirs. Close by is another block of granite, with a perfect bowl hollowed in it, apparently by water action. This is said to be Hamza’s kachhal or faqir’s dish. On the edge of the cliff some way up the torrent, which dashes down from the Pāra Chakmauni hills, are the ruins of a village, which is still known as Langahur, and which are put down as having been a Kāfir’s habitation, Coins have been found there, of which however none are forthcoming, but from the description of the figure with Persian cap and flowing skirts, would be probably those of Kādphises, king of Kābul in about 100 A. D. 2

On the west frontier of Upper Bangash is the kot of Matah-i-Zakhmī, or Matah the wounded, so called from a legend that the Khālfīa, Ali, killed an infidel, Matah, with his sword Zu’l-akar at this spot. 3

Thus an investigation of the traditional aborigines of the Punjab yields results nearly as negative and barren as those given by a study of the historical data. From a very early period it was usual to define status in terms of race. The lower functional groups thus became defined by names denoting impure descent, or by names which connoted unnatural unions. Thus the lowest outcast who performed worse than menial functions was defined as the son of a Brahman woman by a Sudra, and called a Chandāl. 3 Conversely any man who rose in the social scale became a Jāt or yeoman, a Rājput or Sāhu, i.e. ‘gentle’, and so on. If a Rājput family lost its status it became Jāt or Kanet, and so on. But it does not follow that it did not adopt a racial or tribal name. Thus, while we may be certain that Rājput was never a racial name and that it is absurd to speak of a ‘Rājput race’, we cannot be at all sure that there never was a Jāt race or tribe. All that we can say is that when the Dabāinda was written more than two centuries ago its author was aware that the term Jāt meant a villager, a rustic par excellence as opposed to one engaged in trade or handicraft, and it was only when the Jāts of Lahore and the Jāts of the Jumna acquired power that the term became restricted and was but still only occasionally employed to mean simply one of that particular race. 3

But however uncertain may be any of the current identifications of modern Punjab tribes with those mentioned in history we may accept without misgivings the theory first propounded by Horsfall and supported by the weighty authority of Sir George Grierson. According to this theory there were two series of invasions of India by the so-called Aryans, a name which was probably itself not racial in its origin. The first series of their invasions took place at a time when the regions stretching from the heart of Persia to the western marches of India were still fairly well watered and fertile. Some early ‘Aryan’ tribes—

1 This seems a different place to the one mentioned in Colonel Leigh’s note.
3 Capt. J. D. Cunningham, Hist. of the Sikhs, p. 5, n.
tripes, that is, of superior culture—parting from their Iraniankinsmen, slowly moved on foot and in wagons with their women, flocks and herds over those regions, perhaps by the Kabul valley, but also very possibly by other passes to its south, entered India on the north-western border and established themselves in the Punjab, where most of the Rig-Veda took shape. As they had brought their own women with them and generally avoided union with the aboriginal races, at any rate among their upper classes, they were able to keep their blood comparatively pure; and hence we find to this day in the Punjab a physical type predominating which in many respects resembles that of certain European races, and is radically different from the typical characteristics of the other Indian stocks, although the Punjab has been for thousands of years the gate of Hindustan, and wave after wave of invasion has swept through it to break on the plains beyond.

After these Aryas had passed on into the Punjab, the same thing happened on the north-western marches as has taken place in Turkestan. The rivers and streams slowly dried up, and the desert laid a dead hand upon the once fertile lands. The road was now closed for ever closed to slow migrations of families; it could be traversed only by swiftly moving troops. Henceforth the successive waves of foreign invasion, though for a time they might overwhelm Hindustan, could not leave any deep and lasting change in the racial characteristics of the Indian peoples; for the desert forbade the invaders to bring with them enough women to make a colony of their own race.

To the type of this second series of migrations belong all the invasions which have poured over the Punjab in more recent times. The Afghán has made remarkably little impression upon its population east of the Indus. Scattered Pathán families, hardly forming septs, exist all over the Punjab in places where Pathán garrisons were located by the later Mughals or where Pathán soldiers of fortune obtained grants on feudal tenures from the Muhammadan emperors. Moreover the Pathán tribes, as we know them, are by no means ancient and their earliest settlements in the Peshawar valley and other tracts now pre-eminently Pathán do not go back much farther than the 14th century. The Mughals have left remarkably slight traces on the population compared with the mass and power of their invasions, and no one who reads the histories of their invades can fail to be struck with their ephemeral devastating character. Few Mughal villages exist, because they never founded colonies. Traces of their domination are perhaps strongest in Hazar, but in the Punjab itself they have never amalgamated with the rest of the Muhammadan population though the Chughtai gô's, or sections, found in certain artisan castes may owe their origin to guilds of Mughal artisans incorporated in those castes. To go a little further back the Gakhars are probably a tribe of Turki origin whose founders were given sites in the Kàwalpindi hills by Timur's earlier descendants. They are certainly distinct from the Khokhars who if not demonstrably indigenous were probably allies of the earlier Muhammadan invaders, like the Awânás. Working backwards in this way it is not difficult to form some idea of the way in which the modern Punjab population has been formed. The Pathán or Iranian

Taken almost verbatim from Dr. Lionel Barrett's Antiquities of India, p. 8.
element is slight, the Mughal or Turki still slighter, while the Arab element is practically negligible. Behind the Arab and the later Muhammadan invasions which began under Mahmud of Ghazni we have dim traditions of Persian overlordship, but we cannot assign an Iranian origin to any one tribe with certainty. A gap of centuries separates the Gece and Yuschi from the earliest allusion to the Jats by the Muhammadan historians of India.

We may think with Lassen that the Jats are the Jartikas of the Mahakshartva and it is doubtless quite possible that the term Jartika meant originally yeoman or land-holder as opposed to a trader or artizan, or was the name of a tribe which had reached the agricultural stage, and that it was then adopted by a mass of tribes which owned land or tilled it and had come to look down upon the more backward pastoral tribes. The modern Khatri is undoubtedly the ancient Kshatriya, though he had taken, like the Lombard, to trade so thoroughly that Cunningham speaks of him as the Katri or grain-seller as if his name were derived from katra or market!!

Appendix to Part III—A note on the people of Chilas by Col. Osmunney.

The inhabitants of Chilas are known generally as Buhult, so called from Bhulta, a son of Karrar, an Arab, who came from Kashirat (Kashmir) where an ancestor of his first settled. The descendents of Karrar are called by the inhabitants themselves Shfin: the Pathane called them Rana. Four classes now reside in Chilas:

Shfin = rana
Yashkun?
Kamfn.
Dgm.

The Shfin do not give their female relations in marriage to the inferior classes, though they can take women from them; the same principle is observed by the inferior classes towards one another.

The Shfin are divided into 4 classes, as it were, who divided the country into 4 equal shares and apparently each class gave a portion to the Yashkun class who perhaps helped the Shfin class to conquer the country. The Yashkunes appear to have more rights in land than the other two classes who only hold small plots by purchase on condition of service, but a Yashkun cannot sell or mortgage his land without the

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1 A.S.R. II, p. 3.
2 Kothamal.
Bichwal.
Bahramal.
Sheillogal.
consent of the Shih proprietary body nor even lease it without permission.

The residents of Chilás are also called Dards, but I can give no reason for it. The Chilái tribe in Darial (or-al) north of the Indus shave the head leaving a lock of hair on top but they do not shave the upper lip.
PART IV.—RELIGIONS.

SECTION I.—THE RELIGION OF THE BON IN TSHERI.

It is difficult to say what the primitive religion of the Punjab or North-West corner of India must have been, but easy to conjecture its general outlines. It was doubtless a form of Nature-worship, combined with magic, whose object was to attain power over the material universe generally and in particular to get children, ensure good harvests, and destroy enemies or at least secure immunity from their onslaughts. A type of this primitive religion may have long survived the Vedic period in the Bon-cho or religion of the Bon-pas. The Bon-cho was also called Lha-cho or "spirit cult", and in the gling-cho or Ladikhi we have probably the earliest type of it.

Unfortunately it is almost impossible to say what was the principle of this Bon cult as its literature is relatively modern and an imitation of that of the Buddhists and the only ancient authorities on it which we possess are open to grave suspicion as being Buddhist works treating of the struggles which that religion had to sustain against that of the Bon. But it is generally agreed that it must have been a kind of rude shaman-ism, that is to say an animistic and at the same time fetishistic adoration of natural forces and of good and evil spirits, generally ill-disposed or rather perhaps benevolent or the reverse according as they were satisfied or discontented with the cult vouchsafed to them by means of prayers and incantations, sacrifices of victims and sacred dances—a form of religion close enough to the popular Taoism of the Chinese which indeed the Bon-pons themselves claim to have founded.

According to the Bon-pons tradition their religion has gone through three phases called the Jola-Bon, Kyu-Bon and Gyur-Bon, the last synchronising with the king Throng Detsan and his grandson Langdarma and having for its principal characteristic a number of ideas and practices adopted from Buddhism as well some elements borrowed from Indian philosophy, and the Tantric doctrine of the Sakti.

The gods of the Bon religion were those of the red meadow (the earth), of the sun, of heaven, King Ksar and his mother Goq-lhun lha-mo. But at least as primitive were the po-lha and mo-lha or deities of "the male and female principle." Sun-worship must have been important as the cult was also called gyung-drung-bon or the rmedi-ka-bon.

But the Bon-pons also recognise the existence of a supreme being Kunit-kuang-po corresponding to Brahma, the universal soul of the Brahmins, and to the Adi-Buddha of the Buddhists, the creator according to some, but only the spectator according to others, of a

1 A. H. Franke, Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Calcutta, 1914, p. 31.
2 Pronounced Pun according to Sarat Chandra Das (Journal of the Buddhist and Zoroastrian Society of India, 1909, Appendix, cited by Millot, Revue de l'Asie, 1909, p. 135), or Puns with the French on.
3 Francke, op. cit., pp. 9 and 85.
4 Th., p. 21.
5 Th., p. 95. For some further details see Francke, A History of Western Tibet, pp. 82-7.
spontaneous creation issuing from the eternal void. When the functions of a creator are attributed to him he is assigned a spouse or _qon_, literally 'mother,' representing his active energy with which he engenders gods, men and all beings. Beneath him come Kyung, the chief spirit of chaos, under the form of a blue eagle, 18 great gods and goddesses, 70,000 secondary gods, innumerable genii and a score of principal saints all eager to fight for mankind against the demons. 1

But the most important personage of the Bon pantheon, more worshipped perhaps than Kuntū-bangpo, himself, is the prophet Senrab-Mibo, held to be an incarnation of the Buddha and believed to have been himself reincarnated in China in the philosopher Lao-Tseu, the patron of Taoism. To him is attributed the mystic prayer, _Oml ma-trikmon-yel na lay-dū_ which in the Bon takes the place of the Buddhist invocation _Oml ma ni padme-hum_ and whose eight syllables represent Kuntū-bangpo, his Sakti, the gods, genii, men, animals, demons and hell, as well as the sacred dance called that of the white demon, the different kinds of rosaries corresponding to the different degrees of meditation, the offerings of alcoholic liquors made to propitiate the spirits and in brief almost all the necromantic rites relating to funerals, to exorcism and to the means of averting the effects of evil omens. During his long religious career he was served by Vūgūpa, a demon with nine heads, whom he had overcome by his exorcisms and converted by his eloquence. The practices inculcated by him form almost all that we know about the actual worship of the Bon-pos who, according to the Lamas, have also borrowed a part of the mystic and magic ritual from Lamaistic Buddhism. The Bon in its animism and demonolatry is very like the cults of the Mongolian and Siberian _shaman_ in which dances (or sacred dramas acted by mimes), offerings, the drinking of intoxicating liquors, and animal sacrifices, especially those of sheep, play a considerable part. They also immolate birds to the spirits of the dead and fowls to demons.

As in all animistic religions the Bon priest is above all a sorcerer. His principal functions are to propitiate by his prayers and sacrifices the genii who are ready to be benevolent, to put to flight or destroy by exorcism those whose malevolence causes devastating storms, floods, drought, epidemic disease, accidents and even the countless little privations of daily life. As an astrologer he reads the sky and draws up horoscopes of birth, marriage and death—for one must ascertain the posthumous fate of those one loved—and teaches means of averting evil omens. As a diviner he discloses the secrets of the future, discovers hidden treasures, traces thieves by inspection of the shoulder-blades of sheep, by cards, dice, the flight of birds or opening a sacred book at random. As a doctor he treats men and animals with simples but more often with charms and incantations, an obvious proceeding, since all sickness is the work of demons. In a word, as depository of all knowledge sacred and profane he teaches children a little reading, writing and arithmetic, but above all the precepts of religion.

1 Millon, op. cit., p. 155.
The Bon priesthood is trained by ascetic exercises, the study of the sacred books, magic and sorcery and to submit itself to certain rules of monastic discipline, celibacy included, though that does not seem to be an absolute obligation. Their morals are said to be lax, and their conduct anything but exemplary. They live in monasteries, often very large and wealthy, called bon-lung, under the direction of an elected superior. But it is also said that some of these superiors of certain large monasteries are perpetual incarnations of Senrab-Mibo or other gods. There are also nunneries of women who are called Bon-mos.

Bon ethics, eschatology and metaphysics are closely allied to those of Buddhism, but less regard is paid to the principle of shīlā or the preservation of all life. The Lāmas indeed accuse the Bon-pons of plagiarising from their books and they have certainly borrowed from Buddhism the story that a synod or council was held in the land of Mangkar, at which sages and religious teachers attended from India, Persia and China to collaborate with the Tibetan Bon-pons in the editing or compilation of the 84,000 gomos or treatises which form their canon.

The Bon-pons or some of them at least accept the Indian dogma of the metempsychosis, but appear to restrict it to those who blinded by ignorance (śūlīḍa) have failed to grasp the eternal verity of the Bon-Kū (emptiness, unreality, vanity, mutability of mundane things composed of different elements and therefore perishable), and remain subject to the law of karma or consequences of one's own deeds, whereas the wise freed from earthly bonds and enlightened by the splendour of the bon-lū (which has some analogies with the boddhi or knowledge) go to be absorbed into the pure essence of the sām or spiritual immutability, composed of pure light and absolute knowledge which constitutes the subtle body of Kūntū Brang-po. Two parallel and inseparable ways lead to this state of abstraction or of the absolute, which is the supreme aim of the Bon-pons —viz. darshana (active, will and perhaps action); and gom or meditation. This latter, probably an imitation of the buddhist dhyāna, has three stages, the chān-gom, nang-gom and lang-gom, not four as in Buddhism, and is the one really efficacious, though it should be accompanied or preceded by darshana apparently. In the chān-gom, which is practised by a devotee initiated by a spiritual guide, i.e. a lāma, by counting the beads of a rosary and chanting the merits of bon-kū, the mind should not be absorbed in the particular object of meditation. But in the second degree absorption and meditation are equal, the mind is filled with light and then, entering into profound meditation (yoga), it is completely abstracted and finally is void even of meditation itself. The moment of lang-gom commences when all kinds of visīṣṭa (consciousness) have been acquired and the real object has been seen, when meditation has ended and the mind has ceased to think of acquiring the essence of sva-tā. At this moment all sins, evil thoughts, &c., are changed into perfect wisdom (jñāna), all matter visible and invisible enters into the pure region of nāyātā or bon-kū and then transmigratory existences and those emancipated, good and evil, attachment and separation, etc., all become one

1 Apparently gydañ.
2 Or lang-gom.
and the same. To attain to the perfect meditation of the lha-gsum
the Bon-po has nine roads, vehicles (yul) or methods called bon-drang
open to him of which the first four, the phugs-sen, nam-sen, thul-sen
and strid-sen are called the 'causative vehicles'; the next four, the
gnyen, dkar, tab-stdag and ye-sen 'the resultant vehicles'; and the
ninth contains the essence of the other eight. The phugs-sen com-
prises 300 questions and 84,000 proofs or tests. The nang-sen con-
tains four gyer-gsum and 41 tak-rag or divisions of meditative science.
The thul-sen teaches miracle-working. The strid-sen deals with the 360
forms of death and with funeral rites, of the four kinds of disposing of
the dead and of 81 methods of destroying evil spirits. The gnyen sets
forth aphorisms relating to bodies, animal life, their development
and maturity. The dkar gives numerous mystical demonstrations.
In the ye-sen are described mental demonstrations, and in the khyad-
par, the ninth, the five classes of apadana or instruction. The lang-
srang describes the different kinds of stupa or monuments destined to
the preservation of relics. The khyad-par alone can achieve that
which the other eight methods can only effect collectively. Moreover
the four gyer-bon secure the enjoyment of four bhutis (degrees of
perfection) of honourable action during several ages. The gnyen and
lang-srang, after having protected the sthavira (animal nature) for
three kalpas lead it on to emancipation. The dkar and the ye-sen can
procure for the sthavira freedom of the existence after its first birth and
the khyad-par can ensure it even in this life. Bon temples (bon-khang)
exist besides the monasteries and though the Bon has long been in
conflict with lama-ism it has survived in strength in eastern Tibet and
tends more and more to become fused with the doctrines of the adepts
of the Nyigma-pa sect or red lamas. 1

M. de Milloué, whose account of the Bon faith is based on that
of Sarat Chandra Das, 2 speaks of it as 'assez obscur', but it is strange
that no one has hitherto compared or contrasted its teachings with
those of Jainism. A. H. Francke's notices of the Bon-chos, fragmentary
as they are, show that he was dealing with its earlier phases as the
following notes show:—

Human sacrifice was probably a leading feature of this primitive
creed. Oaths at important treaties were made binding by human as
well as animal sacrifices, new houses were consecrated by immuring
human beings in their walls, and a person was killed when one was
first inhabited. 3 Dr. Francke mentions a lama in the Sutlej valley who had recently beheaded his father while asleep in order to
render his new house habitable. 4 The old were apparently put
to death, a custom toned down in modern times to a rule which

1 "There is an error prevalent regarding the dress of Lamas, viz. that the dress of
Lamas of the 'red' persuasion is red, and that of the 'yellow' persuasion yellow. The
dress of both, is red, with the exception of the one special order of the Galdanpa who, to
my knowledge, only exist in Zangskar, whose dress is also yellow. But Lamas of the 'red'
persuasion also wear red caps and red scarves round their waists, whereas in the case of the
'yellow' Lamas these and these only are 'yellow'!" K. Marx, quoted in Hist. of
Western Tibet, pp. 234.

2 In J. A. S. B., 1881, p. 203 f.

3 Francke, op. cit., p. 31.

4 Ib., p. 22.
relegates a father to a small house when his son marries and a grandfather to a still smaller one.

The ibex was worshipped for fertility and figures of it often carved on rocks. Now a-days flour ibex are offered by neighbours to the parents of a new-born child. Kesara Bruguna and other pre-Buddhistic divinities are still invoked to grant children, but it does not follow that this was their real or principal function in the Bon-ches. The smasika was already a symbol of the sun and the veni of the female principle. The dead were buried, burnt, exposed to the air or cast into the waters as might seem appropriate. Thus people who had died of dropsy were cast into a stream. Even so in recent times the people of Kanaur used to practise immersion of the dead in water (jumant), eating (banhant) and cremation as well as burial. Corpses were also cut into pieces and packed into clay pots.

Spirits also played a great rôle for good or ill. That of the Mira monastery was carried off even in Buddhist times to Hemis in a bundle of twigs. When the country suffered from violent gales the spirits of the wind were caught in a pot, and stored up in a stupa which had already been built over the home of an evil spirit.

1 *Ib.,* pp. 96 and 105.
2 *Ib.,* p. 105.
3 *Ib.,* pp. 105 and 107.
4 *Ib.,* p. 23.
6 Franks, op. cit., pp. 63, 72 and 74.
7 *Ib.,* p. 65.
8 *Ib.,* p. 81.
The study of Buddhism is of more practical importance for the Punjab than its present restriction to a few semi-Tibetan cantons of the Himalayas would indicate. The ideas underlying Sikhism find some prototypes in Buddhism and Masuliff did not hesitate to speak of the 'Gautamist predecessors' of the Sikh gurus although no proof exists that Sikh teaching was directly derived from Buddhist teachings or traditions. Buddhism, however, did not disappear from Northern India until the Muhammadan invasions and it is difficult to think that its traditions are rapidly forgotten. The interval between its final disappearance about the 10th or 11th century and the birth of Nānak in 1469 was not great, as time goes when religious traditions are in question. In the Himalayas Nāga-worship maintained its footing and obscure though its connection with latter-day Buddhism may be the Nāg cult certainly preserve a phase of Buddhism.

Writing in 1882 Ibbetson expressed a very unfavourable opinion of Tibetan Buddhism as the following paragraphs show:—

Rise of Buddhism. It is not my intention to attempt any description of tenets of the Buddhist faith. They can be studied in the books mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter. Gautama Buddha was brought up in the strictest sect of the Hindus, he scrupulously followed their hardest precepts, he endured long-continued mortification and penance without finding peace of mind; and in the end his soul revolted against the sore burdens with which the Brahmans would oppress him and the artificial paths by which they would lead him. He proclaimed that their gods were false; that the Almighty was everywhere and everything; that each man must endure the consequences of his own acts, of which prayer and sacrifice were unavailing to relieve him; that all evil sprang from the lusts and longings of the flesh and of the fleshly mind; that peace consisted in final release from the bonds of incarnation and in absorption into the absolute, and that it was to be obtained only by the extinction of desire. “Buddhism is no religion at all, and certainly no theology; but rather a system of duty, morality, benevolence, without real deity, prayer, or priest.” But unlike Hinduism, it gave its followers a man to revere and imitate whose personal character was holy and beautiful; and for the first time in the religious experience of India it called upon its hearers to change their lives with their faith, and introduced them to the new ideas of proselytism and conversion. The new doctrine was the non plus ultra of quietism; and though now infinitely corrupted and defiled, at any rate in the northern school, by the admixture of other and less pure cults, it still retains many of its original characteristics. Above all things it recognises no hereditary priesthood, and, teaching that all men are equal, admits no distinctions of caste, at least in the countries in which it is now professed; though how far this could now have been said of it had it remained the religion of India, is perhaps a
doubtful question. The story of how it gradually spread over Northern India, apparently obscuring for a time the Brahmism against which it was a protest, how it attained perhaps its highest pitch under Asoka, how it gradually spread into Tibet, China, Burma, and Ceylon, how it was followed in its victorious advance beyond the confines of Indian peninsula by the resurgent Brahmism, which finally succeeded in expelling it from the country of its birth, or perhaps more really in so absorbing it that it can no longer be traced save in its effect on some of the esoteric doctrines of the Hindu faith, and how it now flourishes as a separate religion only in the foreign realms which it has conquered, is matter of history in its broad outlines and of the uncertainty of ignorance as to its minor details. Buddha preached about 570-540 B.C., Asoka lived about three centuries after him, and Buddhism first became the state religion of China in the 4th century of our era, while it disappeared from India some 4 to 5 centuries later. The first Buddhist king of Tibet is said to have reigned in the beginning of the 7th century, but Ladakh, the part of Tibet which borders on the Punjab, would seem to have been converted by missionaries sent by Asoka.

Buddhism as it is in the Punjab. — The Buddhist doctrines were early divided into two great schools, the northern which prevails in Tibet, China, and Japan, and the southern to which belong Ceylon, Burma and Siam. The latter retains the teachings of its founder almost unchanged; but the former, soon substituted the final beatitude of the Hindus for the ultimate absorption of Buddha, and developed an elaborate and extravagant system of incarnate saints and demi-gods of different degrees which has obscured and almost superseded the original Gautamic legend. The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Pangi in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjab whose inhabitants return themselves as Buddhists, is the Lamasism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We shall see how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hinduism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have

1 The attitude assumed towards caste by Gautama is elaborately discussed by Dr. Wilson at pp. 278 et seq. of the first volume of his work on Indian Caste. His teaching would seem to be not very widely removed from that of Bûna Nânâk, to be described presently. He recognized existing social distinctions, but held that they were the results of good or evil deeds in a previous life, and, unlike the Brahmans, taught that all castes should be admitted equally to the privileges of religion and were equally capable of obtaining salvation. Dr. Wilson thus sums up the early Buddhist practice on the subject: “Though it is evident, both from the testimony of the Buddhists themselves and of their enemies the Brahmans, that they opposed caste as far as they were able according to the exigencies of the times in which they lived, they actually, as a matter of policy, often winked at its existence in Indian society. While it was not carried by them into foreign countries, it was tolerated, though disparaged by them wherever they found that they had been preceded by Aryan rule.” (See also Barth’s Religious of India, p. 125ff.)

2 Baha Davids and Barth put this date nearly a century later.

3 Recent research shows that it survived till a much later period.

4 These two schools are commonly known as the great and the little Vehicle, perhaps because the exoteric and esoteric doctrines to which these names seem originally to have been applied have respectively become predominant in the one and the other.
been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tātric and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion.

In the northern school Buddhism is still revered, but only as one of many, and not so much as some; while the objects of worship recognized by the most esoteric doctrine include gods and demi-gods, though they stand lower in order of honour than the beatified saints. But Lamaic Buddhism has gone further than this:—"As in India, the Brahmans have declared all the ancient village Thākurs and Devis to be only so many different forms of Mahādeo and Pārbatī, so in Tibet the lâmas have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poor people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods, and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names:—Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tantrists has been grafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse, while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Budha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyānī Buddhas, in which the gōa or female symbol plays a prominent part."—(General Cunningham).

The wrath of Kāli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples, trumpets made of human thigh-bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests 'foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the nigglard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the Lāmas as their only protection against them. The Lāmas are therefore constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by juggling and fraud."—(Wilson's Religions of the Hindus.)

Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius. It consists

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1. The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body.

2. The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A. D.
of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned in the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village which is turned by water and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its mani or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulae. These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for a safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest, or a shepherd for the safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter; each goes to a Lama and purchases a slate, which he deposits carefully on the village mani and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard."

These manis must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In some of the monasteries the abbots are, like the Hindu Sanyasis, buried in a sitting posture and in full canunicals within the building. The people eat the flesh of dead animals, but will not kill for food.

Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars; and the remarks of Mr. A. Anderson quoted below seem to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, as I shall show in my chapter on Caste; and I suspect that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kângra and Lâhul as there is between Lâhul and Spiti. Mr. A Anderson wrote thus:—"In Spiti there are three classes: Châhârzâng, Lohâr or Zoho, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Châhârzâng will eat from a Lohâr's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Châhârzâng will marry a Châhârzâng, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (kun or hadd). This is the rule also with Lohâr and Hensi. Should a Châhârzâng take a Lohâr woman into his house he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Châhârzângs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohâr. It is said that it is not common for a Châhârzâng to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch the food it is
not thereby defiled. It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that when the Spiti people saw the Lahul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindus also, but it is not so strictly acted on.

As we have already seen, Buddhism found established in Tibet a strongly organised religion in the Bon-cho, which as we now know it has been systematised and purified by contact with Buddhism itself. It must have been a crude animism in its primitive form. The Tibetans assign a very ancient date to the importation of Buddhism into Tibet, but the Chinese annals place it under the reign of the emperor Tai-Tsung, 627-650 A.D., though possibly a Buddhist monastery had been erected on the sacred Kailasa mountain in 137 B.C. If any such monastery was founded however it must have been shortlived. Lamaistic tradition indeed declares that about the middle of the 5th century B.C., when Tibet was plunged in profound barbarism, an Indian prince named Nyantshi-Tsampo, a descendant of Sakyamuni himself according to some but according to others an exiled son of Prasenajit king of Kosala, made himself recognised as king of Tibet, introduced Buddhism and civilisation and founded the royal Tibetan family. But his efforts failed and as soon as he was dead Buddhism disappeared completely. Nevertheless the Tibetans date the Ngadar or period of primitive Buddhism from his reign.

Under his 37th descendant or successor Lha Thothori Nyantsan in 331 A.D. four objects of unknown use fell on the roof of the royal palace and the king was warned to preserve them piously as pledges of the future prosperity of Tibet whose meaning would be revealed in due course to one of his successors. This and the tradition of a monastery in Kailasa doubtless mean that Buddhism gained a footing in Tibet long before it became the state religion.

However this may be, in the reign of Srungtsan-Tampo—617 to 638—the first authentic ruler of Tibet, Buddhism met with a royal patron. The king had married two princesses, one Chinese, the other a daughter of Ansuvarman of Nepal. The latter at any rate was a devout Buddhist and the king was induced to send his chief minister Thumi or Thonmi Sambhota to search for Buddhist books and preachers in India. He returned in 650 A.D. with a certain number of books and an alphabet adapted to the translation of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan. About 644 the king had built at Lhasa the famous temple of Rasu called later Lhasel-tso-khang or Jowo-khang to receive the sacred images of Akohdummya and Sakyamuni brought from Nepal and China by his queens who

1 Sir J. B. Lyall wrote: "All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bots who are with reason treated as a very low and disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipes, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."

2 Ngab-Kri-LTsam-pa, The name may preserve the suffix-thamsa.

Lha-Tho-thori gNyan-tsan.
are also said to have built the monasteries of Labrang and Ramoche. But the earliest monastery in Tibet would appear to have been that of Samye built a full century later.

It is clear that if Buddhism was not officially introduced or recognised in Tibet until the middle of the 7th century A.D. the form then adopted as the state religion can hardly have been the pure uncontaminated creed preached by Buddha and his immediate successors. This supposition is borne out by what followed. Srongtsan Gampo was a warlike ruler, yet he was defined as an incarnation of the Dhiáni Bodhisattva Chanresi or Avalokitesvāra, a personification of charity and the love of one’s neighbour and the patron deity of Tibet, while his queens also received divine honours as incarnations of the goddess Dolma or Tāra, the Nepalese lady, under the name of the Green Tāra and the Chinese as the White Tāra. Proof of their divine nature was discerned in their barrenness.

Under Srongtsan Gampo’s four successors Buddhism, at grips with the Bon-pos, made no progress and may have been completely driven out of Tibet, and it was not until the reign of Thirrong Detsan—728-780—that it became definitely the state religion, in spite of the opposition of the prime minister and the queen, herself a devout Bon-po. Thirrong Detsan in 744 sent a monk into India to retain Sánta Raksita, superior of the sthārā at Nalanda near Buddha-Gaya, whose services were secured in 747. Raised to the dignity of high priest of Tibet Sánta Raksita had no easy task. The gods, genii and demons of the country raised up storms, inundations and sicknesses of all kinds against him and he was compelled to ask for the assistance of his brother-in-law the Achárya Padma Sambhava, who was accordingly brought from India by the king’s orders. Padma Sambhava was a native of Udyána, a pratýyā of Indrabodhi, the blind king of that realm, and skilled in magic. All along the road into Tibet he engaged in combats and overcame by the power of his magic charms the numerous demons who had sought to stay him and as soon as he arrived at the king’s palace he hastened to convene on the hill Magro the full array of the gods, genii and local demons whom he compelled to take oath that they would henceforth defend Buddhism, promising them in return a share in the cult and in the offerings of the faithful.

By this judicious compromise Buddhism became the dominant creed of Tibet, but its subjects retained their own religion as a submissive faith—a phenomenon often noticed under such circumstances. Padma Sambhava thus secured against opposition initiated a few chosen disciples into the mystic doctrine and magic practices of the Tántrés of the Yogáchāra school, while Sánta Raksita taught the discipline and philosophy of the Mádhyamika school. In 749 Padma Sambhava founded the Samye monastery some 30 miles from Lhasa on the model of

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1 Spyan-ras-gaṅ. 2 The Lord that looks down from on high. 3 Sravakā. 4 Doljang (Sgrul-ljang). 5 Delkar (Sgrul-skar). 6 Milchents says Bardston, but it also included Swát.
the one at Udantapura with 20 Indian monks and 7 Tibetan initiates. Padma Sambhava did not stay long in Tibet. He is said to have returned miraculously to India and to have left concealed in rocks many treatises on esoteric and magic learning to be discovered by sinless saints when human intelligence should have developed sufficiently to understand them—a belief fruitful in sectarianism. Nevertheless the Bonchos was not extinct, for the progress in Tibet of the mystic Mahāyāna also met with great obstacles in the existence of other Buddhist sects professing various doctrines. To combat a Chinese monk named Mahāyāna, who preached a doctrine of quietism and inaction, Thirong Detsan called in a disciple of Santa Rak-shita named Kamala Sīla from Magadha who defeated the schismatic in debate. Under that king's son and especially under his grandson Ralpachan, who brought the Achārya Jīna Mitra and many other pandits from India, Buddhism made progress and by 899 in which year Ralpachan was assassinated by his brother Langdarma the translation of the 108 tones of the Kau-jūr and of most of the 250 of the Tan-jūr had been completed. Langdarma, however, placed an interdict on Buddhism and tried to eradicate its doctrines from his kingdom until he was assassinated by the lāma Paldorje in 902.

Thus ended the era of the Ngas-dar or primitive Buddhism and began that which Tibetans call the Chyi-dar or 'later Buddhism,' styled by Europeans Lāmaism.

LĀMAISM

By Lāmaism, says de Milloué, must not be understood merely the religion of Tibet. In reality, like Hinduism, it embraces both its social and religious systems crowned by the absolute theocracy which has governed it for upwards of three centuries. While Lamaism professes to follow the doctrine of the Mahāyāna or idealistic school of northern Buddhism it has exaggerated it to such an extent and introduced into it so many modifications in its fundamentals, so many local beliefs and practices that it has hardly more of Buddhism than the name. Hence, like Hinduism, it can only be studied in its sects and orders. These will be described in their historical order.

The Kālampa order owes its origin to Atisa who was born in Bengal in 980 A.D. Educated as a Brahman he was converted to Buddhism and initiated into the Mahāyāna doctrine at Krishnagiri. At the age of 19 he took the vows at Udantapuri under the famous Śīla Rak-shita with the religious name of Dipankara-Sri-Jnāna and was ordained at 31. Nominated superior of the Vihrana-Śīla monastery by the king of Magadha and recognized as hierarch by the Mahāyānists of that kingdom, he was invited by Lha-lama in 1038 to undertake reforms in Tibet, but only yielded to the instances of Lha-tsam-pa when he had reached the age of 60. Arriving in Tibet in 1040 he was given as residence the monastery of Tho-ling and devoted his energies to purifying Tibetan Buddhism of the gross and immoral practices imported into it by the Bon-po shamanism allied with mysticism of Tāntric teaching. Before he died in 1053 at Ngethang he had gathered round
him a number of disciples who formed a sect called Kadampa under Marpa and Domton or Bromton in the monastery at Raseng or Badeng. This sect or order has counted 3000 eminent lamas in its ranks: since its foundation and some writers regard it as a restoration of the ancient teaching of Thubten Sambhota. It affected especially the Vajra with its views of chastity, imposed respect for and worship of the Buddhas and of Sakya-dum in particular, charity and love for all creatures, and practised fervent meditation. It professed the exoteric doctrine of the Void (Maha-dharmata) and without entirely rejecting mysticism and the Tantras adheres strictly to the teachings of the Kan-jar in regard to them. This sect has lost much of its importance since the reforms of Tsong-khapa and has to a great extent merged in the Geluk-pa order or sect.

The Nyigmapa order, incorrectly called Ningmapa in Vol. III, page 171 in the works, owes its origin to a sect of Avata's reforms. The great majority of the lamas continued their attachment to the lax doctrines of Padma Sambhava and his successors, called themselves Rgyig-mapa or 'ancestors' of the old school. Their doctrines were based entirely on the Tantras and the treatises and commentaries of Padma Sambhava and his school, and are saturated with the shamanism of the Bon-choes. As Padma Sambhava had professed to draw upon books written and hidden by Nga-rjuna which he had discovered by a miraculous revelation from that saint, so the principal Nyigmapa apostles attributed their incursions to Padma Sambhava, pretending to discover the writings hidden by him as already described. These books, styled Ter-ma, contain many extravagances and obscenities, some recommending unbridled licentiousness as the surest way of attaining salvation.

The Nyigmapa neglect as a rule all the restraints of Buddhist discipline, especially in regard to celibacy, abstinence from flesh and liquor. Many are married and almost all given to drunkenness. Their supreme divinity is the mystic Buddha, Kuntu Zangpo, the Sanskrit Samantabhadra but in preference to the Buddhas generally adored by other sects they affect tutelary demons called Si-Yidam-kiyi-lha, benevolent protectors and Pro-Yidam-kiyi-lha, terrible protectors, represented in the Tantric way as each holding their gu (or sakhi) in a close embrace. The former belong to the class of Buddhas, the latter to that of the Shivaistic deities. The Si-Yidam of the sect is called Vajra-p'urba and the Pro-Yidam Dopa-Kagye. They have also a guardian demon called Gurgon, a monster with two heads, and they worship Padma Sambhava under various forms, human, divine and demoniac. The cult, which is essentially one of propitiation, which they offer to these deities, consists in magic rites of all kinds, and in these flesh, fermented liquors and blood offered in human skulls form the principal ingredients. Their numerous sub-sects, separated by insignificant shades of choice between a special Tantras or Terma and another or of a special tutelary deity are scattered all over Tibet as are their monasteries, some of which are renowned. Among them are those at Sumyé, the metropolis of the order, Moru, Ramoche and

1 Rka-n dam-pa.
2 II broma-s ye.
3 Lit. 'mother': a term applied to a goddess or any lady of quality.
Karmakhya, the last three having colleges for the study of astrology, exorcism, magic and divination.

All the Nyigmapas however did not approve of the licentious and dangerous doctrines of the Tertons as the discoverers or inventors of hidden treatises were called and a certain number of them protesting against their pretended revelations constituted under the name of the Sarma school an independent group which while preserving the mystic and Tantric tradition which had become imbedded in religious morals, imposed on itself a strict physical and moral discipline, the rigorous observance of monastic rules as to celibacy, abstinence, obedience and the renunciation of the world, the practice of universal charity and the exercise of meditation. To this group belong the Karmapa, Bhrikh'ingpa\(^1\) and Dûgpa\(^2\) sub-orders. It possesses the important monasteries of Mindoling,\(^3\) Dorje'dak,\(^4\) Kartthok,\(^5\) Khramathing and Sich'ên-tsogeh'en, each the seat of an independent sub-sect.

The Kargyut-pa and Sackya-pa sects or orders.—If the revolt of conscience which resulted in the formation of the Sarma school was, as is believed, anterior to the reforms of Atisa and Bromton and in consequence independent of them, their preachings and efforts did not fail to exercise a certain influence on the Nyigmapas and contributed to form new or half-reformed groups which have played an important part in the religious history of Tibet. Of these the most important are the Kargyút-pa\(^6\) and Sakya-pa.

Among Bromton’s disciples was a monk named Marpa who remained attached to the Nyigmapa doctrines in spite of all because their toleration appeared to him particularly suited to the Tibetan temperament. He undertook to correct them by mingling the excessive fondness of the Nyigmapas for mystical and magical practices with the excessive severity of the Kāmapas and towards the end of the 11th century he founded an order which he called the Kargyutpa or ‘those who follow several teachings.’ In this he was powerfully aided by his principal disciple and successor, Milrampa. This order or sect professes to follow a doctrine revealed by the supreme Buddha Dorje’chang or, in Sanskrit, Vajradhara, to the Indian sage Telopas and transmitted to Marpa by the Pandit Nâro of the Nâlanda monastery. His doctrine, called the mÂṇḍag or Nâro’cherug, imparts constant meditation on the nature of the Buddhas and the means of acquiring it, charity, adoration of the Adi-Buddha, the absolute renunciation of the world, life in solitude and by preference in a hermitage in order to restrain action and desire, the rigorous observance of the rules of the Vinaya, the study of Tantric metaphysics and of the philosophy of the Madhyamika School, and the practice of yoga. It addresses its worship especially to the tutelary

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1 Or Dikangpa.
2 Brug-pa; this sub-order is scattered all over the south of Tibet, especially in Bumthang and Sikkim.
3 Smin-grol-ching.
4 Rdo-rje-brag.
5 Garthok.
6 Skhyi-brgyud-pa.
7 Svajya-pa.
The Dalai Llama

Yi-dam Dem-chog and to his Shakti Dorje-p'agmo, the Sanskrit Vajravarahi, the goddess with three heads, one of which is that of a wild sow and it venerates as its principal saints and patrons Telopa, Naro, Marpa and Milampa. Once it boasted many followers and its monks had a great name for learning and holiness, but it has now-a-days fallen into decay.

The Sakya sect or rather order will be found described in Vol. III, pp. 340-7.

The Nyigmapa lamas and the orders which have sprung from it are generally designated 'red lamas' or more precisely 'red caps'—sa-mar owing to the colour of their costume. But, the Kadampa lamas wear the sa-ser or yellow bonnet of the orthodox Gelukpa sect.

The Gelukpa order.—At the very moment when the Sakya sect was about to attain the zenith of its power in 1355 a miraculous child, an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Manjusri, or perhaps even of the Dhyani-Buddha Amitabha, was born in eastern Tibet. His intelligence and religious vocation were so precociously developed that the lama Rolpa'durje of the Karmapa sect initiated him at the age of 3, and at the age of 8 he was first ordained by a lama named Tondro-Rinchen and assumed as his new name the style of Lozang-Tagpa or Sunmatikirti. Tradition aver that he received instruction from a western monk, possibly a Christian and if so probably a Nestorian. However this may be, Tsongkha-pa—as he is generally called from the place of his birth—soon acquired such a name for piety and learning that he attracted numerous disciples in spite of the severity of his discipline, especially in what concerned the vows of chastity. He recalled his disciples to the inflexible rules of the 253 canons of the Vajrā, to the liturgy and ritual traditions of the primitive Mahāyāna. He imposed upon them the yellow garb of the Hindu mendicant to recall by its shape the clothing of the Indian bhikṣu and distinguish them from the red-clad lamas and gave them the name of Gelukpa or 'observers of virtue.' In 1409 he founded the monastery of Galdan, the centre of the sect, and after some years those of Sera and Deput. At Galdan he died in 1417 or 1419, leaving the pontificate of the sect to his nephew and chief disciple, Gedun Grub. His soul ascended to the heaven Tushita, residence of the Bodhisattvas, where he reigns with Nāgarjuna at the side of the future Buddha Maitreya, a consummation commemorated by the feast of lamps from October 20th to 25th. He is also the object of a cult as Jampal Nying-po and his relics are worshipped at Galdan. To him is attributed the authorship of numerous treatises, the canons of the Gelug-pa order, the four principal being the Bodlimür, the Tavannmur, the Atandark and the Łāram. In spite of his great renown he never held in his lifetime any higher official title than that of abbot of Galdan which:

1 Ramsey gives the following as 'Red-cap' sects:


Ramsay : Western Tibetan History, p. 18,  of, pp. 73-85.

2 Dge-lugs-pa. The sect is also called Galdan-pa.

3 Dge-lugs-pa.
his successor also bore until his elevation in 1439 to the rank of Grand Láma. The latter's pontificate was remarkable for the foundation of the monastery of Tashilhün po in 1445 and the enunciation of the dogma of the incarnation of the Grand Lámas of the Gelug-pa order by which his successor Gedün-Grûh-Gyetso was the first beneficiary. It appears however that the only incarnation believed in at that epoch was that of the spirit of the first Grand Láma, not that of a god, and that the only purpose of this tenet, from which the sect has drawn such advantages, was to create for these eminent personages a kind of spiritual heirship in imitation of (or improvement on) the rule of natural heredity observed by the rival sect of the Sakyapa. Nevertheless the office of abbott at Galdan is elective. Apart from the adoption of the title of Gyetso, 1 which means 'Ocean of Majesty' and is equivalent to the Mongolian Talé, Europeanised as Dalai, and the transfer of the head see to Depúng, the sect had no history except one of rapid and continued progress during the pontificates of Gedün-Grûh Gyetso (born in 1475, died in 1548), Sodnam-Gyetso (1543-1589) and Yontang-Gyetso (1589-1617). Je-Ngavang-Lozang-Thubtan-Jigsmed-Gyetso (1617-1682) however was able to raise the Kochot Mongols against the king of Tibet and make the victors do homage to himself. He thus united the spiritual and temporal authority under the protection of China in the hands of the Dalai Lámas who succeeded him. He is also said to have devised the doctrine of the perpetual re-incarnation of the Dhami-Buddhisatva Chanresi (the Sanskrit Avalokiteswara) in the Dalai Lámas which was extended retrospectively to his four predecessors. He also created the dignity of Panchen-Rinpoteche, an incarnation of the Buddha Odpagmé (Sanskrit Aumitaóha, the spiritual father of Avalokiteswara) for his old preceptor the abbott of Galdan whom he also appointed to be the independent pontiff of Tashilhümpe. The Gelugpa have preserved a well-merited reputation for learning. They admit the validity of the magic and sorcery inculcated in the Gyel, the 7th section of the Kas-jûr, but in all other respects follow scrupulously the canon of the primitive Maháyána as the Kálamupa sect had received it from Atisa. But contrary to its doctrine they admit the existence of the soul though it is not conceived of by them in the same way as it is in Europe. They regard it as immortal or rather as endowed with an indefinite existence and perhaps even as eternal in its essence. In its inception this soul is a light imprisoned in a material body endowed with an individuality which subsists, though to a limited extent, in its transmigrations and permits it to undergo the good or evil effects of its karma. Eventually the corporal envelope wears thin and finally disappears when the man becomes Buddha and enters Nirváná. Nirváná is neither annihilation nor its opposite. It can be attained by three roads, that of the inferior, intermediate and superior beings. For the first named Nirváná is a repose of nothingness. For the superior it is to reach the perfect state of Buddha. In it the individuality of a being melts into a kind of confluence; like Sákyamúni himself it is confounded with the other Buddhas. Nevertheless its personality is not totally destroyed, for if it cannot re-appear in the world.

Bgya-mtro'o.
The class of the Buddhás.

under a form perceptible by the senses it can manifest itself spiritually, to those who have faith. It is in themselves then that they see it.

The Gelugpas worship all the deities of the Tibetan pantheons, but they especially affect the supreme Buddha Dorjechag, the future Buddha Maîtreya who inspires their teaching, the Yidams Dorjejurje, Demchog and Sangdus and the goa-po or demoniac genie Tandin. The ceremonies consecrated to the three latter have a magical character and are accompanied by Tantric rites.

No theology of Lamaism, as a whole, can be said to exist. Each sect has its own pantheon and that of the Gelugpas is typical of all the others. This sect divides the celestial world into nine groups, the Buddhás, Yidam or tutelary deities, the Lhad-spa or those above the gods, the Bodhisattvas, the Arhats or saints, the Dakinis, the Dharma-palás or 'protectors of the law', the Yul-lha or Devas, who are terrestrial deities and the Sa-bdag, local deities or those of the soil. The clue to this multiplication of divine being must be sought in the Lamaistic conception of the Buddhás. Incapable of reincarnation, plunged in the beatitude of the Nirvána, they can no longer intervene in the affairs of men. At most they have power to inspire and sustain the saints who are devoted to the salvation of human beings. In a sense the Buddhás are dead gods, while the living, active gods are the Bodhisattvas.

I—The Buddhás form the class of higher beings perfect in excellence, presided over by Dorjechang (Vajrachara), the Adi-Buddha of Indian Buddhism, who is the external, all-powerful, omniscient Buddha, an abstract being imitated from the Brahma or universal soul of the Brahmans, though he does not apparently fulfill all his functions. He is often confounded with Dorjesempa (Vajrasattva though it may be that the two conceptions are distinct, the former being exclusively meditative, the latter active. They are depicted as seated with the legs crossed in the attitude of unperturbable meditation, adorned with rich jewels and crowned with a five-gemmed crown. But while Dorjechang makes the gesture of perfection, with the index-fingers and thumbs of both hands joined and raised to the level of the chest, Dorjesempa has his hands crossed on his breast and holds the thunderbolt (dorje or sātra) and the sacred bell. Several sects, including the orthodox sect of the Gelugpas, do not however acknowledge their supremacy but regard them merely as celestial Bodhisattvas, emanations of Akohobhya, and attribute the supreme rank to Vairochana.

The class of the Buddhás is divided into 5 groups: (i) the Jinas or Dhānji-Buddhas, (ii) the seven Buddhás of the past, (iii) the 35 Buddhás of confession, (iv) the Tathágata physicians, and (v) the 1000 Buddhás. (i) The Jinas are five abstract personages who represent the virtues, intelligences and powers of Dorjechang, from whom they emanate. They are protectors of the 5 cardinal points, the zenith, east, south etc., and personifications of the 5 elements, the ether, air, fire etc., and probably also of the 5 senses. But they are neither

1 Sanskrit Vajrabhairava.
2 Sanskrit Samvara.
3 Sanskrit Guhya Kāla.
4 Sanskrit Hayagriva.
The Buddhas classified.

creators nor do they interfere in material phenomena or in the affairs of the world. They preside over the protection and expansion of the Buddhist faith and each by an enunciation of his essence procreates a spiritual son, a Dhiāni-Bodhisattva, who is charged with the active supervision of the universe, while at the same time they inspire and sustain the saints who aspire to attain Buddha-hood. Hence we have five Triads each composed of a Dhiāni-Buddha, of a Dhiāni-Bodhisattva and of a Māṇjūṣī-Buddha or human Buddha. These five Dhiānis are named Vairochana, Akechobhya, Ratna-Sāmbhava, Amitābha and Amoghasiddhi. By a phenomenon as interesting as it is unusual they assume three different forms, natural, mystic and tantric according to the parts which they are made to play. In their natural form they resemble all other Buddhas and can only be recognised by their gestures and by the attributes sometimes assigned to them. Thus Vairochana is in the attitude of ‘turning the wheel of the Law’, Akechobhya in that of ‘taking to witness’, Ratna-Sāmbhava in that of charity, Amitābha in that of meditation and Amoghasiddhi of intrepidity. In their mystic forms they are assigned a crown with 5 gems, and adorned with necklaces, girdles and precious bracelets, which makes them resemble Bodhisattvas of the usual type. Under these aspects Akechobhya changes his name to Chakdor* and Amitābha to Amitāyus. And the latter becomes ‘infinite life’ instead of ‘infinite light’. Finally in their tantric forms they are each united to a goddess and often given a number of arms, each charged with a weapon or magic attribute.

(ii). The Seven Buddhas of the Past, also called Tathāgatas, comprise Sākyamuni and the six human Buddhas who preceded him on earth. They are to be distinguished by their attitudes. They are Vipaśyin, who combines the attitudes of testimony and unperturbability, Sikkha (charity and unperturbability), Visvābhū (meditation), Krākuchanda (protection and unperturbability), Kāṇakimuni (preaching and unperturbability), Kasyapa (charity and resolution) and Sākyamuni (preaching and unperturbability). Like the Dhiānis the seven Buddhas can on occasion assume mystic and above all tantric forms when they fulfil the functions of a tutelary god of a monastery, tribe or family.

1. Brum-par-ma-ng-mra
2. Mi-sheyo-d-dpa
3. Ria-shbyung
4. Od-dpag-med
5. Dan-dgra.ph
6. Or attitides, mpaq-rgya, Sankr., ma.dra.
7. The right index-finger touching the fingers of the left hand.
8. The right hand hanging and resting on the right knee.
9. The right arm extended and the open hand directed towards the earth as if to attract beings to it.

10. Both hands resting one on the other, palms upwards.
11. The arm raised, the hand presented, the fingers pointed upwards.
15. Gsug-phur-can.
16. Ta-m-chad-skyob.
18. Gsas-dbyin
The Yidams.

(iii). The 85 Buddhas of Confession are divine personages addressed to obtain the remission of sins or at least mitigation of punishments. They include the 5 Dhiānis, the 7 Buddhas of the Past, the 5 physicians and 19 other Buddhas who appear to personify abstractions. They are frequently invoked and fervently worshipped on account of their functions as redeemers.

(iv). The Tathāgata physicians form a group of 8 Buddhas including Śākyamuni as president. The principal, Be-du-rgyal Od-kvi-rgyal-po, holds a cup of ambrosia and a fruit or medicinal plant and his colour is indigo blue. But the others are only distinguished by their attitudes and complexions, three being red, one yellow, one pale yellow and another reddish yellow. They are addressed for the cure of physical as well as spiritual maladies.

(v). The last group consists simply of Buddhas and includes 1,000 imaginary Buddhas believed to be living or to have lived in the "3000 great thousands of worlds" which constitute the universe. Among them the most venerated are the śrāvyaka Buddhas generally cited anonymously in the Buddhist scripture.

II.—In the Yidams we find the most fantastic conceptions of the Buddhist theology, resulting from the introduction into it of Hindu Tantrism. Absolute perfection to the Indian mind consists in the absence of all passion, of all desire and movement, in a word in absolute inaction. Hence a god acting as creator or preserver is no longer a god since such acts presuppose passion, or the desire to act, and the movement to accomplish the object of that desire. To reconcile this conception of divine perfection with the deeds ascribed to the gods by myth and legend, mystic Brahmanism hit on the idea of a doubting of the god, considered primitively as androgynous, in an inert, purely meditative personality, which is the god properly so called, and an acting personality which is his active energy. To the former they gave the masculine, to the latter the feminine form. The latter is the goddess or Shakti, a companion of every god. De Milloué says that these conceptions were introduced into Buddhism towards the 5th century of our era, and applied not only to the gods, active servants of the Buddhas, but also to the Buddhas themselves so that they came to be regarded not indeed as creators but as the efficient causes of creation. The Buddha, source and essence of all, is thus a generator and as such regarded as bound to interest himself in the creatures begotten by him and above all to protect them against the demons, the great and abiding terror of the Tibetans. In all representations the Yidam is characterised by the Yum which he holds in his embrace, and this characteristic leads to the most incongruous unions. The Yidams of the highest rank are the tantric manifestations of the Dhiānis, of some other Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. But apart from the addition of the Yum they all preserve their traditional figures, a few Yidam-Bodhisattvas excepted who assume for the nonce terrifying expressions—calculated, we may presume, to complete the rout of the demons which they have to combat. Only the most active Bodhisattvas are depicted standing. The Bodhisattva Yidam Chakor, a tantric manifestation of Vajrapani, may be considered the most characteristic type of this series. He is represented as making frightful grimaces,
the eyes flashing anger, with a wide mouth armed with fangs, flames instead of hair and a human skull in his left hand, while the right brandishes a thunderbolt, and trampling under foot the corpses of his conquered enemies. He is the implacable destroyer of demons. Although he is a form of Indra or Vishnu the legend which explains why he shows such special hatred for the demons is in part borrowed from the myth of Shiva. When the gods had drunk the amrit produced by the churning of the ocean they entrusted to Vajrapāni's care the vase containing the rest of the precious liquid of immortality, but profiting by a moment of carelessness the demon Rahu drank it all and replaced it by an unnameable fluid whose exhalations would certainly have poisoned the world. To avert this danger and punish Vajrapāni for his negligence the gods condemned him to drink the frightful liquid and by the effect of the poison his golden tint turned to black, a misfortune which he never forgave the demons.

The superior Yīdams are not numerous, the great majority being formed of Hindu gods, principally forms of Shiva, transformed into secondary Buddhist divinities. It is generally they who are the patrons of sects, monasteries and families, and in this last capacity they also protect herds and crops. They too have frightful visages and are depicted with many arms, animals' heads, and all kinds of weapons, including the thunderbolt and the sacred bell which scares demons. They also carry a human skull in which they drink their enemies' blood and which serves as a vessel in their temples for offerings, libations of the blood of victims and fermented liquors. The Yīmas of these Yīdams are generally agreeable to look at, but sometimes have demon features or several heads and generally many arms with hands laden with weapons and the inevitable skull.

III.—The term Bodhisattva in orthodox Buddhism means a perfect being who has acquired in previous existences prodigious merits which he renounces in order to devote them in love and compassion to the salvation of other beings, who makes a vow in order to attain bodhi and is designed to become a Buddha in a future worldly existence. It is in fact the title which Sākyamūni bears in the Tushita heaven and on earth until he becomes Buddha. With it he consecrates Maitreya, his successor, before incarnating himself for the last time. It seems then that at that time there was only one Bodhisattva in Heaven as there was only one Buddha on earth, but the Mahāyāna by multiplying the number of the Buddhas also multiplied that of the Bodhisattvas infinitely, applying that venerable title to abstract personifications of intelligences, virtues, forces, phenomena and ideas, and at the same time to saints destined to become Buddhas. Hence this group includes personages of very different nature and origin.

First come the Dhiāni-Bodhisattvas, emanations of the 5 Dhiāni-Buddhas personifying their active energies and named Samuntabhadra, Vajrapāni, Ratiṣṭambha, Avalokiteśvara or Pādmapāni and Vis-

1 Byang-C'ab-Sems-'dpah. 2 P'yag-rdro.
3 Kun-tu-brang-po. 4 P'yag-rin-chen.
Avalokiteswara.

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wapāni. Three of these are merely nominal divinities, although much prayed to. Only the second and fourth fulfil very important roles both in religious legend and in popular tradition. Vajrapāni enjoys more propagation than genuine adoration, if we understand by that a feeling of gratitude and love, probably because of his demon-like appearance in his Tantric form. On the other hand Padmapāni, 'the lotus-handed' or 'he who holds the lotus in his hands,' is above all the beloved being, venerated, adored, besought in all circumstances in preference to the greatest Buddhas themselves, including even his spiritual father Amitābha.

Many reasons explain the special devotion which Avalokiteswara enjoys. He presided at the formation of the actual universe, and is charged to protect it against the enterprises of the demons and to develop in it the beneficent action of the Good Law. Then he personifies charity, compassion, love of one's neighbour; more than any other he is helpful, and in his infinite kindness has manifested and still manifests himself in the world in incarnations whenever there is a danger to avert, a misdeed of the demons to repair, or a wretch to save. Lastly he presides, seated at Amitābha's right hand, over the paradise of Sukhāvati whose portals he opens to all who invoke him with devotion, love and faith. He might almost be called the redeemer, if the idea of redemption were not irreconcilable with the Buddhist dogma of personal responsibility and the fatal consequences of one's own acts. As protector and savior as well as in remembrance of his repeated incarnations Avalokiteswara assumes, according to the part attributed to him, very different forms corresponding to his 33 principal incarnations. Generally he is represented seated (or standing to signify action) as a handsome youth, crowned and richly attired. Very rarely he is given a feminine aspect.

At other times he has several heads and arms. His most celebrated image has 11 heads, arranged in a pyramid, and 32 arms. In this form he is the recognised patron of Tibet. In his mystic and Tantric cult he has as Shakti the goddess Doma, a benevolent form of the Shivaistic Kāli, styled in India Tārā the helper. Besides this special office Tārā forms one of the celestial Bodhisattvas in twenty-one transformations, each the object of a fervent cult, for the Mahāyāna assigns a great place in its pantheon to the feminine element—in opposition to the Hinayāna.

Below the Dhiāni Bodhisattvas functions the numerous class of beings also called Bodhisattvas or would-be Buddhas, some purely imaginary, personifications of virtues or even books, others who lived or passed for having lived, canonized saints, some of whom may be regarded as having had a historical existence, such as the king Srongtsan Gampo and his two wives who are regarded as incarnations of Tārā under the names of the White and Green Tārā. At the head of this class stands Manjūśrī, occupying a place

1 P'ya-γa-l'cog.
2 Sgro-l-ma.
3 Sgro-l-ma (kar-pa and Ijhang ku.
4 Hjams-l-bhayangs-pa ; pron. Jam-jang. His svart of great understanding cut the darkness of ignorance.
so high that he is often ranked as a Dhiāni-Bodhisattva, who personifies the transcendent knowledge or wisdom of Buddhism. He is recognised by his flaming sword, held in his right hand, while a book supported by a lotus stalk figures on his left. He is always seated on a lotus or on a lion who rests on a lotus. Among the principal Bodhisattvas also stands Maitreya the future Buddha, who is seated like a European. Then come the 21 Tārás, saviours and compassionate, Shaktis of Avalokitesvara; and finally the female Bodhisattva Odzer-cham-ma more usually called rDorje-p'ag-mo, who is perpetually incarnated in the abbess of Palti and who may be recognised by her three heads, one that of a sow. Speaking generally the Bodhisattvas are intermediaries and intercessors between men and the Buddhas.

IV.—The lāmas.—By lāma the Buddhists translate the Sanskrit gurū. The lāmas as a body include very diverse elements. They have attained nirvāṇa, but not the absolute parinirvāṇa, which would preclude them from re-appearing on earth or interesting themselves in worldly affairs, even in the progress of religion and so on. In the first rank are the 12 grūdchen or wizards, imitated from the Vedic rishis, having acquired sanctity and supernatural power by austerities, mortifications of the flesh and, above all, by magical practices. Then come the 16 arhats or chief disciples of the Buddha, the 18 sthaviras, his patriarchal successors or heads of the principal sects, the Indian or Tibetan pandits who introduced, spread or restored Buddhism in Tibet, the founders of the schools of philosophy, religious sects and great monasteries, and in brief all the dignitaries regarded as perpetual incarnations of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, saints or gods who are on this account styled ‘living’ or ‘incarnated’ Buddhas. At the head of this group the Gelugpas naturally place Tsong-kha-pa, their founder, and the Dalai-lāmas from Gedūn-grīb downwards. It begins chronologically with Nāgārjuna and his disciple Aryadeva, the founder and propagator of the Mahāyāna in India, Padma Sambhava and Santa-Rākṣita who introduced it into Tibet, and Atisa its reformed. Then comes Brom-ton, founder of the Kadampas, Sakyapa Pandita (13th century), and others.

V.—The Dākkīnīs.—The Mahāyāna, having borrowed most of its inferior divinities from Shivaism, especially Tantric Shivaism which makes the cult of the Shaktis predominant over that of the god himself, was compelled to give the Dākkīnīs precedence over the male gods. Sometimes they are represented as beautiful young women, adorned like queens, but more often with fearful visages, with animal heads crowned with flaming hair, and so on, either to indicate that they can torment and ruin those who neglect their worship, or more probably to signify their power to destroy the demons whom it is their mission to combat. Nevertheless all have a twofold character, benevolent and demoniac or maleficent. They are the Yūms of the Yidams, Buddhas etc., but also play most important personal parts. Many monasteries, even among those of the orthodox sect, are consecrated to one of them as tutelary patron, as are many Tibetan families. First in
rank stands Lha-mo (Mahá-Kálli), "mother of the gods". She is represented in 15 different forms, but especially as a woman of frightful aspect holding a club with a dead man's head at its end, a skull for cap, and riding on a steed harnessed with human hide—said to be that of her own son killed by her for the sins of his father. Another important group is that of the six Mka'-hdro-ma, of whom the powerful Seng-gel-gdgon-c'än has a lion’s head and dances naked on the bodies of men and animals.

VI.—The Choö-chong® or Drag-geogs include almost all the gods of Hinduism, represented as Yidams and Dākkhinis under a demonic aspect, although they are the recognized defenders of the Law and the universe against the demons. The most venerated are Yáma, judge of the dead, and Kuvera,® god of wealth.

VII.—The Tul-ha or terrestrial gods.—This group includes the various deities appointed to guard the world. It comprises a good many Hindu gods, such as Brahma, Indra, Chandra, Garúla etc., reduced to the status of inferior divinities, servitors and enhermen of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, as well as a number of gods, probably Tibetan in origin, such as Pihar or Behar, the patron of monasteries in general, Dala,® god of war, a kind of Hercules usually accompanied by a black dog who above all makes war on demons, and Me-lha, god of fire and also of the domestic hearth.

VIII.—The Sa-bdag or local gods are of purely Tibetan origin and are charged with the protection of the land, hills, rivers etc., etc. They are very numerous and as each locality has its special protector they cannot be named or even numbered, but one, Nang-lha, god of the house, who is represented with the head of a hog or wild boar, is worshipped throughout Tibet. But while he protects the house he is also a tyrant for if he chooses to dwell on the hearth the cooking fire must be carried elsewhere, under penalty of his wrath, and so on. He changes his abode about once every two months. The family gods are in reality ancestors for whom special ceremonies are observed at each change of season.

IX.—The Geogs or demons are a perpetual source of terror to the Tibetans who attribute to them every material ill from which the country may suffer as well as such trivial annoyances of daily life as milk boiling over. They are styled collectively geogs or 'enemies' and the most dreaded are the lha-ma-giu, corresponding to the asuras, the dūd-po, phantoms, spectres and ghosts, and above all the Sin-dje, henchmen of the god of death. All the demons are the object of practices, magical ceremonies and offerings designed to propitiate them, and of exorcisms for which the lama must be resorted to and out of which they make a good part of their income.

® Chöö-skyong.
® Sin-dje.
® Dzer-hva-lá.
® Rgra-lha.
The term lama is applied indiscriminately to the clergy of Tibet, but strictly speaking it should only be applied to high dignitaries who only acquire it after having given proofs of profound knowledge. In reality the clergy is composed of 5 distinct classes: the gangyen\(^1\) or listener, the gtsul\(^2\) or novice, the gelong\(^3\) or ordained priest, the lama or superior priest and the khangpo\(^4\) or overseer (abbott or bishop). Above this hierarchy in which promotion is earned by merit and holiness are two higher ranks conferred by birth, those of khülgilga, the incarnation of a Tibetan saint, and of khülśātū, that of a Hindu saint. Finally the edifice is crowned by the two sublime dignitaries, the Panchen Rinpoche and the Dalai Lāma.

The attractions of the priesthood are many, but they are strengthened by a law or usage\(^5\) which compels every family to vow one of its sons, ordinarily the eldest, to the priesthood. The boy is presented at the age of 7 or 8 by his father, mother or guardian in a monastery. After a cursory examination of the family's standing\(^6\) he is medically examined as any deformity, epilepsy, leprosy or phthisis would disqualify him. The boy is then entrusted to some kinsman in the monastery or to an aged monk who is charged with his literary and religious education. He keeps his lay garb and his hair and can be visited by his kinsmen every week. After two or three years of study, legally two suffice, his gegan or religious instructor asks for his admission as a gangyen or catechumen, which necessitates a rigid examination of his conduct and attainments.

At the age of not less than 15 the gangyen can solicit admission to the novitiate. Aided by his preceptor he presents himself before the chapter of the monastery and answers the questions prescribed by the Vajrapāṇa, as to his person and condition, and undergoes a severe examination in dogma. If he fails he is sent back to his family and his preceptor is fined. If he succeeds he is made to take the vows of prajñāpāramitā or quitting his house, his head is shaved, he is dressed in the red or yellow robe of his order and given the regulative utensils. He thus becomes a gtsul and can attend all religious functions, without taking an active part in them.

At 20 after further study of theology, he may ask to be ordained. This requires a fresh examination, lasting three days and a series of debates on religious topics, tests so difficult that the unhappy candidate is allowed three tries. If he fails he is definitely expelled the order, but generally proceeds to exercise irregular functions as a sorcerer

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\(^1\) Dge-lha-gon, corr. to Sanskr. upadha
\(^2\) Dgo-tsun, corr. to S. aramagopa
\(^3\) Dge-dan-gon, corr. to S. aramama
\(^4\) Mdan-po, corr. to S. sthansta
\(^5\) Called btsun-grol
\(^6\) Certain monasteries only admit candidates of high rank in which case the investigation is very searching.
The lamaist clergy.

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lāma in the villages. If he passes he is invested with all rights and powers of the finished cleric.

Once invested with the character of holiness the gelong is qualified to act in all the rites of the cult and may even become, by election, head of a minor monastery. So the majority go no further, but the more ambitious or those devoted to learning go to continue their studies in the great university-monasteries such as Dzong, Ser, Galdan, Garmakhiya and Morū. The two last teach especially astrology, magic and other occult sciences as well as theology and mathematics. After difficult and costly examinations the successful candidate can obtain the degree of gesé or licentiate, with which most are contented; or rahjampa or tharumba, 'doctor in theology.' Adepta in occult science take the special title of choi-chong. The holder of any of these degrees is entitled to be styled lāma. Another honorific title choi-je is awarded by the Dalai Lāma or the Panchen Rinpoche to clerics distinguished by sanctity, but it confers no right to exercise the superior functions which the gesés and tharumbas can perform. Among the former are chosen the superiors of the monasteries of middling importance, some being elected by the chapters, others being nominated by the Dalai Lāma or Panchen Rinpoche. The latter supply the khanyos who are promoted by those two hierarchs to form his entourage with the title of Councillor or Taglil. They thus correspond to the cardinals of the Roman church fulfilling various functions, such as abbots of the great monasteries, with an ecclesiastical jurisdiction like that of bishop, coadjutor of the incarnate Lāmas, governors of provinces and occasionally generals of the army.

The khabsigaus are very numerous, but enjoy a purely local influence, confined to the district of their own monasteries, whereas the khudraktu, fewer in number, receive a greater veneration and their spiritual authority almost independent is exercised over wide areas. They include such dignitaries as the Dev or Deva-raja, the spiritual and temporal sovereign of Bhutan.

Another high dignitary in the Lamaic church is the grand Lāma of the sect and monastery of Sakya who, though not an incarnation, is the hereditary successor of Matilvaja, nephew of the celebrated Sakya Pandita P'agspa who converted Mongolia and on whom the emperor Khübila Khán conferred, in 1270 spiritual authority over all Tibet. In spite of the predominance of the orthodox Gelugpa order, the State church, his authority is still very great and is acknowledged, at least nominally, by all the sects of 'red' lāmas who are opposed to that of the Dalai Lāma. Tibetan politics centre round the position of the Dalai Lāma whose authority is more nominal than real. Even his

1 Dgo-ses.
2 Ral-ba-byams-pa.
3 C's-skyong.
4 C's-spyi, lit., 'noble of the Law.'
5 The 'red' lāmas of the Sakya order are permitted to marry.
spiritual and doctrinal authority is frequently disputed by dissenting sects, which nevertheless regard him as chief of the religion and revere him as a true incarnation of Chanses and his representative on earth.

The lamas only distantly resemble the bhikshus of early Buddhism. Wool has naturally replaced cotton in their garb, but in order to observe the canon which required a monk in the presence of a superior or of the sangha or in the temple to wear a mantle draper over the left shoulder so as to expose the right shoulder and arm, the Tibetan monk during the offices wears a mantle or large scarf (tagoi) over his other vestments. This scarf is, like the robe, yellow for the orthodox sect and red for the unreformed or Nyigrap€ sects. Instead of going bareheaded the lamas wear caps or hats, red or yellow, of felt or silk, to indicate not only the sect but the rank of the wearer; and for use during the offices they have a choir cap, always red or yellow, which is kind of stiff Phrygian cap surmounted sometimes by a crest of chenille which gives it a curious resemblance to the Grecian helmets of the Homeric age.

Like the bhikshu the Tibetan monk must have certain utensils, viz., a bowl to receive alms in, a razor and a needle-case, as well as a rosary, a praying-wheel, a small gourd for holy water, enclosed in a kind of bag of cloth, silk or velvet, a tinder-box and a knife. Generally the begging bowl as useless is replaced by a wooden tea-cup of the common type. The bowl is the less necessary as daily begging has been suppressed, the monks being supported by the vast resources of the monasteries which are continually being increased by voluntary gifts or by imposts of all kinds levied on the pious superstitious of the faithful laity. The canon has also been greatly relaxed as regards abstinence and diet generally. The fasts are less frequent and severe, being restricted to the rainy season (vasara)—or rather to the corresponding period in the calendar, for there is no monsoon in Tibet. The end of the time during which it falls in India is observed as a rigid fast for four days and by certain solemn ceremonies for which the community prepares by fasts of two, three or four days. Exemptions can however be obtained in case of illness or weakness, and the fasts are also sensibly mitigated by the consumption of tea which is only deemed to break the fast of the fourth day of the vyu$m^ar, 'to continue the abstinence,' a ceremony during which it is forbidden even to swallow one's saliva. The canon does not interdict such austerities and mortifications of the flesh, however severe, as the devout may wish to impose on themselves, but in theory the assent of one's superiors should be obtained unless one belongs to the class, by no means numerous, of the hermit ascetics who are not dependent on any monastery. The only dietary rule incumbent on the bhikshus was to avoid eating more than one meal a day and this rule is observed in Tibet but mitigated by the absorption of many cups of tea (eight or ten during the exercises and offices) and two or three cups of teagruel, a mixture of tea, milk and butter, every morning and evening. While the principal meal is taken in the common refectory or separately in the cells these collation of tea or gruel are served in the hall of the monas-
tery or even in the temple during suspensions of the office arranged for the purpose.

The modifications which Buddhism has undergone have changed the daily life of the monks profoundly. While the bhikshu of its early phase had no occupations save to take his turn at begging, to listen to the Master's teaching, meditate on the truths of the Law and endeavour to spread them, the institution of a cult which has become more and more complex created for the priest-monk new and absorbing duties, in Tibet more than elsewhere, looking to the eminently sacerdotal character which it assumed there. Without describing the studies, serious and difficult enough, which candidates must undergo, the daily life in the cloisters of the lamaist monk is in reality very minutely occupied. A little before dawn the tinkling of the bell or the resonant call of the conch summons the denizens of the monastery who, as soon as they awake, matter a prayer, make hasty ablutions and recite on their rosaries the prayers specially consecrated to their tutelary deities of whom each chooses one as his patron saint. At a fresh signal from bell or trumpet monks and novices, dressed in choral mantle and hat, go in procession to the temple and in profound silence take their seats according to their rank. There, after some prayers, tea is served and then they perform the ritual in honour of the Bodhisattva Chenresi, of the holy disciples of Buddha and of the Yidams and for the welfare of dead commended to their prayers. Then they take a repeat of tea and gruel and after an invocation to the Sun withdraw to their cells for private devotions. Towards 9 A.M. the community re-assembles in the temple for a service in honour of the divinities who guard against the demons. At midday a new convention is followed by the chief meal of the day. Then they are free till 1 P.M. when they re-assemble to make offerings at the temple, to teach novices, to debate questions of dogma, discipline and philosophy. Finally at 7 P.M. they gather together for the last time to do the service of acts of grace, followed by the daily examination of the tasks of the novices and candidates. During each sitting tea is served thrice.

But these do not exhaust a lama's functions. In Tibet he is not merely a priest. He is teacher, scholar, physician, writer, and artist, wizard, and he should devote himself in the moments of freedom, which the sacred offices leave him, to the branch of occupation which he has chosen. In the monasteries all or nearly all the monks are charged with the education of boys destined to the priesthood, and in the villages, where there are no schools, it is the resident lama, generally one of the failures of the nearest monastery, who fulfils the functions of schoolmaster and teaches children to read, write and cipher well enough to use the ready-reckoner. It is noteworthy that even in the tents of the nomad shepherds men and women possess the rudiments of education. As writers and calligraphists many lamas devote themselves to re-copying the sacred writings or reprinting them by means of wooden blocks. While lay artists are not unknown, especially at Lhasa, the works of monkish artists are preferred on account of the sanctity which attaches to their works. These include illuminated manuscripts, paintings on silk, cloth and paper, frescoes, charms, amulets and metal-work, usually of a religious character.
The practice of medicine is entirely in the hands of the lamas who, if indifferent surgeons, are skilled in the use of simples and learned in the secular lore of plants. They are also the only persons qualified to expel demons to whose maleficence all ills are ascribed. Exorcism is thus their chief source of income. As a science it is practised by all, even by those of the orthodox sect. Even in a temple it finds a place as the demons of evil must be expelled from it before the office is begun. Another important function of the lamas is the prediction of the future by astrology. But those of the orthodox sect to whom it is shown refuse as far as possible to lend themselves to these practices, which Tsong-khapa and the teachers of the sect condemned, though they are often obliged to perform them in order to satisfy the wishes of their faithful laymen.

Besides the monks there are communities of nuns, instituted on the model of the Indian Bhikshunis. To such foundations Buddha only assented with reluctant. The nuns in Tibet are subject to the same obligations as the monks, wear the same garb, though the robe is slightly longer, and have to sacrifice their hair. But their discipline is stricter. They must obey 258 rules of conduct instead of 250 as the monks do. They owe respect and obedience to the monks whatever their rank, and all their convents, even if there be an abbes, are subject to the spiritual and disciplinary direction of an aged monk from the nearest monastery who presides even at the general confession of the Pratimoksha. At one time nuns were numerous in Tibet, but now-a-days their numbers have diminished. Their principal order has its seat in the monastery at Samding and its abbes is a perpetual incarnation of the goddess or feminine Bodhisattva, Dorje Plagmo,¹ who is represented with three heads, one a sow’s.

Om mani padme hum.—This formula we are now able to explain. It has hitherto been explained as meaning: ‘Oh, thou jewel in the lotus!’ But it is clear that Manimadme is the vocative of Manipadma, the deity of the jewel lotus, the sktita of Manipadam who must be identical with Padmapani or Avalokiteswara. The formula goes back to the times of Sron-bisun-sgam-po.²

The Hindu-Buddhists of Lahul—I have said that Spiti is the only portion of British Territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hinduism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kulu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alex. Anderson, the officer in charge of Kulu, writes:—”In Kulu including Waziri Rupi and outer and inner Soora, the population is Hindu with scarcely an exception. In Spiti the only religion is Buddhism. In Lahul there is a mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hinduism in Lahul has advanced, and Buddhism

¹ Sanskr. Vajravahini, ‘sow of diamond.’
retreated. In the valley of the Chandra Bhāga, Hinduism has always existed, and is now the prevailing religion. No doubt some Buddhist observances still exist, modifying Hinduism more or less; and in secret the people may observe some Buddhist customs more than they will publicly admit. But they are brought by trade into close intercourse with the people of Kulu, and find it to their advantage, from the social point of view, to prefer Hinduism. In the separate valleys of the Chandra and the Bhāga, Buddhism has a much stronger hold than in the valley of the united rivers. But here again Hinduism is advancing. The people declare that they are Hindu Kanets, though they are probably more Buddhist than Hindu; and the Moravian missionaries at Kailang state that caste distinctions, which do not exist among pure Buddhists, are becoming more marked. The Lamas of Lāhul will not eat with a European, while the Lamas of Tibet have no objection to doing so. This advance of Hinduism is ascribed in part to the influence of the Thākurs or Barons of Lāhul; but it is, apart from such influence, which doubt has its effect, inevitable and natural. These two valleys (the separate valleys of the Chandra and Bhāga) are best described as a margin or debatable land between the two religions, though at present they are more Buddhist than Hindu. The people were once Buddhists and are now to a great degree. But they have accepted caste and respect Brahmins to some extent, and though, it is known that many of their religious observances are of a Buddhist character, still they are accepted in Hindu Kulu as Hindus."

Mr. Heyde, the Moravian missionary, puts the case rather more strongly for Buddhism. He writes:—"Buddhism is the dominant religion throughout the separate valleys of the Bhāga and Chandra. The professors of it in these parts seem to prefer to call themselves Hindu, but this is a mere pretension. They are Buddhists, and the majority wish at present to be nothing else. However, in speaking of the now prevailing religions of Lāhul, one must not forget that both Brahmanism and Buddhism are still to a great extent pervaded by the demon worship which no doubt alone prevailed in Lāhul in early times".

1 In an account of the religion of Lāhul written for Mr. Lyall in 1868 by Rev. Mr. Heyde, whose long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs ensured his accuracy, that gentleman described the religion of Lāhul as "essentially Buddhism." He stated that pure Hindus were found in only a few villages, and were a very set of Brahmins and that those of the remaining population, who were not pure Buddhists, "looked more strongly towards Buddhism than Brahmanism." They maintained Buddhist monasteries, abjured beef, and "in case of severe illness &c., would call in both Lamas and Brahmins who performed their respective rites at one and the same time."—D. L.

3 Mr. Anderson says elsewhere: "In Lāhul I do not consider that all are Hindus. There are Lamas who would certainly have been shown as Buddhists, but there is a tendency to ignore Buddhism in Lāhul." These Lamas must have returned themselves as Hindus unless there was some error in the compilation of our figures. The papers were in an unknown character and tongue, and had to be translated orally; but there could hardly have been any confusion about such a plain entry as that of religion; and if these had been, it is difficult to see why it should have been confined to the figures of Lāhul and to the Buddhists only, and should not have affected those of Spiti and of other religions in Lāhul also. There appear to have been only seven of these Lamas in Lāhul in 1872, though there were also 110 cultivating landholders who had taken Lamaic vows but "had very little of the monk about them."—D. L.
Ibhetan 1 254.

Even the transition from Hindu to nominal Buddhist and back again seems to be possible. Mr. Anderson writes in another place:—"A Kanet (a Hindu caste) cuts his scalp-lock and becomes the disciple of some Lâma, and this may even be after marriage. The Lâmas of Lâhul may marry, the sons belonging to their father's original caste. Lâmas sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their scalp-locks to grow, and are again received as Kanets. These facts show how intimately Hinduism and Buddhism are connected in Lâhul. It is still common for both Brahmans and Lâmas to be present at weddings and funerals."

It would appear that there is little of Buddhism about the Lâhul Lâmas save their title. Even in small things the progress of Hinduism is visible. When Dr. Aitchison visited Lâhul the people would not see a rule kill an animal, eating only those which died naturally. But when the craving for the fleshpot grew too strong, several combined in the slaughter in order to diminish the crime of each by distributing it over many. Now-a-days sheep and goats are commonly slaughtered without any scruple. Even in 1868 the so-called pure Buddhists freely sacrificed sheep and goats to the (âs or local genii, employed Brahmans in many of their ceremonies, and shared in all the superstitions and beliefs in witches and magic of their Hindu brethren. The same change which has taken place in Lâhul has apparently been going on in Upper Kanaur, for in 1829, when Captain Gerard visited it, the religion of this tract was most certainly an impure Buddhism, while in the present Census the State of Bashahr returns only one Buddhist among its inhabitants. In the Census of 1868 all the inhabitants of both Lâhul and Spiti were returned as Hindus, though Buddhists were separately shown for other districts; and in 1872 Mr. Lyall wrote thus on the subject:—The people of Lâhul have now-a-days so much traffic with Hindus that they cannot afford to be out of the pale, and are rapidly adopting all Hindu ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree even since the Râjâs of Kulu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Lâhuli and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindus; more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kulu and Chamba. The force of attraction which Hindu exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindus no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindu races into one great empire increases the power which Hinduism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindu, and as Hindus the Lâhulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botias (Tibetan) they would be left out in the cold. The Lâhuli now looks upon the name of Botia as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladakh, met his own brother-in-law, a Botia of Ladakh and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindu servants might tell tales against him in Kulu and Kangra.

LâHUL AND ITS PRE-BUDDHIST RELIGIONS.

The three dialects of Lâhul are Bihini, Manchat and Timan. Their
relationship to the Mundari languages is exactly the same as that of Kanauri though they possess a Tibetan vocabulary which preserves a phonetic stage of that language much more archaic than any known dialect of Tibetan.

Manchat is also the name of a tract which has preserved an ancient custom, probably Mundari. A slab of stone is put up by the roadside in memory of a deceased person and on many of them is a rock-carving of a human figure in the centre or a portrait of the deceased in relief. These erected recently have a spot smeared with oil in the centre. In the village temples stone slabs are also found on which are carved rows of figures, often exceeding ten in number. These too are well bathed in oil. At irregular intervals rich families which have lost a member continue to feast the whole village and a slab with these portraits of the dead is placed in the temple in recognition of this. The older slabs represent the ancient costume of Lāhul—a tuck reaching from the loins to the knees, with a head-dress of feathers for the chiefs similar to that of the North American Indians. In this costume a rock-carving near Kyelang depicts a man hunting the wild sheep.

The most ancient religions of Lāhul were probably phallus and snake worship—the cults of the fertilising powers of sun and water. The original phallus was a raw stone, set up in a small grove or near a temple door. It was smeared with oil or butter. The polished stones found in Manchat owe their origin to the introduction of modern Hinduism into the valley—from the Chamba side in the 11th century A.D. The village temples are small huts with a sloping gable roof of shingles and a ram’s head, also a symbol of creative power, at the end of the topmost beam. They preserve the oldest type of habitation in Lāhul—which was probably evolved when the country was better timbered than it is now.

Human sacrifice at Kyelang was performed to benefit the fields. The peasants had to find a victim in turn—and probably slaves were kept for this purpose. One year a widow’s only son was to be sacrificed as she had no servants, but a wandering hermit offered to take his place if he were well fed till the day of execution. On the appointed day he was led with much noise to the wooden idol of the god of the fields whom he challenged to take his life. But the god failed to respond and so the hermit smote him with the executioner’s axe and cast the fragments of the idol into the river which carried them down to Gugti where they were caught and put up again. Another version, however, makes the god of the field a rose-tree which was borne down to Gugti by the water and there replanted. Since then the god has had to be content with the sacrifice of a goat and mention of the courageous lama’s name suffices toterrify him.

In Manchat the last human sacrifice was that of the queen, Būpi rājī, who was buried alive. With her last breath she cursed the name so that no one now lives to a greater age than she had attained when she was immolated.

Between 600 and 1000 A.D. the decline of Buddhism in Kashmir deprived its monks of their revenues and drove many of them to settle
in Ladakh and Western Tibet. The destruction of the monastery at Nalanda in the 9th century was its culminating disaster. Iotsava Rinchen-bangpo (c. 954) settled in Ladakh and the Kashmiri monks first settled at Sand in Zangskar and built the Kasika monastery.1

Buddhism seems to have entered Lahul from India in the 8th century A. D. The famous Buddhist missionary, Padma Sambhava, is mentioned in connection with its oldest Buddhist monasteries as well as Hindu places of worship in adjacent provinces. He visited Zahor (Mandi) and Gagra (= Garsha). Three such temples are known, viz. Gandula at the confluence of the Chandra and Bhāga, Kangshu in Manchul, and Tribkāth in Pāngi-Lahul. They are wooden structures with pyramidal roofs and interesting old wood carvings.

Lamaistic Buddhism entered Lahul in the 11th or 12th century and from about 1150 to 1347 Lahul formed a loose way part of the Ladakhi empire. The monasteries of this latter type are distinguished by their flat roofs.2

THE BUDDHISM OF KANAUJ.

An account of the form of Buddhism found in Kanauj is given in Vol. III, pp. 447-454, infra. To it the following list of the Tibetan gods popularly accepted in Kanauj, in theory if not in practice, may be added, together with a note on divination3:

The Tibetan deities and their mantras with explanations.

1. Nārāyaṇa (God) or Nānārah: is said to be of white complexion with two hands (holding an umbrella in the right, and with the left a mongoose vomiting diamonds), and riding on a lion called Singk. The mantra is: Om bohi-svaranad uññadā. "May God bless us."

2. Lāṅgān, nāraṇ or Chhāk-lak: the deity Ganesha, the remover of obstacles. He is represented as crimson in colour, with an elephant head having a human body with four hands, holding respectively a hook used in driving elephants, a noose as a weapon of war, a boon and a lotus, and having only one tusk. The mantra is: Om samhā ṛaṁnadā uññadā. "May God cast away all obstacles and bestow upon us wealth."

3. Īrā including Oghreingadvā: the goddess of wealth or long life, equivalent to Lakshmi or Mahalakshmi. She is represented as of golden colour, with two hands, holding in the right a spear, and in the left a diamond cup full of jewels, riding on horse-back. The mantra is: Om bhūkriḥā chhoṣam dīrkhā han kriṅ ḭep tāṅs uññadh. "O thou mother of the world, be pleased to grant us prosperity and long life."

1 The monks of Kasika wear the red robe which shows that the yellow robe of such monasteries as that at Ghungy was not introduced by monks from Kashmir: A. H. Francke, A Hist. of Western Tibet, p. 51.
2 I. 151-191.
3 Furnished by Prof. Tika Ram Joshi.
(4) Dakar, the Indian Trinity, equivalent to Dattātreyamuni, is represented as of white complexion, with three heads, yellow, white and blue in colour, and eight hands, holding respectively an image of the deity Hōyāmed, an arrow, a thunderbolt, and a boon in the four right hands; in the four left hands, abhaya, a noose, a bow and a nectar-sceptre respectively, and seated in the Padmasana attitude. The mantra is:—

Om sīh phaṃ ma lattā kārō tōde hula hula hām phat svāhā. "O thou reverend sage, promote our welfare, and destroy our enemies."

(5) Pālpatāmā, the supreme goddess, equivalent to Mahākāli, is represented as of dark blue colour with three eyes (one in her forehead) and four hands (holding in the right a naked sword and a human skull full of blood, and in the left a lotus and a long trident), wearing a garland of human heads and a snake of green colour as her sacred thread, riding on a mule, with a green snake for a bridle and a saddle of human skin, and with a crown of five human head-bones with a streak of moon in the centre. Her fierce teeth are exposed as is her tongue, and her eyes are full of indignation. The mantra is:—

Om hām āśrīgo deḥā kūṭā kūṭā mahā-kāli hām svā. "O supreme goddess, keep us from all evil."

(6) Palyā, a goddess or devi, is described as of white complexion, with two hands, offering a boon in the right, and the left in the Abhaya position. She is dressed in a splendid robe wearing many ornaments and much jewellery; seated on a lotus. The mantra is:—Om tārā tu tārā tuṇā tuṇā svāhā. "O goddess, thou, who art the remover of worldly troubles, bestowest upon us blessings."

(7) Nyingma-chöche, the deity of health and long life. The following is a mantra of this deity, used by the Tibetans and Kanaur people for securing a long, prosperous and healthy life. It is found in the scripture called Chos. They believe that whosoever repeats it daily as many times as possible, will enjoy a happy life for 100 years:—

O Nyingma-chöche darzen-chang-rāst,

diyog-med bāngā-dāmā-yang,

gung-mālā chha-dan-sāng-dakā,

dpal-dga' chung-gyān-chung-gsā,

lobza-gāl-pārā skya-las-snado.

(8) (a) Gambō chhag-dug-pa, the goddess Tārā, or Tārā-Devī, is described as of blue colour like the forget-me-not, with six hands, a fat short body, three eyes and wearing a lionskin. The mantra is:—Om sīhā kūm phat. "Turn away enemies."

(b) Gambō-chhāg-chab, Tārā-Devī, has four hands.

(c) Gambō-chhāg-rib, Tārā-Devī, has only two hands. In other respects these two are like Gambō-chhāg-dug-pa, and the mantras are the same.
(4) Gôkar-chhâg-dughâ, Târâ-Devî, is said to be of white complexion, but in other respects is like Gantô-chhâg-dughâ. The mantra is:—Om shum udiot chum moyg hüm phat svâhâ.

(5) Gantô-penyin chhug-ying si-zub, Târâ-Devî, is of white complexion, having four heads and four arms and wearing a garland of human heads, but resembling in other respects Gantô-chhâg-dughâ. The mantra is:—Gantô paog gantô paog, hüm phat svâhâ, hâm phat svâhâ, kâmâhâ bhagawânâ bâjâh hâlilrântâ hüm phat svâhâ, 'O goddess, be pleased to accept this milk, and shower down upon us thy blessings.'

The following is a chant or mantra, found in the chânas, to be repeated daily for the success of any business or transaction:—

Om bôjê sîtâ sâmâtâ panâ pilâ tinüghâ, tiya tiya mokâ, suphâyâ mokâ, satâ satâ sunâ, sahâ sahâ, sunâ, sunâ, hâm phat svâhâ.

The following six chants or mantras of the Tibetan scriptures, written in the Tibetan character called Bhûmi, are repeated many times (often more than a hundred) by the Lamas to cure a man suffering from the influence of an evil-spirit, ghost, demon &c.:—

(1) Om yâmô râjâ sâbhâ mâyâ,
    yâmô dârâ nêyô dêyâ,
    yâyâ nîrâ yûkhâyâ,
    ohamâ râmâ hüm hâm phat phat svâhâ.
(2) Om ten-gyu sîkâ hüm phat.
(3) Om delhyâ râi hüm phat.
(4) Om dantâ râkâ hüm phat.
(5) Om bôjê râi hüm phat.
(6) Om mud râi hüm phat.

Divination:

Divination by a series of 50 picture cards is practised in Kanaur, as well as in Tibet. The full description of it is too long to be reproduced here, but many of the cards are pictures of gods etc. which are of considerable interest.

For example:—

1. Pâk-pâ-jam-pâl: the deity Dharmanâj or Dharmanâjâ means:—'You will succeed by worshipping your deity.'

2. Chong-mong-bu-thong-mâ padminip: a lady with her son:—'You will get many sons and be successful in your affairs; any trouble can be averted by adoration of your deity.'

3. Sûn-gyâ-mallâ, Ashwini-kumâra: the celestial physician:—'You are to attain long life and always succeed, but keep your mind firmly fixed on God.'
4. Dug-čul Nāga Sheshanāga; the cobra:—"This forebodes no good but loss of money, corn, and animals; and but danger of illness; by worship of your deity, a little relief may be obtained."

5. Seča-gāri: the golden hill, Sumeru-parvata:—"You will achieve success; and if there is fear of illness, it can be removed by worship of your deity."

6. Tāk sma-sra: the Celestial tree which grants everything desired:—"You are welcome everywhere; your desires will be fulfilled but with some delay; if there is any risk of sickness, recovery is to be gained by adoration of your deity."

7. Șāl-ba-mo: the goddess Devī Bhagavati:—"You are to obtain prosperity of every kind; the king will be pleased with you; but in the attainment of your objects there will be quarrels; a woman is troublesome to you, but should you agree with her you will be successful."

8. Sān-gyā-tām-bā: the deity Buddha Shākya Singha:—"The king is greatly pleased with you; your desire will be achieved; but if you fear illness, then worship your deity steadfastly."

9. Gyul-bo: the king of ghosts, Brahma-rahuhas:—"You will be unsuccessful in every way; your friends have turned against you; an evil spirit pursues you; better engage in God's service, or make a pilgrimage to your deity, then your fate will be all right."

10. Nām-gyā-bum-bā: the nectar-pot, Amrita-kālaka:—"The auspices are excellent; if you are suffering from any illness, worship of your deity will soon restore you to health."

11. Rāl-di: a dža-ba-thāgā:—"All your desires will be fulfilled; you will be blessed with an heir; you are to receive wealth from the king; if there is any trouble, it is on account of your kinmen, and can be only removed by agreeing with them."

12. Dima-ba-lāk: a female evil spirit, dākini or dāyan:—"You are to lose wealth and suffer great trouble; your relatives are against you; there is no remedy but to worship your deity steadfastly, and that will indeed give a little relief."

13. Dug-se-gyā dū: the thunder-bolt, bāra:—"He is your enemy whom you take for a friend; there is some fear from the king, perhaps you may be fined; your object will not be gained, so it is better for you to adore your deity."

14. Yar-ďu-ma: a goddess, dvest:—"You are devoted to everyone's welfare, but there is a doubt as to the accomplishment of your desire; you will be successful but only after great delay; if you ask about anyone's sickness it is due to the anger of your deity, whose worship will of course remove the trouble."

15. Ni-nd: the sun, Surya:—"You earn much, but it is all spent; your friends and relatives are ungrateful; at first you will suffer great trouble, but at last you will succeed; if there is anyone indisposed, then it is owing to the lack of worship of your deity, whose adoration will certainly remove the sickness."
16. *Dug*: thunder of the cloud, *Megha-garjaná*: — You are welcome to everybody; you are to be blessed with prosperity; if there is anyone ill in the family, it is due to his defiling a water-spring, which should be well cleansed, then he will recover.

17. *Du-chhi* mon-há: a golden pot, *swarna-kalasha*: — You are always happy, and your desires will be fulfilled; should you be suffering from illness ask the help of a physician and worship your deity heartily, then you will be in perfect health.

18. *Ser-nya-nya*: of fish, *mina-yuga*: — You will get much wealth and many sons; the king will hold you in esteem; your desire will be fulfilled with but little delay; if there is anyone ill in the family, then have the worship of your deity duly performed and he will be restored to health.

19. *Páu-chhenó*: the king of the Bhils, *Bhillra-sáta*: — You have great fear of your enemy, but be assured that he will be destroyed; the king will be pleased with you, and all will love you; if there is someone ill he should devote some time to the worship of his deity, which will restore him to perfect health.

20. *Chha-lung*: a sheep, *Makikó*: — You have a quarrel with your kinsmen; you are to suffer from some disease; there is no remedy save worship of your deity, by which a little relief may be obtained.

21. *Sia-mord-chá-má*: a she-cannibal, *Manushya-bhukshika*: — You are to lose health and prosperity; your offspring will never live; if you ask about anyone's sickness that is due to failure to worship your deity, but if you heartily adore him there will be some relief.

22. *Sáu-Sán-pi*: the golden mountain, *amapa pareta*: — All have enmity with you, even your relatives are against you and you are fond of quarrels; there is also fear of illness, which is due to your troubling a woman; should you agree with her, there will be no fear of it.

23. *Sáu-láu*: (2nd) Batanka-Bhairava, the deity Bhairava: — You have prosperity, servants, and quadrupeds; your desire will be fulfilled; should there be anyone sick in the family, it is due to his committing some sin in a temple, and that can be removed by the worship of your deity.

24. *Mui-khi-se-chó*: a parrot, *lóla* or *maid*: — There will be a quarrel; you will have to suffer much by sickness, which is due to your impurity in the god's service; you should worship your deity steadily, then you will get some relief.

25. *Gí-t磅*: a steed: — You are to lose wealth; you frequent the society of the wicked; spend money in bad ways; there is no remedy but to worship your deity, without whose favour you will not be successful.

26. *Nyáu-bá-un-thok*: a mariner or sailor: — You will fail in your business and have no hope of success at all; there is risk to health, but if you worship your deity you will get a little relief.
27. Skyā-bā-khyi: a hunting-dog:—"The king is against you; your friends act like enemies; should there be someone ill, he will have to suffer much, and for this there is no remedy but to worship your deity, by which you will get a little relief."

28. Hām-a-prā: the peacock, mājāra:—"You have a dispute with your kinsmen; your mind is full of anxiety; loss of money and honour is impending; all are against you, so it will be well for you to worship your deity heartily."

29. Chāng-sa-dor-ba: the deity Kāla-bhairava:—"Fortune is to smile on you; you will reap a good harvest, get good servants and quadrupeds; if there is anyone ill in the family, then he will be restored to perfect health by worship of his deity.

30. Dar-ba: the thunderbolt, bāsa:—"All your desires will be fulfilled; you will be blessed with many sons; the king will favour you, and your enemies will not succeed in troubling you."

31. Dung: conch-shell, thākha:—

32. Chā-rok: a crow, kāka, kawā:—

33. Gān-kār-ba: the Mānas-lake, Mānas-sarovara:—
all three of good omen.

34. Chāng-tak: the lion, sīnha:—a bad omen.


37. Chā-khyung: the vehicle of Vishnu, gātara, Vishnu-rath:—
a good omen.

38. Ted: a monkey, bandar, vānara:—

39. Tung-rung: a wheel, chakra:—

40. Chhok-ta-kār-ba: the temple of the man-lion, Nṛsiṃha
mandir:—
all three good omens.

41. Chāng-kū-ru-faud: a lion, sīnha:—

42. Nād-pa: disease, rājāvaddha:—
both bad omens.

43. Sīngha: a lion:—a good one.

44. Dong-ba: a camel, nātruk, nāt:—a very bad one.

45. Chhok-kang: A small temple to the Buddhas made on the roof of the home:—a good omen.

46. Chhumbit: a cascade, jalaikārā:—a fairly good one.

47. Nar-ba: the fire, Aṅgī:—a very good one.

48. Meri-nāk-po: the smoke, dhānak, dhānāk:—a bad one.

49. Dhan-yun-chā: a cow, gāya, gau:—

50. Rab: a ram, maleha, khāra:—
both good omens.
The ruling family of Bashahr is, according to the Sāstras, held to be of divine origin, and the Lamaic theory is that each Rājā of Bashahr is at his death re-incarnated as the Guru Lama or Guru of the Lamas, who is understood to be the Dalai Lama of Tibet. There is also another curious legend attached to the Bashahr family. For 61 generations each Rājā had only one son and it used to be the custom for the boy to be sent away to a village and not be seen by his father until his hair was cut for the first time in his sixth year. The idea that the first-born son is peculiarly dangerous to his father's life is not confined to Bashahr. Both these legends originate in the doctrine of the metempsychosis, which is prevalent in the hills of the North-East Punjab and indeed throughout these Provinces.
The following paragraphs are reproduced from Sir Denezil Ibbetson's Census Report of 1883 because they illustrate the position of Jainism at that time. Like Buddhism it was rapidly falling into the position of a mere sect of Hinduism. Like the Sikh, the orthodox Jain intermarries with Hindus, especially with the Vaishnavas, and apparently he does so on equal terms, there being no tendency to form a hypergamous Jain group taking brides from Vaishnavas or other Hindus but not giving their daughters in return. On the model of the Kshatriya Sikhs described in Vol. II, p. 353 "infra."-

The affinities of the Jain Religion. — The position which the Jain religion occupies with reference to Hinduism and Buddhism has much exercised the minds and pens of scholars, some looking upon it as a relic of Buddhism, while others and I believe far weightier authorities class it as a Hindu sect. In favour of this latter view we have, among others, the deliberate opinions of Horace Wilson and H. T. Colebrooke, who fully discuss the question and the arguments on either side. The latter concludes that the Jains constitute a sect of Hindus, differing indeed from the rest in some very imortant tenets, but following in other respects a similar practice, and maintaining like opinions and observances. The question of the origin of the religion and of its affinities with the esoteric doctrines of the two rival creeds may be left to scholars. We have seen how much of Hindu belief and practice has been intermingled with the teachings of Buddha as represented by the northern school of his followers; and it is probable that, had Buddhism survived as a distinct religion in India side by side with Brahminism, the admixture would have been infinitely greater. On the other hand, modern Hinduism has probably borrowed much of its esoteric doctrines from Buddhism. It is certain that Jainism, while Hindu in its main outlines, includes many doctrines which lean towards those of Buddha; and it may be that it represents a compromise, which sprung into existence during the struggle between Hinduism and Buddhism and the decay of the latter, and that as Dr. Rhys Davids says, the few Buddhists who were left in India at the Muhammadan conquest of Kashmir in the 18th century preserved an ignoble existence by joining the Jain sect, and by adopting the principal tenets as to caste and ceremonial observations of the ascendant Hindu creeds.

But as to its present position, as practised in the Punjab at least, with reference to the two faiths in their existing shape, I conceive that-

1 Speaking roughly the mixed group may be said to be the Brahmin are the main body of that caste, in Hooghly. The present writer in a more recent book has succeeded to the history of the caste. The Brahmins were originally Jains, recruited from Oswal and Khandibih Banes. They were reinforced by Sikhs or Saragis from the Agra district. As a title of some dignity and antiquity the name of Brahmin is still applied to and assumed by the Oswal, Khandibih Banes, Agra and any other Bani group whether orthodox Jains or unorthodox, or not Jains at all but Vaishnavas.

2 Dr. Buchanan, in his account of the Jains of Cenara, one of their present headquarters, taken from the south of their high priest, says: "The Jains are frequently confused with the Brahman who follow the Vedas with the worshippers of Buddha, but this arises from the pride of ignorance. So far are the Jains from acknowledging Buddha as their teacher, that they do not think that he is any worse a deceiver, but allege that he is undergoing various less metamorphoses as a punishment for his errors."
there can be no manner of doubt. I believe that Jainism is now as near akin to Hinduism as is the creed of the Sikhs, and that both can scarcely be said to be more than varieties of the parent Hindu faith; probably wider departures from the original type than are Vaishnavism and Saivism, but not so wide as many other sects which, being small and unimportant, are not generally regarded as separate religions. As a fact, the Punjab Jains strenuously insist upon their being good Hindus. I have testimony to this effect from the Bhaiyas of two districts in which every single Bháhra is returned as a Jain; and an Agarwal Bánia, an Extra Assistant Commissioner and a leading member of the Jain Community in Delhi, the Punjab head-quarters of the religion, writes: 'Jains (Sarógi) are a branch of Hindus, and only differ in some religious observances. They are not Buddhists.' Indeed the word Buddhist is unknown to the great part even of the educated natives of the Province, who are seldom aware of the existence of such a religion.

I think the fact that, till the disputes regarding the Sarógi procession at Delhi stirred up ill-feeling between the two parties, the Hindu (Vaishnava) and Jain (Sarógi) Bánias used to intermarry freely in that great centre of the Jain faith, and still do intermarry in other districts, is practically decisive as to the light in which the people themselves regard the affinities of the two religions. I cannot believe that the members of a caste which, like the Bánias, is more than ordinarily strict in its observance of all caste rules and distinctions and of the social and ceremonial restrictions which Hinduism imposes upon them, standing indeed in this respect second only to the Brahmans themselves, would allow their daughters to marry the followers of a religion which they looked upon as alien to their own. I have already explained how elastic the Hindu religion is, and how wide diversity it admits of under the cloak of sect; and I shall presently show that Sikhism is no bar to intermarriage. But Sikhism is only saved from being a Hindu sect by its political history and importance; while Buddhism is so utterly repugnant to Hinduism in all its leading characteristics, that any approach to it, at any rate in the direction of its social or sacerdotal institutions, would render communion impossible. Even in Kabul, where, as we have seen, Hinduism and Buddhism are so intermingled that it is difficult to say where the one begins and the other ends, intermarriage is unheard of. I shall briefly describe the leading tenets and practices of the Jains; and I think the description will of itself almost suffice to show that Jainism is, if not purely a Hindu sect, at any rate nearer to that religion than to the creed of Buddhism.

1 It is true that in Bhopal considerable animosity prevails between the Hindus and the Jains. There is a saying that: 'It is better to jump into a well than to pass a Jain Sacred on the road,' and another: 'A Hindu had better be overtaken by a wild elephant than take refuge in a Jain temple; and he may not run through the shadow of it, even to escape a tiger.' So true, many of the later Bhavishya scriptures are very bitter against the errors of the Jains. But hatred of the lowest kind between the rival sects of the same faith is not unknown to history; and at one time Jainism was the dominant belief over a considerable part of India. In Oojárú (Bombay), on the other hand, 'the partition between Hindu and Jain is of the very narrowest description, and cases are not uncommon in which intermarriage between the two sections takes place. The bride, when with her Jain husband, performs the household ceremonies according to the ritual of that form of religion, and on the frequent occasions when she has to make a temporary sojourn at the paternal abode, she reverts to the rites of her ancestors, as performed before her marriage.'—Bombay Census Report.
The tenets of the Jains.—The chief objects of Jain reverence are twenty-four beatified saints called Arhats or Tirthankâras, who correspond with the Buddhhas of the northern Buddhists and of Vedantic Hinduism, but are based upon the final beatitude of the Hindus rather than upon the final absorption preached by Buddha, and are wholly unconnected with the Gantamic legend, neither the broad outlines of which the Punjab Jains are entirely ignorant. Of these saints, the first, Rishabhnâth, the twenty-third, Parasnâth, and the twenty-fourth, Mahâvîr, are the only ones of whom we hear much; while of these three again Parasnâth is chiefly venerated. Rishabhnâth is supposed to be an incarnation of Vishnu, and is worshipped in that capacity at his temple in the south-west of Mewâr by Hindus and Jains in common. But besides these saints, the Jains, unlike the Buddhists, recognize the whole Hindu pantheon, including the Puranic heroes, as divine and fit objects of worship, though in subordination to the great saints already mentioned, and place their images in their temples side by side with those of their Arhats. They have indeed added to the absurdities of the Hindu Olympus, and recognize 64 Indras and 22 Devîs. They revere serpents and the nagas or Priapus, and in many parts ordinarily worship in Hindu temples as well as in their own. Like the Buddhists they deny the divine origin of the Hindu Vedas; but unlike them they recognize the authority of those writings, rejecting only such portions of them as prescribe sacrifice and the sacred fire, both of which institutions they condemn as being inimical to animal life. Like the Buddhists they deny the Hindu doctrine of purification from sin by alms and ceremonies, and reject the Hindu worship of the Sun and of fire except at weddings, initiations, and similar ceremonies, where they subordinate their objections to the necessity of employing Brahmas as ministrants. The monastic system and celibate priesthood of the Buddhists are wholly unknown to them; and they have, like the Hindus, a regular order of ascetic devotees who perform no priestly functions; while their parshûs or family priests, and the ministrants who officiate in their temples and conduct the ceremonial of their weddings, funerals, and the like, must necessarily be Brahmas, and, since Jain Brahmas are practically unknown, are always Hindus. The idols of the Jain saints are not daily bathed, dressed, and fed, as are the Hindu idols; and if fruits are presented to them it is not as food, but as an offering and mark of

1 Gauḍama Buddha is also said by the Hindus to be an incarnation of Vishnu who came to delude the wicked; but the Buddhists of course strenuously deny the assertion.

2 In Upper India, the ritual in use is often intermixed with formulas from the Tantras, and belonging more properly to the Sâiva and Sâkta worship. Images of the Bhairavas and Bhairavîs, the fierce attendants on Siva and Kâlî, take their place in Jain temples; and at suitable seasons the Jains equally with the Hindus address their adoration to Sârâvatî and Devî. At Mount Abu several of the ancient Jain inscriptions begin with invocations to Siva. (Wilson's Hindu Saints.)

3 Horace Wilson observes that this fact "is the natural consequence of the doctrine and example of the Arhats, who performed no rites, either vicariously or for themselves, and gave no instructions as to their observance. It shows also the true character of this form of faith, that it was a departure from established practices, the observance of which was held by the Jain teachers to be matter of indifference, and which none of any credit would consent to regulate; the laity were therefore left to their former priesthood as far as outward ceremonies were concerned."
respect. The Jains, unlike the Buddhists, observe in theory the twelve Sanskārās or ceremonies of purification prescribed by the Hindu creed from the birth to the death of a male, though in both religions many of them are commonly omitted; but they reject the Hindu Śrāddhas or rites for the repose of the spirit. Their ceremonial at weddings and their disposal of the dead are identical with those of the Hindus and differ from those of the Buddhists; and, unlike the latter, they follow the Hindu law of inheritance, calling in learned Brahmins as its exponents in case of disputes. The Jains observe with the greatest strictness all the rules and distinctions of caste which are so repugnant to Buddhism, and many if not all wear the Brahminical thread; in the Punjab the religion is practically confined to the mercantile or Vaisya castes, and considerable difficulty is made about admitting members of other castes as proselytes. Their rules about intermarriage and the remarriage of widows are no less strict than those of their Hindu brethren, with whom they marry freely. The extravagant reverence for relics which is so marked a feature of Buddhism is wholly unknown to the Jains, who agree with the Hindus in their veneration for the cow. They carry the reverence for animal life, which is taught by the Hindu and practised by the Buddhist, to an absurd extent; their devotees carry a brush with which they sweep their path, and forbidden to move about or eat when the sun is down or to drink water without straining, and many of them wear a cloth over their mouths lest they should tread upon, swallow, or inhale an insect or other living thing. Indeed some of them extend the objection to taking life to plants and flowers. To abstain from slaughter is the highest perfection; to kill any living thing is sin. The Jains, unlike the Buddhists, observe all the Hindu fasts and attend the Hindu places of pilgrimage; though they also have holy places of their own, the most important being the mountain of Samet near Pachet in the hills between Bengal and Behar, which was the scene of Pāraśaṅkhera’s liberation from earthly life, the village of Pāpaṇi, also in Behar, where the Ariṣṭa Vardhamāna departed from this world, and the great Jain temples on Mount Abu in Rajputāna and Mount Girnar in Kāthiawār. In no case do they make pilgrimages to the holy places of Buddhism.

I have been able to collect but little information about the actual practice of the Jain religion by the mass of its modern followers, as distinguished from its doctrines and ceremonials set forth in the scriptures of the faith. The Jains, and particularly the orthodox or Digambara sect, are singularly reticent in the matter; while the religion being almost wholly confined to the trading classes, and very largely to cities, has not come under the observation of the Settlement Officers to whom we are indebted for so large a part of our knowledge of the people. But the Jains are the most generally educated class in the Punjab, and it is probable that the religion has preserved its original form comparatively unaltered. Horace Wilson, however, says of the Jain Jāta or

1 See Bombay High Court ruling Shāyana v. Des Tejmal v. Rajmal, X (1878), pp. 341 et seq., and rulings there quoted. See Privy Council case Shri Singh Lāl v. Dākō and Marnari, Indian Law Reports, I, Allahabad (1876-78), pp. 338 et seq.

2 Elphinstone says that the Buddhist priests also observe all these precautions; but I think the statement must be mistaken.
The sects of the Jains.

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ascetics;—Some of them may be simple enthusiasts; many of them, however, are knaves, and the reputation which they enjoy all over India as skilful magicians is not very favourable to their general character; they are in fact not unfrequently charlatans, pretending to skill in palmistry and necromancy, dealing in empirical therapeutics and dabbling in chemical or rather alchemical manipulations.

Since these paragraphs were written not only has a great deal more knowledge of Jainism and its teaching been acquired by European scholarship, but the Jains themselves have in the last two or three decades displayed considerable intellectual activity. Whatever the causes of this may be, and one of them at least has been the stimulus of contact with western inquiry and thought, it has resulted in the formation of new groups or the revival of old groups under new names or the adaptation of old names to new ideals. The attempt to describe the Jains as a caste and to unravel their sects made in Vol. III, pp. 340-9 infra, fails because Jainism, like all other living creeds, is in a state of flux. Recently the Sthánakwási group has come to the front. In 1901 the term Thánakwási was returned as a more synonym of siddha-svargi or Dhumá, an ascetic of extreme orthodoxy. But the Sthánakwási now number 22 per cent. of the Jain population of the Punjab, and are classed by Pandit Hari Krishan Kaul, C. I. E., as a branch of the Swetáfíbars quite distinct from the Dhumá.2 Ibbetson, who does not allude to the Sthánakwási, thus describes the Dhumá:

"A more modern sect is the Dhumá, so called because its followers were persecuted by the orthodox and compelled to take refuge in ruins or dhárd. It was with these ascetics that the practice of hanging a cloth or patti before the mouth originated; and the Tera-sváthis and Dhumás carry their regard for animals to extremes, teaching that no living thing should be interfered with, that a cat should be permitted to catch a mouse, or a snake to enter the cradle of a child. It would appear that the Dhumás are wholly celibate ascetics, and include no laity. They altogether renounce idols, and call those who venerate them pujárs or "worshippers." They are, I believe, confined to the Swetáfíbar section, the Digambaras laughing at the cloth, as breeding more insects in the mouth than it prevents from entering it." By pujáris may have been meant pujíras. The priests of the Dhumás are called puj or púj or sri puj.

Classification of the Jain sects and orders.

Sir Edward Maclagan suggested the following classification of the Jain sects:

- Digambara
- Tera-panthi
- Bis-panthi
- Swetáfíbars
- Dhumá Bafístola
- Tera-panthi
- Dhumá

1 Vol. III, p. 343 infra.
2 P. Census Rep. 1911, § 223.
3 This should read "Tera-panthi sect of the Dhumá."
But, putting aside the non-idolatrous Sthānakwāsī and Dhāndias,1 the idol-worshipping Jains may be tentatively classified as follows:

I. Digambara, 'sky-clad' or naked, or perhaps tawny clothed. This, according to Ibhetson, is the orthodox sect, and has preserved the religion in more of its original purity than have the Śvetāmbara. The idols of the Digambara are naked, their ascetics are supposed to reject clothing, though now-a-days they wear colored raiment, only throwing it aside when they receive or eat food, and they hold that no woman can attain salvation.

The Digambaras include two great sub-sects:—

(i) The Bispanthi, who worship standing before naked idols, and refuse to burn lamps before them. It is not quite clear what is the difference between this distinction and that into Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras. Horace Wilson notes that the Bispanthis are said by some to be the orthodox Digambaras, of whom the Terapanthis are a dissenting branch.

(ii) The Terapanthi, who clothe their idols, worship seated, burn lamps before them, but present no flowers or fresh fruit to them, holding it to be a sin to take away even vegetable life, though they will eat vegetables if anybody will give them ready cut and prepared for cooking.

II. The Śvetāmbara or white-clothed, whose idols are clothed in white, as are their ascetics, except perhaps in the last stage which few if any attain, and women are capable of beatitude; indeed they believe the 19th Arhat to have been a woman, and so represent her in many of their temples.

The Śvetāmbara have no recognised sub-sects, but their ascetics generally known as sādhus appear to have a special sub-division called Sambegi or Samegi. The sādhus form a superior order or the superior degree in an order, the jātis being an inferior order or novitiates in the order in which the sādhus holds the higher degree.3

The Digambaras also have ascetics, called maśī4 who appear to be identical with the sādhus, described in Vol. III, p. 344 infra. In both of these main sects the laity is or ought to be called Sarvāgī, the more

1 Including (i) the Tera-panthi sect which will not interfere with anything living, but not interfere with a cat catching a mouse, and so on; and (ii) the Rulās who go a step further and will interfere to protect one animal against another.
2 Mr. Pegan also affirms that the Bispanthi are the more orthodox. They are divided into 4 sub-sects—Nandi, Sain, Singh and Bir called after the names of their rīvats—according to him: P. Census Report, 1892, § 123. But these may be sub-orders. The Bispanthi revere the gurū, the 24 Arhats and the Šāstrās.
3 On the other hand the Tera-panthis allow the Arhats and Šāstrās, but refuse to acknowledge that there is any gurū other than the Šāstrās themselves, a doctrine which reminds us of the orthodox Sikh teaching after Guru gobind Singh's installation of the sacred Granth as the gurū of the Sikhs.

5 Maclehan, § 122.
6 Ibhetson translates Sardwak by 'laity': Of. Maclehan, § 122.
honorable term Bāhira being reserved for laymen of higher spiritual standing or priority of conversion.

The Jain caste system.

The doctrines which divide the Digambara from the Svetámbara are abstruse and as yet not fully understood, but the former hold that the Ariants were saints from birth and so their images should be naked and unadorned, while the Svetámbara hold that they only attained sanctity on reaching manhood and so should be clothed and decked with jewels. The disruption of the Jain community will be intelligible, though far from fully explained, when we come to consider their philosophy, but before doing so a brief note on the caste-system of the Jains may be usefully interpolated.

According to Sir Denzil Ibbetson nearly 99 per cent. of the Jains in the Punjab belong to the trading classes and almost exclusively to the Bāhira and Bāhira caste, the latter being chiefly confined to the northern divisions. I believe that Oswāl Bāhira are almost without an exception Svetámbara Jains, and that such of the Kandelval Bāhira and Bāhirās as are Jains also belong to this sect. The Agarwal Bāhira, on the other hand, are, I understand, invariably Digambaras. The Mahesri Bāhira are seldom if ever Jains. Mr Lawrence, Assistant Agent to the Governor-General at Mount Abu, to whose kindness I am indebted for much information collected on the spot at Ajmer, the great centre of Jainism in those parts, tells me that there the Jains are divided into two sects, the Digambaras or Sarāgogi, and the Svetámbara or Oswāl, and he confirms the assertion after repeating his inquiries at my request. There is no doubt whatever that Oswāl is a tribal and not a sectarian name, and is quite independent of religion; and that the term Sarāgogi properly applies to the whole of the Jain laity of whatever sect. But the fact that Oswāl and Sarāgogi are in Ajmer used as synonymous shows how strictly the tribe adheres to its sect. This erroneous use of the words apparently extends to some parts of the Punjab. The Bihrās of Hiihāyāpur, who are of course Svetámbaras, state distinctly that all Jains are Sarāgogi, themselves included; but a Bhāhira of Gurdaspur emphasized his assertion that no Agarwal could become a Bhāhira by pronouncing that he was a Sarāgogi. On the other hand, Mr Wilson writes that in Sīria, on the Kājpūtāna border, the words Oswāl and Sarāgogi, which according to Mr Lawrence express in Ajmer the two poles of Jainism, are used as almost convertible terms. The matter seems to need clearing up. The real fact seems to be that Agarwals belong invariably to the Digambaras and Oswāls to the Svetámbara sect, that the term Oswāl is used for the latter while Sarāgogi is applied to the former and more orthodox sect only. There is a local tradition that Pāramārtha, the probable founder of the Svetámbara sect, was an Oswāl of Osa or Osmāqar in Jodhpur,

1 Madigan, 122.
2 The very term Mahesri denotes that they are Vaishnava Hindus, H. A. S.
3 So in Sindhi and Sājadh; the tribal name Mahesri is used to distinguish Hindus from Jain Bāhira.
the place from which the Oswâls take their name; but the Jain scriptures say that he was born at Benâres and died in Behar."

The same authority points out that the Svetámbara and Digambara do not intermarry, and the Bhâhras do not intermarry with Sârâmis. But the Svetámbara and Dhumis are said to intermarry. These restrictions are purely sectarian, but they may well be accentuated by tribal distinctions. However this may be the sectarianism of the Jains does not appear to have relaxed their caste system but to have introduced into it new restrictions on intermarriage. The Jain tenets have however had other important social consequences. Not only is monogamy the general rule, but the survivor of a married couple should not marry again and this ideal is followed to some extent by Hindus in the whole south-eastern Punjab. Women also hold a better position in Jainism than they do in most Hindu castes.

The Jain philosophy.

Jainism, like Buddhism, is a monastic religion which denies the authority of the Vedas and is regarded by the Brahmans as heretical. The Jains comprise a lay and a monastic order, and are also divided into two great sub-sects, the Svetámbaras or 'White-robos', and the Digambaras or 'Sky-clad' as the monks of the latter went about naked until the Muhammadans compelled them to adopt a loin cloth. Their dogmatic differences are trivial, and they differ more in conduct.

Jainism goes back to a very remote period and to those primitive currents of religious and metaphysical speculation which gave rise to the oldest philosophies of the Sânkhya and Yoga, and also to Buddhism, but while it shares in the theoretical pessimism of those systems and in liberation, their practical ideal, it realizes their principles in a different way. Life in the world, perpetuated by the transmigration of the soul, is regarded as essentially bad and painful, and our aim must be to put an end to it. This will be attained when we attain to right knowledge. Like Sânkhya and Yoga, Jainism recognizes a dualism of matter and soul. Souls are principally all affine substances (monads) characterized by intelligence, connexion with matter causing the differences actually in them. Matter is a something capable of becoming anything, as in the Sânkhya. But Jainism has worked out these general metaphysical principles on its own lines, upon animistic ideas and popular notions of a cruder and more primitive character than the Sânkhya, which adopted Brahmanical ideas. Jainism being like Buddhism originally an order of monks outside the pale of Brahmanism has often been confounded with it, but it respects the Buddhist views that all things are transitory and that there is no absolute or permanent Being. It is as least as old as Buddhism, for the canons of the latter sect speak of the rival sect under the old name of Nâgântâya and of Nâtâputta, an epithet of the last Jain prophet, Vardhamâna Mahâvira, its leader in Buddha's time. Mahâvira indeed was probably somewhat older than Buddha. He was not however the founder of the sect, and no such traditions as make

1 Vol. II, p. 61. 4to.
3 Sanskr. Nîgânta. For what follows Jacobs's art. in the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics has been freely drawn upon.
Karma in Jainism.

Buddha the author of a new religion are preserved of him. He followed an established faith, became a monk and in twelve years attained perfect knowledge (kevala). His predecessor Parshva, the last but one of the Tirthankaras, has better claims to be considered the founder of Jainism. He died 250 years before Mahavira. His predecessor, Arishtamati, is said to have died 84,000 years before the latter's nirvana and so can hardly be regarded as a historical personage. He was the 22nd Tirthankara and is connected with Krishna by relationship in the legend.

Jain philosophy is abstruse. It is based on the theory of the 'Indefiniteness of Being' which is upheld by a very strange dialectical method called Sāvādānā to which the Jains attach so much importance that it is frequently used as a synonym for the Jain system itself.

Supplementary to this is the doctrine of the nayās or ways of expressing the nature of things. All these are one-sided and contain but a part of the truth.

Metaphysically all things, dravya or substances, are divided into 'lifeless,' ajīvāḥ, and 'lives' or 'souls,' jīva. The former comprise space, akhaṇḍa, two subtle substances, dhāmas and adhāmas, and matter, pudgala. Space affords room for souls and matter to subsist, dhāmas enable them to move or be moved, adhāmas to rest. In primitive speculation the two latter terms seem to have denoted the two invisible fluids which cause sin (pāpa) and merits (pānya), respectively. Space again is divided into lokākāśa, occupied by the world of things and its negative, the absolute void. Dhāmas and adhāmas are co-extensive with the world, and so no soul or atom can get beyond the world as outside it neither could move or rest without their aid. Matter is eternal and consists of atoms, but it is indeterminate in its nature and may become anything, as earth, fire etc.

Different from matter are the souls, which are infinite in number. The whole world is literally filled with them. They are substances and, as such, eternal, but are not of definite size, contracting or expanding according to the dimensions of the body in which they are incorporated for the time being. Their characteristic is intelligence which may be obscured but never destroyed. They are of two kinds, mundane (amanaskā) and liberated (amakṣa). The former are still subject to the cycle of birth, the latter have accomplished absolute purity, will be embodied no more, dwell in perfection at the top of the universe and have no more to do with worldly affairs. They have reached nirvāṇa, nirvāti or sukta.

A cardinal doctrine of Jainism is the evil influence of karma. Matter is of two kinds, gross which we can perceive, and subtle, beyond the ken of our senses. The latter, for instance, is that matter which is transformed into the different forms of karma. Subtle matter ready to be transformed into karma pours into the soul by influx (dravya). A soul harbours passions (kāshāyā), which like a viscous substance retain this subtle matter, and combines with it, by brahka (combination). This subtle matter in such combination is transformed into the 8 kinds of karma and for us a kind of subtle body, karmasthāvra, which cling to
the soul in all its future births and determines its individual lot. But as it has been caused, so karmas in its turn cause painful or pleasant conditions and events which the individual must undergo. Having thus produced its due effect, the karmas are purged from the soul by nirvāṇa or purging off. The saṃsāra and nirvāṇa processes go on simultaneously, and thereby the soul is forced to continue its mundane existence. After death it goes, with its ātmaskaras, straightway to the place of its new birth and assumes its new body, contracting or expanding according to its size.

Embodied souls are living beings, and their classification is of great practical as well as theoretical interest to the Jains. Their highest duty, parama dharma, being not to kill any living beings, ahimsa, they must learn the various forms which life may possess. The highest have five senses, and such are the vertebrates. Others may have fewer, and the lowest have only the sense of touch. Most insects have two, e.g. bees have the sense of touch and sight. The higher animals, men, denizens of heaven, and the gods possess in addition an internal organ or mind (manas) and are therefore rational (svarna), while the lower animals are sarvasya. The Jain notions about beings with only one organ are in part peculiar to themselves. As the four elements are animated by souls, so particles of earth, water, etc., are the body of souls called earth-lives, water-lives, and so on. These elementary lives live, die, and are re-born, in the same or another elementary body. They may be gross or subtle, and the latter are invisible. The last class of one-organised lives are plants; in some species each plant is the body of one soul only, but of other species each plant is an aggregation of embodied souls which have all functions of life, such as nutrition and respiration, in common. That plants have souls is a belief shared by other Indian philosophies, but the Jains have developed this theory in a remarkable way. Plants, in which only one soul is embodied are always gross, and can only exist in the habitable world; but those of which each is a colony of plant-lives may also be subtle and, being invisible, may be distributed all over the world. Such plants are called nāgadas, and are composed of an infinite number of souls forming a very small cluster, having respiration and nutrition in common, and experience the most exquisite pains. Innumerable nāgadas form a globe, and with them the whole space of the world is closely packed, as a box is filled with powder. The nāgadas furnish the supply of souls in place of those who have reached nirvāṇa. But an infinitesimal fraction of a single nāgada has sufficed to replace all the souls liberated since the beginningless past down to the present, so the nīsākṣa will never be empty of living beings.

Mundane beings are also divided or cross-divided into four grades (gati), viz. denizens of hell, animals, men and gods, into which beings are born according to their merits or demerits.

The theory of karmas being the key-stone of the Jain system merits fuller explanation. The natural qualities of soul are jñāna (= gyān, profound reflection) or perfect knowledge, intuition or faith (darsana), highest bliss and all kinds of perfections, but these inborn qualities are obscured in mundane souls by the karma-matter. When
it has penetrated the soul. It is transformed into 8 kinds (prakriti) of kriya singly or severally which form the karmasamhara, just as food is transformed by digestion. These 8 kinds include gana, i.e., that which determines the race, caste, family, social standing &c. of the individual; agnata, which determines the length of life as a being; man, god or animal; and adina, which produces the various elements which collectively make up an individual existence, e.g., the body with its general and special faculties, &c. Each kind of kriya has also predestined limits of time within which it must take effect and be purged off. Connected with this theory of karmaworking is that of the six koshas. The totality of kriya amalgamated by a soul impinges on it a transcendental colour, which our eyes cannot perceive. This is called kosha, and it may be black, blue, grey, which are bad, and yellow, red or white, which are good 'characters' morally.

The individual state of the soul is produced by its inborn nature and the vitiating action of kriya, and this is its developmental or purusha-kosha state. But there are other states which refer only to the behaviour of the kriya. Ordinarily kriya takes effect and produces its proper result; then the soul is in the savasaka state. But by proper efforts kriya may be neutralized (aprasamiti) for a time, though it is still present, then the soul is in the apasankha state. When it is annihilated, the soul is in the bhasapa state, which is necessary for reaching nirvana. The bhasapa and apasankha are the states of holy men, but ordinary good men are in a bhasaprasanika state in which some kriyas is annihilated, some neutral, and some still active. This doctrine has an important bearing on practical Jain ethics. The whole apparatus of monastic conduct is required to prevent the formation of kriyas, and it is also stopped by austerities (tata) which, moreover, annihilate old kriyas speedily.

Jain ethics has for its end the realisation of nirvana or moksha, and to attain it the possession of the three jewels of right faith, knowledge and conduct is essential. Of first importance are the 5 vows (vratas), not to kill, lie, steal, indulge in sexual intercourse, and to renounce all interest in worldly things, especially to keep no property. These are the 5 great vows (vinaivahu) taken by every monk on entering the order, or, as it is called, taking diksh. Laymen should also observe them as far as conditions permit, but if they were to observe all of them they could not go about their business. So they may observe the small vows (sinerata) and refrain from intentionally killing living things for food, pleasure or gain and so on. A layman may, however, take one of the following particular vows (vidhavatra);—he may limit the distance to which he will go in any direction (vidyavatra); abstain from engaging in anything that does not strictly concern him; set a measure to his food, drink and anything he enjoys, besides avoiding grosser pleasures (these 3 vows are called yamavatra); he may also reduce the area in which he may move (adhistavatra); give up, by sitting motionless and meditating on holy

Jacob points out that the belief in colours of the soul seems to be very old as evidenced by the expressions 'a black soul,' 'a bright soul' which were apparently understood in a literal sense.
things, all sinful actions at stated times (ādhyātka) ; live as a monk on the 8th, 11th or 15th day of the lunar fortnight at least once a month (parśkadhopenava) ; and provide for monks. These 3 last vows are called ākhyādava or disciplinary. Eating by night is forbidden to all Jain, monks or laymen, as are certain kinds of food. The rules for a voluntary death have a similar end in view, viz. to enable laymen to participate in the merits of monastic life without absolutely renouncing the world. Jainism differed from early Buddhism in that it regarded the lay state as preliminary to, and in many cases a preparation for, the monastic life, instead of regarding the laity as outsiders. But in modern times a change seems to have come about in this respect as the monastic order is now recruited chiefly from novices entering it at an early age, not from laymen in general. Nevertheless the principle that the duties of the laity differ only in degree, not in kind, from those of the monks, has contributed greatly to the stability of Jainism. Monastic discipline is elaborate but not as a rule severe or protean. In Jain asceticism yajna means the activity of body, speech and mind through which kārma-matter pours into the soul and to prevent this ākrama it is necessary to regulate these activities by the 8 yūdhas or guardrails of the mind etc. The monk must also observe the śravita, i.e. he must be cautious in walking etc., lest he kill or hurt any living thing. He must avoid vice and endure discomfort and hardship without flinching. The last item in his curriculum is tapas or asceitism, but it must be practised in the right way and with right intentions for there are also "austerities of fools," hātattapas, through which temporary or temporal merits, such as supernatural powers, birth as a god etc., may indeed be acquired, but the highest good can never be attained. Tapas is one of the most important institutions in Jainism, and it is either external or internal. Among the former austerities fasting is the most conspicuous and it has been developed into a fine art. Its usual form is to eat only one meal every 2nd, 3rd, and 4th day and so on down to half a year. Another form is to starve oneself to death. Other forms of abstinence are also practised and to the same category belong also sitting in secluded spots for meditation and the postures taken up during it. Internal austerities include confession and repentance. Greater sins must be confessed to a superior (Mokhara) and repented of. In less serious cases penance consists in standing erect in a certain position for a given time (kāyotsarga), but for greater transgressions the superiors prescribe the penance and in the worst cases a new ordination of the guilty monk. Contemplation (dāśa) is the most important spiritual exercise. Contemplation may be evil or good and the latter is of two kinds, religious (dharma) and pure (dāśa). The former leads to intuitive cognition not only of religious truths but of other things hidden from common mortals, and the accuracy of knowledge in all kinds of science claimed in the sacred books and later treatises is to be ascribed in great measure to this intuition. Pure contemplation leads through four stages to final emancipation, and at the last stage when the worldly existence is drawing rapidly to its close the remaining dharma may be suddenly consumed by a kind of explosion called tasmadacca. Then in the last

1 For the Kāyoga-Satas, an old collection of disciplinary rules for Jain monks, see Ind. Ant., 1910, p. 357 f.
stage all *karma* being annihilated and all activities having ceased, the soul leaves the body and ascends to the top of the universe where the liberated souls stay for ever. Pure contemplation however is not by itself a means of attaining liberation but only the last link in a long chain of preparation and only *siddhas*, "those who have reached omniscience", can enter into the last two stages which lead directly to liberation. The last man to attain *siddha* was Jambudarāmin, the disciple of Śāhāvira's disciple Sudharman, and he was liberated on his death. Hence during the rest of the present Avassarpini period no body will be born who will reach *siddha* in the same existence though *nirodha* is necessarily preceded by twelve years of self-mortification of the flesh which should be the closing act of a monk's career. The Jains also attach great importance to the doctrine of the fourteen *quṣṭhāna* or fourteen steps which lead from total ignorance and wrong belief to absolute purity of the soul and final liberation.

The terms *dharma* or pouring in and *samsara* or stoppage are as old as Jainism, and from it the Buddhists must have borrowed the former term. But they use it in a different sense and instead of *dharma* they employ the term *dṛṣṭānta* or 'destruction of the dharma' for they do not regard the *karma* as subtle matter and deny the existence of a soul into which it could have entered. In Buddhism *samsara* denotes 'restraint,' as in *āśīṃsamana* restraint under the moral law.' This seems to prove that Jainism is considerably older than Buddhism.

The monk's outfit is restricted to bare necessities, clothes, a blanket, and alms-bowl, a stick, a broom to sweep the ground, a piece of cloth to cover the mouth when speaking lest insects should enter it. The man's outfit is the same but they have additional clothes. The Digambaras use peacock's feathers instead of a broom. Monks shave the head, or preferably remove the hair by plucking it, a rite peculiar to the Jains and necessary at particular times. Originally the monks had to lead a wandering life except during the monsoon when they resided at one place—compare the Buddhist *vāsa*. But this ordinance has been modified owing to the institution of *convents*, *upādāyas*, corresponding to the Buddhist *vihāras*. The Śvetāmbaras as a rule only visit places where there are such *upādāyas* and in them the monks preach to laymen. A monk's duties are arduous, e.g. he should only sleep 3 hours in the night and devote the rest of the day to repentance of sins, study, begging, the removal of insects from his clothes etc. and meditation. When the novice (śākṣaka) is initiated he takes the *vows* (śatākritos), renounces the world (pravaśayī) and takes *dhāra*. The most important rite at his initiation is the shaving or pulling out of the hair under a tree. He may then rise to the degrees of *upākārya*, *adikāra*, *udākāra*, *panis* etc. according to his qualifications and functions as a teacher and superior.

The Jain cosmography differs widely from that of the Brahmanas, especially with regard to the upper spheres or heavens. The world has in time neither beginning nor end. In space the Universe occupies the part called *lokākāsha* as distinguished from the absolute void. It is figured as a spindle resting on half of another, or as a woman with her
across the sky. Older still is the comparison with a man: the earth's disk is in the lower part of the middle and forms the man's waist, below it are the hills and above it the upper regions. These regions are too numerous to be detailed here, but in the centre of the earth itself, towers Mt. Meru, 100,000 yojanas high, round which revolve suns, moons and stars. Immediately above its summit begins the threefold system of heavenly regions called Viśvantina, the abode of the Vaiśnavīna gods, which number 20 in all. In Ishatprajñā, the highest, dwell the souls in liberation.

As the soul by itself has an upward gravity and will, if cleansed of all karma, rises in a straight line to this heaven on leaving the body, the Jains permit religious suicide in two cases, though they condemn kālāsarna or 'unwise death' and recommend prākṣatāsarna or 'wise death.' In the first case if a Jain contracts a mortal disease or is in danger of certain death he may resort to self-starvation and a monk should do so rather than break the rules of his order or when he cannot sustain the austerities prescribed. In the second a pious layman may go through a regular course of religious life, the phases of which are the 11 standards, the first being observed for one month, the second for two, and so on. In the last standard, which he must observe for 11 months, he becomes practically a monk and at its end abstains from all food and devotes himself to self-mortification, patiently awaiting death which will ensue within a month. In the case of a monk the period of self-mortification lasts 12 years instead of as many months, but during it he should try to ward off premature death. At the end of this period he should abstain from all food and the severance of the soul from the body may be brought about by three different methods in two of which the movements of the limbs are restricted.

A system of theology and mythology so rich in ideas naturally produced an equal variety of religious symbolism in art and Jain iconography is as highly developed as Buddhist. But the subject has not yet been fully studied. Some notes on it are given by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, but complete explanations are lacking. It appears however that a Jaina's place in heaven is represented on earth by a consecrated, a shrine with three ramparts, the innermost of gems with battlements of rubies, constructed by the Vaiśnavas, the second of gold with battlements of gems, constructed by the Jyotiskas or gods of Sun, Moon, stars etc., and the outer of silver with battlements of gold, built by the Bhūnavatās. All the elaborate architecture and art lavished on such a building have their meanings, as have the processionals, entries and ritual. Animals, it should be noted, appear to be admitted to the shrine, though not to its inner rampart.

The whole picture of such a shrine drawn in the manuals used by Jain artists is an extraordinary comprehensive one of all nature joining in the worship of one who has attained to perfect knowledge and listening to his teaching.

2 ib., p. 484-5.
4 ib., pp. 127-8. It may be conjectured that these are the higher animals.
The doctrine of kāma lent itself equally to the construction of countless tales which pointed a moral, inculcating reverence for life in all its forms and the need for self-purification. These tales were embodied in stone reliefs whose interpretation is being slowly worked out by the aid of such Jain scriptures as the Tirthākaraśī just as the Buddhist sculptures are being translated with the help of the Jātakas. The story of the princess who was born a kite for the slaughter of a snake resembling a fowl but was reborn as a princess as a reward for her kindness to a tired Jaina nun in her last incarnation but one will be found in an article on Jaina Iconography by Prof. Bhandarkar. 3

The history of the Jain sects. — Like Buddhism Jainism will have to be studied in its sects. Quite apart from the various schools and orders into which it has been divided it has been rent by no less than eight schisms (śrāvaka) according to the Śvetāmbaras. Of these the first was originated by Mahāvīra’s son-in-law Jamāli and the last in 88 A.D. gave rise to the Digamba sect. 4 But the last-named knows nothing of the earlier schisms and say that under Bhadrabāhu rose the Ardhanārāyaṇa sect which in 80 A.D. developed into the Śvetāmbara sect. This is the more remarkable in that doctrinal differences are not acute. The Digambars hold that āsāṅka, such as the Tirthankaras, live without food, that Mahāvīra’s embryo was not removed from Devānanda’s womb to that of Trishala, that a monk who owns any property, even clothes, and a woman, cannot reach nirvāṇa. While the Digambars disown the canonical books of the Śvetāmbaras, holding that they were lost after Mahāvīra’s nirvāṇa, they recognise one at least of the most authoritative Śvetāmbara śūtras. Nevertheless, in consequence of their early separation they have an ecclesiastical as well as literary history of their own and their religious ceremonies especially in regard to the laity differ from those of their rivals. With them their list of the patriarchs only agrees in respect of the 1st, Jambu, and the 6th, Bhadrabāhu. The latter, they say, migrated to the south at the head of the true monks and from him dates the loss of their sacred literature. According to their modern tradition the main church (mūla-śāṅkha) split into four gānas—Nandi, Sena, Simha and Deva—about the close of the 1st century A.D. 5

The list of Śvetāmbara patriarchs begins with Mahāvīra’s disciple Suddharman and ends with the 33rd, Śamālīya or Skandīla. In some cases the names of the disciples of such patriarch, and of the schools and branches (or orders) styled gāna, kula or shāhā, founded by or originating with him are preserved. After the 6th, Bhadrabāhu, a great expansion of Jainism took place in the north and north-west of India. In later times gacēhas or schools were founded by individual teachers, theoretically 84 in number and differing only in minute details of conduct. Of these the most important is the Kharatara which has split up into many minor gacēhas, the Tapā, Anehā &c. and the most interesting is the Upākēsa gacēha, known as the Oswal Jains.

1 A. S. R. 1905-6, p. 141 f.
2 Also called Digvāsakeśa; B. R. E., vol. 2, p. 704. Another Śvetāmbara version is that in 82 A. D. Bhadrabāhu started the tantrical sect of the Nādotas or Digambars; 88.
3 For details of these four orders see Vol. II, Esf. p. 346.
who begin their descent from Pārśva, Mahāvīra's predecessor. Down to the 9th century A.D. much uncertainty prevails as to Jain history and the legend that the first patron king of the sect was Asoka's grand-son Samprati is very doubtful.

Modern Jain temple.

The Jain temple at Zira is called after the name of Sri Paras Nāth, who was its founder. After the completion of the mandir all persons of the Jain sect gathered together and adored Sri Krab Dev, one of the 24 incarnations, on the shādi ikkāch in Maghar Sambat 1948 (7th April 1887). On that day an annual fair is held and the banner of the temple is carried through the town in a great procession. This is called rath jātra. The temple contains many images made of metal. Of these, the image of Paras Nāth, the finest, is 3½ feet high. The nedi on which the image is installed is also handsome and decorated with gold. The administration is carried on by the Jain community, but pujāris are employed as servants, their duties being to open the mandir, clean it and supply fresh water for the washing of the images &c. Worship is generally performed by Jains, but in their absence it is performed by the temple servants who are Brahman. As a rule, the pujāri must bear a good character and avoid eating flesh, drinking wine &c. It is of little importance whether he be celibate or not. The pujāri is not hereditary and is dismissed on infringement of any of the above rules. No special reverence is paid to the chief priest. The usage of charas is forbidden. Sweetmeat is used as thāpy, but anything else may also be offered as such to the image. It is important to light the sacred lamp and burn dhāpy and incense in the temple. Cash offerings are deposited in its treasury, and are only spent on its upkeep. No other shrines are connected with this. Many pictures of certain gods are hung on the temple walls.

At the mandir of the Sarnogis at Tehl in Karnál an annual fair, called Kalsā Jāl, is held on the 8th of the light half of Bhādon, and at this the image of Mahārāj is carried. The fair was first held in S. 1914, though the temple was founded in S. 1901. It contains marble images of Paras Nāth, Maheshri and Ajat Nāth, each 14 feet high. Its administration is carried on by the Sarnogi community, each member taking duty in turn. No special reverence is paid to the pujāri on duty and there is no ritual or sacred lamp.

SECTION 4. — THE HINDUS OF THE PUNJAB.

THE ELASTICITY OF HINDUISM.—What is Hinduism—not the Hinduism of the Vedas, which was a clearly defined cult followed by a select society of a superior race living among despised barbarians of the lowest type, but the Hinduism of to-day, the religion of the masses of India, which has to struggle for existence against the inroads of other and perhaps higher forms of belief? The difficulty of answering this question springs chiefly from the marvelous catholicity and elasticity of the Hindu religion. It is in the first place essentially a cosmogony, rather than a code of ethics. The esoteric teaching of the higher forms of Hinduism does doubtless include ethical doctrines, but they have been added to rather than sprung from the religion itself. Indeed it seems to me that a polytheistic creed must, from the very nature of things, be devoid of all ethical significance. The aspects of Nature and the manifestations of physical force are manifold, and can reasonably be allotted to a multiplicity of gods, each supreme in his separate province; but only one rule of conduct, one standard of right and wrong is possible, and it cannot conveniently be either formulated or enforced by a Divine Committee. In many respects this separation of religion from ethics is doubtless an advantage, for it permits of a healthy development of the rules of conduct as the ethical perceptions of the race advance. When the god has once spoken, his worshippers can only advance by modifying their interpretation of his commands; and no greater misfortune could befall a people than that their religion should lend all the sanctions of its hopes and terrors to a precise code of right and wrong, formulated while the conscience of the nation was yet young and its knowledge imperfect.

But if the non-ethical nature of the Hindu religion is in some respects an advantage to its followers, it has also greatly increased the difficulty of preserving that religion in its original purity. The old Aryans, who worshipped the gods of the Vedas, were surrounded by races whose deities differed from their own in little but name, for both were but personifications of the forces of Nature. What more natural than that, as the two peoples intermingled, their gods should gradually become associated in a joint Pantheon. If the gods of the Vedas were mightier, the gods of the country might still be mighty. If malevolent, it was well to propitiate them; if benevolent, some benefits might perhaps be had from them. In either case it was but adding the worship of a few new gods to that of many old ones; for since neither these nor those laid down any immutable rules of conduct or belief, no change of life, no supersession of the one by the other was necessary. The evils the Hindus feared from their deities were physical; the help they hoped for material and not spiritual. Their gods were offended, not by disbelief and sin, but by neglect; they were to be propitiated, not by repentance and a new life, but by sacrifices and ceremonial observance; and so long as their dues were discharged they would not grudge offerings made to others as an additional insurance against
The members of the Hindu Pantheon had many ranks and degrees, and, among the superior gods at any rate, each worshipper selected for himself that one which he would chiefly venerate. Thus it was easy to add on at the bottom of the list without derogating from the dignity of those at the top, while the relative honour in which each was held presently became a matter for the individual to decide for himself. And so we find that the gates of the Hindu Olympus have ever stood open to strange gods of the neighbourhood, and that wherever Hindus have come into contact with worship other than their own they have combined the two, and even have not unseldom given the former precedence over the latter. The Hindu of the plains worships the saints of his Musalman neighbours, and calls his own original gods by Mohammedan names unknown to an Indian tongue; the Hindu of the hills worships the devils and deities of the aborigines, and selects for special honour that one of his own proper divinities whose nature is most akin to theirs; both mollify by offerings innumerable agencies, animal, human, demoniacal, or semi-divine, who are not perhaps ranked with the greater gods of the temples, but who may do harm, and to propitiate whom is therefore a wise precaution.

**Brahmanism the distinguishing feature of Hinduism.**—But through all these diversities there does run a common element, the clue to which is to be found in the extraordinary predominance which the priestly class have obtained in India, as the explanation of the diversity itself is largely to be found in the greed of that class. In polytheistic Europe the separation of ethics from religion was no less complete than in India; but while in the latter the study of the two was combined, in Europe Greece developed religion into philosophy, while Rome formulated practical ethics in the shape of law, and each was content to receive at the hands of the other the branch which that other had made her own. When Christianity swept away the relics of the old gods, the separation had become too complete to be ever wholly obliterated; and though the priests of the new monotheism struggled fiercely, and with no small measure of success, to recombine the two and to substitute the canon for the civil law, yet there ever existed by the side of but distinct from the clergy, a lay body of educated lawyers who shared with them the learning of the day and the power which that learning conferred. If then under such circumstances the political power of the Church in Europe was for centuries so immense for good or evil as we know it to have been, it may be conceived how wholly all authority was concentrated in the hands of the Brahmins and with what tyranny they exercised that power in India, where all learning of every sort and kind

"I suspect that in many cases the strictly territorial nature of the aboriginal gods facilitated their inclusion in the Hindu worship. It would be less difficult to recognize a deity who did not even claim authority beyond certain set bounds, or pretend to rival the Vedic gods in their limitless power; and it would seem especially reasonable an entering a territory to propitiate the local powers who might be offended by the intrusion. The gods of the hills were, and many of them are still, undoubtedly territorial—see above, Hinduism, in the Himalayas. It would be interesting to discover whether the aboriginal gods of the plains presented the same characteristic. With them the limits of the tribe would probably define the territory, in the absence of any impassable physical boundary such as are afforded by mountain ranges." [Ibbetson.]
The Brahman priesthood.

was absolutely confined to the priestly class. The result was that Hinduism early degenerated from a religion into a sacralism, and would, in its present form, be far better described as Brahmanism than by any other single word; and it is this abject subjection to and veneration for the Brahman which forms the connecting link that runs through and binds together the diverse forms of worship and belief of which I have spoken.

It is in this predominance of the priesthood, moreover, that we may find an explanation of the catholicity of the Hinduism and of the exclusiveness which characterise the Hindu religion. It is to worship God, the larger circle of worshipers the better for the Brahman; and if new worshipers will not leave their gods behind them, it would be foolish to exclude them on that account, as there is ample room for all. On the other hand, as the Levitical body so increased in numbers that a portion of them was necessarily illiterate, the Brahman were compelled to fall back upon hereditary virtue as the only possible foundation for the power of their class. Here they found in the tribal divisions of the people, and in the theory of the hereditary nature of occupations which had sprung from them, an institution suited to their purpose and ready to their hands; and this they developed into that complex web of caste-restrictions and disabilities which envelopes a high-caste Hindu from his mother's womb. And so the special power and sanctity of the Brahman came to depend for its very existence upon the stringency with which caste-distinctions were maintained, the act of worship was subordinated to the idea of ceremonial purity, and for a definite creed was substituted the domination of a priestly class, itself divided into a thousand sects and holding a thousand varieties of doctrine. To the aborigines who, with his gods on his back, sought admission within the pale of Hinduism, these restrictions presented no obstacle. They were but developments of the system which obtains in all primitive forms of society; and so far as they differed from the rules which he already observed, they tended to raise him in the social scale by hedging him round with an exclusiveness which was flattering. If inconvenient. But to the outcast, whose hereditary habit or occupation rendered him impure from the birth, admission was impossible, at least to the full privileges of Hinduism.

The sacral data dispatesm has now altogether over-shadowed the religious element, and the caste-system has thrust its roots so deep into the whole social fabric that its sanction is social rather than religious. A man may disbelieve in the Hindu Trinity, he may invent new gods of his own, however foul and impure, he may worship them with the most revolting orgies, he may even abandon all belief in supernatural powers, and yet remain a Hindu. But he must reverence and feed the Brahman, he must abide by caste rules and restrictions, he

\[1\] The position of the Brahman in respect to religion in India seems to have been closely analogous to that which the lawyers formally held with respect to law in England. The language in which religious rites were conducted was scrupulously kept from the knowledge of the people, while the procedure was extremely technical, and any error in form, however minute, destroyed the efficacy of the ceremony.

\[2\] I had, after repeated warnings, in the very year of my Indian compilation, a man in a good position, and of great ability and intelligence, but who positively refused to include scavengers who renounced themselves as Hindus in the figures for that religion.
must preserve himself from ceremonial pollution and from contact and communion with the unclean on pain of becoming Anathamsa, Maranatha. With individuals indeed even these restrictions are relaxed, on the condition that they affect a personal sanctity, which, by encouraging superstition and exciting terror, shall tend to the glorification of the priesthood, and the filthy Aghori, smeared with human ordure and feeding on carrion and even on human carrion, is still a Hindu. But the masses must observe the rules; and any who should, like Buddha or Bāba Nānak, propose to admit the body of the laity to share in a license which is permitted to the naked ascetic, would at once be disavowed. The Christian and Buddhist, recognize no distinction of caste, nor does the Muralmān save where influenced by the example of those whom he has so bitterly persecuted, while all three profess to disregard the Brahman; and for this reason, and not because they worship a different god, the Hindu holds their touch to be pollution. The Sikh has fallen away from his original faith; in his reverence for the Brahman and his observance of caste rules he differs only in degree from his Hindu neighbour; and I shall presently show how difficult it is to draw the line between the two religions. The Jain I take to be little more than a Hindu sect.

**VEDIC CULTS.**

At a census when a man is asked, to say what deity he specially affects, he will often say that he worships all the gods alike. But whatever gods he may name they are not as a rule those of the *Pārśās or Pa-rānas.* Nevertheless the worship of Brahma is still to be found in the Punjab. Thus Adi Brahma is worshipped at Tīrī in Kulu. At his festival he is personated by a villager seated in a high-backed sedan chair, with eight masks of metal silvered and gilt at the back. About the chair are stuck tufts of barley and peacock's feathers and everyone present wears a bunch of young barley in his cap. The man who acts the god affects to answer questions, and his replies often cause much merriment. Adi Brahma also seems to have a temple at Khokhan Dera in Kulu where he is worshipped at four festivals, one held on the 1st of Baisakhi, Sāwan and Asuj and on the full moon day of Maghar, each lasting four days. Brahma *deota* also has a temple in a place called Darowa-Dhara in the Kathi Tārīpur where he is worshipped yearly from Sunday to Thursday in the dark halves of Sāwan, Maghar and Phāgan.

In Sarāja *deota* Brahma is worshipped. The story goes that a villager once saw a Brahman sitting in a lonely forest, so he asked what had brought him there. The Brahman replied that he was a god and that if the people made an image of him and worshipped it, they would obtain their heart's desire, and further that any questions put to him through his puja or disciple would be answered. So saying the Brahman disappeared beneath the earth. The temple is said to have been founded in the Dwiypar Yuga. It is of stone and contains a black stone image, 3 feet high and 2 broad. Its administration is carried on

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* An Aghori was caught by the police in the Behār district about 1881 in the act of devouring a newly buried child which he had dug up for the purpose. For other instances of aghori-dhāna, which seems to be a term for their ritual cannibalism, see B.B. Bhattacharj's *Tribes and Customs of the Central Provinces*, II, p. 15. Also Osma's *Mystic, Ascetic and Sects of India, pp. 164-6*, there cited.

The cults of Brahma and Hanumán.

by a kāhār, a Kanet of the Kāshāb got. He is married. A Sarsat Brahmā pujā is also employed for worship. He is a Gau&t by got. He too is married. Both these posts are purely hereditary. Seven other shrines are connected with this one. Brahma is not worshipped in Chamba, nor are there any temples to him so far as Dr. Hutchison can ascertain.

In Ambāḷa the shrine of Brahma is a stone under a bāngat, 'banyan,' tree, and offerings are made to it to cure fevers and recover lost property.¹

Brahm himself is returned by some, but a man who returns himself as a worshipper of Brahm generally means little more than that he worships the Supreme God, — Parmexkar te māñā hāt, or Khudā ko māñā hāt — an assertion in which almost all Hindus would join. The term Brahm-panthi may refer in some cases to Brahmans, but there appears to be a sect of this name with special doctrines of its own. It is found in Harāṇa, and was started by a man called Gaiṭam Raghi, and its holy book is termed the Nyāya Gṛhṭa.² It worships one God only; its members are recruited from all castes, and they partake of animal food; their object is to associate freely with both Hindus and Musalmāns and they are consequently looked on with disfavour by both religions.

The other two members of the Hindu Triad—Śiva and Viṣṇu—are more frequently before the minds of the modern Hindu than Brahm, and their respective worships represent two distinct forms of belief and practice regarding which I shall be speaking presently.³ Omitting for the present Rām Chandra and Krishna, whose cult is closely connected with that of Viṣṇu, the most popular of the minor deities are Ganesha and Hanumān and Hanumān and Bhairon. Ganesha is the well-known elephant deity, the "obviator of difficulties and impediments," and as such is invoked at the commencement of a journey or of work of any kind. He is worshipped, first of all the gods in holy rites; women are particularly devoted to his worship; and his followers fast in his name on the 10th of each month, more especially in Mágh. He is also known as the Sangat-śotala.

The worship of Hanumān or Mahāvīr, the monkey-god, is closely connected with that of Rām, in whose aid Hanumān fought against the demons of Lankā. He is represented as a red-haired monkey with a long tail and is worshipped by all castes. He is supposed, however, to be the particular patron of the wandering acrobats of the

¹ Wyndham's Ambāḷa Settlement Rep., § 419.
² Strictly speaking, Brahm is pure spirit or åtman in the pantheistic sense—prevailing all space. Brahm is the manifestation of spirit, and so a distinction should be drawn: Brahm is impersonal, and Brahm conveys the conception of personality.
³ During his residence in the Himalayas Gāntana founded the Nyāya sect. S. C. R., II, p. 450. But the Gau&t Rāhi of the text may be the Gau&t Rāhi, author of the Nyāya or dialectical philosophy described in Colebrooke's Essays, I, p. 226 ff. Gāntana was also called Akāsapaṇḍa or A khārama and his followers A khārambhā, but no trace of such a school is now to be found in this Province, unless it is represented by the modern Brahm-panthi. A remarkable legend about this Gāntana Nyāya will be found on p. 126 infra. The term Nyāya has many meanings, but its most moral one is 'logic.' Plut. 'History' Hindustani, Diwāy, p. 116. It is not confined to Hinduism, the Nyāyakāraka of Śivāka Sana, Divakara being the earliest Jain work on pure logic.
Hissar district, the Bādis of the Bāgar and the Nates of the Jangal or Deo. A small shrine to Hanumān is often erected near the site of a new well which is under construction, in order to prevent accidents during the process, and also to ensure that the water shall turn out sweet. He is respected for his generosity and chivalry. His followers fast on a Tuesday, and on that day distribute sweetmeats.

At Gurkuri, four miles from Kānpa town, there is a temple to Anjana, wife of Kesari and mother of Hanumān, whom Anjana bore to Vāyu or Pavana, the wind, to her husband Kesari, a monkey. Hence Hanumān obtained his metronym of Anjaney. A fair is held in her honour in October and many years ago a man attending this fair disturbed a bees' nest and a song was composed to celebrate the event.†

Bhairon or Bhairava is described infra.

EARLY SAINTS AND HEROES—Along with the gods themselves we may notice the names of demigods and rishis to whom special reverence is paid. There are the five Pāndavas, the heroes of the Mahābhārata, favourite objects of worship, in the east, and sometimes addressed as the Pauj-Pīr. Many are the legends current about these heroes and they are localised at quite a number of places. The hill of Mokshapuri, just above Dunga Gali, has an elevation of 9232 ft. Its name means 'hill of salvation' and on its summit is a Pāndavā da Stāh, or 'place of the Pāndavas,' where it is said they were visited and tempted by apsaras who still frequent the place. Such stāhas are not uncommon in the Himalayas. They are also known as Pānch Pāndu and often consist of a small stone enclosure: in this stands a tree, on which rags are hung. At every samhārat a kind of fair is held for the benefit of those in charge. It is believed that any attempt to build on the site would fail.† Another hero is Shāmji, the Chauhān Rājā of Gurh Dadna, who gave his head to Krishna and Arjan on condition that he should be allowed to see the fight between the Kauravas and Pāndavas.§ And there is Dhanvantari or Dhanvāntr, the old physician, who is still looked up to by the Hindu members of the profession. And there is Daruma, the Achāraj, the guru of the Pāndavas, from whom the Achāraj clan, the Brahman who accept gifts at deaths and conduct the ceremonies of the dead, trace their descent. The Kumāra in the same way reverence their prototype Prajāpati, whether this implies some human or semi-human progenitor, or refers to Brahma, the Lord of Creatures, the Great Potter who shapes the plastic world. Similarly the northern branch of the Kāśitis revere their semi-divine ancestor Chatragupt, the watchful of good and bad actions, who sits with his great register before him in the audit office of the other world. So also Būṣaji, the sage Vyas, and a hundred others are still looked up to with respect, and most of the Hindu tribes, and not a few of the Musalmāns, claim descent from one or other of these heroes and saints of early Hinduism.

† Calcut. Rec., 1883, p. 58, or Selections from the C.R., III, 1896, p. 449. See also p. 129 infra.

‡ JA, VIII, p. 123.

§ This Shāmji has his shrine at Koīla in the Jaipur State.
Pându the pala accompanied by his two wives, Mádri and Kunti, or Pritha, retired to the Himalayas. There they bore the five Pándavas, sons of various gods but acknowledged by him as his own. 1

The interesting rock-temples at Mūkeshwar on the Rávi, five miles above Sháhpur in Gardáspur, are said to date back to the Pándavas, and have been visited by Arjuna and Párbati. Along a cleft in the rock a little way up the river is known as Arjuna’s chātra or hearth. 2 Shiv as Achaleswar Maharaj has a temple at Achal a few miles from Batál. It lies in a tank and is ascribed to the same mythical period. 3

Tradition says that once Ráwan of Lanká (Ceylon) went to Shiva at the Kailás hill and begged him to visit his island kingdom. Shiva accepted on condition that Ráwan would not set him on the ground throughout the journey. Ráwan agreeing took him on his shoulder, but when he reached the place where this temple stands, he felt a call of nature and forgot the condition, put Shiva down on the ground. On his return he tried to lift him up again, but could not and so had to leave him there. Hence the place is called Acheral from Achashahar, incapable of moving further.

The temple contains 101 stone images, each 14 feet high. Marble images of Ganesh, Durga, Bishńu and Súrāj Bhagwán stand in the four corners of the temple. Each is 3 feet high. Besides these, there is a marble image of Gauri Shankar. Annual fairs are held on Ist Baisák, the namá and dāsmi in Kátk, on every andáws and on the chétar chauas (14th of the light half of Chet).

THE WORSHIP OF NATURE.

The chief characteristic of the Vedic mythology is that it is a worship of nature in all its aspects. In the modern Punjab that mythology has disappeared almost completely, but the worship of nature is still a living force in popular religion. Nature is reverenced or propitiated, coerced or bargained with in many diverse ways, but through all the rites with which she can be influenced runs the pantheistic idea. As God is in all Nature so He speaks through all Nature. Everything, living or inanimate, can speak as His mouthpiece with equal authority. Nothing is silent or without its lesson and meaning for mankind— if men has but the wit and knowledge necessary to comprehend its speech or its signification. To the initiated in the varied lore of divination the slightest hints are full of meaning.

The flight of birds southwards in autumn is a sign of the approach of winter. In a sense then it predicts the coming of winter. Nature supplies countless similar predictions to people who are of necessity in close contact with her. But man’s speculative and rational faculties develop more rapidly than his capacity for accurate observation and

1 S. C. E., VIII, p. 129. He appears to be identical with or confused with Guga, Chandars, of Dargah Dargah. In the Himalayas Panajir is often regarded as a single personage and identified with Zahir Pir or Guga, but the distinction of personages is also recognized in their representation by five statues placed under a pipal and adorned with real leaves. P. N. Q. III, 5, p. 149. See also p. 136 infra.
3 Retr., p. 81.
logical control of intuition. Upon the firm and safe basis that nature provides auguries which are a certain indication of coming events, man has arrived at the conclusion that everything in nature is a portent, forgetting that the happening of such events as the southward flight of birds is explained by readily ascertainable facts which could have no other results and are therefore significant of their causes, but that other events can have no such significance. We who know the causes of an eclipse and can theorise on the cause of earthquakes, are under no temptation to attribute them to supernatural agencies, but to the primitive philosopher or metaphysician it is self-evident that all phenomena in nature, whether trivial or impressive, are due to the working of a force which is immanent in all things. From this theory a whole series of primitive sciences and applied rituals was evolved. Astrology is based upon its application to the stars, and other branches of the science of omens on its application to various natural phenomena of the body or external world. Hence we shall find a science of divination from respiration, sneezing, twitching of the eyelids and the like; from the movements of animals and birds, especially such as are intelligent or uncanny; and from the most trivial accidents in the happenings of daily life. All is eloquent of the world-soul animating it from within, and it from this assumption there arises a mass of pseudo-science which has only come down to us in fragments, we may recollect that as a compensation the worship of nature taught that all life is one, and from this teaching arose much curiously beautiful lore about trees and animals which all found rank, as well as place, a definite relationship to a godhead, a function, as it were, in the spiritual world, and a kind of individuality in addition to their general claim upon man's mercy.

Had primitive speculation rested there it could have done nothing but good and, by forming a firm basis for the closer study of nature, it would have facilitated progress. But just as divination in the hands of the Roman State authorities became formalised into a set of rules for ascertaining the good-will of the gods and obtaining their sanction for the operations of the community, but which had no scientific basis whatever, no relation to truth and fact, so in the hands of the professional classes which practiced divination and codified its laws in verse the promising sciences with which it was pregnant were atrophied and distorted into useless and barren arts.

First among the pure and benevolent gods comes Sūrañj Devata, or the Sun godling. The Sun was of course one of the great Vedic deities; but his worship has apparently in a great measure dropped out of the higher Hinduism, and the peasant calls

1 Theories's fanciful theory that the study of the flight of birds was prompted by the desire to get information about mountain passes and the course of great rivers during the Aryas migration is unnecessary. A much simpler explanation is suggested. But once started on the path of science by observation of the facts of bird-life, the signs of the weather and the like, man inevitably proceeds to see predictions in everything; even on the shoulder-blades of a sheep, like the Baloch, or in the ears of red puppies which had been sacrificed. - Of Warde Fowler, Religious Experiences of the Roman People, pp. 216 et seqq.

him, not Deva but Devata, a godling, not a god. No shrine is ever built to him, but on Sunday the people abstain from salt, and they do not set their milk as usual to make butter from, but make rice milk of it and give a portion to the Brahman. After each harvest, and occasionally between whiles, Brahman are fed in his honour; and he is each morning saluted with an invocation as the good man steps out of his house. He is par excellence the chief god of the village, who will always name him first of all his deities. After he comes, at least in the east of the Province, Jamna Ji, or Lady Jamna, she is bathed in periodically. Brahman are fed in her honour, and the waters of the canal which is fed from her stream are held in such respect by the villagers that they describe the terrible evils which they work in the land as springing "from Lady Jamna's friendship." Dharitri Mata, or Mother Earth, holds the next place of honour. The pious man does obeisance to and invokes her as he rises from his bed in the morning, and even the indifferent follows his example when he begins to plough or to sow. When a cow or she-buffalo is first bought or when she first gives milk after calving, the first five streams of milk drawn from her are allowed to fall on the ground in honour of the deity; and at every time of milking the first stream is so treated. So, when medicine is taken, a little is sprinkled in her honour.

The Sun is still widely worshipped in Karnal. Sunday is sacred to him and on that day no salt is eaten, and no milk set for piti, but it is made into rice milk, part of which goes to a Brahman in honour of the Sun. A lamp is always lit to him on Sundays and Brahman fed now and then on that day, especially on the 1st Sunday after Akshar 16th when the harvest has been rated in. Before the daily bath water is always cast towards him (arya)."
and Indus, but is also well-known at Ambâ Kapî, near Lahore, the legendary residence of Râjâ Sir-kapî. Ambâ Kapî is the general name for seven places named after three brothers, Râjâs Sir-kapî, Sir-sukh and Ambâ and their four sisters Kâpi, Kalpi, Munda and Mandehi. All seven are also described as rákâsâs whom Râşâlû destroys. Sir-kapî is a gambler and his stakes are human heads which he invariably wins until overcome by Râşâlû. Past Ambâ Kapî flows the Bâgh-bacha stream and Cunningham connects this with the story of Budha’s offering of his body to appease the seven tiger cubs.

Tradition also localises Râşâlû’s legend at Mânikpur or Udinagar where the seven rákâsâs lived. Every day he devoured a man until Râşâlû destroyed all of them except Thers (possibly têra, the ‘roarer’) whose bellowings are still to be heard in a cavern of the Gândghâr hills, north of Attock. Mânikpur is said to lie west of the Jhelum and may be Manikulâ.

His pedigree is:

\[\text{Pipes Bhagat, Râjâ of} \quad \text{Sâhî Gaî} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{Ghâranîn.} \]

\[\text{Quam} \quad \text{Ishkâhî} \quad \times \quad \text{Sâlîyâsâna} \quad \times \quad \text{Lâmân.} \]

\[\text{Pâman Bhagat,} \quad \text{ancestor of the} \quad \text{Sînî Jâps.} \]

\[\text{Râşâlû} \quad \times \quad \text{Kokhrâ} \quad \times \quad \text{a Jhârâs} \quad (\text{or, according to another legend, a} \]
\[\text{aûr, according to another legend, a} \quad \text{swepper by whom} \]
\[\text{swepper by whom} \quad \text{she became the} \quad \text{mother of Têrs,} \]
\[\text{she became the} \quad \text{mother of Têrs,} \quad \text{Goo, Sco and} \]
\[\text{Goo, Sco and} \quad \text{Karrû—ancestors} \quad \text{of the Tîwâas,} \]
\[\text{Karrû—ancestors} \quad \text{of the Tîwâas,} \quad \text{Ghâsâ, Sîsâ and} \]
\[\text{Ghâsâ, Sîsâ and} \quad \text{Karrûs. P.N.Q.,} \]
\[\text{Karrûs. P.N.Q.,} \quad \text{II, § 282}. \]

It is however much more likely that Râşâlû is a solar deity by origin, and that round his original myth nearly all the folk lore of the province has gathered.

Sir R. C. Temple on the other hand protests strongly against this view and regards Râşâlû as a historical personage, to be identified with the Rânbal of the Muhammadan historians, a Hindu prince who opposed the Moslem invaders in what is now Afghanistan between A. D. 700 and 870. But hitherto no coins or inscriptions bearing the names of Râşâlû and the legendary personages connected with him have been discovered. He writes in the Calcutta Review, 1884, p. 380:—

“King Râşâlû, it is asserted, was a solar myth. No one at all acquainted with the science of comparative mythology can, we are told, for a
moment, doubt it. Thus, as the sun in his course rests not in toiling and travelling, so Rasáí’s destiny forbade him to tarry in one place. And as the sun, after a battle, however tremendous, with the elements, shines forth clear and victorious, so Rasáí, after a series of magical thunderbolts hurled at him by the giants, is found, shortly after, standing calm and undaunted. Hence Rasáí is considered as merely another form of the fables of Indra, Savitar, Woden, Sirynus, Hercules, Samson, Apollo, Theseus, Sigurd, Arthur, Tristan, and a host of other heroes, with one or other of whom every country, civilised and uncivilised, is familiar. Again, one large class of the old nature-myths relates to the fortunae of fatal children, in whose lives the destruction of their parents is involved—even as the rising sun destroys his parent the darkness, from which he springs. These children are almost invariably the subject of prophecy, and though exposed and made to suffer in infancy, invariably grow up beautiful, brave and generous. Thus, Perseus, who kills Akrisia’s: Cidipus, who avenges his father Laius; and Rasáí, whose destiny it was to slay Salvahn his father. Again, like the early ideal of Samson, and like the later ideal of Arthur, Rasáí is the king of spotless purity. Moreover, as the sun dies in the west but rises again, so Rasáí, in common with King Arthur, is expected to appear once more.

"Then, Rája Rasáí has a wonderful horse, who at a crisis warns his master not to touch him with whip or spur. In like manner, in the sun-myth of Phaeton, that hero is charged not to touch with his whip the horses of Helios. To take one more instance, the legend of Mr. Shikari is, as the author has remarked, the story of Orpheus, of Amphion and of Pan; but it is also the story of Hermes, Sigurd, Volker, Tristan, and many others; all of whom were pre-eminently harpers, surpassing all men; or, in other words, they were impersonations of the action and the power of air in motion.

"There are many other remarkable points in these singular legends of Rasáí, pointing them to a common origin with the ancient solar myths of all countries; but we have said enough to enable our readers to understand the principles, at least, which lead the Westminster Reviewer, and other students of comparative mythology, to regard the sun as the original fount at which story-tellers of all ages have refreshed their listeners’ thirst for recitals of a heroic nature."

Páran Bhagat, also called Gyánsarúpa or Purakh Siddh Chauranjwénáth, or Chauranjí Náth, is one of the gurus or hierarchs of the Kammatia Jogis. Legend makes him a son of Sáliváhana by Ráni Achháran and Rája Rasáí’s elder brother. He is beloved by his step-mother Ráni Lúnán and is calumniated by her and has his feet and hands cut off. Thrown into a well at Kallowál near Sálkot by his father he is rescued by Gorakhnáth, who has his ears bored and makes him his disciple. He revisits Sálkot and makes the deserted garden bloom again. He restores his mother’s sight, which she lost from weeping for him, and promises Ráni Sundrán a son, giving her a grain of rice to eat, and returns to Gorakhnáth. One version of the story makes Gorakhnáth first send Páran to Ráni Sundrán of Sángaládpur to beg alms of her. She would fain make him her husband, but he refuses to rule and even when hidden to accept

1 One variant makes Ráni Lúnán a Chamán woman. Subsequently Rasáí, seeing the value of marrying women of low caste fixed limits within which each caste should marry.

2 Temple (Legends of the Punjab, 11, p. 276) would identify Sángaládpur with Sikkal-trib, or Sákkas-trib, in the northern Punjab. It would be the country round Sálkot.
her kingdom by Goraknath he disobeys his Guru and becomes a Jogi, while Sundran casts herself down and kills herself.1

As Chaurangi Nath Puran visited the Bohar monastery of the Jogis in Rohtak, but was refused food until he brought fodder for their cattle. He obeyed but cursed the place which fell into ruins, only the Kalna Mahal remaining intact, but no religious rites are performed in that building which is a small arched room with walls 4 feet thick. It is said to have belonged to the Pazal Paina of the Jogis. When Chaurangi Nath revisited the place he established his fire or dhara and worshipped there for 13 years. Once a Banjara passing by said his load of sugar was salt. Salt it became, but as he repeated of his falsehood, the saint made it sugar again and in gratitude he built a monument over the dhara. This building contains no wood, its walls are 4 feet thick and its shape suggests layers of sugar sacks. In it a lamp is kept burning day and night.2

Beside is said to have been a disciple of Purna Bhagat, and he has a very old temple at Balla in Rohtak. Gharbari, non-calibre Jogis, take the offerings. Milk is offered on the 14th, suddi of the month and a fair held on that day in Magh.

Moon-worship.—The worship or propitiation of the moon takes various forms. At first sight of a new moon Hindus take seven threads from the end of their turbans3 and present them to her. Then throwing the end of the turban round their necks they say: Chanda, bhagya thand vastaja, taris kapra bahar davi. 'O moon, make us prosperous and happy, and grant us bread and clothes in plenty.' Then they exchange with one another the salutation 'Ram, Ram!' and the younger of both sexes bow to their elders, while newly-married people get 'moon gifts' from their parents-in-law, or in their absence from near relatives. If Hindus see a new moon in Bhadon, a day called pathachauth or day of stones, they consider it so unlucky that they fear misfortune or a false accusation, and to avert it they will throw stones into their neighbours' houses in order to cause them to abuse them in return, in which case they will suffer in their stead.4

The Moon became enamoured of Chalaya, wife of Guatama Rishi, and visited her in her husband's form. The Rishi discovered this and cursed his wife, who turned into a stone. He also cast his shoe at the Moon and it left a black mark upon him.5 This occurred at Goidar in Panipat tahsil where Guatama also gave Indra his 1000 eyes.6

Planet worship.—Our Census returns show a number of persons who are said to worship Sancha, or the planet Saturn, known also as Chichanach deota. These persons are Daksh Brahmans, who are clients of this malignant divinity, and who beg in his name and receive from the

1 For details see Temple, pp. 76, 77. (The Legend of Purna Bhagat), 1, p. 2 etc. Also P. N. Q. II, § 368.
2 Rohuk Gazetteer, 1910, pp. 65-8. A similar tale is told of the Sikhhi Pir (ibid, p. 65), and a song sung to Bhima Pir has the same theme.
3 Muhammadan do this and then throw the shawls to the right. They also toss a coin into the air. P. N. Q. II, § 254.
* P. N. Q. II, §§ 255-266.
5 N. I. N. Q., I, § 87. It will be noticed that here the Moon is male.
6 I.d., § 866.
faithful gifts of oil and iron. Sanidhar is the god after whom Saturday is named and the Dakauts receive their offerings on that day.

Those returned as Buddha-worshippers may possibly be men with a reverence for Buddha, but more probably they refer to the planet Mercury, from whom Budhvar, or Wednesday, is named. Mangal (Mars) is held sacred in the same way, as an auspicious planet; and in many minor matters, as in commencing a house, the nine planets are invoked together.

During an eclipse Hindus bathe in a sacred stream so as to be pure enough to repeat the *mantras* which will release the Sun or Moon from Rahu and Ketu’s persecutions. The husband of a wife pregnant for the first time should not look on any eclipse or his child will be deformed in some way and is peculiarly liable to hare-lip.

In Gilgit portents are generally supposed to foreshadow political events. Thus heavy rain forebodes invasion from Yasin, and many kites hovering over Gilgit one from Nagar. If packs of wolves assail the flock an attack from Hunza is expected and an unusually good harvest one by the Punial chiefs.

In Gilgit Grahn is a giant and a lover of the moon whom he seizes on the 1st of the lunar month when she is in her full beauty leaving untouched only the part which contains a fig tree. At such times the people beat iron pans and cry aloud to make Grahn leave the moon. In the meantime the (threatened) eclipse ends and they rejoice at their success. Grahn also becomes angry at the sun whenever a good king dies or is banished his country, and he then darkens the whole or a part of the sun’s face.

In Siiklot storms which proceed from the north or south-east are generally accompanied by lightning. They prevail during the rains. If they occur in December damage is done by the lightning to such crops as gram, *adl*, *atl*, and *ati*, which are called phul-e-kor or *khe-kor* in consequence. The electricity passing over the flowers’ is said to make them all fall off, the seed is lost and the crops seldom ripen. To counteract this evil the cultivator never sows gram till the first appearance of the moon, a light is placed on the seed which is prepared for sowing and as the moon appears it is cast over the field, and always at night, the popular belief being that in this way the electric current will pass over the crop.

Astrology plays a large part in all the affairs of life, and may even be used to foretell natural events. The chief exponents of the science are Sahdeo and his spouse Bhandli, Bhuddali or Bhadal, whose couples are usually addressed to each other turn and turn about.

1 Or, in Gargison at any rate they may refer to the worshippers of the small-pox goddess under her name of Budh.

2 N. I. Q. L. § 160.

3 Ghalib Muhammad: *On the Festivals and Folklore of Gilgit*, Monographs, Asiatic Society of Bengal, i, § 621.


5 H. p. 107. Apparently this is done once in every lunar month, not only at a lunar eclipse.

6 Princeps’s *Siiklot Sett. Rep.*, §§ 128-9. Probably the people have no conception of any electric current at all.

7 See p. 184 of Vol. II.
Thus clouds and lightning on the 1st of the light half (śadā prthvām) of Baisākhi presage an abundant harvest as does the concurrence of Thursday and the asterism Rohini in the akhāri or akhā, the 1st Baisākhi, on which date the accounts of the last harvest are settled.

If the asterisms Mūl and Kārb or Akhāra coincide with the first of Jēth on a Wednesday there will be an earthquake. And if the 10th of the dark half of Jēth fall on a Saturday there will be no rain, and but a few will live.

If the full moon, pūrṇa (pūranmāst) of Chait fall on a Monday, Thursday or Wednesday there will be rejoicing in every house.

The rest of Sahdeo's couplets are a systematic meteorological forecast. For example: if Kritika be seen for an hour in Rohini i.e. if Kritika overlap Rohini (in June) crowds with potsherds in their hands will beg from door to door; in other words, there will be famine. The prognostications are generally gloomy and only occasionally reassuring as in the couplet:

Aswani gale, Bharṇi gale, gale Jēsth Mūl, Pārā Kāđh dharā kē pe sāton chāl.

If Aswani and Bharṇi, which fall in May, Jēsth and Mūl, at the end of December and in January, all be wet and Pūrvāshādha in January be cloudy, the seven grains will flourish.

The following story about Venus or Shukar comes from Siālkoī:—The Rikhi Prigūti had a son called Shukar and a disciple (sewak) named Bala Rājā. Bala worshipped God so fervently that He promised to appear before him and receive the pārthi āś (the earth in ams) at his hands. Shukar then told Rājā Bal that God was the greatest deceiver that had ever existed on earth and that he should not believe what He said about His incarnation, but Rājā Bal put no faith in what Shukar told him, and when God appeared he took up a lōta to throw over His hands and gave Him three kōdams of land in ams. Shukar then became a tiny creature and seated himself in the spout of the lōta so that the water stopped running through the spout. But God had a twig in His hand, and this He thrust into the spout, making Shukar blind in his right eye. Shukar then ran away and the water flowed out freely. God was so displeased at Shukar's act that He gave him a ṣrap, turned him into a star and cursed him, saying that no women should come before his face or at his right hand and that his setting would be very baneful. So when this star is set a newly married Hindu bride does not go to her father's or husband's house if she chances to be in her husband's or father's house. She prefers to go to her husband's or father's house when the star is up and on her left hand. If she acts against these rules she is believed to suffer. To reach her father's or husband's house when it is set or on her right hand she must start when it is up or on her left and stay a night outside the village in which she happens to be. As on account of this star wives thus spend a night outside the village it is also called the 'wives' star' (saw&tās dō tāra). It appears sometimes in the west, sometimes in the east, and at other times not at all.

F. N. Q., 11, ff 868 and 705.
Earth-worship.

Meteors are not souls cast from heaven at the devil who is always trying to ascend to it. This appears to be a Muhammadan belief.

A comet, achaladikha, danda or dandir cakra, will bring epidemics or famines and if one appears subscriptions are raised to feed Brahmins and sages.\(^1\)

Lightning is attracted by black, or red- stripes are inserted in blankets of that colour. Bell metal is also held to be a great conductor.

But the worst attraction is afforded by an uncle and his sister's son sitting together because the lightning was once born as the daughter of Devki, niece of Kaush, and was struck by her uncle, who cast her on the ground against a stone. She flew up to heaven, but has ever since borne enmity to all maternal uncles.\(^2\)

The whirlwind contains an evil spirit and to avoid meeting one you should say:—Hanuman Jotha teir hot—"O warrior Hanuman I thy charmed circle (protect me)." Hanuman is invoked in the same words said seven times if you meet a snake, who should be seized firmly by the top-knot. If it is then tied into a noose the spirit will obey you. Do not let him go till he has sworn thrice by Hanuman Jotha to serve you in difficulties.\(^3\)

Dust-storms are avoided by invoking Hazrat Sulaiman thrice, pointing the while with the fourth finger in the direction you wish the storm to take.\(^4\)

The East wind or parare comes over the sea and is harmful to mankind, though it brings more rain than the pachhadi or west wind which is land borne.\(^5\)

When the earth is worshipped as Dharti Mata at the first season's ploughing the prayer in common use is: 'keep our rulers and bankers contented and grant a plentiful yield; so shall we pay our revenue and satisfy our money-lender.'\(^6\) The year's ploughing must not be begun on a Monday or a Saturday. A curious form of earth-worship is performed by dancing, or apparently by any one in desperate case. When they are at bay they take up a little earth and scatter it on their hands.\(^7\)

Natural features are almost always ascribed to supernatural or heroic agency. This is especially the case in the Himalayas. For example, in Kangra the Rulang mountain is said to be a chip of the true Kailas brought down to Sanga by the wishes of an ancient king.

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\(^1\) P. N. Q., III. 432.
\(^2\) I. N. Q., IV. 4 224.
\(^3\) Id., 53 32, et. For shrines of the Mâna Bâjaja or Uncle and his Sister's Son, see infra, under 13.4.3.
\(^4\) Id., 33 49. A variant is Bhârî Phârâ, or Bhû Phâra that: ares in the small whirlwinds so common in the Punjab. He is the husband of Durt and is represented as a disciple of Buddha. See Legends of the Punjab, 111, p. 301, and II, pp. 104 and 105.
\(^5\) P. N. Q., III. 385.
\(^6\) I. N. Q., IV. 340.
\(^7\) Harat & Co. p. 358.

For a parallel in Europe see Whitehead's Geographical Gazette, p. 213. The German Lord shows the amount of adoration in making for yr. a number in 1568. When punished they beat the ground and swore to die with honour.
and penitent. It is meritorious to circumambulate the hill, keeping it always on one’s right. The Kaikas kund or lake is still held sacred because it afforded an asylum to Vasiuki when surprised by his enemy Garuda. The Kaikas peak at the source of the Sutlej and the peak of Mumh Mahesh, at the head of the Ravi, are both regarded as the home of Shiva, and the Santi’s land is Shivdhuni.

Earth-worship.—On the 14th of the light half of Kālīk is held the surya śekri or feast of lamps. Very early in the morning, men and women go out to bathe and the women set afloat mats of rushes or reeds on each side of which they place seven lamps alight, singing:

1 My lamp before, my soul behind.
2 With my lamp before, Rām will carry me across.

Then in an adjoining field they set up a hut made of cloths and worship in it a gār-fed lamp. After this they return home, having performed a good work leading to heaven.

About 5 miles from Rāwalpindi at the Chir Pahār there is a cleft which tradition says was caused by Rājā Rasāli’s sword when he clove a demon in twain. The mark of his horse’s hoof is also there.

About 10 miles north of Rāwalpindi is a famous Rāmkund or Rāma’s pool, with a Hanumān kuṇḍ, a Lachman kuṇḍ, a Sūraj kuṇḍ and a Śītā kuṇḍ, but in the last-named no Hindu will bathe though bathing in all the others is meritorious on any holy day and more especially on the 1st of Baisākh at the amārdat. Two miles to the east of it is a Gupt-Ganga or silent pool in a running stream, which is also a śirsh. Such pools are looked upon as sacred to the penance of some rishi or saint throughout the Himalayas. Two miles to the south of Rāmkund is Nūpur Shāhān, where a Muhammadan fair is held on the 1st Thursday after Baisākh 15th. Ecstasy and frenzy (kāl) are not unknown on this occasion. The fair begins on the arrival of an offering of every kind of fruit in season from Peshāwar and cannot commence without it. It is held in honour of Shāh-i-Latif Barri or Barri Sultān, said to have been a pupil of Sayyid Hayāt-ul-Nur, Qādiria. Barri Sultān used to be supplied daily with milk by a Gujar, but the buffalo which gave the milk always used to die on the day it was milked for the saint. At last the Gujar was reduced to a bull, but the saint bade him milk it too. It also died, and the Gujar only recovered his cattle from the spring to see them all turned into stones, where they stand to this day, because he disobeyed the saint’s behest not to look back when he called out their names by one by one at the spring.

2 Ib., III, § 78.
3 Ib., III, § 432.
4 Ib., I, § 561.
5 Vieramitra is said to have done penance at Rāmkund, but the orthodox accounts of his penance do not mention the place. Another folk-poet associated it with Rājā M in Singh of Amur, but it is opposed to all history, though it contains much of interest in folklore. S. C. B., VIII, pp. 119-21.
At the western summit of the Sakesar hill are some rugged rocks called the Virgos — Kunwari, whose origin is thus described: — In the time of Muhammad Shah Tagulqi, the country was infested by bands of *yala* or *jalas* who used to carry off booty and village maidens to their fastnesses in Afghanistán. Some of them visited Bâgh, the garden, a village whose ruins are still traceable, held by the Tarar, a tribe now apparently extinct, and the Tarar put some of their daughters to death to prevent their falling into the bandits’ hands, while others sought refuge among the rocks which rent in twain at their prayers and swallowed them up. The Tarars then scattered among the neighbouring villages. Ramathrod in Bâwalpindi owes its name to the legend that the Râjpût women cast themselves over the precipices in the belief that their husbands had been defeated by the Moslems, and that their husbands on their return followed suit.

How much real but forgotten history is preserved in such legends it is impossible to say, but it appears certain that they often preserve relics of ancient creeds or religious organizations. Thus Gurgasen derives its name from the tradition that it was granted to Druna Achárya, *guru* of Yudishthir. But the best exemplar of this is furnished by the Kurukshetra, an account of which will be found in Cunningham's *Arch. Survey Reports*.

Attock (Atak) on the Indus means a stoppage, and various modern legends attach to it from Sikh times. Kot Bithaur, in the hills nearby was Râjâ Sir kap’s fortress, and by an ingenious suspension bridge he used to cross the Indus to visit a Fair Rosamand until fate overtook him and he fell into the river.

The name Jâlandhar, which is found in Kurram and in Kula as well as in the plains city of that name, appears to preserve the memory of a time when lake formations were much commoner than they are now in North-West India. Various legends are connected with it. In the Pândava’s time Jâlandhara, who reigned from the Sutlej to the Kârga hills, founded it, but it was destroyed and refounded by a *faqr* Jâlandharnâth, in the days of Vikramaditya. Many myths are attached to it and its tanks, named Gâphna and Brahmkund. Bihon was originally Raghunâr, and possesses a Sarajkund or sun-pool, and an old Hindu temple, while Narmâhal was once a Râjpût fort called Kot Kâhâr or Ghalâr. It has a sacred well called Ganga.

Another account makes Trigarta, *Sastra*, for ‘three forts,’ the country between the Sutlej, Beas and Râvi, while Jâlandhara was the portion of the hills over which Shiva threw Jâlandhara to the
Averting rain.

dailies and its seat of government was Kângra." Tradition also has it that Jâlandhar was overwhelmed by a great flood in A. D. 1343.

Blâgâs, near Dharmsâla, is so called because of the following legend. When Vasuki (Bisuk) Nâg, king of the serpents, robbed Shiva of the bowl which contained the water of immortality Shiva taxed him with the theft, and in his flight Vasuki turned the bowl upside down, and caused the water to flow out. This happened at Blâgâs, which is named from Vasuki’s flight (bâg).—

Illiterate Hindus believe that sleeping with feet to the north is an insult to the deusas as well as to the ancestors (nîtra), as they reside in that quarter. Illiterate Hindus have the same belief on the theory that the attractive influence of the North is dangerous.

Good Hindus will not sleep with their feet to the east on account of the Ganges (or because that would be an omen that their ashes would soon be carried to the sacred river), which flows to the east; or to the North, out of respect for Devî.

Another version is that Hindus should sleep with their heads to the east because that will bring prosperity and learning; or to the south because that is respectful to Jâmpuri, the city of the lower world, while to sleep with one’s head to the west brings trouble, and to the north disease and death.

Bânias sometimes keep off rain by giving an unwed girl some oil which she pours on the ground, saying:

If I pour not out the oil, mine the sin,
If thou dispers not the clouds, thine the sin.

Another prescription is to put a ¼ sec of rain water into a new ghara and bury it at a spot on to which a roof spout discharges. This will stop the rain at once.

During scarcity petty shopkeepers wishing to maintain high prices and keep off rain fill lamps with ghi and set light to them when clouds collect. After a while the light is blown out—and then of

1 P. N. Q., II. § 222. But Dr. Hutchinson writes:

"Trigara—as it should be spelt—cannot bear the meaning of ‘three forts.’ It is a case of confusing the word gur with giri. The latter means ‘fort,’ not gur means a small stream or river. According to Cunningham the three rivers referred to were the Satluj, Beas and Râi. Vogel says that gur cannot properly be said to indicate a big river, and that Trigara more probably refers to the Kalinga. Kurill and Navagul—the principal rivers of Kângra—which unite at Siba fort and flow into the Beas under the name of Trigida which is the same as Trigura. The latter is the same name country or region, and is often found in hill names e.g. Kulu."

* P. N. Q., I. § 397. — Oldham records a legend which makes Blâgâs Nâg originally a serpent deus whose temple has now, under Brahmanical influence, become sacred to Shiva and changed its name to Brahmâ Nath. The old stone figure of the snake still remains under a tree close by, but Shiva, i.e. a linga, occupies the temple.

* N. I. N. Q., I. § 107. — For the pre-Christian belief that the North was under the prince of the Power of the Air, see Durandus’ Symbolum of Churches, p. 227.

* I. N. Q., IV. § 192.

* Ib., IV., § 419. § 43.

* P. N. Q., III. § 514.
Causing rain.

course the clouds dispel. Another and unsavoury method of frightening away clouds is practised by Hindu grain-dealers who have been speculating for a rise. When clouds appear they take a leaf into the fields or place rice, sugar etc. at a cross-road, and then *sique causidens supra panem alium exonerant*. Or they lay in wait for people on a dark night and *stareb aliquos conspicientes: nec non asinorum terga codem purgantur*. These practices are said to be common in the Māṇjū and to occur in Ambāla.

In Gilgit sacred springs are used on a similar principle. Sacrifices are offered to them, but if owing to drought heavy rain is wanted the people used to get a foreigner to throw an unclean thing, such as the bone of a dog, into the spring and then it rained until the thing was taken out. For this service the foreigner received a large quantity of grain as the people themselves believed in the power of the spring to inflict harm.

On the other hand, rain may be caused by throwing a pot of filth over the threshold of an old woman with a bad temper. If she is annoyed and expresses her feelings rain will come down, but the rite may fail and the crone, keeping her wrath to herself, retaliate in kind. To bring rain girls also pour water in which cow dung has been dissolved on an old woman, or she is made to sit just under the spout of the roof. In Kula the *deobis* are directed by the Rājā to send it and they are fined if it does not fall in the time allowed.

To Hindus the rainbow is Rām Chandra's bow, to Muhammadans that of Bāba Adam. But in the Punjab it is generally called *pīgh*, the swing or the old woman's swing, and in Multān: the *pīgh* of Rībī Bā, who is very plausibly identified with Sakhī Sarwar's wife. In Pashtu it is called the 'old woman's swing,' but in the Marwat it is called the bowl (ādāš) and in Baluchi ādā, a word of unknown significance.

The Milky Way is in Multān: ḍaγā ḍaγ, 'the path of (Noah's) boat,' but is also called Akka Ganga, or the heavenly Ganges, the 'white garland,' the 'gate of heaven' and 'Bhagvān's court-houses.'

Wells disused and forgotten are believed to be revealed in dreams—at least to dreamers gifted with a special faculty for their discovery.
Earthquakes.

Goats have a reputation as well-finders, and a herd is believed to lie down in a circle round an old well even when filled up and overgrown by jungle. No goat, it is said, will walk over a hidden well: it will turn aside. Goats will not lie down over an old well, and are said to detect it by stamping with their feet. 

A goat is also a peace-offering, at least in Raiwalpindi, when the offering must apparently be accepted when tendered by one who wishes to close a feud. At Buria in Ambala, near Jagadhri, is or was a sacred well, but its efficacy has departed. The Ganges at Nurmahal has already been noticed.

Earthquakes are believed to be due to a fever in the earth's interior, causing ague. This is said to be a doctrine of the Yunani school of medicine. Wells act as safety-valves for the trembling, however, so earthquakes are common in Persia and Kashmir, where wells are scarce, and rare in the Punjab. Earthquakes are also said to be caused by the Earth Mother's anger at the prevalence of sin. But many Hindus believe that the sacred bull which supports the world, first on one horn, then on the other, causes it to shake when he shifts it.

If a shock is felt when the doors are open i.e. by day, it is auspicious, but if it occurs at or after midnight it is the reverse.

Thunder is supposed to destroy chickens in the shell if it occur a day or two before they should be hatched. Every care is also taken to prevent children suffering from small-pox hearing thunder, and its noise is drowned by plying a hand-mill.

Worship of the Ganges is distinctive of the Ayapantas, but it is not confined to them. Under the name of Bhagirathi it is worshipped very often, and principally by the Oos who claim descent from Bhagiratha, the Puranic hero who brought the Ganges down from heaven. Yama, the god of death, is supposed to live in rivers. He is propitiated by making an image of gold according to one's means. This is worshipped and then given to a Brahman.

The worship of the Beas is hardly distinguishable from that of the Rishi Vyasa whose shrine is at or near Bashist on the Beas.
in Kulu where Moorcroft and Trubshaw found his image, about 1½ feet high, standing against the wall nearest the rock of a temple built a few feet in front of it. Its walls of loose stone form three sides of a quadrangle, the side next the stream being open so as to leave access to it free for its presiding genius, Vyāśa. By its side stood a smaller figure. Both images were much worn. The Rishi lived, however, at Vyāśa Asthal (now Bastali) in the Kurukshetra, and there the Ganges flowed underground to save him the trouble of going to bathe in that river, bringing too his ṭoṭa and loin-cloth which he had left there to convince him that the water was really that of the Ganges.²

In the same way the Sarasūṭ or Sarasawati river is not always to be distinguished from Sarasawati, the goddess of learning, but only the former is at all extensively worshipped and then only locally. The Mārkanda is confused in the same way with the Rishi of that name. The most noticeable river cult, however, is that of the Indus—see Sewax Darya—and that of Khwaja Khizar is also important.

Dr. J. Hutchison regards the mīrajān kā mela held in Chamba as probably a survival of the aboriginal worship of the river-god, but it is possibly connected with the cult of Mahādeo, to whom are offered ears (mīrajān) of basil.¹ This mela is held on the third Sunday in Sawan. In its main features it is peculiar to Chamba, though the name is known, and some of the ceremonies are observed in other parts of the hills. The essential part of the mela consists in the throwing into the Ravi of a male buffalo as a sacrifice to the river god. A week before the time comes round each person has a silk tassel made which is attached to some art of the dress and worn. This is called a mīnjā. On the day appointed, the Rājā and his court proceed to the spot, where the mela has been held from time immemorial. There a great concourse of people assembles. The Rājā gives the signal by throwing into the river a coconut, a rupee, āvet grass, and some flowers, and thereupon the live buffalo is pushed into the flood. The Rājā throws his mīnjā in after the buffalo and all the people follow his example. The animal is then closely watched, as its fate is believed to foreshadow prosperity or adversity for the coming year to the reigning family and the State. If carried away and drowned, the event is regarded as propitious, the sacrifice having been accepted. If it crosses the river and gets out on the other bank, this also is propitious—the sins of the town having been transferred to the other side of the river. But if it emerges on the same side, coming evil is portended to the State. Being a devoted thing, the animal, if it escapes, is retained till the following year, doing no work, and is then cast in again, and so on till finally carried away and drowned. The buffalo is provided at the expense of the State. This mela is probably of aboriginal origin, and connected with the earth-worship which was prevalent among the aborigines of the hills. It was probably intended to secure good rains and a bountiful harvest.

**Tree and Animal Worship.**—Traces of tree worship are still Ibbatian, common. Most members of the Tig tribes, and especially the pāgāl 4 293.

¹ Journey to Ladakh, I, p. 190.
³ Chamba Gazetteer, 1904, p. 191; see页 infra, and also under cult of Mahi-

A
and bar (Ficus religiosa and Benghalensis) are sacred, and only in the direct extremities of the leaves will their leaves be cut for the cattle. Sacred groves are found in most villages from which no one may cut wood or pick fruit. The jand (Prosopis spinafera) is reverenced very generally, more especially in the parts where it forms a chief feature in the larger flora of the great arid grazing grounds; it is commonly selected to mark the abode or to shelter the shrine of a deity, it is to this rule that ragas are affixed as offerings, and it is employed in the marriage ceremonies of many tribes. In some parts of Kāngra, if a betrothed but as yet unmarried girl succeed in performing the marriage ceremony with the object of her choice round a jand, in the jungles with certain wild plants, her betrothal is annulled and the marriage holds good. Marriage with trees is not uncommon, whether as the third wife elsewhere alluded to, or by prostitutes in order to enjoy the privileges of a married woman without the inconvenience of a human husband. The deodar worship of Kuit has been described. Several of the Jat tribes revere certain plants. Some will not burn the wood of the cotton plant, the women of others will their faces before the sita (Malva Indica) as if in the presence of a husband's elder relative, while others pray to the tiger grass (Saccharum spontaneum) for offspring under the belief that the spirit of the ancestor inhabits it. These customs are probably in many cases totemic rather than strictly religious (as for example among the Rajputas). The Bishnoi also objects to cutting a tree by a pool or to pruning or lopping a jand (the female of the jand) as its cutting would lead to bloodshed. The jand and pipal should be watered in Baisakhi. Pithas or holy pools are greatly believed in, the merit of bathing in each being expressed in terms of cows, as equal to that of feeding so many. Some of these pools are famous places of pilgrimage. The Hindu peasant venerates the cow, and proves it by leaving her to starve in a ditch when useless rather than kill her comfortably. Yet if he be so unfortunate as to kill a cow by mishap, he has to go to the Ganges, there to be purified at considerable expense; and on the road he bears aloft the cow's tail tied to a stick, that all may know that he is impure and must not enter a village, and may avoid his touch and send out food to him. His regard for animal life in general forbids him to kill any animal, though he will sometimes make an exception in favour of owls and even of snakes, and he seldom has any objection to anybody else destroying the wild animals which injure his crops. In the cast he will not eat meat; but I believe that in the Punjabi proper the prohibition extends to women only. The monkey and peacock are specially sacred.

Trees also have a kind of social procedure among themselves. Thus the pipal is regarded as the Brahman among trees, while the jand is regarded as the siradar or head of all save the pipal by Jats, and by some Muhammadans as the Sayyid—and this is said to be the reason why a bunch of its leaves is hung up over the door of a room in which a male child has been born.  

5 P. N. Q., II, 4. 1000. The pipal is also worshipped as the abode of the Panjpir and Nār Singh, and where there is no pipal the bar or banyan is substituted; f. 611, 4. 189.
Tree worship.

The indigo plant is by caste a vahtar or sweeper and so orthodox Hindus have a strong dislike to blue clothes and to growing indigo. It was a disgraceful punishment to have one's face smeared with it whence the proverb: *nīl ki tīkā maya maṅgadā: may I never be anointed with indigo.*

But in Chamba tree worship is by no means distinctive: indeed it is doubtful if any tree but the *pīnak* is really worshipped. As this tree does not grow much above an elevation of 3,000 feet its worship is prevalent only in the lower and outer valleys of the State. The Nāg and Devū temples are frequently found in cedar groves and the *Cedrus deodara* is then regarded as sacred, and may not be cut down. The tree itself, however, is not worshipped, nor is it looked upon as sacred unless it is close to a temple. The same is true of other trees which are believed to be the abode of malevolent spirits, such as the *kāth,* fig, pomegranate etc. The tree is not worshipped, only the spirit residing in it. Even the shadow of these trees is injurious. But though many of the forest trees are believed to be the abodes of evil spirits the Banhirs—see page —also dwell in certain trees.

Tree worship is practised in several ways. Thus at domestic festivals many Brahmans and Khatris perform rites to the *jand* (*Prunus spinosa*). Some families never put on their children's clothes made at home, but only those begged off friends, and the ceremony of putting on a child's first clothes is observed when it is three years old. It is then taken to a *jand* from which a twig is cut and planted at its foot. A *swādīkha* made of rice-flour is made before it, and it is also offered sugar. Nine threads are then cut into lengths and one of them is tied round the twig in Shiva's or Krishna's distinctive knot, while another is tied round a piece of dried *gus* and put on the *swādīkha.* Mātrus from the *Tijar Feda* appear to be recited the while, and finally sugar and rice are given to all the women and children present, for besides the Brahman celebrant, no other adult males may be present. The Brahman then puts on the child his first clothes, impressing on them the mark of his hand in saffron, and ties a thread, to which is fastened the purse, which contained his fee, round its loins. In front this thread has a small triangle of red silk lined with silk—like the only garment of very small girls. This may be done in order to disgrace the boy as a girl, and the custom is said to refer to the extermination of the Kshatriya boys by Parśa Rāma. ¹

The *dandas* (*emblica officinalis*) is worshipped in Kātalk as propitious and auspicious, Brahmans being fed under it, threads tied round it and seven circumambulations made round it. As the peomate leaves of the *jand* and its gall make it resemble the *dandas* it too is worshipped in the same way.² At weddings its worship is widely practised, and in Mussaffargarh Hindu bridegrooms generally and a few Muhammadians cut off a small branch of it and bury it before marriage. Offers are also made to the tree by relatives of Hindus suffering from small-pox.³

The *chītra* (*butea frondosa*) is sacred because of its use for funeral pyres.⁴

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¹ F. N. Q. III. 1 881. 1 716. ² F. N. Q. II. 1 448. ³ F. N. Q. II. 1 544. ⁴ Musaffargarh Gazetteer, 1883-84, p. 22.
Tree worship.

The _tulsi_ is worshipped among women by placing a lamp made of flour at its root and saying: _Tulsi dho baalé, Main kaha nu saṃbháli:__ 'I have lit a lamp for Tulsi and she will take care of me when I die.' The _pípal_ is worshipped in the same way with the rhyme:

_Patte patte Govind hau tha, tahe (akhu) Deota,_
_Madh te Sri Kishan baithá, dhan Brahna Deota._

'Govind sits on every leaf, and a god on every branch.
And on the trunk holy Krishna; glory to Brahna devata.'

And the worship of the _pípal_ is believed to be equal to that of the above gods. A _tulsi_ plant is kept in an orthodox Hindu house partly because it is Vishnu’s plant, partly because it is sweet-scented and a deodoriser. Much the same ideas prevail regarding the sandal-wood tree. The tendrils of the _pípal_ make a cooling medicine for children, and its leaves are a powerful charm in fever.

The _kikar_ tree also has magical powers. For fever take a cotton thread and wind it in hanks of seven threads from your left big toe round your head. Then tie these hank round a _kikar_ and embrace its trunks seven times. This propitiates the tree, and it will cause the fever to leave you. Such hanks are often seen round _kikar_ trees.

When a wealthy Hindu is sonless he will marry a Brahman to a _tulsi_ plant which is regarded as a nymph metamorphosed by Krishna. The ceremonies are solemnised in full and at some expense. The _tulsi_ is then formally made over to the Brahman who is regarded as the donor’s son-in-law for the rest of his life, because he has received his bride at his fictitious father-in-law’s hands.

See also under Mahádeva, note 1 inra, and at p. 154 note, _svara_, under Panipírú.

Trees also play important roles at weddings and in connection with marriage.

_A hábul_ (Anacis Arumbá) or _lápúra_ (Coriá sterá) planted near a house will ruin the dwellers in it? Orthodox Hindus too will not sleep under a _hábul_ for it causes sickness. Indeed it is regarded as a very Chamár among trees and its wood is disliked even for burning corpses. But Chamás themselves use it freely. On the other hand, the shade of a _nín_ is very lucky.

Both plantain and mango leaves are sacred among Hindus and used on all auspicious occasions, and when any sacred book is read it is often placed between small posts covered with those leaves.

In Karnál the leaves of the _sínára_ are especially powerful and after them those of the _mango_. They are hung in girdlunds with an inscription on a platter in the middle, and the whole is called a _taká_. The _jánd_ is also a very sacred tree.

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5. ib., III, § 169.
7. ib., III, § 192.
8. ib., III, § 283.
9. ib., IV, § 139.
Cow worship.

Besides the habu and lasūra the berī and arund (castor-oil plant) are haunted by evil spirits. The pipal too is said to be so haunted and the śīhar unlucky. ¹

The egg-plant, biṣāgara, is unlucky and not eaten because its seed remains in the stomach for a year, and if the eater dies within that term he will go to hell. But another version makes the egg-plant a forbidden vegetable because once a number of fairies were eating its fruit and one of them got caught in its thorns. The Rājā asked her what she wished and she said: 'I wish to be released today is the ṭhāṭha (a fast day), bring me a person who has fasted.' But the only person who had fasted that day was a little girl who had refused to eat her breakfast, and so the Rājā made her give up to the fairy all the benefits she had derived from her fast, and then the biṣāgara released its captive. Fasting on the ṭhāṭha was then unknown. The biṣāgara is also said to be objected to for a prudish idea.² It is also likened in a catch to a Malagy, a jagir, with green cap and purple face.³

After sunset trees sleep and so it is a great sin to pluck even a leaf from one during the night, as it will awaken the sleeper. Kāṭhānas also inhabit trees after nightfall.⁴

The devil or pulse is objected to because it resembles drops of blood and the asrot, turnip and other vegetables for prudish reasons. Jogi collect the herb called jari-biū from the Dhāngir hill near Pañāk and mix it with the ashes of an unmarried Hindu. If the mixture is given to an enemy he will be bewitched and can only be cured by another Jogi's incantations.⁵

Wood-cutting and kiln-burning are unlucky occupations as they both involve the destruction of life in living trees and of the insects in the earth while it is being burnt. The sin is punished in each case by a shortened life. Another unlucky occupation is that of the Bhāratanjā or Bhārajā who are mākpāter, 'great sinners,' butchering the grain. They are the worst. Indigo too is full of insects which are killed while it is rotting in the vat, and they will retaliate on the workers in the next birth.⁶

Dyers attribute the accidental spoiling of their dyes to some sin of their own, but it can be transferred to those who have reviled them by telling some incredible tale which will cause their hearers to speak ill of them and thus relieve the dye of its burden. Potters are very wicked for they make vessels with necks and thus imiously imitate Brahma's handiwork. They also cut the throats of their vessels.⁷

The cow is worshipped on the 8th of the light half of Kātik, on the Gopādam, or 'cow's eighth.' At evening men and women go to the cows and worship them, garlanding their horns with flowers. Each cow is then fed with kneaded flour-balls (pāṇḍa), her feet dastiled and obeisance done to her with the prayer: 'O cow, out

¹ I. N. Q. IV. p. 42. 130.
² P. N. Q. III. p. 449.
⁴ P. N. Q. II. p. 736.
⁵ P. N. Q. I. p. 117.
⁶ I. N. Q. IV. p. 123.
⁷ P. N. Q. III. p. 389. 785.
⁸ H. I. T. 732.
⁹ I. N. Q. IV. p. 123.
¹⁰ H. I. T. 425.
mother, keep us happy. A woman thus worshipping the cow marks her own forehead also with sandal-wood and red lead. A song sung on this occasion runs—O ploughman, thou of the yoke, I recall to thy memory, eat thine own earnings, and credit mine to Hari’s account.

To let a cow die with a rope round its neck is a heinous sin; its value must be given to Brahmans and a pilgrimage made to the Ganges. A cow when ill at once let loose.

Bulls are let loose as scape-goats, the sins of their deliverers’ forefathers being transferred to them. They are called Brahman. No Hindu will ride on a bull as it is sacred, nor on a mare in foal as it injures the foal whenever conceived.

No bullock can be worked on an āṣādeh—11th of a lunar fortnight—nor can any corn be eaten on such a date.

A bullock with a small fleshy growth, called ḫik or tongue, in the corner of its eye or on its head or back must not be yoked by any Hindu, in Gurgaon, under pain of excommunication. Such an animal is called āḍāra, and must be given to a Jogī who takes him about with trappings and strings of curi on him when begging to excite reverence by exhibition of the sacred mark.

Cholera can be got rid of by painting a young he-buffalo with red lead, and driving it on to the next village. As the goddess of cholera likes this she will leave you also.

The horse is commonly given the title of Ghāzi Mard or Ghāzi Miān—Conquering hero.

Horses were created before any other animals, and elephants next, so they never give a false omen. Both can smell danger from a distance and warn their riders of it.

The scars on horses’ legs mark where they once had wings God took away their wings when they flew from heaven to earth for the use of man when He made Adam.

When leopards roar at night, Jogīs are believed to be riding them in Kulu. The leopardess always has three cubs, but one of them is always stunted and only grows up into the leopard cat.

2. I. N. Q., IV, § 492.
3. R., IV, § 991.
5. The derivation suggested there is from naḍa, the sacred bull of Shiva, but the word āḍāra may come from āḍā, a whistle, which is worn by Jogīs probably as an emblem of Shiva.—II, § 192. Naḍada Jogīs are found in the Central Provinces (Russell, op. cit., III, p. 292), but not in the Punjab apparently. For the āḍā of the Jogīs see Vol. II, pp. 100, 290, supra.
7. I. N. Q., IV, §§ 492, 205.
Débris of nature-worship.

It is a heinous sin to kill a cat, for it is a Brahmant; and its killing is punished by the slayer's becoming a cat in his next birth. To avert this fate a cat made of gold should be given to a Brahman.

Do not abuse your house rats, for then they will not injure your chattels. If poison is mentioned they will understand and not touch it, so when mixing it people say they are cooking food for neighbours.

A camel's right hoof is a potent charm against rats and will clear a house of them.

If a camel's bones be placed in a crop of sugarcane no ants will attack it. If buried at the entrance of a house no evil spirit will enter in.

Pious Hindus consider it a duty to release caged birds, especially on holidays like the das-lauras and kaddars of each month.

The peacock is sacred to Hindus as being the vehicle of Saraswati, the goddess of learning. A curious belief is said to exist that pea-fowl do not mate: the hen is impregnated by the tears of the male.

Thunder can be heard by the peacock 100 feet away, and their cry portends rain.

The gaurada—adjutant crane—is Vishnu's vehicle, and one should manage to catch a sight of it on the Basahra.

If a crow picks up a woman's kerchief and drops it she will at once give it to a beggar.

Grain is also scattered for crows to eat and the birds are netted for sale to pious people who let them go again. The chief purchasers are Bania's wives who are believed to be specially liable to metempsychosis into crows; so the trappers hold up a crow in front of each Bania's shop and cry: 'Behold so-and-so's wife.' This compels the wife to buy the bird and she immediately releases it.

The kite, crow, kingfisher, owl and snake are all believed to live 1000 years.

The young of the kite do not open their eyes until an article of gold is shown to them. House kites carry off gold ornaments. And the best cure for weak eyes is sarsa mixed with the contents of their eggs and applied to the eyes.

The parrot is called Ganga Ram by Hindus, and Miyan Mitthu by Muhammadans.

A chakor (partridge) is often kept to ward off evil, as it takes upon itself all its owner's misfortunes.

The partridge, both the Star and chakor, are averters of the evil eye. They eat live at the full moon.

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1 P. N. Q. III, p. 279
3 J., I., p. 244.
4 L. N. Q. IV, p. 407.
5 M. I. N. Q. III, p. 97.
6 P. N. Q. III, p. 470.
8 I. N. Q., II, 120.
9 I. N. Q., I, p. 102.
10 Ach. & Enc. F. p. 106.
12 P. N. Q. III, p. 301.
13 I. N. Q. III, p. 455.
14 N. I. N. Q., I, p. 112.
15 "I. N. Q., II, p. 120.
17 I. N. Q. IV, p. 405.
The dove is said never to mate twice, and if one of a pair dies its mate pines to death. 1

The papāthā, or black and white crested cuckoo, is a bird which sings in the rainy season, and is said to have a hole in its throat. 2

The feathers of the blue-jay are supposed to be soothing to babies that cry, and one tied round the neck of a child that grashes its teeth in sleep—a portent of death to one of its parents—will cure it of that habit. 3 Yet in Muzaffargarh it is a bad omen to see the blue-jay or skīrdhā. Killing a pigeon is considered unlawful among the Kheshqi Pathāns of Kasūr. Some Muhammadans regard it as a Sāvyid among birds, and therefore it is a sin to kill it—though it is lawful food. 4

The mahāra is a bird which causes amākkār, foot-and-mouth disease, in Multān. The mahāra, butcher-bird or shrilike, is ill-omened if seen in flight. 5

The heron standing on one leg is the type of a sanctimonious hypocrite, so it is styled bagha bhagat. 6

Locusts go off to the east, when they die of eating salt earth (rekh). 7

The large glow-worm which comes out in the rains is in the Murree hills called the kowdīra kirta because it was in its former life a jāgīr who refused fire to Behnamūra or Bidhī Māta, the goddess who records a child's future at birth, and was condemned by her to carry a light forever. Hon is the 'light' in the tail—from hon = harsan—apparently. 8

The many-boned grass-hopper which feeds on the ak is called Rāmāji kī-gāo or Rām's cow in Hariana. 9 The little Indian squirrel is similarly called Rām Chandra kā bhagat because when that god was bridging the sea, twixt India and Lanka the squirrel helped by shaking dust from its body on to the bridge. The black lines in its body are the marks of his fingers. 10

Ants are fed in Kāngra with five articles, called pānīrī or gullār, for luck. 11

Sir James Lyall noticed that the practice of besting pots and pans to induce bees to settle in a swarm previous to hiving prevails in Kulu, as it did or does in English country places. The Kulu men at the same time tell the queen-bee and her subjects:—Beck, Mahārānī, beck, na tōb agra jānei, Mahārānī vē drohi alī; Be seated, great queen, be seated, and turning to the bees] an appeal has been made to the queen against your going any further. 12

The akhāndhī is an ash-coloured bird, the size of a dove. If you kill one and then touch a person afflicted with itch he will be cured. 13

Owls and goat-suckers, ghākāt, attān, and kū, are all birds of ill-omen, especially the ghākāt, which is called the Kīrātha kīth or

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‘Kirārs’ tiger,’ from the superstitions dred in which that caste holds it. The chātrī or button owl is equally unlucky, apparently on account of its ugliness.

In Munafārghur the kite, hāl (Hindi शूल), is supposed to be male for 6 months in the year and female during the other half. In much the same way the popular belief on the banks of the Indus is that if metha or an margreek (Trigonelle, Fornand gaurnum) be sown before noon metha will grow, if after noon an metha (Brassico erucus). Under certain circumstances metha (Eremus lea) turns into a seed called rārī.

The king crow, bal-balichā, barīche or karīchā is revered by the Shias because it brought water to the dying Imām, Hassan, and also because it is always a star early. Its note is said to be: khobāna, chānī or, get up, good wife, and grind corn.

The pāfē is a larger lizard than the house lizard. It a woman touches one before she makes butter it will be abundant.

The ḍhan is a black and white lizard with a bluish tinge about which many tales are told. It is found full grown in the belly of a snake, and not born. Though harmless it is supposed to be most deadly. The flesh of another lizard, the sahāna, is credited with restorative powers.

Snake worship and the cult of Guda.

Various superstitions attach to the snake. For example: After her young are born (hatched) the female snake makes a circle round them. Those that crawl out of it survive, but those that stay in it she devours. If you see a snake on a Sunday you will see it for 8 successive Sundays.

When a snake is seen, say Sayyids and other Musalmāns of high class, one should say ḍol, ḍol, ḍol, and it will become blind. The shadow of a pregnant woman falling upon it has the same effect.

A curious belief exists regarding the sahn or snake-stone. It is sometimes said to be a fine silky filament spat out by a snake 1000 years old on a dark night when it wants to see. It is luminous. The way to get hold of it is to cast a piece of cow-dung upon it, and its possession insures immunity from all evil and the realization of every wish. It protects its owner from drowning, parting the waters for him on either side.

Still stronger is the belief that lightning will strike a tree if it have a snake’s hole (barz) under it. Lightning invariably falls where there are black snakes and it is peculiarly fatal to snakes of that colour as it attracts the lightning.

The Sanga or Snake god, occupy an intermediate place between the two classes into which I have divided the minor deities. They are male, and though they cause fever are not very malevolent, often taking away pain. They have great power over milch cattle, the milk of the

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* Munafārghur Gazetteer, 1858-9 p. 29.
* p. 95.
* Martha’s Glossary.
* Munafārghur Gazetteer p. 22.
* p. 92.
* P. X. Q., 1322. A snake should be called shār, ‘tiger,’ or rāvī.
* rope,” never by its proper name.
* P. N. Q., 257.
* N. I. N. Q. L, 397.
eleventh day after killing is sacred to them, and libations of milk are always acceptable. They are generally distinguished by some colour, the most commonly worshipped being Kali, Hari, and Bhairi Singh, or black, green, and grey. But the devine will often declare a fever to be caused by some Singh whom no one has even heard of before, but to whom a shrine must be built; and so they multiply in the most perplexing manner. Dead men also have a way of becoming snakes, a fact which is revealed in a dream, when again a shrine must be built. If a peasant sees a snake he will salute it; and if it bite him, he or his heirs, as the case may be, will build a shrine on the spot to prevent a repetition of the occurrence. They are the servants of Raja Basak Nag, king of Patial or Tarturus; and their worship is most certainly connected in the minds of the people with that of the gods or ancestors, though it is difficult to say exactly in what the connection lies. Sunday is their day, and Brahmans do not object to be fed at their shrines, though they will not take the offerings which are generally of an impure nature. The snake is the common ornament on almost all the minor Hindu shrines.

Mrs. F. A. Steel vouches for the following account of snake-worship:—During nine days in Bhadon the snake is worshipped by all castes and religions, but at the end of Sawan Mirasi women of the “snake” tribe make a snake of flour, paint it red and black, and place it on a wicker basket with its head poised like a cobra’s. This basket they carry round the village singing verses invoking Allâh and Gûgas, Pri. Every one should give them a small cake and some butter, but generally only a little flour or grain is given, though in houses where there is a newly married bride Re. 1-4-0 and some clothes are given, and this gift is also made if a son has been born. Finally the flour snake is buried and a small grave built over it, at which the women worship during the nine days of Bhadon. The night before they set curds, but next morning instead of chewing it they take it to the snake’s grave and offer a small portion, kissing and touching the ground with their foreheads. They then divide the curds amongst their children. No butter is made or eaten on that day. Where snakes abound, this rite is performed in jungles where they are known to be.

That certain persons are believed to be immune from snakes-bites is undeniable. Thus in Kângra a man has been known to allow himself to be bitten by a poisonous snake once a year in the rains. First bitten by a cobra he was cured by prayers at a shrine to Gâga called Kothari dâ Gâga. Such persons are said to give out a peculiar odour and to feel a kind of intoxication when the time for getting bitten, which they cannot escape, comes round. They recover in a few days. Some people believe that the snake that bites

P. N. Q. II. § 836. Mrs. Steel also declares that the snake sits or trips is not uncommon, and that they are Muhammadans of Kashmir. They observe all these rites on every Monday and Thursday, but never make or use butter in those days. They are immune from snakes-bite and if they find a dead snake give it a regular funeral. Finally a son of this kind is said to grow.

The Langoots claim the power of resembling disguised snakes—three snakes changes its form and must do so every 100 years when it becomes a man or a bull—and follow them to their holes, where they say to be shown where treasure is hidden. These snakes will do in return for a drop of blood from the little finger of a first-born son. But see also III. § 418.
Snake-worship.

is a female and so they recover, but arsenic taken repeatedly is probably an effective prophylactic.*

That snakes hibernate appears to be recognised by the following custom: after the Diwali in Kangra a festival, called Nāg-kā-pōjā, is held in November to say good-bye to the snakes. At this a large image of the Nāg made of cow-dung is worshipped, but any snake seen after it is called aṣṭāṇā or ungrateful and killed forthwith. Many Hindus take a lamp used at the Diwali to their houses to scare snakes away from them for the next six months; and the chehra ma:rā or cheh-ṣarp, the fragrant Arctium elegans, is also kept in houses to frighten them away. A curious by-product of snake-worship is the prohibition against giving milk to a dying man, as it will make him a serpent at his next birth. The existence of a two-headed snake (dōndānā) is believed in and any person once bitten by such a snake will be regularly sought out and bitten by it every year afterwards. Such an experience confers immunity even from poisonous snakes though insensibility ensues. Certain simples are used to cure snake-bite, but a purely magic rite consists in taking a handful of shoots and, while praising the snake's ancestors, fanning the wound with them. This is called dāli kdi:na and is done in Kangra. Pouring water and milk down a snake's hole is a preventive of snake-bite. In primitive speculation, the snake was supposed to renew its youth when it cast its skin and so to be immortal.1

1 P. N. Q. II, § 895
2 J. III, § 178.
3 J. III, § 169.
4 J. III, § 147.
5 J. III, § 167.
6 J. III, § 534.
7 J. III, § 301.
8 J. III, § 463.
9 J. III, § 788.
10 J. II, § 837.

See Sir J. G. Frazer's valuable article on The Serpent and the Tree of Life in Essays presented to William Ridgway, Cambridge, 1916, p. 415 ff. Support to his theory will be found in the following account of a primitive Nāg cult in the Shala Hills recently received from the late Mr. H. W. Emerson. In the remote tract called Tikrāl, which lies near the source of the Ushar, the people were warlike and ferocious down to a century ago. Their country is subject to a confederacy of five gods, called the Panch Nāgas, who hibernate during the winter, going to sleep at the first fall of snow and only waking up again at the Phag, the festival which corresponds to the Holi in the plains, when they are serenaded by their worshippers. Each temple has a small aperture cut through an outer wall of the second storey and opening into the chamber where the god's couch is laid. A miniature image is placed below the window inside the room. A few days previous to the full moon two parades are shown from the subjects of the god, each composed of from 8 to 10 men. One party represents the god's defenders, the other his awakeners; but the members of both have to prepare themselves for their sacred duties by fasting until the sun rises, when they arrive. On that day they arm themselves with a large supply of snow-balls, the snow being brought from the hills above. If, as rarely happens, it has melted from round the homesteads, the assistants stand about 30 paces from the window, while the rest take up their position immediately below it. All hold their snow-balls ready in the skirts of their long coats and at a given signal go into action, but whereas the god's supporter-
Another rain god of serpent origin in the Simla Hills is Bashern. Once a woman was cutting grass when her sickle struck a three-faced image of gold. She took it home and placed it in her cow shed, hoping that her herds would multiply. But next morning the shed was full of water and the cattle all drowned. So she gave it to a Brahman who put it in his granary. But next morning it too was filled with water and so he set the people to build the image a temple a mile or two away whence the god still controls the weather according to the wishes of his votaries. As he had no village green he drained a lake by coming down in spite one night and cutting a deep channel. On the sward his festivals are now held. At the one in early spring the god is rejuvenated by being carried to his birth-place and laid on his side so that he may be recharged as it were with the divine essence which still emanates from his natal soil. This process takes 6 or 7 hours, during which his bearers lie prostrate and his worshippers keep strict silence, but his musicians play—to assist the ascent or transmission of the divine spirit, as well as to relieve the toil of the god’s inactivity. No sacrifices are offered.

On the Upper Sutlej, a snake goddess gave birth to seven sons, the territorial gods of as many valleys. They had no father, or at least his name is not known. Her own home is a spring situate in a forest glade dedicated to her use, and there her watchman, Gunga, the dumb man, keeps guard over her sanctuary from a holly bush. Should any one cut down a tree or defile the sacred spring he curses him with dropsy. Not even the sons can approach their mother without

ars pull his adversaries they are themselves safe from attack and the other party must sit at the open window. Should he fall into the room where the deity reclines before the stock of ammunition is exhausted the throwers have to pay a fine of several rupees, since their indifferent skill has thus defeated the very object of the whole battle. The god sleeps on unnumbered of the efforts made to break his slumber and other means are taken to move him from his lethargy. Men creep up the altar, carrying trumpets and war drums and swell the music and rattle its massive chains shouting to the god to be wakened. This at least is but a poor way of awakening the Nag, as annoying to the worshippers as to the god. The latter would faint, sleep on, but if he has to wake—awake he must—he would rather have a snow-ball hit him, cold and painful though the awakening be, than have his dreams disturbed by an unnecessarily din outside his chamber door. So if the throwers succeed as they usually do in placing a missile through the window the same is considered most auspicious. They then leap and dance with joy shouting that the god has risen from his bed. The sacred dances, on the other hand, begin to be horror-stricken at the reflections and prepare the culprits with a running line of abuse, abuse, abuse, abuse and even gun-shots. The chase continues through and round the village until at length a steam is called. Both parties agree to accept the ruling of the god and reporting to his temple consult the oracle. The spirit, refreshed and invigorated by the winter’s rest, descends upon the diviner, who shakes and spins under the full force of the divine influence. Having explained the situation to his master, he interprets the divine decision. This is always in the same style. The Nag, while commanding his supporters for their spiritual defence, thanks his acolytes for their kind thought in rousing him now that the time of winter cold has passed and the season of spring shines at hand. Thus every one is pleased and the assembly prepare to listen to the further sayings of their god. The god will tell the story of his journey from Kashinath and the many incidents which happened on the way. Then he foretells the future, prophesying what fortune will attend the rulers of the neighbouring States, which crops will come which will fail, whether the herds and flocks will multiply, what drought will come, what sickness will prevail, and in general whether the year will be a good or evil one. The announcement of harvest prospects and the interpretation of omen form a special feature of the oracles which often continue for many hours. On its completion the audience consumes a feast which lasts for several days. Drinking, dancing and singing are its main features, and the god as usual joins heart and soul in the merriment.
his leave. If one of them has lost his vigour his followers bring him to Gunga, and having obtained his consent, carry the god to the spring and lay him there in his litter, prone on his side. Such energy oozes from the fountain that in a hour or two he is reinvigorated for several years and can bestow blessings on his people until his strength runs down again. Some say that the snake herself appears in serpent form and may have seen her licking the supplicant’s face. (Pioneer, January 14th, 1916.)

For the sacred serpent licking a patient’s sores see Richard Caton’s The Temples and Ritual of Asklepios, London, 1909, p. 30.

THE NÁG CULT IN CHAMBA.

Dr. J. Hutchison describes the Nág and Devi cults as the oldest in the Chamba hills, and Dr. Vogel regards the Nágas as water spirits, typifying the alternately beneficial and destructive power of water. This theory, however, does not adequately explain how the Nágas of Brahmanic and Buddhist literature and the Nágas of the Himalayan valleys came to be regarded as snake gods. Brigade Surgeon C. F. Oldham’s theory1 that the so-called snake-gods and devá are the defiled rulers of the people has little to commend it, and is based on the assumption that the hooded snake was the racial emblem of the ruler. It is safer to regard both the Nág and the devá as emblems of the powers of fertility and reproduction.

The Nág shrines in Chamba are very numerous, and there are also Nágni shrines, but the latter are not common. The image in these shrines is usually of stone in human form, with the figure of a snake entwined around it and a serpent canopy over head. The shrine also contains figures of snakes in stone and iron, with a tirád or trident, a lamp, an incense holder, a gauri or weapon like a sword, and finally the iron chain and sangat with which the chela scourges himself. This is said to be an exact copy of that shown in the hand of the Egyptian god Osiris. Springs of water are believed to be under the control of these snake godlings, and, in some parts of the hills, to such a degree are springs and wells associated with snake influence in the minds of the people that Nág is the name in common use for a spring of cool and refreshing water. A spring will usually be found in proximity to a Nág temple. Many of the Nág godlings are believed to have the power to grant rain, and in times of drought they are diligently propitiated. Ságyas or vigilas are held in connection with the temples, incense is burnt and aswán and goats are offered in sacrifice. The págára gets the head and the chela the shoulder, while the low caste musicians are given the entrails and cooked food. The rest of the animal is taken away and consumed by the officer and his family or friends. Money offered is equally divided between the págára and chela; also dry grain. If people belonging to a low caste offer cooked food, which is not often done, it is given back to them after being presented to the Nág. A ságya or vigil is always held at the time of a sela, which as a rule takes place once a year at each shrine.

The Nág and Devi temples are all erected on much the same plan and are usually situated in a clump of cedar trees near a village. Such

1The Sun and the Serpent.
trees around a temple may not be cut down, and are regarded as the property of the deity in their midst. Sometimes a temple is erected within the interior of a forest or in some mountain ravine, standing quite alone. The usual pattern is a square resting on a raised platform of stone. The building itself may be entirely of wood, or of the wood and stone style of architecture so common in the hills. It generally consists of a central cella with an open verandah around it and a small door in front. The whole is covered in with a pent-roof of wood which either slopes on two sides from a central ridge, or on four sides from a surmounting cap or ball. This roof is supported on cross beams resting on wooden, or wood and stone, pillars one at each corner of the platform, with intermediate supports if necessary. Sometimes the verandah is entirely closed in, with only a doorway opposite the door of the cella. The cella remains the same from age to age, and is not renewed unless it becomes ruinous, but the roof is frequently renewed as a mark of respect to the deity within. This, however, is not now done as often as was the custom in former times, and in many cases repairs are carried out only when absolutely necessary. The wood-work of the verandah is covered in parts with carvings of a grotesque character, while hanging around are the horns of animals which have been offered in sacrifice, with bells suspended over the doorway, and sometimes a pole in front, called dhatu. The image is inside the cella. The temples have probably remained much the same in shape and structure since the earliest times. Occasionally they consist of a small cella only of the simplest kind, with no verandah. Often too the image may be seen resting in the open, under a cedar tree, with little to indicate its character except the paint and oily appearance from the ghō with which it is besmeared.

The rites of worship are similar at both Nāg and Devī temples. Bloody sacrifice holds the foremost place. On ordinary occasions incense is burned, and circumambulation of the cella within the verandah is performed by the priest. There is also the ringing of bells, and the sounding of the conch shell, accompanied by the beating of drums. A mela is usually held once a year at each temple, when a great concourse of people takes place on the green near the shrine, and all are seated in prescribed order according to ancient custom—a special place being reserved for the officials of the pargana in which the temple is situated. Music and dancing, and often drinking, play an important part at these melas. Each temple has a pujārī or priest, who may be of any caste, and a chela who is usually a low caste man. The god or goddess is supposed to speak through the chela, who is believed to become inspired by the deity. Seated at the door of the temple, he inhales the fumes of burning cedar wood from a vessel held before him, while he is fanned by a man standing near. The drums are beaten furiously; soon he begins to quiver and tremble, and this trembling increases till the entire body shares in the incessant motion, this being the recognised sign of the god having entered into him. Continuing to work himself into a frenzy, he springs to his feet and dances madly, scourging himself all the time with the sangat or tirtha which he holds in his hand, sometimes with such severity as to draw blood. The harsh and discordant music gets louder and wilder, and others join in the dance, forming a circle with the chela in their


midst. A goat is then brought forward and presented to the god, and water is thrown upon it and put into its ear to make it tremble, this being the sign that the victim has been accepted. Forthwith the head is struck off and presented to the god, and in some cases the chela drinks the warm blood as it flows from the quivering carcass. The dancing proceeds more wildly than ever till at last the chela calls out that the god has come. All are then silent and questions are asked by the people and answered by the chela, as the mouthpiece of the god. Having done this part, the chela sinks on the ground exhausted, and is brought round by fanning and sprinkling of water on his face and chest. The people then disperse to their homes.

The temples may be visited in times of drought and famine, or pestilence in man or beast, also by individuals on account of any special circumstances—such as sickness or for any family or personal reason. These are called jàtra, and on the way to the temple round marks are made with rice water on the stones by the wayside, probably to indicate that the pilgrimage has been performed. Only special Nàg{s} have the reputation of being able to give rain, and in time of drought those shrines are much frequented, the same procedure being adopted as that already described. Sheep and goats are freely offered at such times. If rain falls too abundantly, the Nàg shrine is again resorted to with offerings to constrain the god to stay his hand.

There are many traditions current in the hills which point to human sacrifices having been frequent at Nàg and Devi temples in former times. In Pàngi and other parts of the Chandra-Bhàg Valley a singular custom obtains in connection with Nàg worship. For a fixed time every year, in the month of Sawan, and sometimes for the whole of that month, all the milk of the village is devoted to the local Nàg and is then said to be sukhàs (pure).

The villagers do not use it themselves, that is, they do not drink it, and they are very unwilling to supply milk to travellers during the period. The milk is churned as usual, and gòs is made from it, the buttermilk being stored and used up at feasts held on certain days during the month. Every few days any offering of milk and sweet bread is made to the Nàg, some of the milk being sprinkled over it. It is also smeared with gòs. A final feast is held at the end of the month. In Pàngi only 15 days are observed, and this only in the lower part of the valley.

Generally speaking, the foundation of the Nàg and Devi temples is ascribed to the era of Rájà Mûshâ Varma, A. D. 829-40, but most of them probably are of much older date. Three temples, two of Mahàl Nàg and one of Jamun Nàg at Bâni, are said to have been built in the time of Râna Bedthrâ.

Further the pujàs and chelas are most commonly Ràthis by caste, but, in a good many cases, only the pujàs is a Ràthi, the chela being a Shâlu, as in the temples of Kailà Nàg and Manuar Nàg at Bháráram, Mahàl Nàg at Bâshi, Nandyâsir Nàg at Puddhra, Tarewan Nàg at Lunkli, Him Nàg at Bharwaria, Mahàl Nàg at Bâri and Bâiro, Muthâl Nàg at Gûbâra, Nandâlu Nàg at Sirha, Sushâ Nàg at Bharoga, Kâh ìnàbhà.
Nāg at Nabi-Bhuta; Parha. Nāg at Singalai Bani and Charas Nāg at Tikri.

In some cases the puja is a Hāli, *xly*, at the temple of Bhindhu Nāg at Lambota, Parblut Nāg at Andaw, Sri Nāg Stūli at Sudlāj, Thāinang Nāg at Bung Rās, Kala Nāg at Khandādar. At Sri Potir Nāg's temple at Bhumī the puja is and chela are both Koli; at Kala Nāg's temple at Chilli, they are both Bhāluhra Gaddis; at Handol Nāg's temple at Chandrola both are Bātān Gaddis; at Sanga Nāg's at Bani Sugwari both are Sapalī Gaddis.

Brahmans are incumbents of the following temples:

Mahal Nāg's at Bani (Brahmans of the Padhu gat, with Hāli chela). Thāinang Nāg's at Dirō and Mahā Nāg's at Manglana (of the Kālīn gat, also chela). Mahā Nāg's at Jamhār (of the Kālīn with Hāli chela), at Thāinang Nāg's temple at Kharont (of the Bātan Pāl gat with Rāthi chela), at Thāinang Nāg's temple at Balmota (of the Kālīn gat, also chela); at Hau Nāg's at Talhūna (of the Kāshb gat, also chela); at Nāg Bapolār's and Mahā Nāg's at Janga Bani (of the Kālīn gat, also chela); at Sindhu Nāg's at Sūmbār (Gaur Brahman, also chela), at Bajgr Nāg's at Sirha (Gaur Brahman, also chela), at Bapolār's at Bālom of the puja is a Kanda Brahman, at Mahā Nāg's at Talān he is a Thānā Brahman, at Karangar Nāg's in Sānaur he is a Lohtā Brahman, with a Rāthi chela, at Soolām Nāg's in Sūrī a Kālīn, also with a Rāthi chela, at Sāt Nāg's in Sūrī he is a Kāshb, at Jamus Nāg's at Bari Jamūhā he is a Kālīn with a Rāthi chela, and at Rāh Nāg's temple in Rāh he is a Kāshb with a Hāli chela.

In Pāngī Brahman puja of the shrines of Mindhal Kantu Nāg at Ro, and Markula Devī at Tindī and Udaipur; Rānās are the puja of Kīlār and Sālā, and Rāthi with Hāli chela at all the other shrines.

The following is a list of the principal Nāg worshipped in Churāh and the northern portion of the Sadr wārd, with the name of the village in which each has a shrine:

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<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Saindar</td>
<td>Nabi Bani</td>
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<td>Thāinang</td>
<td>Kala Rās</td>
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Himāgarh

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<th>Pargana</th>
<th>Name</th>
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</table>

The following are some of the legends associated with special Nâgs and Devis in different parts of the State—

Bânum Nâg was brought from Bhandâra 100 years ago, because disease was prevalent among the cattle of the State. Bânum Nâg and Nâgâ were also brought from Bhandâra on a similar occasion, and Dîggâ Nâg from Pângî.

Indru Nâg derives his name from Indra. Tradition says that a Râma from Sûket came to Kânya in Kânya, thence to Karâ, thence to Sûrhi, the Nâg and his mâyâs accompanying the Râma. The Nâg's disciple, Dhanâ, was drowned in Dâlînâ, and his idol was also enshrined in its temple. In one of its hands it holds a trident, in the other a chain, with which the êklaś beat themselves.

Kallâhâr Nâg, his original name, now better-known as Kelang, came from British Lâhil 15 or 16 generations ago when cattle disease was prevalent at Kûgî, and the people of that village had vowed to hold a fair if it abated. Tradition says that Kelang, in the form of a serpent, rode on the horns of a ram from Lâhil, and stopped at Dûghî two miles.

*Indra Nâg has a temple in Kânya also—see text p. 154.*
from the present temple. Remaining there for three generations, he went to Darun at the source of a stream, a cold place difficult of access, so the people petitioned his chela to remove lower down, and the Naga, through his chela, told them to cast a kheda from the place, and to build a new temple at the spot where it stopped. By digging the foundations they found a three-headed image of stone, and on removing it a stream gushed forth. This was many generations ago. This image is in the Padmasan attitude. Raja Sri Singh presented a second image of eight metals (mahdhatu) which stands upright, holding a lath or pole in its right hand. Its head is covered with figures of serpents, and it wears a necklace of chaklas with a yasoo and turagi or waistbelt or pani (loin cloth), all of serpents. This temple is closed from Maha 1st to Baiasakhi 1st. At other times worship is performed every Sunday, but only sheep and goats are accepted as offerings.

The following is a list of the Nagas worshipped in the various villages of Brahmans and the southern portion of the Shih oasis with the dates of the fairs and vigils held at each, the castes to which the pajuras and chelas belong, and the Rajas in whose reigns the worship is said to have been introduced:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pajuras</th>
<th>Date of Fair</th>
<th>Pajuras and Chelas</th>
<th>Founder in the reign of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Badyala Nag</td>
<td>Aurah</td>
<td>Brahmans</td>
<td>Siwan 5th</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ladhani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blassi Nag</td>
<td>Dai or Bas-</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baiasakhi 4th and 5th</td>
<td></td>
<td>Raja Singh</td>
</tr>
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<td>kher</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baiasakhi 4th, 5th</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blassi Nag</td>
<td>Sor</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baiasakhi 4th, 5th</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baiasakhi Nag</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Baiasakhi 4th, 5th (Jagra on 1st of Baiasakhi)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baiasakhi Nag</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Baiasakhi 4th, 5th</td>
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<td>Mahi</td>
<td>Mahi</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bajura Nag</td>
<td>Tehta</td>
<td>Tehta</td>
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<td>Dighanpal Nag</td>
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<td>Dhanabhuni Nag</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diggu Nag</td>
<td>Bageran</td>
<td>Brahmans</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godlher Nag</td>
<td>Poli</td>
<td>Brahmans</td>
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<td>Intra Nag</td>
<td>Suni</td>
<td>Chahal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intra Nag</td>
<td>Ura</td>
<td>Chahal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intra Nag</td>
<td>Saino</td>
<td>Chahal</td>
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<td>Launa</td>
<td>Chahal</td>
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<td>Kowari</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intra Nag</td>
<td>Tanki</td>
<td>Chahal</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 A musical instrument like a plate of metal, which is struck with a stick.
2 Sitting or sitting in the attitude of devotion, like representations of Buddha.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
<th>Date of Fuld.</th>
<th>Patronus and effects</th>
<th>Founded in the reign of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mehal Nog.</td>
<td>Richit</td>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mulli Gaddha</td>
<td>Mohi Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putli or Suth Nog.</td>
<td>Sakhai</td>
<td>Mahli</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kalyon Gaddha</td>
<td>Mohi Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandhula Nog.</td>
<td>Gawar</td>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kali Gaddha</td>
<td>Mohi Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shek Nog.</td>
<td>Sele</td>
<td>Sakti</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chulnchwan Gaddha</td>
<td>Mohi Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sah Nog.</td>
<td>Shikran</td>
<td>Lil</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gtukin Gaddha</td>
<td>Mohi Varma.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following is a list of the Noges in Pangi:

- Dauni Nog.
- Kand Nog.
- Basar Nog.
- Barsad Dec.
- Bhat Nog.
- Jangpur Nog.
- Pan Nog.
- Mal Nog.
- Josey Nog.
- Pari Pari Pari.
- Kish Nog.
- Brar Nog.
- Jatwai Nog.
- Bas Nog.
- Kora Nog.
- Kaur Nog.

Pargana:

- Darwaz.
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- Darwaz.

Note: The list includes various villages and their corresponding Pargana, Date of Fuld, Patronus, and the founder of each Pargana.
The legend of Det Nāg at Kilär is that he was originally located in Lāhul, and human victims were offered to him. The lot had fallen on the only remaining son of a poor widow, and she was bewailing her misfortune when a Gāndī passed by, and, hearing the tale of woe, offered to take her son's place. He, however, stipulated that the Nāg should be allowed to devour him, and on his presenting several parts of his body in succession without any result he got angry and threw the Nāg into the Chandrabhāga. It got out of the river at Kilär and being found by a cowherd was carried up to the site of the present temple, where it fell from his back with the face on the ground. A shrine was erected and the image set up with its face looking inwards: and a clump of cedars at once grew up around the shrine.

Kathura Nāg is a godling associated with pulse just as Sandhol Nāg is with barley. The offerings to a Nāg are an iron mace (khandā), a crooked iron stick (kuṣṭi), both of which are left at the shrine, a sheep and cakes, which are shared by the priest, the chāla and the worshipper and eaten. 3

THE NĀG CULTS IN KĀNGRA.

In Kāngra where snake-worship is not uncommon Nāg temples are rare, but the following is one:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Ritual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inidū Nāg</td>
<td>Jēth 1st</td>
<td>The image of a snake is engraved on a slab. A yag or a jauja is celebrated at each harvest and the poor are fed. A nagpāta is also observed at each harvest, and 16 goats are sacrificed at the Bālī and 10 at Kharī, sidhās and faqirs being entertained. The ritual of sacrifice is conducted according to the beliefs of the chālas who go into trances and manifest the gods concerned. The Dauja pūjā is rounded during the Naurīsā festivals. The popular belief is that the prosperity of the harvest depends on this god whose displeasure is said to cause hail and drought.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

In thās Śrānītāl is a shrine to Nāg Jamwālan or 'Nāg of the Jamwāl tribe' (or possibly the people of Jamān 4). At this snake-worship is cured and goats etc. are sacrificed. 5 Besides Shesh Nāg, who supports the world on his head, there are 7 Nāgs, viz. Takbālak, Ṛṣvak, Bajr Dāsbon, Karkotak, Hemmālī, Sankhu and Kāli Nāg. The Nāg Takbālak plays an important part in the Ṣandhīkāratas and Vānu is also well known in Hindu mythology. Kali and Sankhu Nāgs are found in Kulu. Vajra-damchāna may be the Sanskrit form of Bajr

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3 See Vol. II, p. 371 infra, for offerings to Nāgs. Kailāng Nāg is also noticed on p. 216 infra.

4 P. N. Q., II, § 120.
Nāga in the Simla Hills.

Danshun and if so his name means 'he whose bite is like lightning.' Sankhu is also called Dudaia, the milky snake. He and Kāli Nāg are worshipped on Tuesdays, especially in Hār and Sāwan; they protect crops from white-ants and rats and are offered milk, honey, he-goats etc.¹

At the maandir of Naga Bari in Chatmál no fair is held. The temple was founded by Rāma Kālā of Nūrpūr some 150 years ago, but was afterwards built by Rājā Jagat Tāmā. He enshrined in it a stone image of a snake. It is managed by a Brahman pujārī whose got is Sapala. Fruit etc. is offered as hād morning and evening after worship and a lamp is lit every evening.

THE NĀG CULT IN THE SIMLA HILLS.

The deota Nāg in pargana Kandur.—Nāg is one of the most powerful deotās in the Simla hills. He appeared some 1500 years ago, at a time when three deotās held the part of the country which is now the Nāg's dominion. These were Dandra in pargana Kandur, Bātbiddū in pargana Chādāra in Kāmtīl, Malānuhar in Madhān, State (at Khāri), but their history is no longer remembered. The States of Madhān, Kāmtīl and Kumbhārsain had already established themselves when Nāg appeared and there was a State called Kālī or Rājāna, apparently in Kandur, pargana, whose rulers belonged to the family of Sirmir. Some people say that the Bain Thākīr family of Madhān having died out, a prince of Kālīn (Bilāspur), ancestor of the present chief, was brought in to rule over Madhān soon after Nāg appeared. Nāg's history is that five Brahman brothers named Kālī, Gājan, Moel, Chāni and Chāna once lived at Bharāna, a village now in Madhān. Kālī, the eldest, was a hermit. Once a sādāna came to Bharāna and put his āna under a kēlo tree, cooked some food and asked Kālī to eat it with him. He gave Kālī four loaves, of which he ate two and kept the other two in his pocket. At the sādāna's invitation Kālī stayed the night with him, and at midnight saw carpets spread before the sādāna's ānaa, torches lighted and parīs; Rājā Indra's dancing girls, come and dance before the sādāna. Kālī watched this with amaze, but before daybreak the sādāna and all had disappeared. Kālī returned home, but was intent on finding the sādāna again, as he believed him to be Rājā Bharatī himself. He climbed to the top of Tikkar hill where his brothers grazed their sheep, but they could tell him nothing and bade him return home and fetch food. When he reached home Kālī found his daughter-in-law at work, and on his asking her to give him some flour she said that she was in a hurry to milk the cows and so he returned to Tikkar empty-handed. In his disappointment and from love for the sādāna he fled like a mad man leaving his cap, topā, on the Tikkar peak, and throwing his two remaining loaves which had turned into black stones, to the shepherds. While roaming far and wide in search of the sādāna Kālī flung away his clothes and everything he had on him, one by one.

¹ Kārpa sūsajtīr, 1904, p. 168.

² From Nāg, "The combination," writes Dr. Hutchinson, "must be wrong. The first name may be Deota or some such word, but it cannot be Deota. The Deota and Dēvar are quite distinct from the Nāg. A Nāg therefore cannot be called a deota or deotas."
at different places, and at last died. It is believed by the people that when he gave his brothers the stones, they and the sheep also turned into stones and that Kâlî when he died became a sârelī (a big snake).

This sârelī devoured men and lived on Tikkar hill. It would wander all over Chadâra, Madhâna and Kandaru—the then Koti State, until the people begged the dêtâs Dôr, Bathindu and Malânshar for protection, but they declared weeping that they could not subdue the Nâg that had appeared in the form of a sârelī. Such a terror to the countryside had he become that he would draw people into his mouth from afar with his breath. Hârtû fort was then in possession of Sîmûr and its officer sent 32 men to Ruper to fetch supplies. On their return they saw a cave where they intended to halt, but found themselves in the monster’s mouth. Four Silu brothers, Kâlîs, of Kelti village, volunteered to kill the sârelī and collected people for the enterprise. They found it sleeping in a Nâth, with its head at Kelti and its tail at Khungshâ, a distance of over 5 miles. It was arranged that one of the Kâlîs should enter its mouth with an iron jaimal or spear in his hand, so that if the sârelī shut its mouth the jaimal would keep its jaws open, and another man might enter its throat and thrust the jaimal through its neck, while others mounting its back might see the spear head and avoiding that spot back at the serpent on every other side until it was cut in pieces. Led by the Kâlîs the people acted as arranged and the monster was killed, the escort from Hârtû emerging alive from its stomach. In the monster’s huge head were found two images of Mûl Nâg, as the dêtâs had said. This image is jet black with a singhâsa on which the Nâg reposée, two Bhagwati Devâs sitting on either side with hands clasped and also on each side a tiger watching. One of the images in the temple is at Dhar village and the other is at Jâdun temple in Chadâra pargâna. Some say three images were found. Hundreds of people collected and Brahmanas who carried the images fell into a trance and the Nâg spirit spoke through them saying that he claimed the dominion of the three dêtâs and should be carried first to Kâlirî. Besides others Pargi of Kelti, Moel Brahman of Bhrana, Faqîr Pujâra of Jâdun and Sadi Râm Pujâra of Dhar (Kandaru) accompanied the Nâg to Kâlirî and asked Bhonklu Chand, Thâkûr of Madhâna, and his brother Kela to accept this new dêtâ. The Thâkûr said that none but Malânshar was his god and that the image was nothing but a nema or pâs and so he hesitated to treat the Nâg as a god. The people said that the Nâg would strike like lightning. The Nâg then left Kâlirî, but rested in a cave called Shungria near it until some three months later a man named Gori of Kharal gave him dhamâl and pî and thus encouraged Nâg soared to the skies and a bolt from the blue destroyed Malânshar dêtâ’s temple. The Thâkûr’s Bâni was distressed in many ways, his sons while sleeping were overturned in their bed and

1 sârelī, In Chamba the word is sârelī with the same meaning.
2 This Koti State should not be confounded with the present Koti State near Sibba.
3 Some say that the Hârtû men were not Bârd Bîsh, i.e. 12 + 20 = 32, but Bârd Bîchî, i.e. 12 + 20 = 30 = 30 men. Hârtû is more commonly called Harada or Hattu.
4 Kâlirî was then the capital of the chiefs of Madhâna State, Dharaspur being chosen after on.
rolled down to the obra (cowshed), serpents appeared in the milk and worms in the food served to the family. Deota Malānshar confessed that he had no power to check the Nāg and the Thākur of Madhān was compelled to acknowledge him as his family god instead of Malānshar who fled to Pujari where a temple was subsequently built for him. Nāg became chowrikādeo, i.e. god of the yuddi and khāur. Some people say that it was after this time that the Bain family of Madhān was succeeded by a Kāhūr prince. When acknowledged as yuddi deota of Madhān, Nāg returned to Chālāra and asked the people to build him a temple at a place shown by ants. Jādun was indicated, and here the Nāg's temple stands. It is said that Nāg is not fond of gold ornaments, so he never accepts gold, but the two leaves turned into stones were placed in the temple. Bāthindul deota was also forced to abandon his dominions to Nāg and he took up his abode at Chālāra. Besides the Jādun temple Nāg wanted a temple at the spot where the adobe had appeared and Kāhūr had received the two leaves, so there, too, a temple was built and in its enclosure stands the bālo tree beneath which there was the dam. A fourth temple to Nāg was built at Dhār in Kandār. Podru deota's temple which stood below Kanshi village was destroyed by lightning. Podru fled to Madhān and Doob is named after him. A Thākur of the Sirmūr family ruled Koṭī in Kandār, and his family god was Narotu, a deota which had come with him from Sirmūr. Mul, commonly called Pādit, had also accompanied this prince from Chunjār Malāna near Mathiāna. This Thākur was hard-pressed by the Rājā of Kulu who was building a fort on Tikkar, so he invoked the Nāg for help. A small deota (temple) had already been built at Tikkar for Nāg close to where the fort was being built by the Rājā of Kulu, and Nāg performed miracles which deterred him from building the fort. The nēri of Kulu used to go to sleep at Tikkar and awake to find himself at Malag, 5 miles away in Bhājī. For some time a mysterious spirit carried him to Malag every night and at last when sitting on a plank at Tikkar he found it sticking to his back. Dismayed at the power of Nāg deota the Rājā's camp left Tikkar and returned to Sultānpur in Kulu, the plank still sticking to his nēri's back. Distressed at this sight the Rājā begged Nāg to pardon his nēri, promising to present him with an image and copper sahāras and also to sacrifice goats to him wherever he himself or any of his nēris passed through the Nāg's dominions. As soon as this vow was made the plank fell from the nēri's back. When anything clings to a man the proverb goes Kalwa Nāg re jān bahāti, "like the plank of Kalwa Nāg."
The Kulu Rājā sent a pair of copper sahāras and an image still kept in Dhār temple called Mān Singh (presumably the Rājā's name). When the Kulu nēri left Tikkar the Thākur of Koṭī affected Nāg more than ever and gave him a jādīr in several villages. The name of this Thākur was Deva Singh, but whether he was the Dothainya who came from Sirmūr or a descendant of the Sirmūr Dothainya is not known.

1 Apparently this word should be deota, but that would mean a porch, not a temple. But both deota and nēri are used to mean 'temple' in the rest of the account. We are not told the puja Nāg's name. Kalwa derives his name from Kulu Brahman, apparently.

2 For Dothainya (= heir-apparent) see Vol. III, p. 111. It is the Sānkṛt Dwisthāna (cudel).
Deota Nág has the following bhárās (servants), and certain Bhagwatis are his companions—

(1) Bhahs (as he is commonly called).—It is said that Kálu Brahman, in his wanderings tore a hair out of his head and threw it away at a place called Loli (hair). It became a spirit and joined Nág when he appeared from the sareli's head. He acts as a watchman and is given a loaf by the people; when there is a kháit at Loli he is given a khán or sheep.

(2) Khuru.—This bhár appeared from Khuru thách (a plain near Bánípur, two miles to the east of Tikkar hill). Kálu had left something at this thách, and it too turned into a spirit and joined Nág when he appeared. This bhár protects cattle, and is given an iron nail or ring called káma as an offering by the people.

(3) Shakta.—This bhár appeared from Shiva or Shabhog the place where the sareli had his tail. Some indeed say that its tail became a spirit called Shakta. He is offered a loaf by the people for protecting goats and shepherds.

(4) Sharpál is considered a low class bhár and worshipped by Kolí etc.; his spirit does not come into a Kanet or pujára, but a Kolí is inspired by him and speaks. His function is to drive away evil spirits, bhút, paret etc. Nág does not go into the house of any low caste man and so Sharpál is sent in his place, Nág's haryá (iron staff) accompanying him. A loaf is given for him. When returning the Nág's haryá is purified by sprinkling on it milk and cow's urine. This is called káshherá (making pure).

(5) Gungi is considered a female bhár and her abode is at Dya above Dhar village. Every third year on an auspicious day (mahárat) fixed by a Brahman Nág goes to Dya. A goat is sacrificed to Nág and a chétí or kid to Gungi. She appeared at Dya from a hair which fell from Kálu or from his sweat and joined Nág. She protects people from pestilence.

(6) Thán is also a bhár; he originated at Kári and came with Nág when he was acknowledged by the Madhán gaddi. He also drives away bhút, paret etc.

These are the six bhárs, but the other companions of Nág rank above them in degree. These are the Bhagwatis—

(1) Bhagwati Rechi.—A few years before the Gurkha invasion Rání of Bashahr came to Jhad and Dhar and plundered Deota Nág's treasury, some of whose images he took to Bashahr. Deota Nág punished him by his power and he found his ribs sticking out of his sides and the milk that he drank coming out through the holes. One of the Lámá Gurús told him that his spoliation of Nág's treasury was the direct cause of his complaint, so he returned all what he had taken from the temple. Bhima Káli of Sarahan in Bashahr also gave Nág a pair of chaulka wood ghols and a karád together with a kárád shut up in one of

* Kárád = A long straight trumpet fluted at the mouth. Kóli or koli = A small drum shaped like an hour-glass.

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the dhala. When the instruments were put in Nág’s temple they played of themselves at the dead of night. When people asked Nág the reason he said that the Káli sent by Bhráma Káli sounded them. The Káli of Jharsahr, however, could do no further mischief as she was subdued by Nág and bidden to dwell at Rechi, the hill above Sandhu, on the Hindustan-Tibet Road, where a chautara (platform) was built for her. She is a kind of subordinate companion to Nág and protects women in child-birth.

(2) Nichi is a Bhagwati. She dwells at Roni in Chadára in a small deora (small temple) and lives with Jharshra Kolis, but her spirit speaks through a Turi. Her duty is to guard Nág’s musical instruments, nisháa (flag) etc. If a Kol goes any instrument a goat is taken from him as a punishment.

(3) Jal Mátri Bhagwati has her temple at Kingsa. She appeared near the water where the sareli was killed and is a goddess of water.

(4) Karmeshri Bhagwati came out of a piece of the sareli’s flesh and her deora is close to that of Nág at Jadun. She also drives away evil spirits and can tell all about the lagabhagna (?) — the kind of spirit that causes trouble.

(5) Dhinchat Bhagwati preserves stores of milk and ghee. People invoke her for plenty of milk and ghee in their houses.

(6) Devi Bajilshi Bhagwati appeared from Rámpur where something fell from Kálu and became this Bhagwati. She protects people from famine and pestilence.

(7) Bhagwati Tikkar lives with Nág at Tikkar. Tikkar Nág is the same as Jadun and Dhár Nág. This same Nág has separate images at Jadun, Kiári, Bharána, Dhár and Tikkar. As generations have passed away, people now think each a separate and not the same Nág. The different pergans each worship the Nág of their own pergana. People say that Kálu left his tops at Tikkar and that it turned into this Nág. Dhár Nág calls Nág of Tikkar his guru. Jadun Nág calls Dhár Nág his dhaa or elder brother. Dhár Nág calls Jadun Nág his bhaa or younger brother, and Bharáma Nág is called by him bakadha or brother. From this it may be inferred that Tikkar Nág is the central spirit of the other Nágs, because it was here that Kálu became the sareli and his shepherd brothers with the sheep and the two loaves all turned into stones. There are two temples on the top of Tikkar.1 On the following techa which are celebrated on Tikkar people collect at mela: (i) the Salokri in Baisákká; (ii) the Jathenjo in Jeth, when all the Nágs stay there at night and all the residents of the countryside bring a big leaf and ghee and divide them amongst the people. This leaf is called saun; (iii) at the Riháli, when 11 images called the 11 mals are brought, the shepherds also bringing their sheep and returning to Dhár at night. The pújáras feast the people and next day two images (kasarti) go to Kamáli village to receive their dues and two

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1 This is the ridge which is seen from Sola to the north and from which the Shill peak rises. The ridge separates north and from the Shill and between the two temples lies the boundary line, the southern valley being shared between Madhia and Koontal and the northern between Bhujji and Kanhária. The boundaries of four States meet here.
images go to Neori village for the same purpose. These two images are the Deo kā Mohra and that of Mān Singū of Kulu; (i.e.) at the Nāg Panehmī in Bhādon the observances resemble those at the Salokri; (i.e.) at the Māgh or Makkar Shankrānt when three goats are sacrificed, one given by Kumhārai State, one by the zamīndārs and a third by the villagers of Loli. Deota also gives alms. One of the temples at Tikkar belongs to the Kandari people and the other to those of Jadun and Madhān.

It may be noted here that there is also a Nāg Deota at Kandi kothī, in Suket, who is an offshoot of the Deota Kalwa Nāg. The legend is that a Brahman of Bharāna village went to Charag, a village in Suket, and asked women who were husking rice to give him some for his idol of the Nāg as bhog (food); the women scornfully declined to give him any, so the image stuck to the akhāt and warned by this miracle they gave it some rice. At this time a bhāt which dwelt in a large stone used to devour human beings and cattle so the people called on the Nāg for help, and he in the guise of lightning broke the stone in pieces and killed the bhāt. The people built the Nāg a temple which had 11 rooms. Another Nāg's temple stands at Hemri in Bhajjī. Crows destroyed the crops in this village and so a Bharāna Brahman brought an image of Nāg and established it at Hemri. Dum Deota, who also lives there, made friends with the Nāg. The place where they live is called Deothān.1 At Neori village Dhāri Nāg slew a bhāt who used to kill cattle. It lived in a stone close behind the village and a Neori woman secretly worshipped it, but Kalwa Nāg destroyed the stone with the devil inside it and overwhelmed the house of the woman who was killed together with her three sheep. When the Nāg goes to his village he sits on the spot and speaks to the people. Every third year the Nāg goes to Bharāna and there drinks milk from a vessel. In Kelo, a village in Bhajjī, there lived an old man and his wife who had no son, so they asked the Nāg for one, and he told them to sit there one Sunday at a place which had been purified by cow's dung and urine, and thereon present a goat for sacrifice and think of him. This they did, and the Nāg appeared in the sky in the form of a large eagle. Descending to the place he placed in the woman's lap a male child and took away the goat. The old woman found her breasts full of milk and nursed the baby. This family is now called the Ludi Parwar or eagle's family. This miracle is said to have occurred 700 years or 17 generations ago. Another miracle is thus described:

Some people of Dhār who were returning from the plains through Kunhārai State halted at Kunhārai for the night. As they were singing the bhār (song) of the Nāg, he as usual appeared in one of the men, who began to talk about state affairs in Kunhārai. The Rānā asked them about their deota and his powers and they said that their Nāg Deota could work miracles. So the old Rānā asked the Nāg for a son and heir (тикха) and vowed that if by the Nāg's blessing he had a tikha he would invite the Deota to Kunhārai. The Rānā was blessed with an

1 Deo, i.e. Deota and stāda a place, i.e. the Deota's place.
heir, but he forgot his vow and the boy fell sick. When all hope of his life was lost, the Brahmins said that some deota has caused his illness as a punishment for some ingratitude. The Ráná was thus reminded of his vow and invited the Nág to Kunhiár and it is said that one man from every house in his dominions accompanied the Nág to Kunhiár; and the Ráná afraid to entertain so large an assemblage soon permitted the deota to return home saying that he would not invite him again as he was only a petty chief, but presented him with 11 idols to be distributed among his temples. These images are called the kānartā mahras.

Padoi Deota is the Nág’s adoptive brother and Shari Devi of Mathiána is his adoptive sister. The deota Manan is also his adoptive brother, but this tie has only lately been created.

The Jadun deota sometimes goes to bathe at Maláwan, a stream close to Jadun village, and he considers the Shungra cave, where the Nág goes and stays at night, his tirath (place of pilgrimage).

Deota Nág of Dhír holds from Kumbháréin a jāgir in Kandaru paraganā worth Rs. 16-6-3.

Dúm Deota has a small temple at Kamáli in Kandaru. A man from Gathí brought him to Kamáli. The Kamáli villagers alone accept Dúm Deota as their family god, though they respect the Nág seeing that they live in his dominions.

**Deota Nág of Dhalí in Paragana Cherishi.**

Not more than 500 years ago there was a temple in a forest at Tilku, where the samjuddās of Dhalí had broken up some land for cultivation. A deota there harassed them and the Brahmins said that he was a Nág, so they began to worship him and he was pleased: they then brought his image to Shaillá village and built him a temple. When Padoi Deota passed through this village a leper was cured by him and the people of Shaillá began to worship him, so the Nág left the village and Padoi took possession of his temple there. But the people of Dhalí took the Nág to their own village and placed him in a temple. Padoi is now the family god of the Shaillá people and the Dhalí men regard Nág as their family god. The Nág’s image is jet black and a Bhagwati lives with him. A dhōl and a sahāra are his instruments of music and he also has a jagunte or small staff. He visits his old place at Tilku every year on the Nág Panchmi day. He is only given dhupiya once a month on the Shankránti day. The Brahmins of Barog, which lies in another paraganā, worship him, as they once lived at Khecheru near Tilku. This Nág has no bhor and holds no jāgir from the State. He has no connection with Kalwa Nág, the Nág of Kandaru.

**Deota Nág of Dhánal in Cheríshí.**

Another Nág Deota is he at Dhánal in Chebiší paraganā. Nearly 500 years ago he appeared in a field at Nago-thána, a place near Pati Jubar on the Shangri State border, where there was an old temple. A man of Dhalí village was ploughing his field near Nago-thána when
he found a black image. He took it home, but some days afterwards it began to persecute him and the Brahmans said that it was the Nāg who wished to be worshipped. So the Dhanal people began to affect him. This deota too has a dhol and karnal but no jagir. No khān is given him. The Dhanal people regard Malendi as their family god yet they worship Nāg too in their village, thinking that he protects cattle and gives plenty of milk etc. He has no bhār and holds no jagir from the State. The people of Kandur think that these Nāgs in Dhanal and Dhal are the same as Kalwa Nāg. The spirits came here also, but the Chhibali men do not admit the fact. This Nāg has really no connection with Kalwa Nāg of Kandur.

**DEOTA NĀG OF GHUNDA.**

Ghunda, a village in Chaugaon pargana of Kumbhārsain, is inhabited by Rājpūts, ‘Mians’, who trace their ancestry to the old Bairat family which once held the rāj of Sirmūr. When their ancestor came from Sirmūr they brought with them an image (probably of their family god at that time) and made a temple for him at Ghunda. Nāg, another deota at Ghunda, also resides with this deota of Sirmūr. This deota is called Shīrgul. The history of Deota Nāg is as follows:

Many generations ago there lived in village Charoli (Kot Khāi) a Brahmān whose wife gave birth to a serpent. This serpent used to come from a great distance to the Naga Nali forest in Kumbhārsain and loved to play in a maidās near Kothi (in Kumbhārsain). Cows grazed in the maidās and the serpent sucked the milk from them. The cowherd was duly reprimanded by the people for his carelessness, but at last he found how the serpent used to suck the milk. A taqīr in Kothi village then determined to kill the serpent, so he came to the maidās at noon tide, and cut the serpent into three pieces, but was burnt alive whilst killing it. Some days later a woman who was digging clay found images into which the three pieces of the serpent had turned. One of these images was brought by Brahmans to Ghunda village, another was taken to Bāgī (a village in Chajoli, in Kumbhārsain) and the third was taken by the Brahmans of Bhamra, a village in Ubdesh pargana of Kumbhārsain. Temples were built to Nāg in these villages. The Ghunda Nāg (though Nāg is usually dudhādharī) is not dudhādharī and goats are sacrificed to him. Every third year a kultipuja melā is held, but no annual fair is held. The people of Ghunda, Charhayaya, Kothi, Kothi and Katali, especially the Kolis, worship him. Nāg Deota has a grant of land worth Rs. 2-2-0 a year from Kumbhārsain.

**SHARVAN AND CHATHLA NĀGS.**

Sharvan Nāg of Shoshan is called Sharvan after the village of Shoshan. The following tale is told of the Nāg of Chathla:

A woman named Bhuri of Machroti, a village in the Kot Khāi īlāga, gave birth to a snake (nāg). She was terrified but the snake told her not to be afraid but to go and live in the upper storey leaving the lower one to him and to give him milk through a hole. She did as the snake told her, and after six months he had grown so large that he
filled the whole room. He then told her of his intention to quit her house for good, and said she would get something for her maintenance, if she brushed his body with a broom when he moved. This she did, whereupon gold fell from his body but when she saw it, thinking to keep the wonderful reptile, she caught hold of its tail and pulled it towards her. The serpent, however, gave a jerk and threw her into the air, so that she fell on a rock at Māhon in Kumhārsain and was killed. She is worshiped there to this day. The snake afterwards settled in a ravine in Kothi, a village in Kumhārsain, and lived on the milk of the cows which came there to drink. When the saṁśādhi of Kothi saw how their milk went, they cut the snake in three pieces with a sword. One piece fell in Chatthla village, where it was at once changed into an image, another fell in Ghunda, in Kumhārsain, and the third in Pāl, a village in Balsan, and they have all been worshipped ever since.

**The Nāg Goli of Kot Khāl.**

This Nāg originally dwelt in Kulu, where for generations he sent rain and sunshine in due season. But suddenly he began to send nothing but rain, so his followers one day cast his idol, images and litter into the Satlej, as a hint that they were no longer satisfied with his rule. Some days later however one of his images was washed up on the river's bank and there a villager from Farog found it on his return from a trip to Kulu. Thinking he had only found an ornament, he passed through a hamlet where a ājag was being held in honour of the goddess and joined in the merry-making. The sacrificial victims however would not shiver, even when sprinkled with water, in token that they were acceptable to the goddess, and when the priests consulted the oracle they were told by the goddess that a greater than she had cast a spell upon them. She also revealed the stranger's possession of the Nāg and when a goat was sacrificed to him he lifted the spell which lay upon the animals and they were duly sacrificed. The villager then went on his way home, where he was constant in worship of the Nāg but he kept his possession of the image secret. In those days the goddess was worshipped through all the country sides, but when the villager got home she was away on tour collecting her usual offerings, and when on her return journey she reached a deep ravine the rain began to pour in torrents and in the middle of the stream the goddess and her escort were swept away by a sudden spate. She was never seen again, and her escort also perished. The deluge too continued, causing rain of harvests and landslides until the people through the diviners discovered the Nāg's presence in their midst. Him they installed in the Devi's old temple and now he only occasionally turns summer into winter or brings rain at harvest time. For long his fame extended no further than the adjoining villages and once a large serpent dammed up a narrow torrent during the rains, until its pent-up waters threatened to overwhelm a Thākūr's castle and township though perched high above them. The villagers' own god, presided over, with the preservation of his own shrine, was powerless to save them, so they invoked the aid of Nāg, promising him grants of land and an annual festival. Already the waters had invaded their own god's temple and his idol had fallen on its face, when Goli Nāg flew to the rescue. A ball of
fire smote the serpent, rent it into a thousand pieces, and released the stream. Goli Nág also became the patron deity of the Ránás of Kot Khái by a similar feat. One of them was attacked by the ruler of Kulu who besieged him in his fort. In this desperate strait he sent for the priests of all the neighbouring gods and pledged himself to serve him whose priest could eat two loaves, each containing half a mound of barley flour. Goli Nág's Brahman at once passed the test and him the Ránás sent to plead his cause with the Nág. In answer to his prayers a great thunder cloud fell on the Kulu Ráj's camp and a flash of lightning blew up his magazines. As his men fled the Nág pursued them with thunderbolts and drowned many by rain spouts or the swollen torrents which overwhelmed them. So Kot Khái fort still stands on its isolated rock, a monument to Goli Nág's power. But the late adherence of these two states to his cult gives his first worshippers precedence over them and so when he patronizes their festivals he only sends his smaller images, carried in a miniature palki, while his tours among his senior votaries are regal progresses in which he rides in a palanquin decked with a full panoply of images and trappings. Once a Thâkur made him and his escort prisoners and mockingly challenged him to fill a huge vessel with water in the drought of May. Not only did the Nág achieve this, but the rain changed to sleet and then to snow, until the hills around were capped with it. In vain the Thâkur tried to appease him with gifts. The Nág cursed his line and his territories were annexed to another state. But descendants of its former subjects assert that the Thâkur was forgiven and that his gifts were accepted, as they still hang on the walls of the Nág's temple in token of his victory.\(^1\)

**THE SNAKES OF BRUÁ.**

Bruá is a hamlet on the Baspa, a tributary of the Sutlej, and the story goes that once upon a time a man took to wife a girl from Pannda. When she went to visit her mother the latter noticed that the girl looked thin and ill, and learnt from her that Bruá, which is perched a thousand feet above the river, was so far from any stream that the women had to fetch all the water for the village from the Baspa. So she captured some snakes and put them in a basket which she handed to her daughter with injunctions not to peep inside the basket on her way back and to place the snakes in a corner of her lower storey. Just before she reached the village however curiosity overcame her and she opened the basket. One snake slipped out there and before she got home two more escaped in a similar way. At each place streams rushed forth, and to this day refresh the wayfarer. At the corner of the room where she placed the basket on her arrival at the village a fountain sprang up so that she no longer had to fetch water from the Baspa. When the other householders of the village noticed that she no longer went to the river to bring water they asked her why she did not go with them. Then she told them all that her mother had done, and how that in the lower storey of her house a never-failing spring was flowing. But an ill-natured hag became jealous that a stranger should be spared the toll of her sisters, cursed her with an evil eye and hatched a plan to bring misfortune upon her. She bade her offer incense to the sacred snakes which had caused

\(^1\) Condensed from the *Pioneer* of July 6th, 1913.
the springs to flow and told her to mix filth with oil and earth and burn it at the fountain. This she did and as the smoke ascended the snakes swelled out in anger, growing to huge serpents, and darted to the door by which she was standing. In fear for her life she slashed at the nearest and cut it into fragments, thereby committing a grievous sin, for the lands say when a snake is killed the world of serpents is plunged in mourning for the next 8 days, and none will taste of food. As a punishment the spring disappeared, but to this day grass grows in the corner of the cattle-shed. The three other snakes escaped unhurt. One crossed the pass to Pekian where it became warden of the god Chasrau. The second made its way to a neighbouring village of which it became the god, but the third elected to remain at Brum. The girl picked up the remnants of the fourth and cast them down a precipice where they reunited. This Nág, now of fabulous dimensions, climbed up the slopes behind the village until it reached a plateau where it made for itself a lake in which it now dwells. To this lake the local deities are sometimes carried and then the Nág reveals his god-head by entering into one of the god's diviners who becomes as if possessed. The Nág of Pekian is a mere lieutenant of Mahásu, and not long ago the people of a hamlet close to Brum took their god to pay him a ceremonial visit. Having exchanged greetings the visitor returned across the pass in the great central chain of the Himalayas which separates Kanaur from the territory in which Mahásu's cult predominates. After his return this god's diviner manifested all the symptoms of divine afflatus, and declared himself to be possessed by Mahásu who had returned with the party and demanded a welcome and a shrine. This incident is paralleled in the hills by the popular belief that a powerful deity can accompany his female votaries to their married homes, and the adhesion of a god to a brother deity appears to be a mere variation of this belief. Indeed so frequently does it occur that a god attaches himself as it were to the party which carries a brother deity back from a place of pilgrimage that this habit has led to certain pilgrimages being discontinued. In the midst of the lofty peaks which border on Garwhal and Tibet is a sacred sheet of water that has given birth to many gods, and during the summer months it used to be a place of pilgrimage for them. The votaries of any snake god that had emanated from the lake used to visit it and bathe their deity therein. But on several occasions it happened that when the pilgrims returned to their own villages they found that the strange divinity had become incarnate in the person of the temple oracle who invariably insisted that an alien spirit from the lake had attached himself to his companion. As the intrusion of a new divinity in a village involves the erection of a new shrine to house him and heavy expense upon the villagers, there is considerable reluctance now to take gods to this lake for bathing as of yore. To this rule however the men of Sangla, a large village in the Baspa valley, are an exception, for they still take their deity every 3rd or 4th year to his native lake and the visit invariably results in the supernatural seizure of his diviner. Indeed the people are now so used to this visitation that they half half-way on their return and there after the diviner has ascertained the nature and needs of their self-invited guest they propitiate him with sacrifices and then beg him courteously but firmly to return whence he came. This lack of hospitality is justified, for the temple is already endowed with
so many godlings that they could not afford to entertain another. As a rule the new god recognises the reasonableness of their request and goes in peace, but sometimes he refuses to do so, and then the people make a gift of him to some neighbouring hamlet. Several temples thus owe a minor deity to the Sangla pilgrimage, but the villagers have usually made it a condition of acceptance that the new-comer should remain subordinate to the family god, that is to say to the existing incumbent of their village temple. But new deities, especially gods of position like Mahānu, are sometimes unwilling to accept a second place, and so the people of Kanaur, in a vain attempt to check the progress of that god, are only too likely to ostracize the only community which acknowledges him within their borders. This ostracism may take the form of refusing to take wives from the villages in which the new god has been installed. But the difficulties of limiting the jurisdiction of an enterprising deity are increased by yet another method. Since an article once dedicated to a god’s service remains his property for ever, it follows that if a sacred vessel be removed by theft or ignorance to another village the god goes with it and once having gained a footing in it he soon discovers a means of making it his permanent abode. (Condensed from the Pioneer of June 12th, 1913).

THE NÁGS IN KULU.

In the Sarāj or highlands of Kulu we find Chamanā Nág worshipped at Bhunga. Once, it is said, a Brahman went to bathe in a hill-stream. As he bathed a huge snake came towards him, raised its head and declared itself to be Ses Nág, promising happiness and prosperity to any who might worship it. Its temple was built in the dhadpār yuga and contains an idol of stone 3½ feet high by 2½ in breadth. Its manager is a Kacēt of the Kāshel gōt, but its pujārī is a Gautama Sārus Brahman. This Nág seems distinct from Chamanā.

Bādi Nāgan has a mandīr with a Sārus Brahman pujārī. It was built in the treta yuga. Once a shepherd went forth to graze his sheep and found a large tank whose existence he had never before heard of. It was revealed to him in a vision that the Nág had come from Patōl and that the folk should worship her.

At Balugohar is a temple to Balū Nág and the following is the legend of its foundation: Once a Brahman of Čhatarkā went to Mandī to buy salt and on his road he found a child but four months old, who bade him follow it. The Brahman took it up and travelling all night reached Balū forest. There the child bade him dig and he did so, finding a black stone image in the sand or bālu. Then the child disappeared, but in the morning a Kumhār came to graze his sheep in the forest and to him the Brahman told his tale. In a trance the Kumhār declared that he was himself the Nág, but the Brahman declared that he could not believe him unless the Nág bestowed a son upon him. The temple, founded in the dāśpar yuga, contains the black pūdī or idol dug up by the Brahman and is ministered to by a Sārus Brahman of the Gautama gōt. The appearance of the Kumhār (Shiva) points to a Shiva origin of the cult or an attempt to affiliate it to Shiva teaching.
Kirti Nāg has a mandir at Shivali. He is called after the name of the village of Kirti which had a tank to which thirsty kine used to resort, but in it lived a snake which used to suck the cows dry. When the owner went to kill it, it declared it was a Nāg and should be worshipped in order to earn blessings for the people. The people pay more respect to its chela or gur than they do its Brahman pujaṁī.

Jāru, the deaf Nāg of Phāti Tūman, has a curious legend. This god was born at Surāpā in Bashar, the chief of which place had a daughter who was sent one day to graze his sheep. She found a beautiful tank with nine flowers floating on its surface and, tempted by their beauty, gathered them all. But no sooner had she done so than she became unconscious and so remained nine days in the forest. Subsequently she gave birth to nine gods, called Nāgs, and bringing them home kept them in a basket. One day when she was sent out with food for the labourers in the fields, she warned her mother not to touch the tank, but when she had gone her mother’s curiosity overcame her and she opened it, only to find the nine Nāgs which in her fright she caste into the fire. All escaped unharmed, save one whose ear was burnt so that it became deaf. The injured Nāg fled first to Tārāpur and then to Khargha where a Rānā’s cow stopped to give it milk. Then it went to Deohri Dhār where cows again yielded it their milk. The people of both places then began to worship it as a god. Its idol is of black stone, sunk in the ground and standing two feet high. Its pujaṁī is a Kanet, and its gur is specially revered because in his trances he gives oracles. Two fairs are held annually on the pūramāshi and sauvarātras in Chet. The former is held at Khirga and the latter at Deohri Dhār. At these 14 he-goats are sacrificed and visitors are fed free. Another fair, held on the 10th and 11th of Jeth, is frequented mostly by people from the surrounding States.

Sharshāi, the Nāg of Sharshāi, has the following tradition:—Once four women went to draw water from a spring called Nāi. Three returned home safely, but the fourth could not recover her pitcher which had sunk in the spring. At its edge was a black stone image to which she made a vow for the recovery of her pitcher. It was at once restored to her, but she forgot her vow and it rained heavily for seven days. Then she told the people, and they brought the idol to the village and founded a temple in the treta yuga. The idol is 2½ feet high and masks of gold and silver adorn its chariot. The temple walls are painted with pictures. Its pujaṁī is a Bhārdwaj Brahman and only a Brahman is allowed to worship the god, whose gur answers all questions put to the Nāgs and is more respected than the pujaṁī himself.

Danwi Nāg of Danw, a village in Manjhadesh phāti, Kothi Narālingar, is a brother of Sarshāi Nāg. Both have Kanet pujaṁis according to another account.

Pape Nāg is also called Punūn and Kungash. Once a Rāni, Bir Nān, wife of the Thākur of Rānikot, was told in a vision that she would be blessed with a son if she built a temple to the Nāg at the corner of a tank called Punūn. In the morning the Thākur saw a snake swimming on the surface of the tank and it told him that it had come from the Krukshetra, being of the Kaurava and Pāndava race. So the Thākur
built a temple in which the Nāg appeared of his own accord in the form of a pīndī of stone which still stands in it. This occurred in the duṇḍar yuga. The pujārī is a Sārvast Brahman.

The Nāg Kui Kangha has several temples. Sri Chand, Thākur of Srigarh, had a cow which used to graze at Kangha, but was snatched dry by a snake. The Thākur pursued it, but from its hole a pīndī appeared and told him that it was a Nāg, promising that if worshipped it would no longer suck the cow’s milk. So a temple was built to the Nāg whose image is the metal figure of a man, one foot high. Its fair at Kui Kangha is held every third year on a day fixed by the votaries. At Srigarh it is held every year on a similar date, and at Kōtā Dhār on any auspicious day in Jēth. It also has a temple at Kānār or Srijāl. Its pujārī is a Bhārdwāj Brahman. This Nāg also appears to be worshipped as Kui Kangha in Shīogī. Its temple was founded by a Thākur of Katakhar, regarding whom a similar legend is told. The pujārī however is a Bhārdwāj Brahman and its gar is selected by the god himself who nods his assent to his appointment.

Chamoun Nāg has a temple at Kāliwan Deora. The story goes that once a thākur, named Dablā, was a votary of Hansūr. He went to bathe at that place of pilgrimage, and while bathing he saw an image emerge from the water. It directed him that it should be installed at the place inhabited only by Brahmins and blessed by the presence of kēlo trees. Accordingly it was brought to Kāliwan where a temple was built. Religious importance also attaches to the water from which the image emerged. The date of foundation is not known. The temple contains the stone pīndī of the god. Its affairs are managed by a kārār, by caste a Kanet. The pujārī is a Guār.

The following are the dates of the fairs of the Nāg deostar in Saraj not given in the text—

| Chamoun Nāg | Annual fairs are held in Chet, during the sandhias in Baisakhi, on the 1st of Hār, on the 1st of Phagān, and on 1st Phagān. The practice is to choose auspicious days for the fairs. |
| Bādi Nāgau | A fair is held annually on 7th Baisakhi and 15th Jēth. |
| Bādi Nāg | The fairs are held on 20th Baisakhi and on the 1st of Phagān every year. |
| Kirtha Nāg | One fair lasts from 15th Poh to 1st Magh; another is held on 1st Phagān and the third on 1st Phagān. These fairs are held annually. |
| Shadrālī Nāg | The annual fairs are held on 2nd and 3rd Asan and at the Dewāl. |
| Paoe Nāg | The annual fairs are held on 2nd and 12th Asan and on 10th Magh. |
| Kui Kangha Nāg | The fairs are held annually on the 1st of Jeṭh and Bhado at the Dewāl. |
| Shunbhī Nāg | The two fairs are held, one on 1st Bhado and the other on 1st Phagān. |
| Takriāl Nāg | The annual fairs are held on 1st Jeṭh, 10th and 12th Sāwan and on 1st Poh. |

*Temple of Kui Kangha Nāg are at—
Tandi (in Phagāli pāḍā), Nandih in Phagāli Lot, Himrī, and Kōm below Katakhar, and Phagāli Dhār in Phagāli pāḍā; as well as at Shīogī in Phagāli pāḍā, at Sīnggūl, Kaṭhanī, Srigarh, Mathīryan, in Shīogī pāḍā, and at Kui Kangha in Himrī—Common to two kōṭhīs.

*Srijāl is in Jalarī Jeṭhā and there is no temple there. Kui Kangha Nāg used to go there, but does not now do so.
Brahman of the Bhuradwaj got. They are not celibate. A bhog of milk, rice &c. is offered every morning. A Brahmbhog or free distribution of food is also held in Baisakh. No other shrine is connected with this one. The annual fairs are held on 8th Baisakh, 1st Haur and on an auspicious day in Sawan.

Shankhu Nag or the Nag of the couch has temples at Koeli Ban, Rahwali and Rupa. Once a sadhu, who was engaged in meditation in the Koeli forest, blew his couch and placed it on the ground. Out of it crept a snake and told the sadhu that he should be worshipped as a Nag. The couch forthwith turned into an idol of stone. The idols in Koeli Ban are two, one of stone 3 feet high, the other a stone pind only one foot high.

The Nag Takris of Takris cursed a Thakur, so that he died. The Thakur's cow used to yield its milk to a stone image and when he went to break it, a snake sprang out to defend it. The Thakur went home only to die, but his cowherd worshipped the image and a temple is built to it. Connected with this is the shrine at Mitharsi.

Chatri Nag was originally worshipped by the Thakur Suldru of Shudha who heard a strange cry coming from a forest and going into it found a stone image which he brought home to worship. Its puja is a Kanot.

Snake-worship in Kulu.

In Batihar village, Kothi Nagar, there is a snake deity called Basu Nag (basu = to dwell). The story is that the deo Basu Nag had a wife Nagani, who, when near her delivery, took refuge in an unbaked earthen vessel. A Kumbhar came and lighted a fire underneath it, whereupon seven young ones were born who ran all over the country. Nagani then became a woman with the tail of a snake. The seven sons were (1) Shirgu Nag or Sargun, who came out first (s head foremost, from sir, head) and went to Jagatsukh, as did (2) Phal Nag, who lives now near the Phal Nala; (3) Goshali Nag, lives at Goshali, he is also called Aakhi or blind because he lost an eye in the fire, his other name is Gantam-Rikhi; (4) Kali Nag, who got blackened, went to Raisun Kothi; and (5) Pudi (Puli) Nag, the 'yellow snake', was the smallest of all, and went to a village near Batihar; (6) Sogu Nag went to the Saga Khul, a precipice near Jalhin; and (7) Dhumbal Nag (Dhram Rikhi), so called because he came out of the spout in the jar from which smoke came, and went to Halan. It will be noticed that the most of these have distinct names, while the rest have only the names of the places in which they now live, and though Goshali Nag is also called Aakhi, the latter name seems little used now. The proverb in Kulu runs: Atha Naeg, atha Naerain, so that there are in theory ten other snake temples in Kulu. Basu Nag's temple is at Naini-di-dera, which looks as if Nag were only another name for Narain. On the other hand Sir James Lyall described Kali Nag as leaving a standing feud with Narain, with whose sister the Nag ran away in olden days. So whenever a fair is held in honour of Kali Nag the enemies fight on the mountain top and the ridge on the right bank of the Beas and the deodar grove at Aramag in the Sarwari valley are found strewn with their iron arrows.

1 Pingala, the yellow one, was another name for Nakula, the mongoose, the favourite son of Kubera by Hariti: A. Q. B., 1912, p. 147.
Bāski Nāg appears to be distinct from Bāsu Nāg. He too had seven sons, by Dāvi Bhotanti, his second wife. Of these six were slain by Bhāgpati and the seventh escaped to Kīāni where he has a temple and is called Kīāni Nāg.

Bāski Nāg had a brother, Tūru Nāg, who has a cave upon a high hill. Like his brother this Nāg gives rain and prevents lightning. He also gives oracles as to rain, and when rain is about to fail water flows from his cave.

Other Nāgs in Kūlu are Kālī Nāg Shīpar, Bhālōgu, Phahal, Rammūn, and Shīkli. Another Nāg is Bhālōgu Nāg at Dera Bhāloki Bhal. In Jalsa Jais ḥ Nāg is worshipped with Jamāl on the 2nd and 3rd of Sāwan.

In Suket Māhin Nāg, the 'bee' Nāg, got his name by resuming Rājā Sham Singh in the form of a bee: Gasentier, 1904, p. 11. Other Nāgs in Mandī are Kūnumu whose stone idol at Kāchan goes back to Pandya times. It is said to avert epidemics. Barnāg is important in Saner; Mandī Gao, p. 40.

The Nāg generally appears to be conceived of as a harmless snake, as distinguished from the sāmp or poisonous one, in the Punjab hills, where every householder is said to have a Nāg's image, which he worships in his house. It is given charge of his homestead and held responsible that no poisonous snake enter it. No image of any such snake is ever made for worship.

NāGS IN GILGIT.

Traces of Nāg-worship exist in Gilgit in the Nagis. One of these goddesses was Nāgri Sūkhanī who lived at Nangant in Astor a stone altar at the fort of Nāghish hill. A person accused of theft could take an oath of compurgation here. The ritual had some curious features. For instance, the men who attended it returned home by night and were not allowed to appear 'in daylight' before others of the village under penalty of making good the loss. The case awaited the Nāgri's decision "for some days" and if during that period the suspect incurred a loss of

The following are the dates of the fairs held at the temples of some of these Nāgs:

Bāsu Nāg

Nine days at the Shadik of Phāgana; one day on the 1st Chet, four days on the 26th of the lunar month of Bhālakh, one day in Asanī.

Pāhal Nāg at Bīchaka Dera
Kālī Nāg at Dera Kālī Nāg

1st to 3rd Asanī and Maghar; and on the 3rd, 6th and 7th of the light half of Sāwan and Bhālakh.

10th of the lunar month of Bhālakh.

Kālī Nāg at Matlon in K. Har Khāndi...
Kālī Nāg Shīpar at Kāl Kālī Nāg

(1) 1st of Asanī; (2) in the light half of Bhālokin; (3) 1st of Chet.
Kālī Nāg is performed every third year in the light half of Sāwan. (1) 1st of Maghar, (2) 1st of Phāgana, (3) 1st of Chet.

1st of Phāgana, 1st day of Phāgana and 1st of Chet, four days in the light half of Chet at the beginning of the new year.

4th of Bhālokin besides a gog on 1st Bhālokin.

Phīlī Nāg at Bhālākh Dera in K. Nagar

1st of Bhālokin to 2nd Asanī.

Sargun Nāg
Rammūn Nāg at Kēṭli Aga
Shīkli Nāg at Nānūla Dera

1st to 3rd Chet; 31st Sāwan to 3rd Bhālokin and 1st to 3rd Asanī.

1st to 3rd Asanī and for two days from full moon day of Maghar.
Gûga as a snake-god.

any kind he was adjudged guilty.¹ Nagî Sochmî’s sister is Sri Kun and she lived at Shankun, near Godal, in Ador. To her the villagers used to present gifts and pray for the supply of their wants, but her followers were forbidden to keep cows or drink their milk under penalty of loss of flock, herd or crop.²

Nâg-worship was also known in ancient Buner. Hûn-Teang mentions the ‘dragon lake’ on the mountain Latina-lo—which probably lay 2 or 5 miles north of Manglaur.³ Legend connected it with a saint Sâkya who married the dragon; or Nâg’s daughter and founded an ex-royal house of Udyâna.⁴

Near Manglaur also lay a lake worshipped as the habitation of a miracle-working Nâga King, in whom must be recognised the Nâga Apalîs, tutelary deity of Udyâna, and whose legend is connected with the source of the Swât river.⁵

Gûga as a snake-god.

Under serpent-worship may be classed the cult of Gûga but for no better reason than that he has a peculiar power of curing snake-bite. Of him Ithibot³ wrote as Gûga Pir, also called Zâhir Pir, the ‘Saint Apparent’ or Bâgarvâla, he of the Bâgar, from the fact that his grave is near Dadrew in Bikaner, and that he is said to have ruled over the northern part of the Bâgar or great plains of Northern Bârûpûtâna. He flourished about the middle of the 12th century. He is really a Hindu, and his proper name is Gûga Bîr or Gûga the Hero (cf. str Latin). But Musalmans also flock to his shrines, and his name has been altered to Gûga-Pir or Saint Gûga, while he himself has become a Muhammadan in the opinion of the people. He is to the Hindus of the Eastern Punjab the greatest of the snake kings, having been found in the cradle sucking a live cobra’s head; and his chârî or switch, consisting of a long bamboo surmounted by peacock feathers, a cocoanut, some fans, and a blue flag, may be seen at certain times of the year as the Jogia or sweepers who have local charge of it take it round and ask for alms. His worship extends throughout the Province, except perhaps on the frontier itself. It is probably weakest in the Western Plains; but all over the eastern districts his shrines, of a peculiar shape and name, may be seen in almost every large village, and he is universally worshipped throughout the sub-montane tract and the Kânpûra hills. There is a famous equestrian statue of him on the rock of Mandor, the ancient capital of Jodhpur.

In Hisår he appears to be also worshipped, at Karangânwâli and Kangâwâla, under the name of Râm Deo. Fairs are held at those places on Mâgh 10th. The legend is that Râm Deo, a Bâgar, disappeared into the earth alive seated on his horse and he is still depicted on horse back. His cult, once confined to the Bâgrîs, has now been adopted by the Jätas, and Brahmins and the payârîs at these two temples belong to those castes respectively.

¹ Gulâm Muhammad, On the Festivals and Folklore of Gûga, Asiatic Society of Bengal’s Monographs, I, p. 103. The account is a little vague. Socham or Sochami may derive her name from each, ‘true’, or ‘truth disclosing.’
² Ib., p. 111.
³ Sir Harôt Deen, Notes on Udyâna, 11. L, A.S., 1888, p. 991; the Sahgal is probably meant.
⁴ Sir Asmol Bein, Surindra, p. 176.
⁵ Ib., p. 13.
THE CULT OF GÚGA IN NORTH-WESTERN INDIA.

A vast body of folklore has clustered round Gúga, but the main outlines of the story can still be traced, and will be made clearer by the following table of his descent and family:

Sawari, sister of Jevai, brother of Jivar.

* * *

Bächhal, sister of Káchhal.

Gúga Arján Súrgan.

Surd or Senal, daughter of Singhla, Ráji of Kárátip. Known Déc in the south.

In the following notes an attempt is made to summarise all the legends concerning the cult of Gúga already published. To these summaries are appended some variants, not hitherto published.

THE STORY OF GÚGA ANALYSED.

Two legends of Gúga have been published, both in the Legends of the Punjab, by Sir R. C. Temple. The first is found at page 121 of volume I of that work, and may be analysed as follows:

1. Analysis of the miracle play of Gúga, the Rájput of the Bógar country.

Beginning with an invocation to Sárad or Saraswati this play opens with a dialogue between Jevai and his queen Báchhal, who lament that they have no children. Their family priest, Pándit Rangacháry, consoles them, saying they will have three sons, a prophecy which is not apparently fulfilled, as will be seen later. Meanwhile the gardener announces the arrival of Gorakhnáth, the saint, and Jevai goes to see him, while Báchhal sends her maid to find out what has caused all the excitement. The maid, Híra Déc, hears that it is due to the arrival of Gorakhnáth from the door-keeper, and takes Báchhal to visit the saint.

The plot here is obscure. Báchhal begs the saint to vouchsafe her a son, but he makes no promise, and the scene changes abruptly. Káchhal, who is undoubtedly Báchhal's sister, enters and conspires with her slave-girl to visit the saint too. But when she goes to Gorakhnáth, he detects her evil heart, and refuses her request for a son.

According to the published text Káchhal, however, persists in her prayer, to which the saint assents, but I take it that Báchhal is meant—on page 136 of the text. However this may be, Báchhal again comes to the saint (see page 137) and he appears to tell her that she is not destined to have a son. But all this part (up to page 138) is very obscure, and only intelligible in the light of other versions. To resume—

Káchhal appears on the scene, and is promised two sons, which she will bear if she eat two seeds, according to the ordinary version, but in this text (page 139) the saint merely gives her two flowers.

Again the scene changes so abruptly as to suggest that the text is very incomplete, and Báchhal appears and receives a promise that she
too shall have a son, but the saint curses Kachhal for her deceit, and declares that she shall die at the birth of her twins, and that they shall only live 12 years. Kachhal now appears on the scene no more, and it may be convenient to pause here and note what other versions say about her.

Sir Richard Temple's text assumes that Kachhal is Bachhal's co-wife, and this appears to be by far the commonest version. But in another account I find Kachhal represented as the wife of Newar, brother of Jawar. This idea I believe to be a late addition to the story, but that is a point for further discussion.

Kachhal's conduct is much more lucidly set forth in other versions. According to them she learns that the saint has given Bachhal an appointment for the evening, at midnight: one at least says, and she manages to borrow her sister's clothes, on some pretext not explained, and personates her before the saint, receiving his gift of the twins. Various other details are added, as that Bachhal serves the saint for six months before she can induce him to promise her a son, and so on.

To return now to our published text. We find (page 143) that Jawar's sister, Sahir Dei, by name, makes mischief. She poisons Jawar's mind against his wife, and eventually he sends her away to her father's house at Ghazni. On the road the cart, in which Bachhal is riding, is halted for the midday rest, and the oxen are taken out, whereupon a snake bites them both and they die. This introduces snakes into the drama.

Guga now makes himself heard, and his power over snakes felt, though he has yet to be born. Bachhal weeping at the loss of the oxen falls asleep, and in a dream Guga directs her to cut a branch from a nipa tree, and calling on Garakhnath to heal the oxen. On awaking Bachhal does so, prays to Garakhnath, repeats the charms for the 8 kinds of snakes and sings the praises of the charmer. The oxen are forthwith cured and come to life again.

In our present text Bachhal goes on to Gajpi Fort, as Ghazni is called on page 155, and falls into her mother's arms. She tells her all her story, and adds the curious detail that though 12 months have elapsed, Guga is not yet born. Guga again speaks, and protests that he will be for ever disgraced if he is born in his maternal grandfather's house, an idea which is quite new to me. In the Punjab it is the rule, at least in certain parts, for a wife to go to her parents' home for her first confinement. He implores them to show his father some great miracle in order that he may take back his mother.

1. Gajpi or Gajalpur, the ancient name of Rawalpindi, may be indicated; not Ghazni—which was then Muhammadan.
2. Dr. Hutchinson notes:—The explanation probably is that from ancient times till quite recently as Rajput ladies after marriage might ever again return to her father's home. And under no circumstances might she or her husband be in any way indebted to his hospitality—not even for a cup of cold water. This custom was abandoned within the last 20 or 30 years slowly. I believe, on the initiative of the Mahakshi of Kashmir. Even at the wedding in November 1915 the Mahakshi had all supplies for himself and his special attendants—even to their drinking water—sent from Jammu. The bridegroom and his friends were of course the guests of the Chinub, State as well as the general company of wedding guests.
Gúga’s legend analysed.

Again we have an abrupt change of scene, and find ourselves back in Jèwar’s palace. Jèwar lambasts his harshness towards Bàchhal, and his wazír advises him to depute him to fetch her back. The wazír sets out to Gajñi, where he is met by the king Chandrabhàn, who, we thus learn, is Bàchhal’s father, and Jèwar takes Bàchhal back with him without any miracle or fuss of any kind, an instance of the playwright’s entire lack of literary skill.

On their return to Jèwar’s capital, a place called Gard Dârèra later on in the poem, Gúga is at last born at midnight on the 8th-9th of Bhûdàn. Pandít Rangchâr thinks this an suspicious date, and avers that Gúga’s votarises will use fans of flowers and blue flags, which they of course do, and all the land of Bàgar rejoiced. Ràjà Jèwar bids his wazír acknowledge Gúga as his heir by putting on him the sign of royalty, although Kàchhal’s twins had presumably been born before Gúga. However this may be, I take it that by putting on the sign of royalty can only be meant the mark which would make Gúga the fèk or heir-apparent to Jèwar. But it is important to note that Jèwar for some reason or other hesitates to make this order, and after Gúga’s birth two months elapse before he is thus recognized.

A considerable period, nearly 13 years at least, now elapses, and in the next scene we find Gúga out hunting. Tortured by the heat he rides up to a well and asks a Brahman woman to give him some water to drink, but she refuses on the ground that her pitcher is an earthen one and would be defiled, apparently, if he were to drink from it. Gúga, vexed at her refusal, invokes Gomakhâth and shoots an arrow, where-with he breaks both the Brahman woman’s pitchers, so that the water drenches her body.1 Weeping, she curses Gúga, and his children, but Bàchhal endeavours to atone for the insult. Why the insult was such an inexcusable one is not clear.

Again the scene changes and we see Ràjá Sanjà send out a priest to find a match for his daughter Chhuriyâl or Sirîñál as she is more usually called. This priest, Gunman by name, comes to Jèwar’s city and solicits Gúga’s hand in due form, which is bestowed on Chhuriyâl. But at this point Bàchhal breaks in with a lament for the ill-timed death of Jèwar, and on hearing of that event Ràjá Sanjà, in alarm at evil omens, breaks off the engagement.

Bàchhal is greatly distressed at this breach of faith, and on learning the cause of her grief Gúga goes to the forest, and there sings the mode of defiance and war. His flute-playing charms the beasts and birds of the forest. Bâsak Nàg, the king of the Snakes, sends his servant Tàg Nàg to see who it is,

1 Whether this is a rain-charm or not I am unable to say. A similar but expanded version of the rite occurs in the legend of Ràjá Basâhî, who first breaks the pitchers of the women of the city with stones. They complain to Sàhâvâna who bids them use pitchers of iron, but these he breaks with his iron-tipped arrows.—Legends of the Panjáb, I, pp. 657. Apparently a fertility charm is hinted at. Possibly a man who could succeed in breaking a jar of water placed on a woman’s head once acquired a right over her. According to Arjuna magic a share might be unanointed by his owner and poured over his head a pot of water, with greens and flowers, and the custom of pouring out water was observed in all ceremonies accompanying the transfer of property; for instance, it took place when land was sold, and when a father handed over his daughter to her husband. Witnesses to the ceremony were examined before a fire and a jar of water. See Barnett’s Antiquities of India, pp. 128 and 198. We find the custom again in the Dàm legend—see infra—current in the Sindb Hills.
Gúga's legend analysed.

Gúga informs Tátig Nág that he is the grandson of Rájá Amár, and that his village is Gard Daréra; he adds his name of Gúga was given him by Gorakhnáth, but says nothing about its popular form gágul, delilium, a plant commonly used for incense. He tells, however, of the broken betrothal and Básak places Tátig Nág’s services at his disposal.

Gúga accordingly sends Tátig Nág to Dhúnpagar, a place across 7 rivers, where Síraí, as she is now called, lives in the country of Kárú, whose patron goddess is Kamachhaya, and whose people are great wizards. At Dhúnpagar Tátig Nág finds Síraí in her garden, and, assuming the guise of a Brahman, he gains access to her, then suddenly resuming his own form of a snake he bites her, while she is bathing in the tank. But it is perhaps important to note that he only succeeds at his second attempt, for on first resuming his snake’s form he climbs a tree and those attempts to bite Síraí, but is detected by her before he can effect his object.

A maid hastens to inform Sánja of his daughter's peril, and Tátig Nág, again taking the form of a Brahman, goes to the palace, where he asks the páschári (or female water-carrier), who appears to be the maid-of-all-work there, what has happened. She tells him and he sends her to tell the Rájá that a snake-charmer has come. When ushered into the Rájá’s presence, Tátig Nág exacts a promise in writing that the betrothal shall be carried out if Síraí recovers, and then cures her, taking a branch of the síraí tree, and using charms, but showing practical ability by sucking all the poison down into her big toe. Sánja does not openly repudiate his promise, but fixes the wedding 7 days ahead, yet in spite of the shortness of the time Gúga is miraculously transported to Dhúnpagar in time for the nuptials, with an immense retinue which it almost ruins Sánja to entertain. Síraí takes a tender farewell of her mother and on reaching Gard Daréra is presented to Báchhal by Gorakhnáth.

We now come to the last act in the drama. Gúga goes to see his twin cousins, Arjan and Súrjan, the sons of Káchhal. They, however, demand a moiety of the property, but Gúga objects to any partition. Then they persuade Gúga to go out hunting with them, and treacherously attack him, but Gúga slays them both, and returns home with their heads tied to his horse’s saddle. He then returns home and shows the heads to Báchhal, who upbraids him for his deed, and says:—‘See me no more, nor let me see you again.’ Gúga takes her at her word, and appeals to the Earth mother to swallow him up. But the Earth refused on the curious ground that he is a Hindu and should be burnt, only Muhammadans being buried. So she advises him to go to Rattan Hájí and learn him the creed of Islám. Now Hájí Rattan was a Muhammadan of Bhatinda, but the Earth is made to direct Gúga to Ajmer. Thither Gúga goes, meets the Hájí and Kávája Khúzz, the Muhammadan water-spirit, and from the former learns the Musalmán creed. He then returns to Gard Daréra where the Earth receives him. This ends the play.

The song of Gúga given in Volume III of the Legends of the Paschári purports to be a historical poem, though its history is as new as
mixed. It plunges in medias res, commencing with a fuller and very interesting account of the quarrel between Gúga and his twin cousins.

In the first place, we notice that Báchhal has adopted Arjan and Surjan, who ask:—'Are we to call thee Mother or Aunt?' Thou art our đhāra ki mātā, i.e. adoptive mother. Do the cousins have their claim to a moiety of the property on this adoptive relationship? I think the answer must be 'yes.' Báchhal urges Gúga to make them his land-brothers, but describes them as her sister's sons. Gúga retorts that they are not the sons of his father's brother, a statement which is quite irreconcilable with the idea that they are the sons of Newar, Jewar's brother, alluded to above. It seems clear that for some reason or other the twins are of doubtful or extraneous paternity.

The twins, however, are bent on enforcing their claim, and they set out for Delhi. In response to their appeal, the emperor Firoz Sháh takes a large force to reduce his contumacious fowlers to obedience, Gúga, taunted by Siríl, goes forth to fight, with all the ceremony of a Rájput warrior. But, interesting as this passage is, we need not dwell upon it, as it does not affect the development of the plot. After a Hémenic combat, Gúga slays the son of his mother's sister, defeats Firoz Sháh, and returns to his palace. There Báchhal meets him and demands news of the twins. Gúga says he has no news, but eventually shows her their heads tied to his horse's saddle, whereupon she bids him show his face no more.

A third version is current in the Bijnor District of the United Provinces, and was published in the Indian Antiquary.

**The Bijnor Version**

Under Prithvi Rájá, Chauhán, of Delhi, there ruled in Márú-dása, now called the Bágar, a king named Nár Singh or Már Singh (called Amar Singh further on), whose family stood thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amar Singh</th>
<th>Káñwar Pál of Sírsa Patan in Bijnor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jewar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Báchhal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gúga.

As he had no son Jewar practised austerities in the forest, while Báchhal fasted and so on at home. Gorakhnáth, accompanied by Kánti Páwa, his senior disciple, came to her palace, and was about to depart when Kánti Páwa warns Báchhal that she may waylay him. Açıhal, her sister, overhears this, and with her face veiled, stops Gorakhnáth when about to start, and receives from him two barley-corps, which she is to wash and eat at once. When Báchhal appears on the scene,

1 Yet, we are assured, the phrase đhāra ki mātā is never used for adoptive father.

2 For the bóm bódhí, or birth brother in Karmel see above, under fictitious kinship. A stranger might be adopted as a bóm bódhí, but by so doing he lost all rights in his natural family—Karmel Gazetteer, 1899, p. 188. The story points to a conflict between the agnatic and cognatic principles.
Gorakh has her beaten, but Kânî Pawâ protests, and induces Gorakh to go to Bhagwán, who says that Bâchhal is not destined to bear a son. Gorakh replies that he is well aware of that, and that he is just why he has come. So Bhagwán rubs some of the dirt out of his head, and Bâchhal divides it into four parts, giving one to a Brahman, one to a sweeper’s wife, a third to aGrey mare, and keeping the fourth for herself. All four females, hitherto barren, now become fruitful.

Amar Singh’s mind is now set against Bâchhal, and he sends her to Kamâr Pâl (Kanwar Pâl?). At the end of seven months Gûgâ complains that he will be called Nanwar, if he is born in his maternal grandfather’s house, so he tells Bâchhal to make the crippled carpenter build her a cart, which is achieved.

On the road back to Jwâr’s capital, Gûgâ makes Râjâ, Vâsûkî acknowledge his power by performing kundârî, a form of worship to Fâtimâ. Finally in due course, Gûgâ is born as Zâhir Pîr, simultaneously with Nara Simhâ Pânre to the Brahman, Patîyâ Chamâr to the sweeper, and Bâchhal, the calf, to the mare.

One day Gûgâ goes to Bûndî and finds Suraïl, king Sanjai’s daughter, in the garden. He plays dice with her and finally wins her. But when Sanjai sends the signs of betrothal Arjan and Suraïl object that, owing to an old feud with Bûndî, it cannot be accepted. In this Amar Singh agrees, but Gûgâ insists on its acceptance, and eventually says the wedding procession will start on the 9th of Bhâdon bâdî. Meanwhile as Amar Singh will not go, Bâchhal tries to get her father to attend the wedding, but he declines. It appears that by this time Jwâr is dead, and so Gûgâ falls back on Gorakh, who calls him ‘Kânî Pawâ’s brother, Zâhir Pîr, an unexplained title.

After his marriage, while out hunting one day, Gûgâ shoots a deer, but Arjan and Suraïl claim it. Then they say that half the kingdom is theirs, because their mother and Gûgâ’s were sisters! They also claim Suraïl because to them Bûndî had sent the signs of betrothal, and not to Gûgâ, a fact not stated before. They then complain to Pirîvî Râjâ, and he sends an army to help them, but Gûgâ kills Suraïl, with an arrow, whereas Arjan cries like a child, and so Gûgâ kills him too. On his return Gûgâ tries to put his mother off, but at last she shows her the beads and challenges her to say which is whet. Related by her Gûgâ makes for the forest. In Sâwan, when newly married brides dress up in their best and swing, Suraïl weeps, and Gûgâ says to his steed:—“Let us go and see thy brother’s wife, who is weeping for thy brother.”

1 This scene vividly recalls the piece of Greco-Buddhist sculpture in the Lahore Museum which formed the subject of Dr. Vogel’s paper in the Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, i. p. 185-90. There we have the mare with her foal, the woman with her child, and the groom with some horses’ heads. The simultaneous birth by similar miraculous power of a prince, his brothers and attendants, and even the animals who serve him is a stock incident in folk lore which would appear to be derived from the Buddhist teaching that all life has a common origin. An instance of its occurrence will be found in the legend of Magha Bharad from the Sima Hills—above.

2 In which mates have no part.

3 If the steed was Bâchhal, he was in a sense Gûgâ’s (half) brother, as by “thy brother” Gûgâ means himself.

7
The Śirsā and Nābha versions.

But the guard refuses him admittance. Surall dreams that he has come, and lets him in; but he jumps his horse over the roof. At last one day Bāchhal comes in and before her Gūga seizes his fav. As he rides off Surall overtakes him and seizes the reins of his horse. Then at last Zāhir Diwan bethinks him of Gorakh, and descends below the earth, at Zāhir Diwan ke aśād ka nijār khêkâ, "the deserted mound of the maternal grandfather of Zāhir Diwan," which lies 9 kôs from Nûr and 27 from Hissâr.

THE RĀJPÂTÂKA VERSION.

According to Tod Gūga was the son of Vachâ Chauhân, Râjâ of Jangul Des, which stretched from the Satlej to Harîâna, and whose capital was at Mehera, or Gūga kâ Mairî, on the Satlej. Gūga, with his 48 sons and 60 nephews, fell in defence of his capital on Sunday, the 9th of the month. Oaths are sworn on his death. His steed, Javâdiâ, was born of one of the two barley-corns which Gūga gave his queen. The name is now a favourite one for horses.

A VARIANT FROM ŚIRSĀ.

Another account from Śirsā gives the following as Gūga’s pedigree :

| Umar (sic), Chauhân, a chieftain of Râgar in Bîkânâr. |
| Jhewar x Bâchhal. |

Ugâla-Gūga, who was born at Dâdhrâ, in Bîkânâr, about 50 miles from Śirsâ, and who flourished as late as the time of Aurangzeb (1658—1707).

Bâchhal served Gorakhnâth for 12 years, but Kâchhal, her sister, by deceit obtained the gift of twins, so Gorakh gave Bâchhal some gûgâl as a special mark of his favour. Kâchhal’s sons demanded a share of the inheritance, and Aurangzeb sent a force to aid them, but Gūga compelled them to retreat to Bharrera in Bîkânâr. Thence they raided Gūga’s cattle, and the herdsmen Mohan’s wife tells Bâchhal. She rouses Gūga from his siesta, and he goes forth to seek revenge. He slays Arjan with his lance, Surjan with his sword. Javâdiâ, when cut in two, is put together again. On his return home Bâchhal withholds water from him, until thirsty compels him to confess that he has killed his cousin. Bâchhal then curses him (which seems very unfair, seeing that she sent him out to punish the raiders). Gūga then turns Muhammadan, and sinks into the earth at Mori. 24 miles from Śirsâ. At this place and at Dâdhrâ fairs are held on Bhûdhan 8th-9th, Gūga was faithful to his wife for 12 years, and visited her nightly, until his mother caught him and upbraided him for lack of filial affection!

A VARIANT FROM THE NÂBHA STATE.

According to a version of the legend current in Nâbha, Gūga was born at Darâra in Bîkânâr territory; and was the son of Râjâ Jiwar, a

1 Râjasthâna, II, 413. For further data from Tod see p. 19 post.
2 A day held sacred to the memory of Gūga throughout Râjpâtâna, especially in the desert, a portion of which is still called Gûga-ka-thal.
Chanan Rajo. The story runs that Gorakhnath came to the Rajas's garden, where he lit a fire and subsequently bade his disciple Ogar take some khabat (ashes) from his wallet and scatter them over the trees and plants which had all dried up. The ashes caused them to bloom again. Jwars queen Bachhal seeing this begged the saint to bestow children upon her. But after serving him for 12 years, on the very day that her prayer was to be granted, Achhal borrowed her clothes and went to Gorakshnath from whom she received two barley-corns. She gave birth to twins in due course, but meanwhile Bachhal had to serve the saint for yet another 12 years, after which period he went in search of a son for her. With Shiva he went to Rajas Basak, who had 101 sons, and asked him for one of them, but his queen refused to give up a single one of them. This incensed the Rajas who foamed at the mouth, and Gorakshnath promptly saturated some gugat in the saliva. This gugat he gave to Bachhal, and she ate some of it herself and gave the rest to her Brahman's and sweeper's wives, and a little to her mare. Bachhal in due course gave birth to Goga, the Brahman to Narising, the sweeper to Blajo, and the mare to a colt.

When Goga grew up, the sons of his mothers sister claimed a share of his fathers estate, but this he refused them. They appealed to the court, and a force was sent against Goga. In the fight which ensued, Narising and Blajo were both killed, but Goga cut off the twains heads and took them to his mother. She drove him from her presence and he went 12 kas into the jungle, and dismounting from his horse found an elevated spot, whence he prayed to the earth to swallow him up. She replied that as he was a Hindu she could not do so. Instantly the saints, Khraja Muhi ud-din, Rajn Haji and Miran Sahib, appeared and converted him to Islam. Goga then recited the kalima and hid himself in the earth. His tomb is shown on the spot and an annual fair is held there on the 9th bali Bhaidon. Its guardians are Muhammadan Rajputs, but Muhammadans are said not to believe that Goga was a Muhammadan, though some low-caste Muhammadan tribes believe in him too. Many people worship him as king of the snakes, and sweepers recite his story in verse. It is said that Hindus are not burnt but buried after death within a radius of 12 kas from his shrine. Close by it is the tomb of Narising at which libations of liquor are made: and that of Blajo, to whom gram and buffalo are offered.

A NEW VERSION FROM GURGAON.

At Daruhera in the Hisar District lived Jwarr, a Chanan Rajput of the middle class. He and Bachal his wife had to lament that they had no son, and for 12 long years Bachal served Sada Naut, a disciple of Gorakhnath, without reward. Then Sada Naut left the village and Gorakhnath himself came there, whereon Jwarr's garden,

1 Mr. Longworth Dames suggests that the prevalence of burial among the Bahadus who are found in the very tract, the Rojgar, referred to in the legends of Goga, must be connected with the legend.

2 Other accounts make Jwarr a kung who ruled at Daruhera. A few miles distant from his capital lay the Dhuoff Bhart or grey land, a dreary forest, in which Goga is said to have spent his days.
in which the trees and flowers had died of drought, bloomed again.
Bachla hearing of this miracle went to visit the Jogi who seeing a
woman coming close, his eyes and remained silent. Sada Nand,
however, was in his train and told her of his Guru’s power. At
last Bachla contrived to touch the bell which hung in his tent rope,
whereupon the Jogi opened his eyes and asked why she had waited
upon him. In reply to her petition he declared that she was not
designed to have a son. Despite her disappointment Bachla served
him for 12 full years.

Bachla’s sister, Kachla, was not on good terms with her so she
disguised herself in her sister’s clothes, and appeared before the Jogi
to pray for a son. Gorakhnath pierced her disguise, but neverthe-
less gave her two barley-corns to eat, as a reward for her long service,
and promised her two sons. Kachla now returned in triumph to her
sister and told her that the Jogi was about to depart, whereupon Bachla
bustled to see him and stopped him on his way. He declared that he had
already granted her prayer, and thus Bachla learnt that her sister had
supplanted her. Recognising her innocence the Jogi now gave her a
piece of gaaj out of his wallet, saying she would attain her desire by
eating it.

At the end of seven months Sawera, Jiewar’s sister, discerned her
pregnancy and complained to him of her suspected infidelity. Jiewar
would have killed her, but for the entreaties of her maid, Sawaldah,
who vouched for her innocence. Nevertheless Jiewar beat her and
drove her from his house. Bachla then went in a cart to her parents’
house at Sivas, but on the way she passed a serpent’s hole wherein dwelt
Basak, the Snake King. Hearing the cart rattle by, Basak told his queen
that in the womb of the woman sitting in the cart lay his enemy.
At her behest he bade his parabhi (?) bring Astik, his grandson, and him
Basak commissioned to bite Bachla. But as he raised his head over
the cart Bachla struck him down with her fist. Astik, however, suc-
cceeded in biting one of her eyes who drew the cart at the midday halt.
Bachla cried herself to sleep at this misfortune, but in a dream a boy
bade her tie the dya on her head to the head of the dead ox. She did
so, and this brought the animal to life again.

Bachla soon reached her parents’ house in safety, but there she
again saw a dream a boy who bade her return to her husband’s house,
othewise her child’s birth would be a disgrace to her and her family.
So to Darubara she returned, and there Jiewar gave her a ruined hut
to live in and bade his servant not to help her.

At midnight on Bhadon Sth Guga was born, and at his birth the
dark house was illuminated and the old blind midwife regained her sight.
Jiewar celebrated the event, and gave presents to all his menials. Guga,
it is said, in a dream his mother made the impression of a hand, 
shap, on the door of the hut to avert all evil.

When he had grown up Guga married Seral. His twin cousins
did all they could to prevent this match, but Narsinha’s Mrs and Kaila

*On Tuesday, the 9th of Bhadon, in Sawat 363. Vikramajit, in the reign of Bal
Pithora.
bir assisted him. Another version is that the twins attempted to trick Raja Sindha into giving Saral to them instead of to Guga. One day on his return from hunting he saw Nare, the wife of his parokhit, drawing water from a well, and, as he was thirsty, he bade her give him some to drink. Thinking he spoke in jest she was going away without doing so, when he shot an arrow at her pitcher, which was broken and all her clothes drenched with the water.

Eager to revenge this insult the parokhit demanded a whole village as his fee for services at Guga’s wedding. This Guga refused, as he had already given the Brahman 101 cows, and on his persisting in the demand Guga struck him with his wooden shoes. Thereupon the Brahman went to Guga’s cousins and urged them to demand a partition of the joint estate. Guga told them they could have full enjoyment of the whole property, but at a sign from the Brahman they persisted in their demand for its division. Guga accordingly bade Narsingh bir, his familiar, seize the twins and re-cast them into prison, but at his mother’s intercession they were released.\footnote{Two of the 209 disciples who accompanied Gorakhnath.}\footnote{According to one account, Bacha, their own mother, is said to have died, whereupon Bacha adopted them both as her own sons.}\footnote{Bha Raja Raja Shah of Bhatinda, more correctly called Baji Abrat Raat, Raja Tahiruddin or Tabariuddin.} Instigated, however, by the Brahman they went to lay their suit before Pirthi Raja, king of Delhi, and he deputed his officer, Ganga Ram, to effect the partition. But Guga having had Ganga Ram beaten and his face blackened turned him out of the city.

This brought Pirthi Raja on to the scene with an army, but when he bade the parokhit summon Guga that mischief-maker advised the king to seize Guga’s cows and detain them till nightfall. Seeing that his kine did not return at evening Guga mounted his horse and attacked the king. His forces comprised the men of 23 neighbouring villages together with Gorakhnath’s invisible array. Presenting himself before the king Guga offered to surrender all he had, if anyone could pull his spear out of the ground. No champion, however, accepted this challenge, and so the battle began. Guga smote off both his cousins’ heads and tied them to his saddle. He then drove the defeated king’s army into Hisar town, and though the gates were closed against him he forced a way in, whereupon the king submitted and sued for pardon.

On his return home Bachha asked which side had won, but Guga, parched with thirst, only replied by casting his cousins’ heads at her feet. At this sight Bacha bade him not show her his face again. In his distress Guga stood beneath a champa tree and prayed the Earth to swallow him up, but it bade him learn yog of Ratu Nath,\footnote{Bha Raja Raja Shah of Bhatinda, more correctly called Baji Abrat Raat, Raja Tahiruddin or Tabariuddin.} Jogi at Bhatinda, or else accept the kalam. On the way thither he met Gorakhnath who taught him yog, and in the Dusuli Dharti the earth then answered: his prayer, engulfing him with his horse and arms, on the 14th badi of Asani.

A shepherd, who had witnessed Guga’s disappearance, brought the news to Bacha, who with his wife went to the spot. But they found no trace of Guga and returned home. That night Guga’s wife cried herself to sleep and in a dream saw her husband, on horseback with his
spear. Next morning she told her old nurse, Sandal, of the dream and was advised by her to pass the rest of her life in devotion. As a reward her prayers were heard and the Almighty bade Gúga visit his wife every night at midnight. Gúga obeyed, but stipulated that his mother should not hear of his visits. Once, however, at the tij festival in Sáwan all the women, dressed in their finest clothes, went to Báchla to ask her to permit Gúga's wife to join in the festivities, and Báchla sent a maid to call her. She came, putting off all her ornaments, &c.,—which she was wearing in anticipation of Gúga's visit,—but the girl told Báchla what she had seen. Báchla, suspecting her daughter-in-law's fidelity to Gúga's memory, urged her to tell her all, and when she refused to reveal the truth, beat her. Under the lash she disclosed Gúga's visits, but still Báchla was incredulous and exacted a promise that she should herself see Gúga. Next night Gúga came as usual, and Báchla ran to seize his horse's bridle, but Gúga cast his mantle on the ground and bade her pick it up. As she stooped to do so, he put spurs to his horse, reminding her of her own command that he should show his face to her no more, and disappeared.

Thus ends the legend of Gúga. It is added that when Muhammad of Ghor reached Darúhara on his way to Delhi, the drums of his army ceased to sound. And hearing the tale of Gúga the invader vowed to raise a temple to him on the spot if he returned victorious. Accordingly the present sárî at Darúhara was erected by the king.

In his Customs and Myth Mr. Andrew Lang remarks that there are two types of the Cupid, Psyche, and the 'Sun-Frog' myths, one that of the woman who is forbidden to see or to name her husband; the other that of the man with the vanished fairy bride. To these must now be added a third variant, that of the son who is forbidden to see his mother's face, because he has offended in some way. Again Mr. Lang would explain the separation of the lovers as the result of breaking a taboo, or law of etiquette, binding among men and women, as well as between men and fairies. But in the third type of these myths this explanation appears to be quite inadequate, as the command to Gúga that he shall see his mother's face no more must, I think, be based upon some much stronger feeling than mere etiquette.

**Gúga in Kuld.**

Gúga was killed by the daira. He will re-appear in the fold of a cow-herd, who is warned that the cattle will be frightened at his reappearance, and that he must not use his mace of 20 manads. When he appears, however, the cattle are terrified and the cow-herd knocks him on the head with his mace. Hence Gúga only emerges half-way from the earth. His upper half is called Zahir Pir and his lower Lakhdâta. The former is worshipped by Muhammadans and the latter by Hindus.

Gúga's pedigree in Kuld is given thus:

Báchla, sister to Káchla.

| Gúga | Gúga Jaur | Jaurâ. |

1 Doubtless a diminutive of Jaur.
The two brothers looted a cow, called Gøga, which belonged to Brahman and this led to their fight with Gøga. In Gøga’s temple (nabha) at Sattapur which belongs to Chamars Gøga and his waiz tribal are mounted on horses and Gøgi on a mule while Nar Singh, Kaila Bir and Gurakhnath are on foot.

THE CULT OF MUNDILKH.

The deified hero of the Mundilkh cult in Chambra is doubtless the valiant Rájpút champion, Gøga, Chaunán, who lived at Garh Dandera, near Bindraban, in the time of Pirthy Ráj, the last Hindu King of Delhi, A.D. 1170-93. Gøga is said to have fought many battles with the Muhammadans, and in the last his head was severed from his body, hence the name Mundilkh from manda head, and likh a line. He is said to have continued fighting without the head, and by some to have disappeared in the ground, only the point of his spear remaining visible. The legend is sung to the accompaniment of music by the hill bards, and with such pathos that their audiences are often moved to tears. Mundilkh’s death is supposed to have taken place on the ninth day of the dark half of the moon in Bhadon, and from that date for eight days his shråda, called Guggnait, is yearly observed at his shrines. He is represented by a stone figure of a man on horse, accompanied by similar figures of his sister Guggari, a deified heroine, his waiz, Kaila, and others. The rites of worship are much the same as at Devi temples.

Mundilkh has a mandar at Garh in parqana Tisa, another at Palewar in Sahu, and Gugga Mundilkh-Siddha has one at Shulru in Hingari. The temples are of wood and stone.

The images are of stone, but vary in size and number, that at Garh being about a foot high, and that of Palewar containing four idols mounted on horseback, while at Shulru, Gugga Mundilkh is represented by the statue of a body of twelve. There are no incumbents at Garh, but at Palewar the chela and gajara are weavers, in whose families the offices are hereditary. Gøga’s chela and gajara are Chamars, and their offices are also hereditary. The Mundilkh of Garh goes on tour for eight days after the Janam Ashtami in Bhadon. He of Palewar goes on tour for three days after, and Gøga’s chain and umbrella (chhatar) are paraded through the villages for the eight days after the Janam Ashtami.

Rán Mundilkh, otherwise called Gøga Chauhn, was a Rájpút Chief whose kingdom called Garh Dadher is said to have been near Bindraban. His father’s name was Devi Chand and his mother’s Bächila. His parents had been married a good many years, but no son had been born to them, and this was a cause of grief, especially to the wife. One day while using the looking glass Bächila noticed that her hair was becoming grey, and overcome with sadness she burst into tears. Her husband coming in at the moment asked her the reason of her grief, and she told him that all hope of offspring had died out in

Pride Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. xiv. pp. 81-84, and xvii. p. 158. Jaya Chambra, the last Raja of Kanal, was also called Mundilkh by the Chaunans, but he fell in battle with the Muhammadans, A.D. 1194. Pride also König Gazetteer, p. 103.
heart. If no one was born while she was young how could she expect now that age was stealing over her. The husband tried to comfort her, but she refused to be comforted, and insisted on leaving the palace and retiring into the jungles to practise tapan or self-mortification, in the hope of thereby having a son. Thus 12 years went past and Bāchila was reduced to a shadow of herself by her distress. One day a visitor came to her, but and announced himself as Jogi Gorakhnāth. He asked why she was undergoing such self-denial and she replied that he might judge for himself as to the cause of her distress. As the wife of a Rājpūt chief she had all things—money, jewellery and position—but all these were held in light esteem for no son had come to bless their name. He replied that her tapan had earned its reward, and that she should return to her home and come to him in three days when the boon she craved would be granted. Bāchila then went back to her palace and told her story which caused much rejoicing. Now Bāchila had a sister name Kāchila, the wife of the Rājā of Gaṛh Mālwā, and she too was childless. On hearing of her sister's return Kāchila at once came to visit her and on learning of the promised boon from Gorakhnāth she determined to secure it for herself, by personating her sister. Having purloined Bāchila's clothes and jewellery she on the following day—one day before the appointed time—presented herself before the saint and demanded the boon. He found fault with her for coming before the time, but she said she could not wait longer and that he must give what he had to give now. Accordingly he handed to her two barley seeds and told her to go home and eat them and two sons would be born to her. This she did, and in due time her sons—Arjan and Surjan—were born.

On the day fixed by the Jogi, Bāchila presented herself before him and craved the boon promised. Gorakhnāth, not knowing of the deceit practised on him, blamed her for coming again, after having already received what she asked. Being annoyed at his answer and thinking he was disinclined to fulfil his promise, she turned away and went back to the jungle where she resumed her tapan and continued it for 12 years more. At the end of that time Gorakhnāth again came to her and promised that she should have her reward. He then put some ashes into her hand and told her to keep them, but being annoyed at the form of the gift she threw them away and from them sprung Nūrya Siddh and Guru Siddh, who began to worship the Guri. Gorakhnāth then said "Why did you throw away the boon? You have done wrong, but in consideration of your great tapan it will begin again." He then gave more ashes and told her to take them home and swallow them. She, however, ate the ashes on the spot and at once her belly swelled up, from which she knew that she had conceived. On returning home, Devi Chand, her husband, seeing her belly swollen, said "You have brought a bastard from the Jogi or Gōshāns." She remained silent, and vexed at her reception and ordering a bullock-cart started for her parents' home. Now her father was Rājā Kripāl of Ajmer, and on the way to his palace the oxen stopped and refused to go on. Then a voice came from her womb saying—"Return to your home or I will remain unborn 12 years." On turning the cart the oxen at once started off towards Gaṛh Dādner and Bāchila resumed her place in
the palace. In due time her son was born, and when he was 7 years old his father abdicated and he became Rána. A daughter named Gugerí was also born to Báchila. Mundlíkh's birth took place on the first Sunday in Mágú, and in the morning, Báchila, had a brother whose name was Pitthoria (Prithvi Rája).

The next event of importance was Mundlíkh's betrothal, and this was arranged through a Brahman, with Surjíla, the daughter of the Rája of Bangálá. Now Surjíla had already been betrothed to Básak Nág, king of the Nágás. In due time Mundlíkh set out for Gaur Bangálá with a large retinue to celebrate his nuptials. In his train were 52 Bifá, including Kailu Bír, his Kotwáli, and Hánímán Bír with an army of 0 lakhs of men. On the banks of a river, a great deal of smoke was observed on the other side indicating another large encampment. Thereupon Mundlíkh called for a Bifá to cross and ascertain the reason for such a gathering. Kailu Bír volunteered for this duty. Mounting his steed Agandúáriya he struck it once, and at one bound was transported across the river. Dismounting Kailu left his horse in concealment and assuming the disguise of a Brahman, with a book in his hand, he entered the encampment and encountered the principal officer. On enquiry he was told that Básak Nág, on hearing of Mundlíkh's betrothal had come with an immense army to contest his claim to Surjíla, who had in the first instance been betrothed to himself. Kálibhi said to Kailu Bír: "He will destroy Mundlíkh's army, and first of all Kailu Bír, his kotwáli, shall be killed." On this Kailu's anger was kindled, but pretending to help he said: "Conceal yourselves in the tall grass and attack Mundlíkh's army as it marches past. This they did, and then Kailu throwing off his disguise mounted his horse, which came running towards him. He struck it once and it pranced and reared. At the second stroke sparks came from its hoofs and set fire to the grass in which the Nág army was concealed and all were completely destroyed. At the third stroke he was transported across the river into Mundlíkh's camp where he related all that had happened.

The wedding party then went on to Bangálá, and on arriving at Gaur Mundlíkh was met by a sorceress sent by Surjíla to cast a spell over them so that the Rána might not wish to return to Garh Dadná (the reason of this presumably was that Surjíla did not wish to leave her home). The sorceress cast a garland of beautiful flowers round Mundlíkh's neck so as to work the enchantment; but Hánímán Bír — who alone seems to have understood the real object — gave a cry and the garland snapped and fell off. This was done twice, and on the third occasion not only did the garland break but the sorceress's nether garment became loose, leaving her naked. She complained bitterly to Mundlíkh at being thus put to shame, and Hánímán was reproved for acting like a monkey. At this Hánímán took offence and said he would return to Garh Dadná, but that it would be the worse for Mundlíkh who would have to remain in Bangálá for 12 years. Hánímán then departed and Mundlíkh entered the palace, and the marriage ceremony was performed and a spell cast on him and his company. Mundlíkh was overcome by love of his wife and became
indifferent to everything, while his followers being also under a spell were led away and distributed as servants etc. all through Bangala, and there they remained for 12 years.

While Mundlikh and his army were thus held in bondage great distress befell Garh Dadner. His cousins, Arjan and Surjan, having been born through the efficacy of the boon granted to Bāchila, regarded themselves as its sense Bāchila's sons, and therefore entitled to a share in the kingdom of Dadner. Just then too a wonderful calf called Pancha Kaliyāni was born in Garh Dadner. This they wanted to possess, and hearing of Mundlikh’s absence and captivity they thought it a good time to invade the country. They therefore sent to invite Mahmūd of Ghazni to help them in their invasion, and he came with a great army. All the military leaders and fighting men being absent with Mundlikh the conquest was easily effected and the town was captured with much looting and great slaughter of the inhabitants. But the fort or palace, in which were Bāchila and her daughter, Gugeri, still held out. Looking from the ramparts Gugeri saw the town in ruins, and frantic with anguish she roamed about the palace bewailing their lot and calling Mundlikh. Just then a letter came from Mahmūd demanding the surrender of the fort and promising life and safety to all on condition that Gugeri became a Muhammadan and entered his harem, otherwise the place would be taken by assault and all would be massacred. In her despair Gugeri went from room to room and at last entered Mundlikh’s chamber, which was just as he had left it. His sword in the scabbard was lying on the bed and his pagri lying near. Invoking her brother’s name the sword came to her hand, and donning his pagri she ordered the gate to be opened. Then alone and single-handed she attacked the enemy and rooted them with great slaughter.

On her return to the fort Gugeri bethought her of a friend and champion of her brother’s named Aja Pāl, who lived on his estate not far away. To him she sent a message, imploring him to seek and bring back Mundlikh. Aja Pāl had for some time been practising tapas, and in his dreams had seen Mundlikh fighting without a head. On receiving Gugeri’s message he started for Bangala, accompanied by 5 Bīra among whom were Nārsingh Bīr and Kāli Bīr and two other Bīra. On arriving in Gaur they went from door to door as mendicants, singing the songs of Garh Dadner, in the hope that Mundlikh would hear them. He was still under the influence of the spell, and never left his wife or the palace. One day singing was heard in the palace which excited him. Surjila tried to soothe him into apathy, but he insisted on seeing the singers, and at once recognised Aja Pāl. The spell was now broken, and on hearing of the disasters at Garh Dadner Mundlikh determined to return. The return of Bīra etc. were all brought out and set free, and accompanied by his Rāni, Surjila, Mundlikh returned to Dadner and resumed his place as Rānā.

Mundlikh is said to have fought many battles, some say 13, with the Muhammadans, and carried the Guggiana dahī to Kāhul. In the last of these battles his head was severed from his body by a chakra or

1 More probably 'foal.' The term pancha Kaliyāni is applied to horses.
discus which came from above, but the head remained in position, only the line of the chakra being visible, hence the name Mundlikh, from mandla head and neck and likha a line. Seated on his horse Nila-rath he went on fighting, and behind him was Ajiv Pâl, who watched to see what would happen, having recalled the dream he had had before starting for Bangâla. It was believed that if the head remained in its place for 2½ ghars Mundlikh would survive, and 2 ghars had gone. Just then four kites appeared in mid-air saying "Behold what wonderful warfare is this! Mundlikh is fighting without his head!" Hearing these words Mundlikh put up his hand to his pâsil and looked back towards Ajiv Pâl, whereupon his head lost its balance and rolled off and he too fell dead from his horse. His death took place on the 18th day of the dark half of the moon in Bhadou, and during that month and from that date for eight days his śrâdha is observed at his shrine every year.

An addition to the legend is that Surjila after her husband's death refused to put off her jewellery etc. and don a widow's garb, averring that Mundlikh was alive and visited her every night. On one occasion Guggeri was allowed to stay concealed in the room in which Surjila was waiting, and at midnight a horse's tramp was heard and Guggeri dismounted and came into the rooms. Guggeri then quickly withdrew, and on reaching the court found the horse Nila standing waiting for his master. Clasping him round the neck she remained in this position for some distance after Mundlikh had remounted and ridden off. At last he detected her presence and told her that having been seen by her he could not come again.

The above version of the Guggeri legend is current in the Chamba hills, and it is noteworthy that in it there is no mention of Guggeri having become a Muhammadan, or of his having any intercourse with Muhammadans; it may therefore be assumed to represent the older version of the legend. As to the historical facts underlying the legends it seems not improbable that by Guggeri is indicated one of the Râjpût kings of the time of Muhammad of Ghor. The mention of Râ Râja, or Prithwi Râja, the last Hindu Râja of Delhi, makes this probable. He reigned from A. D. 1170 to 1193. The name Mundlikh was probably a title given to Râjpût warriors who distinguished themselves in the wars of the time. There were five Râjpûta who bore this title among the Chudâsama princes of Gînrâ in Kâthiâvar, the first of whom joined Bhima-deva of Gînj in the pursuit of Mahmûd of Ghazni in A. D. 1023.

From the Chambân bards, who were his enemies, we learn that Jâya Chandra Râther, the last Râja of Kanauj (killed in A. D. 1194), also bore this title. He had taken a leading part in the wars with the Muhammadans, whom he again and again defeated, or drove them back across the Indus. But at last enraged with Prithwi Râja of Delhi he invited Muhammad of Ghor to invade the Punjab, with the result that both Delhi and Kanauj were overthrown and the Muhammadans triumphed. Jâi Chand was drowned in the Ganges in attempting to escape.
Tod says that Goga or Chuhán Goga was son of Vachra Rájá who acquired renown by his defence of his realm against Mahmúd’s invasion. It lay on the Sutlej and its capital was Chiihera. In the defence of it he perished with his 45 sons and 60 nephews. Briggs notes that Behra (7. Bhéra) was a town in (on) the Gára (Sutlej) often mentioned in early history; it belonged at the first Moslem invasion to Goga Chuhán.2

The shrines of Guga are called sukt and it seems very usual for them to have one small shrine on the right dedicated to Nár Singh and another on the left to Gorakhnath, whose disciple Guga was. Nár Singh was Guga’s minister or divána. But in some cases the two subordinate shrines are ascribed to Káli Singh and Bhúri Singh, Nár Singh being a synonym of one or both of these. In a picture on a well parapet in a Ját village Guga appears seated on a horse and starting for the Bágár, while his mother stands in front trying to stop his departure. In his hands he holds a long staff, khélá, as a mark of dignity and over his head meet the hoods of two snakes, one coiling round the staff. His standard, chhatá, covered with peacock’s feathers is carried about from house to house in Bhadon by Hindu and Muhammadan Jogis who take the offerings made to him, though some small share in them is given to Chiiheras.

In Karnál and Ambala Jaur Singh is also worshipped along with Guga, Nár Singh, and the two snake gods. He is explained to be Jevar, the Rájá who was Guga’s father, but the name may be derived from jura, twin, as Arjan and Súrjan are also worshipped under the name of Jaur.4 A man bitten by a snake is supposed to have neglected Guga.

By listening at night to the story of Guga during the Diwáll Hindu prevents snakes from entering his house.4

The following table gives some details of two Guga temples in Kangra:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pujári</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
<th>Ritual etc.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The monast. of Guga in Saloh, Paharpur Khana. Guga manifested himself in 1800 S. and the temple was founded in 1800 S.</td>
<td>Gétii</td>
<td>Besides small fairs held every Sunday, a fair on the janmashatí in Bhadon.</td>
<td>The temple contains images of Guga, Gogra, and Gorakhnath; such a feast is held and mounted on a horse. A bágh of water and earth is distributed among the votaries.</td>
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1 Rájastín H., p. 417.
2 Briggs’ Faiziana, p. 135.
3 P. N. Q. I, 43. Hamínnás and Bháreyn’s shrines are occasionally found together on one side, and Gorakhnáth’s on the other. Hid., f 212.
4 R. I. 6.
5 H. IV. 178.
In this district Gūga not only cures snake-bite, but also brings illness, bestows sons and good fortune. His offerings are first-fruits, goats, cakes etc. At Thān Shihbo the worship of Gūga appears to have been displaced by that of Bāta Shihbo himself for the faqir in charge lays the sufferer from snake-bite in the shrine, says over him prayers in the name of Bāta Shihbo and makes him drink of the water in which the idol has been washed. He also makes him eat of the sacred earth of the place and rubs some of it on the bite. Pilgrims also take away some of this earth as a protection. The legend also varies somewhat from those already given. The Rājā's name is Deorāj and Kachha has a daughter named Gugri. Gūga is brought up with the foal and taking it with him goes to woo a beautiful maiden with whom he lives, being transformed into a sheep by day and visiting her by night. In his absence a pretender arises who is refused admittance by a blind door-keeper who declares that on Gūga's return his sight will be restored. Hard pressed Gugri sends a Brahman to Bangāhal to fetch Gūga and escaping the hands of sorcery he mounts his steed, also rejuvenated by the Brahman's aid, and arrives home. The door-keeper's sight is restored and Gūga and Gugri perform prodigies of value, the former fighting even after he has lost his head. He is venerated as a god, always represented on horse-back, and his temples are curious sheds not seen elsewhere.

In Rohtak Gūga's shrine is distinguished by its square shape with minarets and domed roof and is always known as a māri and not as a thān. Monday is his day, the 9th his date, and Bhāde 9th the special festival. It is generally the lower castes who worship the Gūga Pīr. Rice cooked in milk and flour and gar cakes are prepared and given to a few invited friends or to a Jogi. The most typical shrine in this district is that at Gubhlāna, erected by a Lohār whose family takes the offerings. Inside the māri is a tomb and on the wall a fine bas relief of the Pīr on horseback, lance in hand. Inside the courtyard is a little
Gúga as an ex-god.

This is for the worship of Narsingh, one of the Pitr’s followers, and outside the wall a socket for the reception of a bamboo with peacock’s feathers on the top. At Babrah one Shri Lal, Bajpāl, has lately fulfilled a vow for a son bestowed in his old age and built a shrine to Gúga Pitr, facing of course the east, with a shrine to Gorakhnāth facing east, and one to Narsingh Dē (sic) west towards the Bāgar.

In Gurgumon fairs to Gúga are held at many places, generally if not invariably on Bhaḍon ṣadi 9th. His temple often consists of nothing but a māndāk or platform which is said to cover a grave. The paṭār is a Brahman who lights a lamp daily at the temple or a Jogī who does the same. Offerings consist of grain or, at the fair, of paṭeṣhās and pārūs. At Islāmpur the temple is a building erected by a Brahman whose house kept falling down as fast as he built it until Gúga possessed him and made him first erect the temple and then make his own house. These temples to Gúga contain no images.

But in Ludhāna at Rālikot, where there is a mādrī to Gúga, a great fair is held on last day but one (amānt chaundar) of Bhaḍon. This fair, however, is said to be really held in honour of Gúga’s cousins. North of the town lies a tank, called Ratīkōṇa, at which ever since its foundation a mound has been built on that date and Gúga worshipped—owing, it is said, to the fact that a groove full of serpents existed there. The temple was built in fulfilment of a vow for recovery from fever. Once a snake appeared on the mound and at the same time a girl was possessed by Gúga and exhorted the people to build him a temple. His paṭārs are Brahmanwho take the offerings. But the temple fell into ruins and the fair has been eclipsed by that at Chhappār. The latter, also called the Sudhakān fair, is also held on the amānt chaundar of 14th Bhaḍon ṣadi. At a pond near the mādrī people scoop out earth 7 times. Cattle are brought to be blessed and kept for a night at the shrine as a protection against snakes. Snake-bite can also be cured by laying the patient beside the shrine. The offerings in each (about Rs. 300 a year) go to the Brahman managers of the shrine, but Mirāsī and Chāhrās take all edibles offered by Muhammadans and Hindus respectively.

A very interesting explanation of Gúga’s origin makes him the god of an ancient creed reduced to the position of a godling subordinate to Vishnu. A pāna (Dīvārāpā) of Mahā Lakshmi was embodied as gūgē1

1 Said to be derived from Pers. mār, snake.

2 Called amānt chaundar.

3 By Pandit Hem Rai, Government High School, Jhalām, who also writes: —

"Folk-lore makes Gúga a compound of gu (earth) and ga (to go), and says he was converted into gua and reappeared as a man with the power of converting himself into any shape. When his wife saw that his eyes did not move, she asked him his caste and then he disappeared. Some people, fast in memory of different forms of Gúga and consider the amānt chaundar a god-guaranteer holy." This may explain why the day after the jannamāśdā of Pind Bādan Khān tie a yellow thread on their right leg and during Sāṃvat fast for one day in honour of Gúga. In the rainy season Hindu women in the Jhang pursues chārī, grated food mixed with sugar and butter, fill a dish with it, and putting some guh thereon, go to the Chena. On an old bēri (jujube vulgaris) bush on its bank they sprinkle water and place some chārī and raw thread at its roots with the following words: — "Oh Gúga, king of serpents, enter not our homes nor come near our beds." When they go home they take with them a cup of water and sprinkle it over their children and others of the family who comes in contact with them.
The Jain version of Gūga.

In the time of Nandibraham who reigned 2411 years ago Cauḍa-Kosā, a huge venomous snake, lived in a forest near Kankhal. Whatev er he looked at was burnt to ashes so that not even a straw was to be seen within 12 miles of his hole, and no passer-by escaped with his life. When the 24th Aūtār Mahābīr Swāmī turned mendicant, he passed by Cauḍa-Kosā’s hole disregarding all warnings, and though the serpent bit his foot thrice he was not injured. Mahābīr asked him:—

“What excuse will you give to God for your ruthless deeds?” Cauḍa-Kosā on this repented and drawing his head into his hole only exposed the rest of his body so that the way should be safe for travellers. Thereafter he was regarded as a snake-god and wayfarers and milkwomen sprinkled gātī, milk, oilseeds, rice and kāßa (watered milk) when they

1. A. S. B., 190 8-19, p. 182.
passed that way. The ants too assembled and wounded his whole body, but the serpent did not even turn on his side lest they might be crushed. He now became known as Gùga.

According to the Sri Mat Bhagwat the rishi Kapp had two wives, Kadro and Benta. Kadro gave birth to a snake and Benta to a gañar which is the vehicle of Bhagwan. The snake, who could transform himself into a man at will, was called Gùga. So Hindus regard both the gañar and snake as sacred.
SPIRIT WORSHIP.

Veneration of the Homestead and Ancestors.—The earth (Prithu) is a common object of worship in the south-east of the province; but it usually appears in the form of Bhūmī, or the god of the homestead, whose shrine in the village consists either of a small building with a domed roof or of nothing more than a masonry platform. This deity is more especially adored at the return of a marriage procession to the village. A similar deity is the Khora Deota, or Chamrān, who is often confused with Bhūmī, but who is said to be the wife of Bhūmī and has sometimes a shrine in a village in addition to that of Bhūmī and is worshipped on Sunday only. In the centre of the province the most conspicuous object of worship of this kind among the paalins is the jathēra or ancestral mound; and the jathēra represents either the common ancestor of the village or the common ancestor of the tribe or caste. One of the most celebrated of these jathēras is Kāla Malhar, the ancestor of the Sindhu Jats, who has peculiar influence over cows, and to whom the first milk of every cow is offered. The place of the jathēra is, however, often taken by the shed or mound which marks the site of the original village of the tribe.

The four deities Saraj–Deota, Jumāna Ji, Dhārī Mithē and Khawda Kīrr are the only ones to whom no temples are built. To the rest of the village godlings a small brick shrine from 1 to 2 feet cube, with a bulbous head and perhaps an iron spike as a finial, is erected; and in the interior lamps are burnt and offerings placed. It never contains idols, which are found only in the temples of the greater gods. The Hindu shrine must always face the east, while the Musalmān shrine is in form of a grave and faces the south. This sometimes gives rise to delicate questions. In one village a section of the community had become Musalmāns. The shrine of the common ancestor needed rebuilding, and there was much dispute as to its shape and aspect. They solved the difficulty by building a Musalmān grave facing south, and over it a Hindu shrine facing east. In another village an imperial trooper was once burnt alive by the shed in which he was sleeping catching fire, and it was thought well to propitiate him by a shrine, or his ghost might become troublesome. He was by religion a Musalmān, but he had been burnt and not buried, which seemed to make him a Hindu. After much discussion the latter opinion prevailed, and a Hindu shrine with an eastern aspect now stands to his memory. The most honoured of the village deities proper is Bhūmī or the god of the homestead, often called Khora (a village). The erection of his shrine is the first formal act by which the proposed site of a new village is consecrated; and where two villages have combined their homesteads for greater security against the marauders of former days, the people of the one which moved still worship at the Bhūmī of the deserted site. Bhūmī is worshipped after the harvests, at marriages, and on the birth of a male

The god, however, usually had temples in India in ancient times. There was one at Tarjás. A. C. B. Survey Reports, II, p. 114; and at Mathura, 1843, V, pp. 115 and 120. Farahin says the Hindus used to worship the sun and Shiva, but the Persians, until Kurm (Kum) (677) taught them Babriyās. Bokhari, Fustatī, 1, p. 100. But in later times images of Musalmāns and Adīya were prevalent. A. & E., XIII, p. 68. For the elements of gods in temples in the sun, see supra under 16485; hypothetical shrines.
child, and Brahmins are commonly fed in his name. Women often take their children to the shrine on Sundays, and the first milk of a cow or buffalo is always offered there.

The above paragraphs are reproduced here as they stand, but the present writer’s information appears to justify some modifications in them. The Bhūmī is hardly the god of the homestead. He is the godling of the village. And it is very doubtful whether the father is ever the common ancestor of the village. He is essentially the tribal ancestor or at least a prominent member of the tribe. The worship of the father is a striking feature of the Jats’ religion, though it is not suggested that it is confined to them. A full account of it will be found in Vol. II, p. 374, post. The following details are of more general application.  

In Gurgaon the Bhūmī is generally one of the founders of the village, or in one instance at least the Brahman of the original settlers. The special day for offerings is the chandas or 14th of the month. Some Bhūmīs are said to grant their votaries’ prayers, and to punish those who offend them. Some are easy and good-tempered, but they are neglected in comparison with those who are revengeful or malignant. These offerings are often made. A somewhat similar local deity is Chauwand, or Khera teota. Sometimes described as the wife of Bhūmī, other villages seem to place her or him in his place. But Chauwand is worshipped on Sundays and his shrine is often found in addition to that of Bhūmī in the same village.  

Among the minor deities of the village in Rohitak the Bhayiyan is by far the most important. The shrine of the god of the homestead is built at the first foundation of a village, two or three blocks often being taken from the Bhayiyan of the parent estate to secure a continuity of the god’s blessing. It is placed at the outside of the village though often a village as it expands gradually encircles it. A man who builds a new house, especially a two-storied one, will sometimes add a second storey to the Bhayiyan, as at Basli, or whitewash it or build a new subsidiary shrine to the god. Every Sunday evening the house-wives of the village, Muhammadans included, set a lamp in the shrine. A little milk from the first flow of a buffalo will be offered here, and the women will take a few seeds of the gandar grass and sweep the shrine.

1 Bhūmī should, by his name, be the god of the land and not of the homestead. But he is most certainly the latter, and is almost as often called Khera as Bhūmī. There is also a village god called Khera or the chief worshiper, and also known as Bhūmī; but he is not often found. In some places however, Khera Bāqta or goddess of the village site is also called Chauwand and alleged to be the wife of Bhūmī (Channing’s Gurgaon Settlement Report, p. 34; see also Alwar Gazetteer, p. 70). It is a curious fact that among the Jats and others the word Bhūmī means priest or medicine man, while among the Korka another Kolti tribe, Bhūmīka stands for high priest. It is also said to mean a village built somewhere. For Kala Mohar see p. 269 infra.

2 Chauwand appears to be also found in Rohitak under the name of Chawind. The land legend current in that State runs thus: A girl of Raus, a village in Sirhind, was married to Kanthkhol Seta. Returning when pregnant to her father’s house on the occasion of some festivity, she was seized with the pains of labour while crossing the river and gave birth to two serpents, which fell into the stream. For some reason this serpent remained in each other’s embrace and then separated, one going to Turbhe, in Kanthkhol and the other to Bhaki, Deoth in Sirhind where it died shortly afterwards. It is now worshipped at Chawind teota, and a temple was erected at Deoth, which means a place dedicated to a god, or the abode of a god.
and then praying to be kept clean and straight as they have swept the shrine, will fix them to its face with a lump of mud or cow-dung. Women who hope for a child will make a vow at the shrine, and if blessed with an answer to the prayer, fulfill the vow. At Loharheri's vows for success in law-suits are also made here. The Bhaiyon is the same as the Bhúman or Bhopál of adjacent districts. Bhopál is said to have been a Ját whom Isak could not make into a Brahman, but to whom he promised that he should be worshipped of all men.

Each village has its Paníchpir in addition to its Bhaiyon. Often this is no more than a mud pillar with a flag on the top or similarly marked spot, and generally seems to be near a tank or under a jat tree and away from the village, but at Asaund it is much more like a Bhaiyon in appearance. In Naubán it is said that the first man to die in a village after its foundation becomes Paníchpir, the second Bhaiyon. Little seems to be known of the worship of this deity.

In Gurgaon the Śaīyīl-ká-thán or Śaīyāl's place is to the Muham-madan village what Bhaiyon is to the Hindus, but Hindu residents in the village reverence it, just as Muham-madans do the Bhaiyon. Though built in this form of a tomb it is erected whenever a village is founded.

The spirit of a Śaīyīl like that of a bāt must not touch the ground. Sometimes two bricks are stuck up on end or two tent pegs driven into the ground in front of his shrine for the spirit to rest on.

In Gurgaon the Bündela is a godling who is only worshipped in times of sickness, especially cholera. In the last century cholera is said to have broken out in Lord Hastings' army shortly after some kine had been slaughtered in a grove where lie the ashes of Hardul Lāla, 'a Bundelkhand chief.' The epidemic was attributed to his wrath, and his dominion over cholera being thus established, he is in many villages given a small shrine and prayed to avert pestilence when it visits the village.

Ancestor-worship is very common in the hills, at least in Chamba where it takes several beautiful forms. The root-idea seems to be that the living acquire pàs or merit by enabling the dead to rejoin their forefathers. The commonest form of the worship is the placing of a stone or board, called piti, in a small hut beside a spring. On it is cut a rough effigy of the deceased. This is accompanied by certain religious rites and a feast to friends. Sometimes the board has a hole in it with a spout for the water, and it is then set up in the stream. Other forms of this worship are the erection of wayside seats or of wooden enclosures in the villages for the elders, bearing in each case a roughly cut effigy of the deceased. One of the commonest forms, especially in the Chandrabhág valley, is the erection of a shaqi or monolith near a village, with a rough figure of the deceased cut on it, and a circular stone fixed on the top. Many such stones may be seen near villages. Some are neatly carved, but as a rule they are very crude. Their erection is accompanied by

1Elrémán places this event in Bundelkhand and says it occurred in 1817. He speaks of Hardul Lāla as the new god, and says that his temples spring up as far as Lahore: Rambles, I, p. 219-21. His worship is common in the United Provinces; for his songs see N. I. N. Q., IV, § 420. He is also called Hardur or Harda Lāla; I. N. Q., IV, § 706.
religious rites and feasting on a great scale, involving much expense. These rites are repeated from time to time.

This custom also prevails in Kulu, Mandi and Suket, but is restricted to the royal families of these states and regarded as an exclusive privilege. It must however be of ancient date, for it is found in one at least of the Rāni families whose ancestors held rule in Kulu before the Rājās obtained supreme power. Mr. G. C. L. Howell mentions one such family, that of Nawāni, which still observes this custom; and we may conclude that it was observed by this family when in independent possession of their lands. I have not seen the Kulu and Suket stones which are said to be near the respective capitals of these States. The Mandi monoliths are probably the most ornate of any in the hills. It is possible that such monoliths also exist in Bilāspar and other Hill States of the Simla group. ¹

Sir Alexander Cunningham thus described the Mandi monoliths:—

"The sātīi pillars of the Mandi Rājās and their families stand in a group on a plot of ground on the left bank of the Suketi Nāla, a little way outside Mandi town, on the road to Suket. Some of them are 6 and 7 feet high and all are carved with figures of the Rājās and of the women who became sātī with them. Each Rājā is represented as seated above with a row of rājās or queens, also seated, immediately below; still lower are standing figures of sātīs or concubines and rākhalīs or slave girls. The inscription records the name of the Rājā and the date of his death, as also the number of queens, concubines and slave girls who were burnt with him. The monuments are valuable for chronological purposes as fixing with certainty the date of each Rājā's decease and the accession of his successor from Hari Sen A.D. 1637 down to the present time." The number has been added to since Cunningham's visit, though no sātīi have taken place since the annexation of the Punjab or rather since 1846, when Mandi came under British control after the First Sikh War. These pillars therefore are not pure sātīi pillars, but are rather of the nature of monoliths in memory of the death similar to those of Pānī, and are probably consecrated with similar rites. At Nagar in Kulu similar monoliths are found which are described as follows by Colonel Harcourt in Kāñch, Takht and Spiti, page 357:—"There is a curious collection of what resemble tombstones that are to be found just below Nagar Castle. They are inserted into the ground in four rows, rising one over the other on the hillside; and in all I have counted 141 of these, each ornamented with rude carvings of chieftains of Kulu, their wives and concubines being portrayed either beside them or in lines below. One Rājā is mounted on a horse, and holds a sword in his hand, the animal he bestrides being covered with housings just as might be a crusader's charger. A very similar figure to this is carved in wood over the porch of the Dūngrī temple. The report is that these stones were placed in position at the death of every reigning sovereign of Kulu, the female figures being the eliezies of such wives or mistresses who may have performed sātī at their lord's demise. If this be the true state of the case then the human sacrifices must have been very great in some instances, for it is not uncommon to find 40 and 50 female figures cenod-

¹ This and the following paragraph are by Dr. J. Hutchinson.
ing the crumbling and worn surface of the stones. At the death of the late Rāi Gyan Singh, the representative of a once powerful family, his servants executed a rude effigy of him, and this will take its place beside the other funeral relics of his ancestors. The Buddhist wheel appears in several of the stones, but the people about Nagar positively declare that none of these rough sculptures are over 200 years of age. Here however I think they are mistaken and they know so very little about the history of their own country that anything they say that refers to dates must be received with great caution." There can be no doubt that Colonel Harcourt was right in believing that these stones date back to a remote past and are the *sats pillars* of the Kuh Rajas. It would be interesting to have an account of the Suket monoliths.

In the Himalayas is to be found a variety of shrines and heaps of stones erected by the rout-side in fields and on the mountain passes. Their purposes are as varied as their structures. First of importance are those erected in honour of the dead, and the memorial tablets placed by the side of a stream or fountain have proved of considerable archaeological value owing to the inscriptions on them. In the Simla Hills inscriptions are rare and the memorials are usually in the from of small slabs of slate or stone on which the figure of the deceased is rigidly carved. The rites which attend their erection vary. Thus the soul of a man who has died away from home or been killed by accident without administration of the last rites will require elaborate ceremonies to lay it at rest and many, but not all, the memorial stones commemorate such a death. The ideas underlying them appear to be twofold. In the first place when the tablet is merely attached to a cairn or well the disembodied spirit seems to require merit from the act of charity performed by the dead man's descendants. Secondly it is believed that the spirit by being provided with a resting place on the edge of a spring will be able to quench its thirst whenever it wishes. The attributes assigned to serpents as creators and protectors of springs suggest that the selection of a spring as the site for a memorial tablet may be connected with Nag worship. But in the Simla Hills at any rate the Nagas are not now propitiated generally in connection with funeral rites. Nor is it believed in these hills that snakes which visit houses are the incarnations of former members of the family. The snake's incarnation is only assigned to the exceptional case of a miser who during his life-time had buried treasure and returns to it as a serpent to guard it after death. This idea is of course not peculiar to the Himalayas. In the Simla Hills the peasant cares little for the living reptile beyond drawing omens from its appearances. If for instance a snake crosses his path and goes down-hill the omens is auspicious, but if it goes uphill the reverse. Should a poisonous snake enter his house it is welcomed as a harbinger of good fortune but if it is killed inside it, its body must be taken out through the window and not by the door.

Some ghosts are more persistent than others in frequenting their former haunts. Such for instance are the souls of men who have died without a son and whose property has gone to collaterals or strangers. The heirs anticipating trouble will often build a shrine in a field close to the village where the deceased was wont to walk and look upon his crops.
The propitiation of the dead.

These shrines are unpretentious structures with low walls of stones piled one upon another and sloping roofs of slates. They are open in front and a small recess is left in one of the walls in which earthen lamps are lighted at each full moon by pious or timid heirs. Similar are the buildings often seen in fields at a distance from the village, but these are usually involuntary memorials to departed spirits extorted from reluctant peasants by a kind of spiritual blackmail. It sometimes happens that a man marries a second wife during the life-time of the first without obtaining her permission and the latter in a fit of jealousy takes poison or throws herself down a precipice. Then soon after her death the husband becomes ill with boils or other painful eruptions, proving beyond doubt that a malignant spirit has taken up its abode in his body. Brahmins have many means of searching out a mischief-making spirit of this kind and the following may be recommended for its simplicity. The peasant chooses a boy and girl both too young to be tutored by the Brahman who plays the chief part in the ceremony of exorcism. They are taken to the peasant’s house and there squat on the floor, each being covered with a sheet. The Brahman brings with him a brazen vessel in which he puts a coin or two and on top of which he places a metal cover. On this improvised drum he beating continuously with a stick whilst he utters his incantations. Sometimes this goes on for hours before the boy or girl manifests any sign, but as a rule one or the other is soon seized with trembling, an indication that the desired spirit has appeared and assumed possession. If the boy trembles first the ghost is certainly a male, but if the girl is first affected it must be a female spirit. When questioned the medium reveals the identity of the possessor, which usually turns out to be the spirit of the suicide. A process of barter ensues in which the injured wife details the deeds of expiation necessary to appease the spirit whilst the husband bargains for terms less onerous to himself. The matter ends in a compromise. The husband vows to build a shrine to house the spirit and to make offerings there on certain days in every month. He may also promise to dedicate a field to her and hence these ghostly dwelling-places are often situated in barren strips of land because no plough may be used on a field so consecrated. When the shrine stands on uncultivated land a piece of quartz may glisten from its roof or one of its walls may be painted white. Such a building serves a double purpose. Not only is the unsubstantial spirit kept from inconvenient roaming, but the gleam of white also attracts the envious glances of passers-by and so saves the crops from being withered up. (Condensed from the Pioneer of 16th August 1913.)

Ancestor-worship also takes the form of building a bridge over a stream in the deceased’s name, or making a new road, or improving an old one, or by cutting steps in the rock.² In each case the rough outline of a foot or a pair of feet is carved near the spot to show that the work was a memorial act. In former times the worship took the form of erecting a pañidār or cistern. In its simplest form this consisted of a slab with a rough figure of the deceased carved on it and a hole in the lower part, with a spout, through which the stream flowed. The board above des-

² See the Antiquities of Chamba, 1, fig. 8 on p. 31 for an illustration of such steps.
The propitiation of the dead.

described is clearly a degenerate modern form of these cisterns. Sometimes
the slab was of large size and covered with beautiful carvings, but for a
description of these reference must be made to Dr. Vogel's work. That
writer describes their purpose. Their erection was regarded less as a
work of public utility than as an act of merit designed to secure future
bliss to the founder and his relatives. The deceased, either wife or
husband, for whose sake the stone was set up, is often named in the in-
scriptions. The slab itself is invariably designated Varuna-deva, for the
obvious reason that Varuna, patron of the waters, is usually carved on it.
This name is no longer remembered. Such stones are called nám or
Pángi, nár in Láhul and páchiyá or 'fountain' in the Rávi valley.

Far otherwise is it in Sirmír, where the cult of the dead is some-
times due to a fear of their ill-will. Thus in the Pachhád and Raíká
tabsis of that State when an old man is not cared for and dies
aggrieved at the hands of his descendents, his pápra or curse is usually
supposed to cling to the family. Whenever subsequently there is
illness in the family, or any other calamity visits it, the family Brahman
is consulted and he declares the cause. If the cause is found to be
the displeasure of the deceased, his image is put in the house and
worshipped. If the curse affects a field, a portion of it is dedicated to
the deceased. If this worship is discontinued, leprosy, violent death,
an epidemic or other similar calamities overtake the family. Its cattle
do not give milk or they die, or children are not born in the house.
Indeed the pápra appears to be actually personified as a ghost which
causes baronness or disease, and if any one is thus afflicted a Bháti
is consulted, and he makes an astrological calculation with dice thrown
on a board (sáuch). There the sufferer summons all the members
of the family, who sound a tray (tháli) at night, saying 'O pápra
bási upr nátor sá,'—'O soul descend on some one,' and (though
not before the third or fourth day) the pápra or imp takes possession
of a child, who begins to nod its head, and when questioned explains
whence the ghost the pápra is, and shows that the patient's affliction is
due to some injury done by him or his forfathers to the ghost, and
that its wrongs must be redressed or a certain house or place given up
to a certain person or abandoned. The patient acts as thus directed.
The costliness of ancestor-worship is illustrated by the cult of Pálu
in Sirmír. He was the ancestor of the Hámbí Kanota of Hábón and
other villages, and is worshipped at Pálu with great pomp. His
image, which is of metal, is richly ornamented.

The spirits of young men who die childless are also supposed to
haunt the village in Gurgoan, as are those of any man who dies dis-
contented and unwilling to leave his home. Such spirits are termed
pátar, 'father,' euphemistically, but they generally bear the character
of being vindictive and require much attention. A little shrine, very
much like a cháltha or fire-place, is generally constructed in their honour
near a tank and at it offerings are made. Sometimes a pápra descends on
a person and he then becomes inspired, shakes his head, rolls his eyes


Lit. 'sin.'

* Pápra is of course 'sin.' Pápá would appear to be a diminutive.
The sainted dead.

and reveals the 

pita's will. This is called khalan or playing, as in the Himalayas. Occasionally too a Brahman can interpret a pita's will.

In Chamba a person dying childless is believed to become a bhūt or antar and to harass his surviving relations unless appeased. For this purpose a jatra is worn by adults, consisting of a small case of silver or copper containing a scroll supplied by a Brahman. An antar necklace of silver, with a human figure cut on it, is also commonly worn. Another form is the add, of silver or copper, and shaped like an hourglass. An antar must also be propitiated by a goat-sacrifice, and the deceased's clothes are worn for a time by a member of the family; a soap-nut kernel is also worn hanging from a string round the neck.

The Bhābās have a custom which, to judge from many parallels, is a relic of ancestor-worship. Many of them will not marry a son until he has been taken to the tomb of Bīhā Gajju, a progenitor of the Bar Bhābās, at Pīpākā in Gùjjarāvālā, and gone round the tomb by way of adoration.

The worship of the sainted dead.—The worship of the dead is universal, and they again may be divided into the sainted and the malevolent dead. First among the sainted dead are the piti or 'ancestors.' Tiny shrines to these will be found all over the fields, while there will often be a larger one to the common ancestor of the clan. Villagers who have migrated will periodically make long pilgrimages to worship at the original shrine of their ancestor; or, if the distance is too great, will bring away a brick from the original shrine, and use it as the foundation of a new local shrine which will answer all purposes. In the Punjab proper these larger shrines are called jathar, or 'ancestor,' but in the Dehli Territory the add takes their place in every respect and is supposed to mark the spot where a widow was burnt with her husband's corpse. The 13th of the month is sacred to the piti, and on that day the cattle do no work and Brahmins are fed. But besides this veneration of ancestors, saints of widespread renown occupy a very important place in the worship of the peasantry. No one of them is, I believe, malevolent, and, in a way their good nature is rewarded by a certain loss of respect.

Gūja beha na bega, dī kuchh na cīhī legha—If Gūja doesn't give me a son, at least he will take nothing away from me. They are generally Muhammadan, but are worshipped by Hindus and Musalmāns alike with the most absolute impartiality. There are three saints who are pre-eminently great in the Punjab,

2. Doubtless a male is meant: Chamba Gazzatier, 1904, p. 195. See also Vol. II, p. 270.

§ 220.

2. Doubtless a male is meant: Chamba Gazzatier, 1904, p. 195. See also Vol. II, p. 270.

§ 220.
and thousands of worshippers of both religions flock yearly to their shrines.

But the sati was only a particular case of a general idea—the idea of devotion and fidelity transcending the love of life. Men who sacrificed themselves were called sati, and cases of such self-immolation are recorded in North Râjputâna. Generally ladies of rank were attended on the funeral pyre by attached female slaves, as occurred at the cremation of Mahârâja Ranjît Singh. But the highest grade of all was attained by the mā-sati or mother-sati who had killed herself with her son. These mā-satis were of all classes from the potter-woman to the princess. At Pâpaul the most conspicuous cenotaph is that of a Jaisalûrî Mahârâni who had come to her father’s house accompanied by her young son. He was thrown from his horse and killed, and she insisted on ascending the pyre with him. It is also said that occasionally when the widow shrank from the flames the mother would take her place.

No doubt sati worship is very prevalent in the Delhi territory, but it is also found elsewhere, especially among tribes which appear to have a Râjput origin or at least claim it, such as the Mahbton. It is rare among Jâs. In Gurgaon the sati is often propitiated as a possibly malignant spirit. Thus in the village of Bojkar Gujar there is the shrine of a Gujari sati who has constituted herself the patroness of the Brahmans of the village, and unless they are properly looked after she gets angry and sends things into the offenders’ bodies, causing pain; and then on the first day of the moon the Brahmans have to be collected and fed at her shrine.

The child is also depicted in the case of a mā-sati. Cunningham noted that sati monuments were almost invariably if not always placed to the west of a stream or tank but that they faced east. In Kânlâ the monument appears not to be a slab, but a regular shrine larger indeed than any other kind, being 3 or 4 feet square. Lamps are lit and Brahmans fed at them on the 11th or 15th of Kâštik. The shrines are also regarded as tutelary guardians of the village. Thus in one case some Tagás who had migrated from their old village used to go 40 miles to make annual offerings at their old sati, but eventually they carried away a brick from her original shrine and used it for the foundation of a new one in their present village.

In the Chamba hills if a man falls over a precipice or is accidentally killed on a journey in such a way that his body cannot be recovered a pile of wood is gathered on or near the spot and each passer-by adds a stick to it as if it were funeral pyre. In the case of one of the Râjîs who was killed along with his brother by his own officials, the spot on which the assassination took place has remained uncultivated since A. D. 1720. As both brothers died childless they were regarded as

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1 The form mā-sati appears to be used, but mā-satī is perhaps commoner.
4 Sati monuments are ordinarily slabs of stone stuck in the ground with the figure of the sati carved on them, either sitting or standing.
And a temple was erected near the place. Chamba Gaz., p. 95.

In Kangra the people bear the name of Kirpal Chand in reverential memory. He appears to have been childless, and to have devised the construction of the canal called after him as a means of perpetuating his name. His liberality to the people employed was munificent. To each labourer was given six urs of rice, half a urs of dal, and the usual condiments; and to every pregnant woman employed, he gave an additional half allowance in consideration of the offspring in her womb. The people believe that he still exercises a fostering influence over his canal; and some time ago, when a landslip took place, and large boulders which no human effort could remove choked up its bed, the people one and all exclaimed that no one but Kirpal Chand could surmount the obstacles. They separated for the night, and next morning when they assembled to work, the boulders had considerably removed themselves to the sides, and left the water course clear and unencumbered!  

**The Worship of the Malevolent Dead.**—Far different from the beneficent are the malevolent dead. From them nothing is to be hoped, but everything is to be feared. Foremost among them are the yudis or soulless dead. When a man has died without male issue he becomes spiteful, especially seeking the lives of the young sons of others. In almost every village small platforms may be seen with rows of small hemispherical depressions into which milk and Ganges water are poured, and by which lamps are lit and Brahmins fed to assuage the yudis, while the careful mother will always dedicate a rupee to them, and hang it round her child’s neck till he grows up.

The jealousy of a deceased wife is peculiarly apt to affect her husband if he takes a new one. She is still called sakars or co-wife and at the wedding of her successor oil, milk, spiced and sugar are poured on her grave. The sakars are or rival wife’s image is put on by the new wife at marriage and worn till death. It is a small plate of silver worn round the neck, and all presents given by the husband to his new wife are first laid upon it with the prayer that the deceased will accept the clothes &c. offered and permit her slave to wear her cast-off garments, and so on. In the Himalayas if one of two wives dies and her chauri or spirit makes the surviving wife ill an image (aujara) of the deceased is made of stone and worshipped. A silver plate, stamped with a human image, called chauti, is also placed round the haunted survivor’s neck.

Another thing that is certain to lead to trouble is the decease of anybody by violence or sudden death. In such cases it is necessary to

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2 I believe them to be identical in purpose, as they certainly are in shape, with the sunarks which have lately exercised the antiquaries. They are called abakas in the Delhi Territory.

3 P. N.R., III, § 209.—The mora appears to be a morat, ‘image,’ or possibly moratul, omen. According to Mrs. P. A. Steel Muhammadans also propitiate the deceased sakars; ib., § 116.
propitiate the departed by a shrine, as in the case of the trooper already mentioned. The most curious result of this belief is the existence all over the Eastern Punjab of small shrines to what are popularly known as Sayyids. The real word is shahid or martyr, which, being unknown to the peasantry, has been corrupted into the more familiar Sayyid. One story showing how these Sayyids met their death will be found in § 376 of the Karnal Settlement Report. But the diviners will often invent a Sayyid hitherto unheard of as the author of a disease, and a shrine will be built to him accordingly. The shrines are Muhammadan in form and the offerings are made on Thursday, and taken by Mussalmán faqirs. Very often the name even of the Sayyid is unknown. The Sayyids are exceedingly malevolent, and often cause illness and death. Boils are especially due to them, and they make cattle miscarry. One Sayyid Bhūra, of Bari in Kaithal, shares with Manu Devi of Mani Mājra in Ambala the honour of being the great patron of thieves in the Eastern Punjab. But Jain Sayyid in Pernepur is a bestower of wealth and sons and an aid in difficulty. Offerings vowed to him are presented on a Sunday or on the first Sunday of the Muhammadan month. He also possesses women, and one so possessed is in much request by women to perform a bāithak or chaukī on their behalf. She first bathes in clear water, perfumes and oils her hair, dons red clothes and dyes her hands and feet with henna. Then, seated in a Mūrāsan's house who sings songs in Jain Shah's honour and thereby pleases him, she begins to shake her head violently. While she is thus possessed the suppliants make their offerings and proclaim their needs. These the medium grants through the Mūrāsan, mentioning the probable time of fulfilment. She also foretells fortunes. The Mūrāsan takes the offerings. The efficacy of a Sayyid's curse is illustrated by the legend of Ahobar. It was held by Rājā Abram Chand and the Sayyids of Uch carried off his horses, so his daughter carried out a counter-raid as he had no son and the Sayyids came to Ahobar where they formed a mela or assembly and threatened to curse the riders unless the spoil was surrendered. But the Rājā held out and the Sayyids ladies came from Uch to seek their lords who thereupon called down curses upon all around including themselves. The tomb of the women in the cemetery and that of the holy men in the sand-hill still exist. Sira Settlement Report, page 195.

Many of those who have died violent deaths have acquired very widespread fame; indeed Gūga Pir might be numbered amongst them, though he most certainly is not malevolent; witness the proverb quoted anent him. A very famous hero of this sort is Teja, a Jāt of Mewār, who was taking milk to his aged mother, when a snake caught him by the nose. He begged to be allowed first to take the milk to the old lady, and then came back to be properly bitten and killed. And on a certain evening in the early autumn the boys of the Delhi territory came round with a sort of box with the side out, inside which is an image of Teja brilliantly illuminated, and ask you to 'remember the grotto.' Another case is that of Harda Lāl, brother of the Rājā of
Urchar in Bundelkhand. He and Teja are generally represented on horseback. So again Harshu Brahman, who died while sitting dhara, is worshipped everywhere east of Lahore.

But even though a man has not died sonless or by violence, you are not quite safe from him. His disembodied spirit travels about for 12 months as a paret, and even in that state is apt to be troublesome. But if, at the end of that time, he does not settle down to a respectable second life, he becomes a bhut, or, if a female, a char, and as such is a terror to the whole country, his principal object then being to give as much trouble as may be to his old friends, possessing them, and producing fever and other malignant diseases. Low-caste men, such as scavengers, are singularly liable to give trouble in this way, and are therefore always buried or burnt face downwards to prevent the spirit escaping; and riots have taken place and the Magistrates have been appealed to to prevent a Chûtra being buried face upwards. These ghosts are most to be feared by women and children, and especially immediately after taking sweets so that if you treat a school to sweetsmeats the sweet-seller will also bring salt, of which he will give a pinch to each boy to take the sweet taste out of his mouth. They also have a way of going down your throat when you yawn, so that you should always put your hand to your mouth, and had also better say ‘Náma!’ afterwards. Ghosts cannot set foot on the ground, and you will sometimes see two bricks or pegs stuck up in front of the shrine for the spirit to rest on. Hence when going on a pilgrimage or with ashes to the Ganges, you must sleep on the ground all the way there so as to avoid them; while the ashes must not rest on the ground, but must be hung in a tree so that their late owner may be able to visit them. So in places haunted by spirits, and in the vicinity of shrines, you should sleep on the earth; and not on a bedstead. So again, a woman, when about to be delivered, is placed on the ground, as is every one when about to die. Closely allied to the ghosts are the sâdris or fairies. They attack women only, especially on moonlight nights, catching them by the throat, half-choking them, and knocking them down (q. hysteria). Children, on the other hand, they protect. They are Musalmân, and are propitiated accordingly; and are apparently identical with the Parid or Peri with whom Moore has made us familiar. They are also known as shâwas, but resent being so called; and no woman would dare to mention the word.

* If a Brahman asks aught of you and you refuse it, he will sit at your door and obtain from food till he gain his request. If he dies meanwhile, his blood is on your head. This is called sitting dhara. Or he may cut himself with a knife and then you will be guilty of Brahmathia or Brahman-murder. A Brahman who commits suicide may become a Deo in the Simla Hills,—see p. 446 infras. For centre when the use of a horse has been forbidden in those hills by a vâdha or Brahman, the latter can remove his ban by sprinkling some of his own blood on the place: Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bashahr, p. 34. Another instance is Tiru of Jumna—p. 447 infras. But a Brahman does not always attain Divinity by such a suicide. Thus Kula Brahman of Burpur regarding himself as oppressed by a Hâna of Bichat cut off his own head, and it cost the State a good deal to put matters right. The suicide must not be a Brahman—see for instance the account of Gambhir Pooj at p. 467 infra. A great deal of information regarding suicide by Hânas and Chhâras will be found in the late Mr. R. V. Russell’s Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Agora’s, II, pp. 14-6, 154, 176, 256. It is known as chanda or straga which term is used in the Punjab in a different sense.
Malevolent deities are appeased by building them new shrines or by offerings at old ones. Very often the grain to be offered is placed the night before on the sufferer's head. This is called *sert*. Or the patient may eat some and bury the rest at the sacred spot; or the offering may be waved over his head; or on some night while the moon is waxing he may place it with a lamp lit on it at a cross-road. This is called *lagri* or *nagdi*. Sometimes it suffices to tie a flag on the sacred tree to roll in front of the shrine or rub one's neck with its dust. To malevolent or impure gods *kochhi roti*, generally consisting of *churma* or stale bread broken up and rolled into balls with *gur* and *ghat*, is offered. Brahmans will not take such offerings.\(^1\)

Resuscitation from death is believed to occur, and people who have come to life say they went to Yamaraj, the kingdom of the dead, and found they had been mistaken for some one else; so they were allowed to return.\(^2\) The ashes of great personages are carefully watched till the 4th day to prevent a magician's tampering with them, as he can restore the dead to life and retain power over him thereafter.\(^3\) Illiterate Hindus believe that the soul is in appearance like a black bee. It can leave the body during sleep.\(^4\)

Spirits are of many kinds and degrees. A *Brahm vakhas* is the ghost of a Brahman who has died *kumant* and is a very powerful demon, malign or the reverse.\(^5\) *Hadal* is a spirit that gets into the bones and cannot be exorcised.\(^6\)

It is difficult to define a *bhut*. It is sometimes equated with *s lit* as the spirit of one who dies an ill death, *kumant*, i.e. by violence or an accident.\(^7\) But it is also said that every man dying on a bed becomes a *bhut* and every woman so dying a *chorgel*. In Kungra a *bhut* is also called *batol* or 'demon' and he may be charmed into servitude, for once a Brahman's *chola* by his magic made a *bhut* cultivate his land for him, feeding him on ordure and the scum found on rivers the while. But one day in his absence his womenfolk fed the slave on festival food, which so annoyed him that he went and sat on the inscribed stone at Kuniara and devoured every living thing that came his way. On the Brahman's return he nailed him to the stone with a charm whose words form the inscription, and it is called *bhut sila* or 'ghost-stone' to this day.\(^8\)

*Bhutes* have no temples, but are propitiated by offerings in sickness or misfortune, a basket of food, fruit and flowers being passed round the patient's head and then carried out after dark and placed on the road leading to the house or village, to appease their anger. The sickness will seize on any one who tampers with the basket.\(^9\)

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1. Karnat. Sott. Rep., §§ 362, 366, pp. 146—147. To the benevolent gods or ancestors only *pakhi rott*, i.e. cakes or sweets, fried in *ghat*, may be offered.
3. B., § 221.
5. B., III, § 198.
8. To die at your own time is *s man marat*; P. N. Q., III, § 198.
live just like human beings, but do everything by night. They rear families, and the whole earth is strictly parcelled out among them. A bhūt casts no shadow as he moves, and ceremonial purity is the only safeguard against his attacks. On the other hand, bhūts are said to cook at noon, as well as at evening; so women should not leave their houses at those times lest they be molested by bhūts over whose food they have passed.

In Gurdaspur and the adjacent parts of Jammu bhūts and witches (dais) are believed to haunt the living and victimise the weak. Every imaginable disease is attributed to witches, and any woman can become one by learning a charm of 24 letters. Chelas are exorcists of these witches, and they cure a patient by placing some ashes on his forehead and making him swallow the rest, or in serious cases water is used instead. Each chela has his thān, a raised spot in the corner of the house sacred to the deities by whose power he overcomes witches and bhūts.

Churels are of two classes—(1) the ghosts of women dying while pregnant or on the very day of the child’s birth; (2) those of women dying within 40 days of the birth. But the worst churel of all is the ghost of a pregnant woman dying during the Diwāli. Churels are always malignant, especially towards members of their own family, though they assume the form of a beautiful woman when they way-lay men returning from the fields at nightfall and call them by their names. Immediate harm may be averted by not answering their call, but no one long survives the sight of a churel.

To prevent a woman’s becoming a churel small round-headed nails, specially made, are driven through her finger-nails, while the thumbs and big toes are welded together with iron rings. The ground on which she died is carefully scraped and the earth removed. Then the spot is sown with mustard seed, which is also sprinkled on the road by which the body is carried out for burning or burial, and it is also sown on the grave in the latter case. The mustard blooms in the world of the dead and its scent keeps the churel content, and again, when she rises at nightfall and seeks her home, she stops to gather up the mustard seed and is thus delayed till cock-crow when she must return to her grave. In her real shape the churel has her feet set backwards and is hideous to behold.

In Kangra the churel is believed to long for her child, but to be a curse to all others. On the way to the burning-ground a sorcerer nails her spirit down and the mustard seed is scattered along the road to make her forget it.

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2. P. N. Q., II. § 500.
4. Or 10 days in Kangra.
5. P. N. Q., II. § 908.
6. Jh., § 694. Mustard seed is said to be often scattered about a magistrate’s court toconciliate his sympathies: III. § 104.
The spirit on earth.

The chapel of a dead co-wife sometimes haunts her surviving rival and makes her ill, in which case an image of the deceased should be made of stone and worshipped, and a silver plate, stamped with a human image, called ciyari, is also worn by the sick survivor round her neck.footnote 1

Jinas have a right to share in the fruits of the earth, and if they do not get it the crop will be worthless. Once a jina employed a mortal as a teacher and in reward promised to exempt his grain from this tax—so that land now yields four times what it used to do.footnote 2 Jinas have no bones in their arms and only four fingers and no thumb.footnote 3

Archeology records instances of people being buried as 'guardians of the gate,' because it was believed the spirit would survive and do watch and ward over the city wall or the entrance through it. A similar belief led to a custom recorded by Martyn Clarke. When the country was unsettled valuables were very commonly buried and when they were at all considerable, misers were in the habit of burying a child alive with them, in the belief that its bhāt or spirit would protect them. On an auspicious day the miser dug a pit to which was fitted a tight-shutting wooden lid. A child was then decoyed, sometimes from a considerable distance. He had to be a male, aged 6 or 7, healthy and handsome, and he was well fed and kindly treated until the night was fixed by consulting the stars, arrived for burying the treasure. Then he was purified, dressed in white, and made to acknowledge the miser as his master. He was then lowered into the pit with the treasure and a lamp, a hlā of milk and a basket of sweets placed beside him. Finally the lid was fastened down and the boy left to his fate. As a result of this practice, or of the belief that it existed, finders of treasure trove often will not touch it, fearing lest the bhāt in charge would do them some evil.footnote 4 This idea of the guardian-spirit may explain many folktales in which the artificer is rewarded by being sacrificed by his patron, ostensibly to prevent his skill being employed by a rival. The legends that Gugga, the workman who built the temples at Brahmar in Chamba, was rewarded by having his right hand cut off by the Rana whose house he had built and then accidentally killed by a fall from the temple porch after he had all but completed the building, are doubtless further examples of this type.footnote 5

Evil spirits are very fond of fresh milk, and if a Punjabi mother has to leave her child soon after she has given it any she puts salt or ashes in its mouth to take away the smell.footnote 6

They are also fond of the scent of flowers, and it is dangerous for children to smell them as the spirits, always on the look out for children, will draw them away through the flowers.footnote 7

footnote 1 P. N. Q., III, § 300.
footnote 3 ib., I, § 678.
footnote 4 P. N. Q., II, § 351. Similar beliefs are very common among the Slavonic peoples; cf. Raskin's Songs of the Russian People, pp. 120-8. The game called 'Ladon Bridge' is based on the same idea. See also p. 363 infra.
footnote 5 Chamba Gazetteer, p. 296.
footnote 7 ib., IV, § 352.
live just like human beings, but do everything by night. They rear families, and the whole earth is strictly parcelled out among them. A bhūt casts no shadow as he moves, and ceremonial purity is the only safeguard against his attacks. On the other hand, bhūts are said to cook at noon, as well as at evening; so women should not leave their houses at those times lest they be molested by bhūts over whose food they have passed.

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Chrels are of two classes—(1) the ghosts of women dying while pregnant on the very day of the child's birth; (2) those of women dying within 40 days of the birth. But the worst chrel of all is the ghost of a pregnant woman dying during the Diwali. Chrels are always malignant, especially towards members of their own family, though they assume the form of a beautiful woman when they waylay men returning from the fields at nightfall and call them by their names. Immediate harm may be averted by not answering their call, but no one long survives the sight of a chrel.

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1. L. N. Q. IV, §§ 189-190.
2. P. N. Q. II, § 900.
3. Th., III, § 192.
4. Or 10 days in Kangra.
5. P. N. Q. II, § 905.
6. Th., § 904. Mustard seed is said to be often scattered about a magistrate's court to conciliate his sympathies: III, § 104.
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Archeology records instances of people being buried as 'guardians of the gate,' because it was believed the spirit would survive and do watch and ward over the city wall or the entrance through it. A similar belief led to a custom recorded by Martyn Clarke. When the country was unsettled valuables were very commonly buried and when they were at all considerable, misers were in the habit of burying a child alive with them, in the belief that its bhat or spirit would protect them. On an auspicious day the miser dug a pit to which was fitted a tight-shutting wooden lid. A child was then decoyed, sometimes from a considerable distance. He had to be a male, aged 6 or 7, healthy and handsome, and he was well fed and kindly treated until the night, fixed by consulting the stars, arrived for burying the treasure. Then he was purified, dressed in white, and made to acknowledge the miser as his master. He was then lowered into the pit with the treasure and a lamp, a lota of milk and a basket of sweets placed beside him. Finally the lid was fastened down and the boy left to his fate. As a result of this practice, or of the belief that it existed, finders of treasure trove often will not touch it, fearing lest the bhat in charge would do them some evil.⁴ This idea of the guardian-spirit may explain many folk-tales in which the artificer is rewarded by being sacrificed by his patron, ostensibly to prevent his skill being employed by a rival. The legend of Ganga, the workman who built the temples at Brahmapur in Chamba, was rewarded by having his right-hand cut off by the Rana whose house he had built and then accidentally killed by a fall from the temple porch after he had all but completed the building, are doubtless further examples of this type.⁵

Evil spirits are very fond of fresh milk, and if a Punjabi mother has to leave her child soon after she has given it any she puts salt or ashes in its mouth to take away the smell.⁶

They are also fond of the scent of flowers, and it is dangerous for children to smell them as the spirits, always on the look out for children, will draw them away through the flowers.⁷

¹ P. N. Q., 113, p. 300.
² N. I. N. Q., 1, p. 668.
³ De L., p. 675.
⁴ P. N. Q., 11, p. 351. Similar beliefs are very common among the Slavonic peoples; cf., Rashin's Songs of the Russian People, pp. 130-1. The game called 'London Bridge' is based on the same idea. See also p. 353 infra.
⁵ Chamba Gazetteer, p. 288.
⁷ ib., IV, p. 352.
During prairie fires and at dead of night lonely herdsman in Sirsa used to hear the cries of those who had been killed in old forays and people used to be afraid to travel save in large parties for fear of encountering these supernatural enemies.1

In order to avoid becoming bhults after death some Hindus are said to perform their own funeral rites during life.2 In Chamba two modern cases of suicide were preceded by their performance. If you see the ghost of a dead kinsman give alms in his name, or he will do his best to make you join him.3

Any demon can be exorcised by placing red paint (roti), red lead, incense, sweetmeat, flesh, fish, spirits, betel-nut and rice on a tray, with a lamp alight, under a pipal, at a tank or cross-roads, or on a burning-ground, but only if a man does so, not a woman. The man must have been sprinkled first with holy water and then worship the offering. If it be placed under a pipal 1, 5, 11 or 21 nails should be driven into the tree and after the rite a string with 3, 5, 7, 11 or 21 knots should be worn until it drops off. Hair from the head buried in a bottle will also drive away spirits.4

Witchcraft.—Recitation of 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) (i.e. 3) verses of the Qurán backward enables a witch to take out a child’s liver and eat it, and in order to do this more effectively she must first catch a tark, a wild animal not larger than a dog, feed it with sugar and phi and ride on it repeating the charm 100 times. A witch cannot die until she has taught this charm to another woman, or falling her to a tree.5 It makes a witch powerless to extract her two upper front teeth.6

Sorcerers write charms or spells on a bit of paper and drop ink on it. Flowers are then placed in a young child’s hands and he is hidden to look into the ink and call the four guardians. When he says he sees them he is told to ask them to clean the place and summon his king who is supposed to answer questions through him, but no one else sees or hears the spirits. This is called haavat.7

Virgins are in special request for the performance of all spells and charms. If an iron platter be thrown by a young girl out of the house it will cause a hailstorm to cease.8

Some witches are liver-eaters—jagur-khor. But when one has succeeded in extracting a liver she will not eat it for 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) days and even after that she can be compelled by an exorciser to replace it by an animal’s liver.9

1 Sirsa Selk. Rep., p. 23.
2 N. I. N. Q., I, § 44.
3 Ib., I, § 113.
4 P. N. Q., III, §§ 198, 199.
5 Ib., III, § 31.
6 Ib., III, § 30.
7 N. I. N. Q., I, § 504.
8 P. N. Q., III, § 532.
Sickness and death.—In Chamba sacrifice is often made for the sick in the belief that a life being given, his life will be preserved. Nails are driven into the ground near a corpse and its hands and feet fastened to them with a cord, to prevent the body from stretching and becoming a bhút or evil spirit. Sometimes too a thorn is put at the crematorium lest the spirit of the deceased return and trouble the living. The spirit returns to its abode on the 10th, or 12th, day after death, any unusual noise indicating its presence. If a child die the mother has water poured over her through a sieve above its grave, to secure offspring. The water used must be from a well or stream whose name is of the masculine gender.

If a woman's children die she must beg dā or flour from seven houses, and when her next child is born this dā is baked into a large cake, from which the centre is cut out, leaving only a circular rim. Through this hole the infant is passed seven times to ensure its living. Similarly a new-born child may be passed seven times through the chāthā, or fire-place. With the same object is the nostril pierced immediately after birth and an iron nose-ring inserted. Or the infant is given to a poor person, and then taken back to break the continuity of the ill luck. Another curious recipe for this purpose is this:—Take the bark of 7 trees and water from 7 springs all with masculine names. Boil the bark in the water and after dark let it be poured over the woman at a cross-roads. She must then change her clothes and give away those she had on at the ceremony, and the evil influence will go with them.

Two places, in Tariod pargana and Hubār, have a curious reputation. When a woman, owing to an evil influence, called parehās, has no children or they die, she visits one of these places, and after certain rites or ceremonies creeps thrice through a hole artificially made in a stone, and only just large enough to admit an adult, and then bathes, leaving one garment at the spot. This is believed to free her from the influence. Sunday morning is the proper time for this and Bhādon and Māgh are the best months. At Hubār the woman bathes besides a Muhammadan nau-gāza (nine yards long) grave.

The evil eye.—The evil eye is the subject of various beliefs, which cannot be described here in full, though it is too important a factor in popular usage to be passed over in silence. The term 'evil eye' is generally accepted as a translation of nasār, but that word denotes a good deal more than the evil effects of an 'ill-wishing' person's gaze. It connotes the subjective effect of the gaze of any one, however benevolent or well-disposed, when that gaze has induced complete satisfaction in the mind with the object observed, whether animate or inanimate. Thus low-caste persons may cast nasār upon a man of higher caste, not because they are of low castes but because of the envy of him which they are supposed to feel. Children are peculiarly subject to nasār because they may induce a feeling of pride or satisfaction in those who gaze on them, and for this reason their faces are left unwashed for six
years, among the poorer classes. 1 To avert it the Gujars of Hazara use amulets of bakhur wood (? Callicarpa Australis) and they are also tied round the necks of cattle.

On the same principle anything beautiful or charming, when looked upon by a person bent on mischief, prompts him to do harm, while anything ugly in itself is safe from the evil eye. Hence anything beautiful is daubed with black so that the eye may fall on the daub and not on the thing itself. Accordingly an iron vessel is hung up when a house is abuilding as a nazar-watā or averter of nazar, or a blackened pitcher will serve equally well. Such pitchers are often hung permanently on a conspicuous part of a completed house also. The pattern on ornamental clothes is spoiled by introducing a marked irregularity somewhere for the same reason. 2 Iron is not in itself a protection against nazar, unless it is black, and the efficacy of arms as prophylactics against spirits appears to be based on the idea that an armed man or woman should have no fear of anything. 3 To avert the evil-eye a small black stone with a hole in it is often worn on the shoulder or round the neck and to this the term nazar-watā is specially applied. 4

The evil eye is firmly believed in, and iron is the sovereign safeguard against it. While a house is being built, an iron pot (or an earthen vessel painted black) is hung up to deceive the evil eye, and is less expensive) is always kept on the works; and when it is finished the young daughter of the owner ties to the lintel a charm, used on other occasions also, the principal virtue of which lies in a small iron ring. Mr. Channing thus described the theory of the evil-eye: 

"When a child is born an invisible spirit is sometimes born with it; and unless the mother keeps one breast tied up for forty days while she feeds the child from the other, "in which case the spirit dies of hunger, the child grows up with the endowment of the evil eye, and whenever a person so endowed looks at anything constantly, something evil will happen to it. Amulets worn for protection against the evil-eye seem to be of two classes; the first, objects which apparently resist the influence of a superior innate strength, such as tigers' claws; the second, of a worthless character, such as cowries, which may catch the eye of their beholder, and thus prevent the covetous look."

A father was once asked, "Why don't you wash that pretty child's face?" and replied "A little black is good to keep off the evil eye." If so, most Punjabi children should be safe enough. It is bad manners to admire a child, or comment upon its healthy appearance. The theory of the scapegoat obtains; and in times of great sickness goats will be marked after certain ceremonies, and let loose in the jungle or killed and buried in the centre of the village. Men commonly wear round their necks amulets, consisting of small silver lockets containing sentences, or something which looks like a sentence, written by a faqir. The leaves of the sirdar (Sibinia loba) and of the mango (Mangifera Indica) are also powerful for good; and a garland of them hung across the village gate with a mystic inscription on an earthen platter in the middle, and a plough beam buried

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1 P. N. Q., II., § 259.
2 I., § 657.
3 I., § 656.
4 I., § 657. In slang nazar-watā is a worthless fellow—of no use except to keep off the evil eye.
Witches or spirits.

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in the gateway, with the handle sticking out, show that cattle-plague has visited or was dreaded in the village, and that the cattle have been driven under the charm on some Sunday on which no fire was lighted on any hearth. An inscription made by a jujur on an earthen platter, and then washed off into water which is drunk by the patient, is a useful remedy in illness; and in protracted labour the washings of a brick from the chabah (chabka bhey) fort of Ambi, where the arrayed army of the Pandus assembled before their final defeat, are potent; or if anybody knows how to draw a ground plan of the fort, the water into which the picture is washed off will be equally effective. When a beast gets lame, an oval mark with a cross in it, or Solomon's seal, or Siva's trident, or the old mark of the Aryan need-fire, in general shape like the Manx arauc, is branded on the limb affected; or a piece of the coloured thread used by the Brahman in religious ceremonies is tied round it.

In Sirmur a person endowed with the evil eye is called dāy or dāvrai, and to avert his influence seven kinds of grain are mixed with cow-dung and plastered on the house door; an obscure mantra being recited. Dāvas are witches or the spirits of women, which inflict injury in unknown ways. To avert their influence a charm is written on a sheet of paper which is held over burning incense and then tied round the arm or neck of the person possessed. These charms also contain pictures of Bhairon or Mahādev (Hanumān) with a charm inscribed in a circle. Another method of averting the influence of a dāy or dāin is to call in a Bhāt or Dham who has a reputation for skill in such matters. He first cooks a loaf which is placed on the patient's head. Then a lamp of gāi with four wicks is lighted and certain mantras recited three times, the loaf being waved round the patient's head meantime, and finally placed on the ground. A he-goat is then decapitated and the blood caught in a tāmbū, which, with the goat's head, is also waved round the patient's head. Lastly, the loaf, the lamp, and tāmbū with the blood and goat's head are all placed by night at a spot where four roads meet.

In Jubbal the dākān is a witch and in former days if so adjudged she was banished from the State. Only a Brahman can detect a dākān and he judges by marks on her face. A popular way of detecting one was to tie her up hand and foot and cast her into a pond. If she floated she was proved to be a witch.

In Chamba belief in evil spirits exerts a powerful influence on the popular imagination. Evil spirits and fairies are believed to have a special liking for fair-complexioned children, and so a black mark is put on a child's forehead to keep them away, and also to protect it from

1 The virtue of the fort is due to its standing on the edge of a pond in which the Sun was born, and where women who wish for sons go and bathe on Sunday.

2 The sign is often drawn at the door of a house or shop to keep off the evil eye.

3 The dāy is also a spirit or witch. In the Simla Hills the evil eye is called dāy; Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Kumaon, p. 12. But the term is also applied to ghosts connected with fields from which they are supposed to sicken the crops; Simla District Gazetteer, p. 44. The dāin makes Bhūda unhealthy because she thirsts for blood in that month and to avoid its evil days Brahmins give their flock threads on the Rakshri or Saline day. On Assam 1st or Sier is the fifth day which marks the close of the bad month; Mandi Gazetteer, p. 36: see also infra.

the evil eye. The idea seems to be that malign influences affect beauty more than ugliness; charms are also used to avert bhūts or evil spirits and the evil eye. These are made of leopards' and bears' claws, and the teeth of pigs, in the belief that as they belong to fierce animals they will frighten away anything harmful. A cowrie, a shell or the bone of a crab has the same virtue. For the same reason brass anklets, called vēhāra, are put on children. A person dying sonless becomes a bhūt or antar-ṣpatra (sonless), and troubles his surviving relatives, unless duly appeased: so adults wear a jaṇtra, a small silver or copper case containing a scroll supplied by a Brahman. An antar or silver necklace with a human figure cut in it is also worn. Another form is the nāj, of silver or copper and shaped like an hour-glass. An antar must also be propitiated with the sacrifice of a goat, and for a time his clothes are worn by one of the family—a soaptree kernel is also carried on a string round the neck. Iron about the person protects one from evil spirits. A woman outside her house should be careful not to bathe quite naked, as she is liable to come under the shadow of an evil spirit. A child whose jālī or first hair has not been cut, must not be taken to a mela, as the fairies who go to fairs may exert an evil influence. A piece of netted thread hung above the doorway will keep out evil spirits during labour or sickness.

Asi Harā is a godling in Gardāspur to whom cairns are erected in large uninhabited jungles.

Bahro is a male spirit, ugly in form, who causes disease and must be appeased.1

Banāsāt, a female spirit who lives in forests and on high mountain slopes. As a guardian of the cattle she is propitiated when the herds are sent to the summer grazing grounds. She also presides over quarrels and cuttings and must be propitiated before work is commenced. A goat must be killed over a lime-kin before it is lit, an offering made to her before a tree is felled in the forests, and grain cannot be ground at the water-mill without her consent. She is apparently a Jogi, and much the same as the Rākshāni.2

The Banbirs are deified heroes or champions of the olden times. They are said to live in the pomegranate, lime, ban, fig, kān̄th, simbal and walnut trees. They also haunt precipices, waterfalls and cross-roads and are propitiated on special occasions at those spots. They can cause sickness, especially in women, and some of them, such as Kālī Bir and Nārāsingh, visit women in their husbands' absence. If the husband returns while the Bir is in human form he is sure to die unless a sacrifice is offered.3

The banthara bhūt of the Simla Hills is doubtless the banthara or headless demon, so common in folk-tales. He haunts the jungles whose king he is supposed to be.4 But he also haunts old buildings, valleys and mountains, and like a ghost is propitiated in some places, by sacrifices of goats and in others of earth or gravel.5

1 Chamkī Gazetteer, 1904, p. 193
2 ib., p. 191.
3 ib., p. 191.
4 Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Kangārū, p. 12.
5 ib., pp. 48-9.
Bhr Bātal is a water-sprite whose habitat is in every river and stream. His ancient name was Varuna, but he now bears also the name of Khwāja Khizr. Khūkheri, soaked Indian corn, 3 balls of moss, 3 of ashes, 3 measures of water, a pumpkin or a flour-sheep are offered to him. The Minjarī kā mela is held in his honour. A bridge is likely to be unsafe unless a sacrifice be made in his honour, and the opening of a water-course requires one also.*

Chhöngu is the male demon found in walnut and mulberry trees and under the kurnagura shrub. He is worshipped or propitiated. He is under the control of a sorcerer whose messenger he is.†

In the Simla Hills he brings things to him and also drinks the milk of cows, to whose owners too he brings milk, yāl etc.‡

In Chamba sorcery and witchcraft are still very commonly believed in. Various diseases are caused by witches, either directly by incantations, or indirectly through the malevolent spirits under their control. Cattle disease is also ascribed to witchcraft, and even the ravages of wild animals such as leopards. Formerly when witchcraft was suspected the relatives of the person affected complained to a court or to the Rājā. An order was then issued to a chhēla who was reputed to have the power of detecting witches. Accompanied by a musician and a drummer he went to the place. A pot of water (kumbh) was first set over some grain sprinkled on the ground and on this was put a lighted lamp. Ropes were also laid besides the kumbh. The musicians played, and when the chhēla had worked himself into a state of affluence, he asked the people standing by if they wished the witch to be caught, warning them that she might be one of their own relatives. They would, however, assent. This went on for three days, and on the third the chhēla, standing by the kumbh would call out the witch's name and order his attendants to seize her. Picking up the ropes they would at once execute his order and she would be seized and bound. In olden times witches were cruelly tortured to get confessions of guilt. One of the methods was that once customary in Europe. The witch was dipped in a pool, the belief being that, if guilty, she would rise to the surface, but would sink if innocent. Guilt being proved, she was banished, and sometimes her nose was cut off. The chhēla received a fee of Rs. 12, part of which went to the State. Chelās can also exorcise evil spirits by making the person afflicted inhale the smoke of certain herbs. Though the belief in witchcraft still survives, the detection of witches and all the cruel practices associated with it are now illegal, and have been entirely discontinued.

The list of hobgoblins and spirits in Chamba is endless, for there is hardly anything the hillman does or attempts to do which is not

* Chamba Gazetteer, p. 191, and supra, p. 138. Also infra p. 287.
† Ib., p. 192, and Vol. II, p. 270 infra for the offerings made to him.
control the winds and the storms. When the tempest rages on the mountain summit he believes the ṛakas are contending with one another, the falling rock and the avalanche or the weapons of their wrath. In ascending a snowy pass the coolies often refrain from all noise till they reach the top, lest they should inadvertently offend the spirit of the mountain, and bring destruction on themselves; and no Guddi would think of crossing a pass without first propitiating the pass-deity to secure fair weather, and a safe passage for flocks. A cairn with flags hanging from twigs fixed on the top is found on the summit of almost every pass and represents the pass-deity.¹

'Marmot' records a curious rite practised during an eclipse of the moon in Pāngi. The Pāngwāla stood in a circle on one leg, holding each a big stone poised on the right shoulder while with the other hand they pinned the left ear. This was done to propitiate the ṛakhasas, and the posture was maintained until the eclipse was over.²

Elsewhere not only do ṛakhasas inhabit trees, as we have seen (p. 139 supra) but it is also wise to halt at sunset when on a journey lest they lead you astray during the night. Further, if you are eating by lamp-light and the light goes out you should cover your food with your hands to prevent them from carrying it off in the dark.³ Like the pṛēṣas or ghosts they dwell to the south. In the earlier mythology the ṛakhasas seem to have been giants and it was they who snatched the book of learning from Saraswatī's hands when she came down from the hills to beyond Thānesar and made her in shame become a river which sank into the earth and go to join the Ganges.⁴

In Kulu the jālopāri are of two kinds: jāl jōyas and ḍatāli or chhurel. The influences of the former are averted by offering flowers and a lamb by the side of a water-course. The former is said to meet human-kind very seldom; but when she does get hold of a man she takes him to her lodging and at night cohabits with him; if he will not obey her wishes she will kill him but otherwise she does no harm to him. There is no means of opposing her influence. The māhas pāri are offered rice to get rid of them. Women are apt to be influenced by them because they are generally weak minded.

As the jōyas are supposed to live on mountains and the chhurel in ravines the use of red clothes is avoided on both, especially on the mountains.

In the Simla Hills, besides the gods, spirits of various kinds are believed in and propitiated. Such are the ḍatāli or ghosts, pāris, especially the jāl-pāris or water-sprites, also called jāl-mātries, the chhūderas,¹⁶

¹ Chamba Grantor, p. 191
² P. N. Q., II, § 121.
³ Ib., II, § 788.
⁴ Ib., III, pp. 215, § 196.
¹⁶ Chhūder, Sanskr. cHELLAR, means 'hole'; J. A. S. R., 1911, p. 141. But sṛṣa, a synonym of sṛṣa, does not appear to be connected with sṛṣa, sṛṣa, a don or large hole in a rock; ibid, p. 147. In Kulu cHELLAR seems to mean an oath or obligation and to be a synonym of sṛṣa.
and baneshira. The bhūt is the ghost of the cremating ground. Pret
is the term applied to the ghost for one year after the death of the
decreed: rishe or its name from the end of that year to the fourth.
Jat-paris are conceived of as female forms, some benevolent, others
malevolent. To propitiate the former a sacrifice is required. The
chhidra is conceived of as a terrifying spirit which must be propitiated
by incense of mustard seed. The baneshira haunts old buildings, valleys
and peaks. It is propitiated by sacrifices of goats, or in some places
by offerings of dust or gravel. In lieu of sacrifice a pūja, called kunjha,
is offered to Kāli and to paris or mātrīs. A tract of hill or forest is
set apart as the place of this worship, and even if the rest of the forest
is cut down the part consecrated to the goddess or spirit is preserved for
her worship, none of the trees in it being cut, or their boughs or even
leaves removed. Dhāt are the demons specially associated with fields.
If the crop yields less than the estimated amount of produce it is
believed that the difference has been taken by the āṭā. The dūdadhāri
or mānāshātri spirit is one which haunts burning ghātās and is averted
by wearing a silver picture round one's neck. If possessed by the
former one should abstain from meat. Ghaṭālu oregade is a demon
known in Dhāmi. He is said to possess people and is propitiated by
the sacrifice of a khaḍā (ram). He is embodied in a stone which is
kept in the house and worshipped to protect the cattle from harm.
He is said to have come from Bhajjī State. The fair of the gāndas or
fairies at Bamsan in Nādamā (Kāngra) is held on the first Tuesday in
Hār and on all Tuesdays in other months. Only women attend the fair
to worship the Paris who inflicts boils on children. The fair has been
in existence from time immemorial, but the special worship on Tuesdays
dates from the birth of Rāja Bhīm Chand's son.

Bahāwalpur is equally rich in spirits. There is in addition to the
paris, bhūt, āṭā (p=dai), rūkha, darā, churā and paris, we find the
pūshō, ḍakā, sākhās and dēn. To these are mostly ascribed diseases
of the brain and womb in women, but they occasionally possess men
too. Khetprāl's temple at Uch is a famous place for casting out
spirits. Many of the disorders of children are ascribed to demons, such
as the ammā-khaḍā or 'mother of children', who causes convulsions.
Such diseases are believed to be connected in some way with low
casts, and so Bhāngis and Chūhrās are employed to exorcise them. If
anything goes wrong it is believed to be bewitched (bāndhāna) by an
enemy, apparently through the agency of a spirit, and those skilled
in combating magic by charms are generally called in to undo the mis-
chief, but sometimes it can be remedied without such aid. Thus a
dyer whose indigo has got spilt can make it regain its colour by relating
some gossip he has heard in a highly coloured form.

1 Pr. rishe, a sage.
2 In that Sālī, gafan is said to mean ghost: J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 263. In Sirūnd Ghaṭālu is a goddess—see p. 260 'afra.
3 Clearly the pāla or similar demon. The word dān has had a long and interesting history. It is curious to find it used here of an evil spirit, apparently, because in the Punjabi Hindu texts dān-dēnā.
4 Bahāwalpur Gazetteer, p. 227. Sometimes a lāddā, a kind of insect, is tied round the neck of a child suffering from convulsions. This may be done because the Lāddā is a low caste; but cf. p. 2, Vol. III, 'afra. The Lāddā is also said to be used to cure works.
In the hands of one who has by fasting etc. attained to bīdya mustard seeds are very potent and can be used to kill a healthy enemy, cure a sick friend or recover stolen property. For the latter the recipe is: take a gourd and some mustard seeds, rub them between four fingers, repeat charms over them and throw them at the gourd. It will then float away in the air to the spot where the booty is concealed.

AGRICULTURAL SUPERSTITIONS.—The superstitions connected with cattle and agriculture are endless. No borned cattle or anything appertaining to them, such as butter or leather, must be bought or sold on Saturday or Sunday; and if one die on either of these days it is buried instead of being given to the mendicants. So the first beast that dies of cattle-plague is buried. Cattle-plague can be cast out across the border of one village into the one which adjoins it in the east. All field-work, cutting of grass, grinding of corn and cooking of food, are stopped on Saturday morning; and on Sunday night a solemn procession conducts a buffalo skull, a lamb, straw sticks, butter-milk, fire, and sacred grass to the boundary, over which they are thrown while a gun is fired three times to frighten away the disease. Last year a man was killed in an affray resulting from an attempt to transfer the plague in this manner. A villager in Gurgaon once captured the cattle-plague in its material shape, and wouldn’t let it go till it promised never to remain where he or his descendants were present; and his progeny are still sent for when murrain has fastened on a village, to walk round it and call on the plague to fulfil its contract. The sugar-press must be started, and a well begun on a Sunday. On Saturday night little bowls of water are set out round the proposed site, and the one which dries up lastest marks the exact spot for the well. The circumference is then marked, and they begin to dig, leaving the central lump of earth intact. They cut out this clod, call it Khwaja Ji (appealing to Khwaja Khizr) and worship it and feed Brahmans. If it breaks it is a bad omen, and a new site will be chosen a week later. The year’s ploughing or sowing is best begun on a Wednesday; it must not be begun on a Monday or on a Saturday, or on the 1st or 11th of any month; and on the 15th of each month the cattle must rest from work. So weeding should be done once, twice, thrice or five times; it is unlucky to weed four times. Reaping must be begun on a Tuesday and finished on a Wednesday, the last bit of crop being left standing till then. When the grain is ready to be divided, the most extraordinary precautions are observed to prevent the evil eye from reducing the yield. Times and sessions are observed, perfect silence is enjoined, and above all, all audible counting of the measures of grain is avoided. When sugarcane is first sown, sweet-
ened rice is brought to the field and with it women smear the outside of the vessel. It is then given to the labourers. Next morning or when it is planted out a woman puts on a necklace and walks round the field, winding thread on to a spindle; and when it is cut the first fruits are offered on an altar called *makāl* built close to the press, and sacred to the sugarcane god, whose name is unknown unless it too be *makāl* and then given to Brahman. When the women begin to pick the cotton they go round the field eating rice-milk, the first mouthful of which they spit on to the field toward the west; and the first cotton picked is exchanged at the village shop for its weight in salt, which is prayed over and kept in the house till the picking is over.

When the fields are being sown they sing:

‘A share for the birds and fowls, a share for wayfarers and travellers;
A share for the passers-by, a share for the poor and mendicant.’

On the 9th of the light half of Kālīk both men and women walk round a town early in the morning, re-entering it by the same gate that they left it by. During this circumambulation they sing hymns while the women scatter *sataṭaṭa* by the way, saying:

‘Friend husbandman, take thy share,
Our share we write down to God.’

To protect grain from lightning it should be sown with wheat—at least this is believed to be the case in Kālägra, apart from the benefits of a mixed crop.

The threshing-floor is naturally of considerable importance in folk-religion. From the time the grain is cut until it is formally weighed it is exposed to the capacity of demons and *kāṭā*. But they are only of mischief intelligence and can easily be imposed upon. It is only necessary to draw a magic circle round the heap and place a sickle on top of it to keep them off. Or in Montgomery and the other parts of the south-west the village *makāmād* or holy man writes a charm which is stuck in a slent stick in the heap. For this a fixed fee, called *raśi-makān*, is paid. Special care has to be taken when the winnowing begins. Friday being the goblins’ holiday should be avoided, or the grain will vanish. At a fit time the workers go to the spot and a couple of men are posted to prevent any living thing from approaching. Winnowing is carried on in silence. If by evening it is not finished the charm is left on one heap and the other is pressed down with the winnowing basket. Goblins sleep at night, but a somnambulist can do harm if this plan is not adopted. The same precautions are observed in dividing the produce.

The agricultural superstitions in Bahāwalpur are of special interest because in that state disease is personified and even trees become anthropomorphised.

1. *Kālā*, S. E., p. 121. This custom is falling into disuse.
2. *P. N. Q., IV.*, p. 95.
Harvest and cattle charms.

If a crop of wheat, grain or maize be attacked by insects (kangi or teko) a charm (kalām) is recited to avert injury, or a camel's bone burnt so that the smoke may drift over the crop, a kalām being also recited. The following charms are in use:

Kangi, Kira, Mūla, Bakāra chāre bhain bhīra,
Hukum Khuda de nāl de kowā utė gunāda.

"Kangi, Kira, Mūla, and Bakāra are brothers and sisters (of the same family); by the command of God a wind blew and drove them all away." This is spoken over sand, which is then sprinkled over the crop. The following verse is recited and blown over the diseased crops:

Kangi, Kira, Bakāra tāriye bhain bhīra.
Roṣi be nudā de gai wā nīda.

"Kangi, Kira, Bakāra are all three brothers and sisters. The bread of one who does not pray (atūnā) was carried away by the wind." Meanwhile the owner walks round the field, eating fried wheat. If he meets any one while so doing he gives him the wheat, but must not speak to him. When grain has all been threshed out by the cattle the owner digs it a trench (karā), which he fills with water. No one may enter this circle, which protects the crop from evil spirits. Blight is averted by hanging up a pot, on a long stick, in the field, the pot being filled with earth from a saint's tomb. In selecting a place for a stack of corn, a pit is first dug and the earth excavated from it put back again. If it exactly fills the pit, the place is unpurified and another place is chosen. But if some earth remains over the pit is stacked and the grain winnowed there. Many cultivators set up a plough in a heap of corn, and draw a line round it with a knife to prevent gènii from eating the grain. If when corn has been winnowed the grain appears less than the husks, it is believed that some evil gènii has got into the heap and stolen the grain and a ram or he-goat is killed and eaten jointly by the farmers to expel it. Such gènii assume the shape of ants or other insects, and so, when the husks have been separated from the grain, the ground around the heap is swept and no insect allowed to get into it. When cattle &c. are diseased they are commonly taken to a shrine, and in a dream the owner is told what means will effect a cure: or the samjāvar of the shrine hears a voice from the tomb or the cattle get frightened at night and run away, in either of which cases it is expected that they will recover. In the Ubha the following mantr is used in cases of foot and mouth disease:

Suranjit de tre beṣe, Dvr, Dathar, Bakāra,
Bhwi Bai de pāp dhaban je dhān māch kare pandāra.

"Suranjit had three sons, Dvr, Dathar and Bākāra. The sins of Bhwi Bai shall sink her down &c. she will be annihilated if she lives at all in this world."

In the Lamma this disease is called məhārə and to cure it the shrine of Dēṣa Bhutța is much resorted to. If grass does not agree
Minor superstitions.

with the cattle the following mantra is recited 7 or 11 times and the mullah blows into each animal’s ear:—

Kāla pathkha pabbar maṇḍā.
Zimā ṭich tik sala sīpānān;
Na kār pathkha ṛda maṇḍā;
Mār bī ṭeri ṛdi pichānā;
And nagā, and yār;
Mār pathkha te jīmā dhār.

On the other hand, Sawant appears to be a benevolent spirit who cures or cures. Bantari gave birth to Sawant beyond the river, wherein the ulcers, abscesses, toothaches, ophthalmia and swellings of the breast depart; runs the couplet. If the right breast be swollen it is excised and vice versa. In a somewhat similar way a scorpion-bite is cured by a benefit. A man goes to the patient’s behalf to the exorciser who blows a spell on the water which the proxy drinks, and then the sufferer recovers.

If a young tree is peculiarly flourishing or vigorous, it is dedicated to a pīr or even called after his name, and offerings are made to it. Villagers often visit such a tree in small groups. Gradually the tree is supposed to be anoint himself and to distinguish it a flag is fastened to it. The pīr chosen in such cases is the one most implicitly believed in by the villagers.

Minor superstitions.—Good and bad omens are innumerable. Black is unlucky, and if a man go to build a house and turn up charcoal at the first stroke of the spade, he will abandon the site. A mantis is the horse of Rām, is very auspicious, and always saluted when seen. Owls portend desolate homes; and the koīl (Banyan, Ficus orientalis) is also especially unlucky. Chief among good omens is the dogar, or two water-pots one on top of the other. This should be left to the right, as should the crow, the black buck, and the mantis; but the snake to the left. To sneeze is auspicious, as you cannot die for some little time after. So when a man sneezes his friends grow enthusiastic and congratulate him, saying ‘live a hundred years!’ On the other hand it is said that sneezing is always a bad omen among Hindus and a sneeze from any one near him will always prevent a Hindu’s starting on a journey or any important business. He will sit down for a while before recommencing and if he should fail even then he will attribute it to the sneeze. But after sneezing you may eat, drink or sleep, only you must not go on a visit. Odd numbers are lucky.—\( N\)umera \( D\)evi i\( m\)porsi \( g\)andæ.\*

*Thatâni and Haschier, pp. 188-89.

\* For the spell, which is an invocatory of the Name (of God), see ib, p. 187. Some believe that the Persians permitted the practice of running rage (on the Pilgrims’ tree) and explained the peculiar name of the procession called Gām-i-rāka (place of crowds of cloth) by supposing it to be a term for a tree in which the Moors hung their ex-red rage. The Turâch and Tahāri mention it as a practice of the pagan Arabs and tell us of evil spirits residing in the date-trees. Burton’s \( A\)l \( M\)adīnā, (1886), I, p. 155.

\* 15, 1, 475. The Finishi idea is the same and a Tibetan proverb often said when a man sneezes runs:

Chahāng chūmar Paamāng shāhk,
Loargā thang-nang tāngā thāhk,
Tōnda ṭāhār 华尔 shāhk.
‘May God prolong your life, and avert the evil omen.’

\* Ro, I, § 946.
they are the bad days after death; and torah hit is equivalent to ‘all anyhow’. So if a man, not content with two wives, wish to marry again, he will first marry a tree, so that the new wife may be the fourth and not the third. The number five and its aliquot parts run through most religious and ceremonial customs. The shrine to Bhūmīs is made of five bricks; five culms of the sacred grass are offered to him after child-birth; five sticks of sugarcane are offered; with the first fruits of the juice, to the god of the sugar-press, and so on without end; while offerings to Brahmanas are always 11, 23, 5, 7, whether rupees or sams of grain. The dimensions of wells and well-gear on the other hand are always fixed in so many and three-quarter cubits; and no carpenter would make or labourer dig you any portion of a well in round numbers of cubit. In Shakhot wâhke (apparently fr. wadhana, to increase) is always used in counting for hit. Elsewhere in counting bokhia is used for it and the skhâkara, with its 3 leaves, is a type of utter failure. 12, on the contrary, is peculiarly lucky, and complete success is called pao bera. 52 also appears to be a happy number, and appears in Buddhism as the number of ‘the divisions of thought, word, and deed;...all the immaterial qualities and capabilities which go to make up the individual’1. Both 12 and 52 occupy a conspicuous place in the organisation of caste. A bâiga, or group of 22 villages, is, like bera and bôwan or groups of 12 and 52, respectively, a favourite term for a tribal settlement containing about that number of villages. So too 52 is in Buddhism the number of ‘the bodily marks of a great man’ (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXV, p. 110). But indeed all the tens, 22, 32, 42 etc., are favourite numbers. On the other hand 8 does not appear to be a lucky number, though it is the number of prostrations made in the worship of the Bhagat-patúa. The 8th child is unlucky.

But for three persons to act together as a council or committee is unlucky, at any rate in Bahawalpur. Tchouch tondha di majhas bhol, i.e. a committee consisting of three members is unlucky (lit. counterfeit). On the other hand, to be five in council is sometimes blessed; for the proverb goes: pancho men phir, pancha parda du or pancha men purneshar, there is god in the 5 leaders, or in 5, i.e. their decision is final. But panches may mean that you will have to go to the authorities (parandhit) for redress, and sat is an omen of sath, a quarrel, so transactions of the 5th and 7th are put down as of the 6th and 6th.

Amongst Hindus the 9th year is angint, or without a number, and is so called, but there is no objection to returning it at a Census under that name. Again in the case of boys the 8th and 12th years are unlucky and also called angint. The unlucky numbers, however, do not appear to be unlucky at all when used of ages. Thus 5 is neither lucky nor unlucky, though it is a multiple of 3 which is quite disastrously unlucky. 5 is very lucky and 1, 5, 7, 11, 13, 15, 17, 21, 23, 31, 41.

1 Rhy-David, American Lectures on Buddhism, p. 155. But in the hills 2 is distinctly unlucky and adâlisa, two ears of wheat, barley, or maize in one, is ill-omened, while in any calculation if 2 be the balance it is unlucky and called dadha, lit. ‘hanging’. J. A. S. B., 1911, pp. 130, 219. In ancient India 13 was not ill-omened: J. R. A. S., 1910, p. 350 ff.

2 Just as the 8th month of pregnancy is unlucky.
51, or 101 are fortunate as indeed are all odd numbers (except 3), but in the Kurrum 3, 13 and 16 are peculiarly unlucky.

For an interesting account of numbers in Punjab folklore see Temple's Legends of the Punjab, preface to Vol. I, pp. xxiii--iv.: 2, 4, 8, 16, 3 and 7 are common, but 12 is the commonest of all: 6, 18, 24, 33, 48 and 9 also occur. 5 is also frequent, while there are instances of 13, 14, 19, 20, 21 and 22, while 60, 70 and the old Indian magic number 84 are also found. See also pref. to Vol. II, pp. xix and xx, for some further details. In religion we have the 33 scores of gods, the 84 Siddhas, the 9 Nathas, the 64 Jognis, the 52 Viras (Biras), the 6 Jatis—or, among the Jains, 7

Besides sneezing other bodily affections are ominous. Thus a movement of the right eyelid or a singing in the right ear means joy; of the left, grief— a movement of the flesh in the right upper arm or shoulder means that you will soon embrace a friend, but one in the left portends a debilitating sickness. A tingling in the right palm means a gain of 3 or 3 rupees at least; in the left it means money to be paid away. In the sole of either foot tingling denotes a journey or that you will put your feet in the mud—a serious calamity. Shaking one's leg while sitting on a chair or couch means loss of money. Yawning is very unlucky and to avert evil Muhammadans say lá hauša wa lá qawātā allā bi’llāh. Biting one's tongue means that some one is telling tales against one.

Twitching (sukā) of the right eye is a lucky omen in Kangra, and the general science of its omens is summed up in the lines:

If the lower left lip twitches, know there will be a blot on the happiness.
If the upper lid twitches, say all will be delightful and pleasure.
If the outer lids, it will be wealth and gain; but if the inner, loss.
For the right it will be the reverse.

Omens.—A large number of omens are naturally connected with the horse, probably because he is both a valuable animal and used to be the representative or vehicle of the Sun-god. His actions, colour and form therefore are all full of significance. If you go to buy a horse and he shakes his head it is a warning to you against purchasing him, but the reverse if he paws the ground in welcome. The normal points of a horse are not regarded, or rather his points consist in the numerous marks and signs on him which are auspicious or the reverse. The classical work on this science is the Fārasādāma-i-Rangī or treatise by

P. N. Q., I, § 127.

3 Ja., § 849.

4 Ja., III, § 27.

5 Ja., III, § 893.

6 D., III, § 781.

7 D., III, § 111.

8 Ja., I, § 459.
Omens from the horse.

Unlucky horses. Rangin (Sa'ddat Yar Khan) who regards the horse as one of a captive yet god-like race. The matter is of grave practical importance as it seriously affects the selling value of a horse. Thus in Bahawalpur, the following horses are unlucky:

(a) A horse or mare, with a white spot, small enough to be covered by the thumb, on the forehead. Such a horse is called tara-peshori, or starred on the forehead.

(b) A horse or mare with three feet of one colour and the fourth of another. A white blaze on the forehead, however, counteracts this evil sign. Such an animal is called arjaal.

(c) A horse with a black palate (Sidha khas anp in Persian).

(d) A horse with both hind feet and the off foot white. But a white near foot is a good omen, as in the Persian couplet:

Do patha sufed-o-nabe daat-i-chap,
Bawaq daig-i-adab-i-dii wasah.

"A horse with two white (hind) feet and a white near foot is worthy to be ridden by a king."

(e) A horse or mare which is wall-eyed (madak) or which has an eye like that of a human being is called takt and is ill-starred.

Translated by Lt.-Col. D. C. Philpott, Quetta, 1912. After describing the horse Rangin proceeds to enumerate the five grand defects of the horse: First and worst of these, transcending spavins, exceeding malformed, and even ill manners (which last are looked upon by Rangin as inherent) are placed 'The Feathers.' 'The Feathers' are those whorls where the different currents of hair meet, to them the first section of the book is given, and the pre-eminent is one of which they are certainly worthy considering that their influence is momentous, predetermined, and to a large extent sinister. It is a science akin, in its minuteness and intricacy, to palmistry; it is also exact as becomes a table of laws from which there is no appeal. If there be only one feather in the centre of the forehead it is not to be regarded as an ill-mark; but if there be two on the forehead, avoid that horse and do not dream of buying it. If there be 3, 4 or 5 feathers on the forehead Persians will not even look at the horse; others call it a ram, saying 'it will bring you to misfortunes.' The battle of the good and evil feathers continues from head to tail. A feather low down on the forefoot, if it points downward, is called 'Driver-in-of-the-Peg' and is lucky; but if it points upward is called 'Up-rooter-of-the-Peg' and is hateful. A feather under the girth is lucky and is called 'width of the Ganges.' A feather under the saddle is unlucky. "Buy not a horse with such a feather. Do not even keep him in your village." (Strange that in Ireland alas there are turns of the hair that are accounted fortunate, both in horses and in cattle). The colours are dominated and precise in their augury as the feathers themselves — if there are in the mane hairs the colour of the rest of the body, show the horse; experts call that horse a scorpion. A white spot on the forehead, sufficiently small to be concealed by the tip of the thumb, is called a star. This mark is sinister and ill-omened unless there is also some white on the legs. If a horse has either the near or off hind white, it is defective and is called arjaal. If the seller says to you, "Oh but there is white on the forehead", do not give ear to his specious words, for the Prophet has said that an arjaal is bad; what else then is there to be said?" The best colour for a horse is bay; the second is dun, the third is a dun with a black mane and tail, called arsama. This last would, with the addition of a black strip down the back, be identical with an Irish "sham hair" and of an Irish "sham hair" it is has been said (in illustration of his adroitness and agility) that he would trot a slater. We are with Rangin in his high estimation of the same. Low on the list comes the grey; many on this side of the world would give him (and preferably her) a higher place, and it is not long since that an Irish dealer of exhaustive experience averred that his fancy was for greys and that he had seldom had a bad grey horse and never a bad grey mare: Times Literary Supplement, 1912, p. 71.
Travel portents.

But the panch-kalidas or horse with 5 white blazes, one on the forehead and one on each foot, is apparently lucky, and the hero's horse is often named Panchkallani or-s in folk-tales.

So too when buying a buffalo, cow or bullock it is a good sign if it defecate, but do not buy if it urinate. If a buffalo lows (vangra) it is a good omen, but the reverse if a bystander sneezes.¹

If an owl hoot three on a man's house he must quit it for 3, 7, or 11 days, placing thorns at its door and feasting Brahmins, sacrificing a goat and offering a broken coconut before he re-enters it.²

A kite settling on the roof of a house is unlucky.³

Dogs are peculiarly gifted for they can see evil spirits moving about and so their howling is a portent of evil. If out hunting a dog rolls on its back game will be plentiful, but if it lies quietly on its back in the house it is praying for help and some calamity is imminent.⁴

When out shooting it is very lucky to meet a garür, a name applied in the Punjab to a small king-fisher with bright blue plumage, which is let out of its cage at the Dashra as a sacred bird.⁵ A cat or a crow throwing water over itself denotes a coming guest.⁶

The perils of travel have led to the development of something like a science of augury in regard to it. Before starting on an important journey a Hindu will consult a Brahman as to what day will be propitious and if he cannot start on that day he will send on a patra, a small bundle of necessities, to some place near the gate by which he intends going, and start himself within the next two days.⁷

When starting on a journey if a Brahman or Dünna is met, or any one carrying an empty pot (ghara) or basket (killa), the omen is unfavourable, and the traveller turns back. If a child is met or a person carrying full ghara the omen is favourable. For a journey or any work of importance a Brahman is consulted to ascertain the sat or lucky moment, and if the person is unable to start on the day and at the time fixed, his walking stick or bundle is put outside the door, and this is looked upon as equivalent to his departure.

After seeing a bier or touching a scavenger good Hindus will bathe, and the scavenger must also wash his clothes himself.⁸

If when setting out on any purpose you meet a person carrying an empty ghara it is an ill omen, but good if the water-pot is behind you. So too it is unpurigious to meet a person carrying wood, but the reverse if he comes behind you.⁹ It is unlucky to meet a widow but a good omen to meet a woman with a male child.¹⁰

In Dera Ghází Khán it is lucky to meet a man at starting, but a

P. N. Q., II. § 490.
¹ Z. III. § 113.
² Z. II. § 178.
³ Z. I. § 203.
⁴ Z. I. § 854.
⁵ Z. I. § 856.
⁶ Z. I. § 1032.
⁷ Z. IV. § 41.
⁸ Z. I. § 619.
⁹ Z. I. § 855.
Meeting omens.

A woman forebodes failure in your purpose. So too, it is unlucky to encounter a shrike\(^1\) on the left hand, and Balochi calls this *chhum* or 'sinister', turning back to make a fresh start. But to meet one on the right is propitious. The neighing of a horse or the braying of a he-ass is a favourable omen. In this district auguries are also taken by kicking one's shoe into the air while walking. If it falls on its sole it is a good, but if it turns over, a bad sign.\(^2\)

In Dera Ismāil Khān the Muhammadan Jāta and Baloch have the following omens:

To meet a woman when starting on a journey is a bad omen. For any one to recall a man as he starts is also a bad omen. Shikāris consider it unlucky to meet a jackal when they start. If a man who is ill and is setting out to obtain treatment, meets a snake it is a bad omen if he fails to kill it but a good one if he succeeds in doing so. If a she-jackal (*pari*) calls behind the house of a sick man he is certain to die—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Rāthi bulde lekt} & \quad \text{"By night if the cock} \\
\text{To dekh bulde skiygar} & \quad \text{By day the jackal calls} \\
\text{Ekhi badli Sāhīb} & \quad \text{A king changes} \\
\text{To ekhi ponda lekt} & \quad \text{Famine befalls"}
\end{align*}
\]

If a sick man hears a stallion neigh at night it portends his recovery. A smut or dirt in the left eye is ill, in the right, good luck. It is unlucky to drink water before starting, but auspicious to eat sugar in any form.

But in spite, it would seem, of all omens, prosperity in travel may be secured by saying:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sād Raghūpat Rām ka tamak bāndhlo háth, } \\
\text{Āge āge Har chalo, pīche Har kā sāth}
\end{align*}
\]

"Join hands in praise of Sītal and Rām.

And God will precede you, and you will follow God."

To see a partridge on one's right is lucky provided that one is going to a field to meet a friend or homewards: *Khet, milt, ghar akane;* but *bhancan bhuij keopār,* i.e. it is better to meet it on the left when one is going on business. On a journey homewards again or to meet a friend it is auspicious to meet a Bhancan or any woman of very low caste, or one with two *ghara* on her head. But it is always unlucky to meet a load of wood or a Brahman, and if one meets the latter one should try and pass to the left, letting him pass on the right.

To meet a Chūhra is lucky, the more so if he has a basket or broom in hand.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) In Jāthi speech *mahāda*, in Balochi *gydakā*; P. N. Q., I, § 1019.

\(^2\) *Jb.*, § 1020.

\(^3\) Shīgar is the male jackal.

\(^4\) Sāhīb = "noble."

\(^5\) P. N. Q., II, § 570.

\(^6\) This omen may be connected with the superstition referred to in the account of Gāga.

\(^7\) P. N. Q., II, § 150.

\(^8\) *Jb.*, II, § 349.
Meeting omens.

Never proceed on a journey begun if you are called back at starting. So strongly is this believed to be unlucky that relations will send things accidentally left after a traveller rather than call him back.1

If when going anywhere with an object you meet a jackal it is a good omen, but two are better; provided the animal does not cross your path—when your object will be frustrated.2

To hear a jackal barking is, in Der Ghazi Khan, most unlucky. It is known as ḍhuk̪tārī.3 In Rohtak it is lucky to hear a jackal howling on the left, but not on the right, and the jackal should not be spoken of by his proper name as ḍhuk̪tār, but as Jambu.4

In Bahawalpur to hear a donkey bray behind when one is starting on a journey, or a partridge call on the left is an omen that the journey will fail in its object. But a partridge calling on the right is lucky. Also it is fortunate to meet a sweeper carrying filth, or a coffin, when setting out on business. It is a good omen to see the bird, called malāda, on the right hand early in the day and later on the left, and viene versa. If a thief, when going to steal, hear a pheasant on the left he considers it a bad omen and returns. If a mata or a lāti be heard warbling on the roof, the woman reply, Aṭa nīha pā ḍhr, ja mimhān ḍhōn lī. "The flour is ready ground, go, fetch the guest," i.e. a guest is expected. The bird's note is supposed to be pr̪a pr̪a, the imperative of pīha pīva (pīva), to grind. If a man succeeds when starting on a journey, the journey will be unsuccessful. Similarly it is a bad omen for a marriage procession to hear the roar of thunder or meet with a gale of wind on their way to the bride's house. Any additions to a house are made by the Hindus in front of, or in line with, the buildings that exist, not in their rear. A new building at the back of the house is calculated to bring some calamity on the owner's head. A crow on the coping of the house-walls denotes that a relation is coming on a visit, or at least that news from one will soon arrive. On the other hand, if a woman gets hurt she will put it down to having heard a crow cawing on the coping. A kite sitting on the house is unlucky, so a black kādī or scare-crow is usually hung on the loftiest part of the roof.

In Kangra it is also lucky to meet a married woman, a pot full of water, a corpse in a dolī, flesh, fish, a cow with salt, a mongoose, ox, the sound of music, a wild parrot perching on your head, a blue jay, a peacock, a karla (lizard) or a chīṃkāli (white lizard). But it is unlucky to meet an ass, a bull-buffalo, a sweeper with refuse, any one carrying salt or earth, a potter, a Brahman bare-headed or one who does not return your greeting, a widow, an empty pot, a blind or wall-eyed man, a bihrāj or a saqīs smearing with ashes, an oil-crusher (? a Telī) with his pot, a cow, a jackal or a cat.

P. N. Q. IV, § 270
1. Th., § 608.
2. Th., § 1019.
3. Th., § 150.
4. D., § 151.
5. P. N. Q. I, §§ 138, 140. In Aitrek it is unlucky to meet any man with a bare head, a Brahman or a malāda, any one weeping or smoking, or fire, a crow flying towards one, a robber, any one carrying a broken pot, a gardener with an empty basket, a cat, a goat, a cow, or any black animal, a snake or an empty vessel if carried. To hear the sound of weeping or a person教研 while on a journey is most unfortunate, and the latter omen will almost always occasion a delay at any rate. O. muftee, p. 107.
Eat curds, and go where you please, but do not eat pickle or anything sour when going to visit an official, or you will either fail to see him or not gain your purpose. Success on a journey to pay such a visit or for any important business may be assured by observing the simple rules:

Jo sur chāle, wohi pay dije,
Pothi patra kabhī na liye,
*i.e.* if you find that your right nostril breathes more quickly than your left, start with your right foot, and *vice versa*; *never mind books and almanacs.* Should you chance to see a noseless man or a barren woman do not let them cross you or you will fail in your undertakings.

The study of omens from crows alone is almost a science:

"When going on a journey if a crow caw to the left,
Know for certain that you will prosper.
If (a crow) on a journey go before you cawing;
I tell you the crow is saying that you will get a wife.
If a crow caw to the right and go cawing to the left,
I tell you it is telling you that you will lose your wealth.
If it caw first to the left and go cawing to the right,
The crow is bringing you wealth and honour above all,
If a crow caw to the left and go upward,
Your journey is stayed, and you should stop at home.
If a crow caw to the left and turn its back upon you,
It is bringing grief and trouble upon you.
If a crow stand on one leg with its back to the sun
And preen its wings, some great man will die.
If, when you are eating in the field, a crow caw,
You will obtain riches out of the earth.
If a crow flutter both its wings on high,
Though you try a thousand plans you will suffer loss.
If a cawing crow sit on the back of a buffalo,
You will surely be successful in your labours.
If a crow pick up a bone from the ground and throw it into water,
Know that in a few days you will be beneath the sod.
If a crow lower its head towards the north,
It is bringing on a disturbance and lightning.
If crow lower its head to the north and preen its wings,
It is exiling you from your country.
If a crow keep on cawing, I tell you what will happen:
He is calling a guest from a foreign land.
If on a journey a crow caw with a piece of meat in its mouth,
Trouble is over, and you will enjoy the fruit of happiness.""

P. N. Q., II, § 815. "P. N. Q., II, § 901. These verses are attributed to one Jai Singh
Crows always pray for more children in the world as they get sweet from them.¹

In Kangra it is lucky to meet a Brahman telling his beads or saluting you with his tilak sectarial mark) on.²

¹ If you meet one Sudra, and as many Bánias, three Brahmanś, and four Chhattris—nine women coming in front—don’t go on: I give you this omen.³

² If on the road you meet milk and fish, two Brahmanś with books, ’tis a good omen and all wishes will be granted you.⁴

³ Quarrels are caused by mixing fire from two houses, standing a broom in a corner or allowing a child to turn over a dirty ladle,⁵ or by clattering scissors.⁶

⁴ The loan of a comb or kerchief causes enmity.⁷

⁵ If while kneading flour a bit of the dough gets loose, a guest is coming.⁸

⁶ If unleavened bread rises while being baked on an iron plate it means that the person for whom it is being made is hungry.⁹

⁷ Finding gold is unlucky at any time, and metal found on a Saturday, when it is unlucky to find anything, is given to a Dhaut or Mahá-Brahman. No real Brahman takes aim on that day.¹⁰

⁸ Put the fingers of both hands to your forehead and look down to where the wrists join the hands: if they appear to slip from the wrists your death is near.¹¹

⁹ It is lucky to have one’s crop trodden down by a superior, as it will yield the more.¹²

¹⁰ If, when one is thinking of a person or wishes to see him, he turns up it forebodes long life to him.¹³

¹¹ A change of garment will change one’s luck, and it is sufficient to change the right shoe to the left foot and vice versa, to secure good sport.¹⁴

¹ P. N. Q, III, § 451.
³ N. I. N. Q., I, § 238.
⁴ Ib., § 239.
⁵ P. N. Q., II, § 1089.
⁶ Ib., II, § 798.
⁷ Ib., III, § 982.
⁸ Ib., III, § 779.
⁹ Ib., III, § 29.
¹⁰ Ib., IV, § 493.
¹¹ Ib., IV, § 84.
¹² Ib., II, § 740.
¹³ Ib., III, § 504.
¹⁴ Ib., I, § 15.
Tabus.—Eating the leavings of another's food causes 100 generations to burn, and is nearly as bad as back-biting which condemns countless generations to the flames.

Muhammadans object to beating a brass tray as the dead might be awakened, thinking the Last Day had arrived.

Some Hindus will not wear a white turban as long as their father is alive.

Red food is said to be avoided by Hindu Bânis as it resembles flesh; P. N. Q., IV, § 198.

It is sometimes said that Hindus consider it unlawful to eat food cooked by an unmarried person.

However, this may be some tabus are clearly based upon delicacy of feeling. Such is the prohibition which, regarding it as a great sin to accept any help from a daughter or to make any use of her property, tabus even a drink of water from her well or a rest under the shade of the tree among high-caste Hindus. Brahmans will often not even drink water in a son-in-law's village. And among high-class Khatri families such as the Seth, Khanna, Kapur and Mirrotra sections of Dhabighar status a mother will not even use her daughter's fan. Among Brahmans and Khatri's a daughter invariably receives a present at a festival. An elder brother too going to visit a married sister will not accept food or water from her. If he does not take them with him he must pay for them, in addition to the usual gift which he is bound to make to her.

Among the Râjpûts in Karnâl, the village into which a girl is married is utterly tabu'd to her father, elder brother and all near elder relatives, and even the more distant elder relatives will not eat or drink from her husband's house, though they do not tabu the whole village. The boy's father in turn can only go to the girl's village by her father's leave.

The tabus on new vessels of metal among Hindus may be removed by letting a horse eat out of them. Some orthodox Hindus will also, after this, rub them with ashes to purify them from the touch of their low-caste makers. The horse is here probably symbolical of the Sun-god.

Among Brahmans and other high-caste Hindus no food that has been in the house during an eclipse of the sun or moon can be eaten and it must be given away. But to avoid this necessity halwâîs keep some kusa or dâh grass, cynodon dactylon, in the baskets of sweet stuff during an eclipse. A widespread tabu is that placed upon buildings of burnt brick or stone.

2 J. S., I, § 114.
3 H. I., § 519.
4 P. N. Q., I, § 670.
5 H. I., § 1002.
7 P. N. Q., II, § 887.
8 J. S., I, § 709.
9 H. I., § 753.
In the plains milk should not be churned on a Thursday by either Hindus or Muhammadans as that day is held sacred to the Muhammadan saints. Part of that day's milk is used, and the rest given away to mendicants.¹

The Gazetteer of the Simla Hill States thus describes the tabus on the use of milk which is found among the Kanets:—"Amongst Kanets the belief is universal that if a man drinks the milk of his own cow or gives it to others to drink he will incur the displeasure of his deities in a practical form." But no evil consequences attach to the making and selling or eating of ghi from this milk. As a consequence of this idea those who arrange for supplies to visitors have to get milk from Kolis as it is said that although the milk of a Koli's cow may not be drunk by the owner himself, it may be safely given to other people. Sceptics say that Kanets have often been compelled to furnish milk for distinguished visitors when Kolis' milk was not available, and that no evil has resulted. They call the story of the god's wrath a convenient fiction designed to ensure owners of cattle the full benefit of the profitable industry of ghi making and to protect them from exaction.²

Following up this clue Mr. H. W. Emerson has elicited the following data regarding this interesting and important taboo:—

"Now the custom is so widespread and presents such interesting features that a fuller account of it may free the hill-folk from the aspersions cast upon their sense of hospitality. In the first place the belief is far from universal amongst Kanets. The restriction in fact depends upon the dispensations and dispositions of various gods. Some there are who insist on their full rights and forbid the use of milk in any other form than ghi. Others content themselves with a formal recognition of their prerogative, whilst not a few allow their worshippers both to drink themselves and give to others.

As an instance of the autocratic despot we may cite the case of Düm, a god who exercises sway around Narkanda. He will not permit his devotees to deal in any way with pure milk or curds and even the ghi must be properly clarified. Cases have occurred in which a new-born child whose mother has died in childbirth has had to wait hungry until a milk cow could be brought from Kulu or some other district where the local god imposed no veto. For it is an old feature of the superstition that prohibition or freedom to use the milk are dependent on the origin and lineage of the animal that gives it. A cow imported from the jurisdiction of an alien deity remains subject to the rules and regulations of its ancestral god. Neither she nor her offspring can acquire the liberties or incur the disabilities as the case may be, of naturalised subjects of the new divinity. The principle is indeed applied to objects other than the sacred cow, for if the offerings made to certain deities pass from their spheres of influence the gods go with them and thus often gain a footing in villages which have neither known them in the past nor want them in the future. "The god holds what the god has

¹ I.N.O., IV, lxxxv, Very different ideas prevail elsewhere. Thus the Brahdi and Baloch nomads of Pesht will give milk in exchange for other commodities, but deem it a disgrace to make money by it, and among the Beduni in Arabia Insulare or "milk-seller" is a term of disgrace. Burton's Al-Madinah, l, p. 219.
held" is the motto of celestial beings in the hills. Dûm, like the majority of interdicting deities, is a fearsome deity of whom the peasants stand in awe. Originally he was a human being, born to a childless peasant by the mercy of the goddess Devi, but on his death his spirit showed a strange perversity. It would not rest in peace, but liked to vex the people. So in despair they defied it and posted him fairly quiet. He still retains however some traces of his ghostly devilry and if his worshippers transgress his orders, calamity will surely fall upon them. The udders of their cows dry up, the crops are blighted, and their children die, until at length they expiate their sin by generous sacrifices.

Passing to the next type of supernatural beings who play the rôle of benevolent monarchs we find that such are satisfied with a mere acknowledgment of their supposititious rights. They exact only the performance of the following ceremonies from their worshippers. When a calf is born the mother is not milked until the fourth day after birth. The milk is then placed in a vessel and left to curdle. When firmly set it forms part of a sacrifice offered to the animal's ancestral god. Ghâ, cards and milk are poured upon the idol's head; incense, flowers and sweetened bread are laid before it. The owner offers up a prayer that the cow and calf may prosper and asks the god's permission to use the produce of the former. The bread is eaten by the suppliant and after he has sacrificed a goat he may assume that the deity has vouchsafed the liberty to use the ghâ and milk as he deems fit. Since the cattle are mostly of local breed the rites are usually performed within the village temple. But this is not invariably the case for where the cow or her progenitors have been imported a pile of stones is built to represent her family god. There the goat is slaughtered and the votive offerings paid. Sometimes when the local temple is at a distance the offerings are poured over the horns of the cow itself, and this is always done if, though the animal is known to be of alien stock, all record of its god has been forgotten.

The third class of democratic deities who impose no terms upon their clients are not uncommon, but they can grant no privileges for beasts other than their hereditary property. For example milk from the progeny of any cow, once owned by a worshipper of Dûm, has the same pains and penalties attaching to its use as though it lived within his jurisdiction. And this is so although its present owner lives far outside the limits of Dûm's sway and the original stock was imported several generations back.

With reference to the Kolis the issues are obscured to some extent by the fact that a number of the caste cannot afford the luxury of either milk or ghâ. Also in the olden days it was the policy of the rulers to depress their mentalis and if the noise of churning was heard within the Koli's house, he was assuredly fined. This much seems certain that the superstition is not so general among Kolis as it is amongst Kanets. Where it applies the cause can usually be attributed to the worship of some deity adopted from the pantheon of the superior caste. Where both castes worship the same god, the nature of the veto is the same for both. Sometimes in a village the Kolis are under the disability whilst the Kanets are free; more often the reverse is found to
be the case. The custom does not appear to be aboriginal; the Kolis have learnt it from the Kanets and not the Kanets from the Kolis."

Dr. J. Hutchison has found that similar customs prevail as far north as the Tibetan border, but are said not to exist in Ladakh or Eastern Tibet. He writes:—

In the Ravi Valley the procedure is somewhat as follows:—After calving the calf is allowed to drink all the milk for three days. This seems to be the period most generally allowed. After the third day a certain quantity of milk—usually one half—is put aside for the calf and the rest is put into a vessel called दधीर after each milking. When the vessel is full the milk is churned and butter is made which is also stored and when enough has been accumulated it is made into ghi. The milk is not drunk by the family and is said to be तोहा—that is forbidden. This period may last from a few days to three, six or even more months if the cow goes on giving milk according to the will of the owner. During this time butter is made at regular intervals and then converted into ghi, which is stored for the merchants who come round to purchase it, but none of it is used by the family until certain ceremonies have been performed. The impression is general that the procedure is observed purely for financial reasons, there being a brisk trade in ghi all through the Ravi Valley. Caste seems to make no difference and the custom prevails among high and low, rich and poor. When the period which may range from the 9th day to the 9th month has expired, the owner of the cow makes an offering to the local देवता Nág or Devi, under whose special protection the cow is considered to be and who is called जाल, after which the milk ceases to be तोहा and may be used by the family. Nowhere did I hear of any instance in which the owner was entirely debarred from using the milk of his own cow, except during the period I have indicated. The offering made to the जाल consists of curds, milk, butter and ghi, which are generally rubbed on the face of the image. Incense is also burnt and sweet bread is also presented and if it is a first calf a goat is sacrificed.

The custom is almost certainly of aboriginal origin and has come down from a time long anterior to the appearance of the Rajás on the scene. I am inclined to agree with what seems to be the general belief among the people around us that the custom is practised for profit only. One need not call it mercenary, for it is simply in keeping with the ordinary trade practices in these hills.

The above description applies chiefly to the Ravi Valley and the outer mountains. In the Chandra Bhág Valley, especially in Pádar, Pángi and Láhal the milk is kept तोहा after calving only for 9 to 12 days. Then an offering is made to the Nán gráh and local deity in much the same way as in Chamba, except that instead of a live goat the imitation of one in गच्छ is offered presumably to save expense. The milk is then freely used.

There is, however, another interesting custom which seems to be peculiar to those regions. In Pádar for the whole month of Sáwan, and in Pángi for 15 days in that month, all the milk of the valley is regarded as तोहा or devoted to the local Nág or Devi. The cows are milked as usual and the milk accumulates in the special receptacle called दधीर.
Agricultural omens.

It is churned at intervals and the butter so procured is made into ghā which is stored up, whilst the buttermilk is drunk at special gatherings. On special days also some of the curds, milk and ghā are offered to the Nāg. All this is done when the cattle are in the pahāli or high-mountain pastures. At the end of the period special offerings are made and a sheep is sacrificed for the whole village and then the milk becomes common again. On such occasions it is laid for travellers to procure milk as the people are very unwilling to give it. This custom does not prevail in Lāhul. The object probably is to lay in a yearly supply of ghā at the time of year which is most convenient to themselves and where the pasture is at its richest and the milk consequently most abundant and of good quality. In Lāhul the cattle remain in the village all the year round and are not sent to a pahāli or mountain pasture. The ghā made in the Chandra Bhāga valley is for domestic use only.

Omens.—To return to the topic of omens, it is even less easy to explain many of them than it is to account for tabus. Thus in Attock meeting water when starting on a journey is lucky, because water is much prized, and sweepers may be good omens as they are humble, honest and useful. But if Brahmanas and mahārājas are seldom met without their asking for alms it might be supposed that their blessing would outweigh the loss of the money bestowed on them. Good and bad omens are much regarded in Chambo II. A shakor (Greek partridge) nests on the roof, it forebodes death to one of the family. An owl or kite settling on the roof, or on a tree close by, portends calamity. Bad omens also affect cattle. If a cow lies down while being milked, or blood comes from her teats the animal must be sent away. A poisonous snake entering a house portends good, and the Nāg is regarded as specially auspicious. If killed in the house a snake must be removed by the window and not by the door, or one of the family will die. If a cock crow in the evening it should be killed at once lest it should crow thrice, portending death to some one in the family. Twin calves are unlucky. A white spot on a horse’s forehead is called āra and is unlucky to its purchaser. Hair growing the wrong way on a horse’s neck is a bad omen called patrih bili, as is also a tuft of hair anywhere on the animal. White hair near the hoofs or on the forehead, called pani kalyāns, is considered auspicious.

On maize 4 or 5 cobs on one stalk are a bad omen. If a snake crawls past a heap of grain it must be given away. An injury to any one at the burning ghā is ominous, and an offering must be made to avert calamity. An adult sneezing at the commencement of any work or when starting on a journey is ominous, but good: in the case of a young girl. The sight of a centipede means that some one is speaking evil of the person who sees it. A sudden tremor of one part of the body points to impending disease, and the side is touched with a shoe to avert it. Itching in the right palm indicates coming wealth, and in the sole of the foot that a journey is near. Singing in the right ear means pleasant news in prospect, but bad news if it is in the left. If sleep is slight some relative is thinking of you; if troublesome, some one is abusing you. If the eyelids quivers grief is near. A spider on the body means good clothing or a friend in prospect,
Dreams.—If a person dreams in the early morning the dream will come true. If in a dream a dead relative appears and mentions a date on which the person dreaming will die, some measures are taken to defeat this evil influence. A râli is called on the date mentioned, who dances, and he and the friends try in many ways to divert the man’s attention till the critical time is past. The omen is inauspicious if in a dream copper or iron is given to the person dreaming. A dog coming towards the person to bite him is also ominous, and is called grâh. An elephant in a dream means that Ganesh is angry and must be appeased. If a little child appears saying pleasant things Kâli is belligerent, but if something unpleasant is said Kâli needs to be appeased. If a boy appears Mahâdev is signified. A snake coming towards the dreamer to bite him is a bad omen. If some one is seen to leave the house the person dreaming will die, but if a living relative is seen dying he or she will recover. Crossing a stream in a dream points to some coming difficulty.

A dream should never be mentioned to any one as it is most unlucky to do so, but to dream during the afternoon or at noon is harmless however bad the dream may be.

Dreams naturally are often ominous, for good or evil. To see one’s self riding on a male camel, ass or buffalo means death, which is imminent if one sees one’s self climbing a tree to gather fruit—probably because the ashes of a burnt corpse are hung on a tree. To see raw meat portends sickness, and to be falling from a hill or rock calamity as well. To swim in clear water and gain the shore predicts recovery from a long illness. To see smoke, rain, mud or dirty water or to laugh in one’s sleep means grief. To dance and sing means calamity as well. To see ashes, bones or cowries portends grief and loss. To be attacked by a snake or scorpion on the left side means loss, and to see the bed of a dried-up pond or river, loss of salary. To climb to a hill-top means profit, and to see one’s self or another eating meat or cards or to be attacked by a snake or scorpion on the right side, wealth. To ride on an elephant or a white horse means promotion and to be in prison is to be soon a ruler, while to see one’s head cut off by the sun or moon rising is to be soon a king. A naked sword or a road portends an unexpected journey. The happiness of one’s ancestors is assured by the vision of a fâqîr or sadhu. A dream during the latter part of the night is however auspicious as it is then that the gods are roaming and you are sure of gain. Dreams may be cured by reciting a common invocation to Hanumán.

Shoes lying over each other are a sign of travel and if you see a broom upside down put it right way up or you will suffer somehow. It is lucky to find silver but not gold, and on a journey it is lucky to meet a sweeper, a snake or a corpse, but the reverse if one meets a Brahman, a village headman or a washerman.

Divination, Possession, Exorcism and Charms—Such being the varied choice in the matter of malevolent spirits offered to
the Punjab peasant by the belief of the countryside, it may be supposed that divination and exorcism are practised widely; and possession and the virtue of charms firmly believed in. Of witchcraft proper one hears but little, and it is, I believe, chiefly confined to the lowest castes; though some wizards are commonly credited with the power of causing a woman to die if they can obtain a lock of her hair, and then bringing her to life again for their carnal enjoyment. 1 Illness is generally attributed to the malignant influence of a deity, or to possession by a spirit; and recourse is had to the soothsayer to decide who is to be appeased, and in what manner. The diviners are called 'devotees' (bhagat) 2 or 'wise men' (spāsa), and they generally work under the inspiration of a snake-god, though sometimes under that of a Satyad (see above). The power of divination is generally confined to the lower and mental (? aboriginal) castes, is often hereditary, and is rarely possessed by women. Inspiration is shown by the man's head beginning to wag; and he then builds a shrine to his familiar, before which he dances, or, as it is called by the people, 'sports' (khotad, khet kālid). He is consulted at night, the inquirer providing tobacco and music. The former is waved over the body of the invalid and given to the wise man to smoke. A better-lamp is lighted, the music played, the diviner sometimes lays himself with a whip, and he is at last seized by the afflatus, and in a paroxysm of dancing and head-wagging declares the name of the malignant influence, the manner in which it is to be propitiated, and the time when the disease may be expected to abate. Or the diviner waves wheat over the patient's body, by preference on Saturday or Sunday; he then counts out the grains one by one into heaps, one heap for each god who is likely to be at the bottom of the mischief, and the deity on whose heap the last grain falls is the one to be propitiated. The malignant spirit is appeased by building him a new shrine, or by making offerings at the old one. Very often the offering is first placed by the patient's head for a night or waved over his body, or he is made to eat a part of it; and it is sometimes exposed on a moonlight night while the moon is still on the wax, together with a lighted lamp, at a place where four cross-roads meet. Sometimes it is enough to tie a rag taken from the patient's body on to the sacred tree—generally a jand (prosopis spinigera)—beneath which the shrine stands, and such trees may often be seen covered with the remnants of these offerings, blue being the predominating colour if the shrine be Musalmān, and red if it be Hindu.

The Jāts and Baloch of Dera Ismā'īl Khān and Mīānwālī are firm believers in magic:

A useful charm is to get 4 men to write out at the same time but at separate places, the Muhammadan creed. The whole is worn as an amulet. It is said to be of general efficacy, and to safeguard the wearer from hurt, though Hāsām Khān, Baloch, who told me, got a sword out all the same from a Wazir near Feroz in Edwardes' time. Passing a hut in Multān an old woman came out and cried Āsi nil

1 In the hills, however, magic is said to be common; and in the plains certain men can charm the livers out of children, and so cause them to put away and die. Englishmen are often credited with this power.
2 The term Bhagat, I believe, properly applies only to the devotees of the goddess Devī. But it is locally used by the villagers for any wise man or diviner.
Earth taken from a sweeper's grave or from a Hindu burning place, moulded into the shape of an enemy and the Surañ: Faññu read over it, is supposed to be fatal to him. To call up the devil himself it is only necessary to repeat the creed backwards. Within the memory of several men whom I know a Shyyi from Multán who could control the jinn appeared at Lea and Bhakkar in Mianwál. He produced cooked food from the air, pomegranates out of season, pots of ghi and at the instigation of a Lea money-lender, rupees. It is admitted that a man who possesses a full knowledge of the great names (jinn) of the Deity, who knows how to combine them and the demons affected by each, can render them obedient to himself or to the ring on his little finger. But only the learned and scrupulously pure can attain to this knowledge. Certain of the jinn repeated before going into court or before a hākim are certain to give favour for the sayer.

Amulets are much used. A headman to prevent the anger of a justly licensed hākim from falling on him sat with an amulet tied conspicuously on his sīfa. He admitted the reason when asked.

Whereas possession by the god is, as a rule, invoked, possession by evil spirits is dreaded, and various remedies resorted to for their expulsion. Such spirits are known by various names, but Bhairon and Kālī are also believed to cause demonic possession. When a man becomes thus possessed, the pujārī ascertains by astrology whether the possession is really due to evil spirits, and if this appears certain, he takes the man to the abode of the god. The people assemble and invoke the god with incessant cries, the pujārī remaining still and silent for a time. Soon he begins to tremble and nod his head. He then asks the god to cure the sufferer. Casting rice at the people he curses them until in terror they offer to propitiate the god with sacrifices of goats etc., whereupon he advises that sacrifice be made. He then offers rice to the god and says that the evil spirit will depart. Dhāp is not offered, nor is music played, and as a rule, no mantras are read, but in rare cases Kālī is thus invoked:

Kālī chari chari kāt kāt,
Bhāṅ kā bhāṅ,
Pāñi bhāṅ samundar kā, bhāṅ,
Chhāṅ bhāṅam ko jāi.

"Kālī has arisen and devours the sacrifice. Let the ocean flow, let ghost and demon turn into ashes."

Fasts and Festivals,—Religious festivals play a great part in the life of the peasant; indeed they form his chief holidays, and on these occasions men, and still more women and children, don their best
clothes and collect in great numbers, and after the offering has been made enjoy the excitement of looking at one another. The great Hindu festivals have been described in numberless books, and I need not notice them here. But besides these, every shrine, Hindu and Musalman, small and great, has its fairs held at fixed dates which attract worshippers more or less numerous according to its renown. Some of these fairs, such as those at Thanesar on the occasion of an eclipse, those of Bahra Farid at Pak Pattan, and of Sakhi Sarwar at Nigaha are attended by very many thousands of people, and elaborate police arrangements are made for their regulation. There are two festivals peculiar to the villages, not observed in the towns, and therefore not described in the books, which I will briefly notice. The ordinary Diwali or feast of lamps of the Hindus, which falls on Kartik, 11th, is called by the villagers the little Diwali. On this night the pitru or ancestors visit the house, which is freshly plastered throughout for the occasion, and the family light lamps and sit up all night to receive them. Next morning the housewife takes all the sweepings and old clothes in a dust-pan and turns them out on to the dung-hill, saying, *dahade ude bo: 'May thriftlessness and poverty be far from us!* Meanwhile they prepare for the celebration of the great or Gobardhan Diwali, on which Krishna is worshipped in his capacity of a cowherd, and which all owners of cattle should observe. The women make a Gobardhan of cow-dung, which consists of Krishna lying on his back surrounded by little cottage leaves of dung to represent mountains, in which are stuck stems of grass with tufts of cotton or rag on the top for trees, and by little dung-balls for cattle, watched by dung-men dressed in bits of rag. Another opinion is that the cottage leaves are cattle and the dung-balls calves. On this are put the churn-staff and five whole sugarcanes, and some parched rice and a lighted lamp in the middle. The cowherds are then called in and they salute the whole and are fed with rice and sweets. The Brahman then takes the sugarcane and eats a bit; and till then no one must cut, press, or eat cane. Rice-milk is then given to the Brahmanas, and the bullocks have their horns dyed and get extra well fed. Four days before the Diwali, i.e., on Kartik 11th, is the *Devathai Gyaan* on which the gods awake from their four months' sleep, which began on Har 11th. On the night of the *Devathai* the children run about the village with lighted sticks and torches. During these four months it is forbidden to marry, to cut sugarcane, or to put new string on a bedstead on pain of a snake biting the sleeper. On the 11th and 11th of Phagan the villagers worship the *aula* tree, or *Phyllanthus emblica*, mentioned by Huen Tsoon as being so abundant beyond Delhi. This tree is the emblem of nyroholus, a representation of the fruit of which is used for the fillial of Buddhist temples. Its worship is now connected with that of Shiva. Brahmanas will not take the offerings. The people circumambulate the tree from left to right, offering puri libations, eat the leaves and make offerings, which are taken by the Kshatriya Jogi. Fasts are not much observed by the villagers, except the great annual fasts; and not even those by the young man who works in the fields and cannot afford to go hungry. But sugar, butter, milk, fruits and wild seeds, and anything that is not technically grain may be eaten, so that the abstinence is not very severe.

*Udana = thriftless, lazy*, and *u dae = poor*
Unlucky times

The south is a quarter to be especially avoided, as the spirits of the dead live there. Therefore your cooking hearth must not face the south, nor must you sleep or lie with your feet in that direction except in your last moments. The demon of the four quarters, D Isaeti, lives in the east on Monday and Saturday, in the north on Tuesday and Wednesday, in the west on Friday and Sunday, and in the south on Thursday; and a prudent man will not make a journey or even plough in those directions on those days. So when Satkar or Venus is in declension, brides do not go to their husbands' homes, nor return thence to visit their fathers' houses. On the Bloch frontier such men are held to have a star, and he must not journey in certain directions when his star is in given positions. But when his duty compels him to do so he will bury his star, i.e. a piece of cloth cut out in that shape, so that it may not see what he is doing. It is well not to have your name made too free use of, especially for children. They are often not named at all for some little time, and if named are generally addressed as 

*Baby*, according to sex. If a man is rich enough to have his son's horoscope drawn a few days after his birth, the name then fixed will be carefully concealed till the boy is eight or ten years old and out of danger; and even then it will not be commonly used, the everyday name of a Hindu, at least among the better classes, being quite distinct from his real name, which is only used at formal ceremonies such as marriage. Superiors are always addressed in the third person; and a clerk, when reading a paper in which your name occurs, will omit it and explain that it is your name that he omits. A Hindu peasant will not eat, and often will not grow onions or turnips, as they taste strong like meat which is forbidden to him. Nor will he grow indigo, for simple blue is the Musalmán colour and an abomination to him. He will also refuse to eat oil or black sesame if formally offered him by another, for if he do he will serve the other in the next life. A common retort when asked to do something unreasonable is *kaf, mana na teke kala ill akhile hai*? What, have I eaten your black sesame?" The shop-keeper must have cash for his first transaction in the morning; and will not book anything till he has taken money.

The months of Chait, Poh and Maagh are regarded as unlucky, and are called *kale malna* or black months. The people like to hear the name of Chait first from the lips of Munna, and the name of Maagh is best heard from a class of Brahmana called Basbara, who come during that month from the plains to sing and beg. An infant should not be taken outside for the first time in these months, this being unlucky. If a cow has a calf in Bhadoh, both it and the calf must be given away to avert misfortunes. Sunday, Tuesday and Saturday are unlucky days for celebrating a marriage, for if a marriage takes place on Sunday the couple will not agree with one another, if on Tuesday, the husband will soon die; if on Saturday, there will be much sickness in the family.

But it would appear that there is a unanimity in the motions of these stars which reduces the rule to one of fate. Thus, on the 1st, 2nd, 11th, and 12th journeys must not be made towards one quarter; on the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 12th, and 13th towards another; on the 3rd, 4th, 13th, and 16th towards a third, and on the 2nd, 8th, 17th, and 18th towards the fourth. On the 9th, 10th, 19th, 20th, 29th, and 30th the traveller is free to face as he pleases.
A woman must not wash her head on a Friday, or her brother will become sick. This is called *gad-ladit*. Cow-dung should not be offered to any one on a Friday, or the cow will become sick and its milk will dry up. On Wednesday and birthdays nothing should be given away unless in the form of *dān*, otherwise good luck will cease. A journey should not be begun on Sunday, Tuesday or Friday, but Monday, Wednesday and Thursday are lucky days for such a purpose, especially Wednesday. Sunday is good for entering on anything requiring haste.

Saturn being a planet of bad omen, no oil should be put on the head on Saturday. On that day a little oil—enough to see one's face in—is put into the palm of the hand and then given to a Brahman. Some diseases are believed to be due to the malign influence of the planet Saturn, and to remove them *kiōtari* (a mixture of *dān* and rice with spices) is cooked and passed round the sick person's head and then given away; the idea being that the disease is thus transferred to the person who eats the *kiōtari*.

Again a woman should not wash her head on a Saturday, or her husband will become sick. There are five days in each month called *panchak*, which are unlucky, and on them no work should be done. If work is in progress a holiday should be given, and no new work should be commenced on any of these days, or it will be attended with loss. If any one dies on one of the days of *panchak* cloth dolls, corresponding in number to the days still remaining, are made up and laid alongside the corpse and burnt with it, otherwise more members of the family will die. This custom is called *panchak ekhāti*. If a buffalo calves on a Wednesday it is unlucky, and the calf must be given away. A child born on a Tuesday will be attended with misfortune in the marriage state in after life. There is also a special day in each year, called *gurhür*, usually a birthday, on which no work must be done; the special day is indicated by a *pandit*.

Every Saturday the Bánias of Multán pour oil and gram over small raised spots where streets cross. This is done in honour of Sámi or Saturn. On Sundays and Tuesdays salt should never be eaten. By restraining the gods are propitiated and will supply all wants.1 In some parts of the Punjab salt is not eaten on a Sunday. At Multán all Hindu shops were closed on Sundays.2 Friday is an unlucky day for sport in Rāwalpindi.

Saturday, Sunday and Tuesday are all unlucky days for the sale of cattle or *dān*, lending or borrowing money, and sharing. The last named leads to one's own death or that of a son. Tuesday is also a very unfortunate day on which to return home from a journey.3

Sáwan ghori, Bhádor dān,
Mágh mád joh khauna bhāde,
Jhō jō, khawār kha.

"The mare that foals in Sáwan, the cow that calves in Bhádor and the buffalo in Māgh, will either die or kill her owner."

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1 D., III. § 449.
2 D., III. § 788-794.
3 D., III. § 21.
A mare foaling in the day-time too is unlucky. In Bahawalpur to avert the evil effects the ear of colt or filly is bored, or the 'tip' cut off. But strangest of all is the idea prevalent in the hills north of Gurdaspur that the character of the monsoon can be foretold from the number of kittens born in a litter during the preceding cold weather; thus, if the usual number is 3 or more the rains will be ample; if 2 it will only rain for 2 months; if one, then the monsoon will fail utterly.

It is in the Deraját unlucky to give away money on a Sunday, and Hindus will not even pay wages on that day. Travelling in any direction on a Wednesday is regarded as very unlucky, but the objection to travel north etc. on certain other days is not much regarded.

Lucky days appear to depend largely on the state of the moon, but this does not explain the various and often conflicting beliefs regarding days of the week. Thus in Attock some cultivators will not begin ploughing on a Sunday or Tuesday, while others consider the latter the best day because Adam began to plough on that day. Both days too are considered most lucky for beginning legal proceedings. It is unlucky to set out on a journey northwards on Tuesday or Wednesday but lucky on Monday or Friday. To start southwards on Thursday is bad, but on Wednesday good. Do not go east on Monday or Saturday or west on a Sunday or Thursday, but choose Sunday or Tuesday to go eastward or Monday or Saturday to go west.

The Patháns of Kohát have few beliefs about unlucky days; Saturday is khatí, i.e. devoid of all blessings; one should not shave on a Sunday; or begin a journey on a Friday, because it is a day of public prayer and the journey will be unsuccessful. But if compelled to start on an unlucky day a Pathán notable will have his travelling bag sent beforehand out of the house on a lucky day to the village shrine in the direction of his journey. This is called parasóhá.

As a rule, in Dera Ismail Khán, both ploughing and harvesting are always begun on a Sunday. It is however unwise to cross the river.

Gurdaspur Gazetteer, 1914, p. 63. It might be suggested that some instinctive anticipation of a sufficient food-supply, increases purchasing power, but statistical evidence is wanting. Such an anticipation is credited to the jatí or playgr, who is said to build his nest low down by the stream when the monsoon will fall but high above it if the rains are to be good. The beliefs noted on the text are fairly general but in Attock it is also considered very unlucky for a cat to kill a kitten; in Jat, sunkey to have a stew in Sfoun, a camel to have young in Buis, a goat to eat a dog in Chut. Probably at one time a complete pseudo-science of this kind existed. In Attock a Brahman or a madhá is consulted as to what should be done to avert these omens.

1 P. N. Q. 11. §§ 937, 938.
2 Jitul bádi diló hér.
3 Gurdaspur Gazetteer, p. 106.
4 D. G. H., 1912, p. 191.
Unlucky times.

Indus on that day:

Aj itwir, mā langoo pār,
Māttā yittā amee bār.
"To-day is Sunday, do not cross,
Or you will lose what you have won."

Monday and Thursday are the best days to begin making new clothes, which should be worn for the first time on a Wednesday or Friday and in the morning rather than in the evening. For shaving, depilation or cutting the nails Monday is good, but Hindus prefer Sunday and Muhammadans, Friday. Like Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday are unlucky for these acts.

As we have seen, Tuesday is an unlucky day, and inauspicious for beginning a new work or starting on a journey—

Rudh, Surishar kapra, gahā Aitwdīr,
Ja sukk mutsa toroos mānīs unf a Somawdr.
"Put on new clothes on Wednesday and Saturday, and jewellery on a Sunday;"

If thou desirest happy sleep, weave thy coach on a Monday."

On the other hand many acts are lucky if done on certain days. Thus on Sunday eat betel (gūn) and go which way you will, you will get what you wish. On Monday look at your face in the glass and you will prosper. On Tuesday eat a clove and good fortune will attend you when you set out on business. On Wednesday eat sweet stuff, and on Thursday drink curds—a chūdā will suffice. On Friday eat new bread and on Saturday white salt. By eating thus you will always reach your goal in safety.

Cock-crowing at noon is very unlucky and Muhammadans will always kill one that does so.

The early morning is a risky time for various things if done by particular persons. Thus it is then unlucky for a tailor to mend clothes, for a ḍalndi to sell bātākhās (sugar-drops), for a ḍāds or clothier to sell red-cloth (qānd), for a Bānīa to sell gūt, a pānudrī paper, a Kasea zinc, or for a Sarrāf to deal in gold.4

Midday and evening are bad times to begin a new work or start on a journey.

Just as every day has its good and bad times so the day itself is unlucky for certain events, such as hearing a horse neigh. A child born at noonside is also unfortunate.4 How far these ideas are based on astrology it is difficult to say.

1 P. N. Q., II, § 20.
2 It., III, §§ 711-19.
3 Attock Gazetteer, p. 107.
Beliefs and Superstitions Connected with Unlucky Days.

Both Hindus and Muhammadans believe in the *fogriya* or *chhil abdāl.* The *chhil abdāl* are forty saints who live in different directions on various dates. Their number is invariably forty. If one of them dies, a new saint takes his place. To undertake a journey in any direction on the dates when the saints are in that direction is unlucky. Agriculturists also do not reap a crop facing in the direction in which the saints are. The following figure shows the different dates when the saints are believed to be in each direction:

![Diagram of the four directions showing the different dates when the saints are believed to be present.](image)

**Note.**—The numbers within brackets inside the square denote dates, while those on the corners and within the brackets outside the square signify directions.

There is a *west* of Muhammadan *fogriya* in Kāngra called Abdālī who appear to be basic to the Hindu *fogriya.* They are also said to be found in Chamba. It is just possible that there is some connection.
The 40 abdâls.

The following lines give the dates on which the chihit abdâl are in the different directions:

- Faḥlī, adawā, sołño, chawer, kakanī, wūch pabahān.
- Do, deh, natārā, mawjī, mawjī, thāk na 'ān.
- Tārā, chhabbī, aṭhāra, guūrah, wūch jānū, jānū, ā '-ūnā, jānū, jānū, mághrib, thāk na 'ān.
- Panī, tārā, wūch, tārā dīhārī, ba'rī de wūch jān, jānū, jānū, jānū, jānū, jānū, mawjī, mawjī, mághrib, thāk na 'ān.

That is, the chihit abdâl occupy kahvī (kahvī) on the 1st, 9th, 16th and 24th, the mawjī on the 2nd, 10th, 17th and 26th, the south (jandī) on the 3rd, 20th, 18th and 11th, the west (mahārīb) on the 4th, 12th, 27th and 19th, the baṭh on the three dates, viz. the 5th, 13th and 20th, the tārā on the 6th, 21st and 28th, the east (maṣūrīg) on the 7th, 14th, 29th and 22nd, the north (shandī) on the 8th, 15th, 30th and 23rd.

It is asserted that the chihit abdâl were originally saintly persons whose prayers were acceptable to God, but that credulous Moslems have by degrees identified them with the Hindu jogni. But it must be confessed that the jogni are said to be 64 in number, whereas the abdâl are generally said to be 40 in number though some accounts make them 7 or 70.

The following tradition, which is said to be only oral, ascribes the origin of the 40 abdâls to the Prophet himself. One Dayā-Kalbī had no children, and on his plaint the Prophet for 40 days gave him a daily charm, which he in his ignorance of their use kept, until all the 40 had been given him. Then he washed them and gave them to his wife, who in due course bore 40 sons. Appalled at this event Dayā-Kalbī exposed 39 of the children in the desert, but on his return home he missed the 40th also, so he went back to the desert and there found all the 40. Seeing that they were inseparable he kept them, and they lived under a dome not built by human hands. Presently a plague smote Medina, and it was revealed to the Prophet that it was caused by the 40 abdâls, but on his announcing himself as Muhammad they refused to discuss the matter with one so proud, and only when he proclaimed himself as

*Subhān Allāh.*

1. Kalvī, Sanskr.: fr. mīr-ītī, south-western; Platts, 1186. It is also said to mean red, originally, and hence south-west.
2. Baṭh is said to be derived from ba'r, a wind, and to mean the corner whence the wind comes = Sanskr. eṣār-kaṇa or eṣār dāva (Platts), the wind corner or N.-W. (In Hind. baṭh = 'at a distance, a far off'.)
3. Jehs is said to mean ‘rising’ in Sanskr.; hence = ‘south-east.’ It is also a name of Silva (Platts, p. 113).

*E.g. in the Granth, cf. Mānḍō, Life of Guru Nanak (p. 22). For the legend among the Gujar of Bahārī, etc., cf. V. N. Q., II, 11071; also 11071, and 11090.*
Muhammad the Poor, would they acknowledge him. He then gave them a piece of illuminated cloth, from which each made a girdle without diminishing its size, and they all entered Medina. The disease promptly escaped in the shape of the goat, which the abdâls caught and devoured, all except the tail. This they threw skywards, judging that men would forget God if there were no diseases. So now the tail revolves round the earth, and wherever it chances to be disease breaks out. But the 40 abdâls now plundered Medina and evoked the Prophet's curse, under which they wander round the world, occupying certain regions at fixed times, on specified dates of the lunar months.

The orthodox Hindu belief in the yoginâky is based on astrology. They are believed to occupy the following points of the compass on the siths or lunar dates specified:

\[
\begin{align*}
S. & \quad 2, 10 \\
7, 15 (\text{Puramâs}) & \quad N. W. \\
14 & \quad W. \\
S. W. & \quad 4, 12. \\
S. & \quad 5, 13. \\
N. E. & \quad 8, 15 (\text{amâwâs})
\end{align*}
\]

That is to say they start from the E. on the 1st, and reach the N.-E. on the 8th. On the 9th they again start from the E. Or, as an account from Ambala puts it, they go from E. to N., S.-E., S.-W., S., W., N.-W., and N.-E., on the prâthand to the âshâstân, and again from the nammâ to the puramâ and amâwâs.

It is unlucky to travel in the direction in which the yoginâky are on any given day, but this omen may be evaded by the device called pastdân¹ in Dera Ghâzi Khan. This consists in throwing salt, or one of

¹Cf. payathâ in Kohâ.
the things to be taken with one, in the direction of the intended route on a day prior to that fixed for starting, and when the jogats are in a different direction. Hindus also throw rice, sugar etc. with a piece, tied up in red cloth.

The dikshul or point at which a spear is hanging is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On Sunday in the E.</td>
<td>W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Monday in the W.</td>
<td>E.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Tuesday and Wednesday in the N.</td>
<td>N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Thursday in the S.</td>
<td>S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Friday in the E.</td>
<td>W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Saturday in the W.</td>
<td>E.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For facility of comparison the directions in which, according to a Persian quatrain, the *chikul abdul*, or *rafal-ul-ghaib*, are found are also given. Their E. and W. day are the converse of those assigned to the Hindu dikshul. It is suspicious, when on a journey, to one's wealth to have the *chikul abdul* on the left hand, and if they are behind one all enemies will be destroyed. But if on the right they angur loss of property, and if facing one risk to life. This is in precise accord with the Hindu quatrain saying regarding the *jogan* which runs:

*Agge jagun kadi un ras.  
Pichhe jagun paunche as,  
Dahe jagun gda dhare,  
Badhne jagun as dhare.*

"If the *jogan* be in front it is evil, but if it be at your back there is hope; if it be on the right, you will be disappointed, but if on the left you may hope."

\*\* Of which one version runs:\*

*Bo yakhshahab-o-Jumah nasabab maran,  
Bho dooshabah-shambah-mashray maran  
Bha sikhshahab-o-charshambah shamal  
Janabi burf yanjshambah wendal.*

This is rendered in the Western Pashjali of Durr Ghal Khân thus:\*

*Chashkham San na jawin mashbrig,  
Adit Javaan gurak e  
Mangul Budh shamal do ni manjha,  
Khalas jaanah.*

\*\* In Durr tamdi Khan both the Baloch and Jâhâ say:\ *

*Khâmoti dikdri laamun na manjan,  
Mangul, Budh obha na manjan;  
Adit wa jumal dhdor na manjan,  
Subor is Channan debarte na manjan.*
The yogis in astrology.

The yogini are 64 in number, but only 8 of them are of importance. The following diagram shows their names and the directions in which they stay:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>East</th>
<th>South</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>yogni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Shákhni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Dákhni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>Baitál Kánkí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>Kákhni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>yákhni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>Rákhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>Hákhni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The yoginis (or yogs) play an important part in astrology and are of much help to astrologers in forecasting the results of games, epidemics, rains, storms, fires, earthquakes etc.

This belief is illustrated by the following instances:

1. The yogini, by name Pága or Jogiṣhri, along with the Moon, completes its revolution round the earth in 24 hours or 60 ghātik. If during its revolution it joins with Chandrasūrya (Moon), Bahu (Mercury), Śukra (Venus) and Brāhmaṉa (Jupiter) in a Jai-rāksh, i.e. in one of the signs—Kārik (Cancer), Mīr (Pisces), Kāsh (Aquarius) or Mātr (Cancer)—the result is fire; if with the Sārya (Sun) and Mangal (Mars) in an Agha-rāksh, i.e. in one of the signs—Kārik (Aries), Singh (Leo) or Brījākh (Scorpio)—the result is fire; if with Chandrasūrya (Moon) and Śukrah (Saturn) in a Vaiśā-kāra, i.e. in one of the signs—Pāla (Libra)
The joginis' quarters.

The jogini known as Šáridá also completes its revolution in 60 charts. If it is facing the hunter while out hunting, he (or she) is likely to sustain an injury, but if it is behind or on his right he will make a bag.

(3) The jogini called Vipāy or Paška completes its revolution in 15 days. In the bright lunar half it travels towards the east and Agni Kṣā (south-east) but in the dark half in the opposite direction, viz. Indr. Kṣā (north-east) etc. Its situation is observed when proceeding on an expedition in war. It is unlucky while it is facing one, but otherwise it is auspicious.

Similarly, there are other Joginis, such as Bālā, Śidvid, Saṅkrāti, Grah, Lāppi etc. of minor importance which are believed to control or affect the success or failure of all human enterprises and undertakings.

According to the belief in Kāngra the joginis' head quarters are in the—

- East in the month of Kāthā.
- South-east in the months of Jeth and Mēghar.
- South in the month of Śāmara.
- South-west in the months of Hār and Phāgan.
- West in the month of Bānāi.
- North-west in the months of Cēh and Māgh.
- North in the month of Amā.
- North-east in the months of Baisākha and Pahā.

The Moon too like the Joginis, Bāhu or Bāhu Chakra has good or evil effects on earthly bodies during her revolution. She also plays an important part in astrology and her situation is ascertained when fixing lucky hours and days for journeys, voyages, enterprises, expeditions or ceremonies.

The Moon completes her revolution round the Sun in a month, taking 24 days to pass through each of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, as is apparent from the following diagram:
The moon in astrology.

The Moon while revolving in four directions passes through the following signs of the Zodiac:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>Signs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) East</td>
<td>Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) South</td>
<td>Taurus, Virgo, and Capricorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) West</td>
<td>Libra, Aquarius, and Gemini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) North</td>
<td>Cancer, Scorpio, and Pisces</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the Moon takes 27.5 days to travel through each sign she takes 135 gharis in all to revolve in the eight directions as will appear from the diagram below:

If the Moon is in front of or facing one, hope is fulfilled; if on the right, it gives health and wealth; if behind, there is likelihood of loss of life; and if on the left, loss to property. It is a strong belief that while proceeding on a journey if the Moon is facing one all the evil effects whatsoever of the jogātās, dīśākāl, kīl-chakes etc., are fully counteracted.

Like the jogātās and the Moon, the sakāṭās, which are 28 in number, also play an essential part in astrology. They too have good or evil effects in their movements on earthly bodies. But as educated people of the present day are losing faith in these beliefs, the sakāṭās are losing ground, as compared with the jogā and the Moon. Still people even now pay some regard to them in ascertaining lucky or
The nakshatras.

unlucky days. The following diagram will throw some light on the nakshatras:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samas (Direction)</th>
<th>Nakshatra</th>
<th>Thithi</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Nakshatras</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>Māl</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1st) Parās.</td>
<td>Saturday - Monday -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Rākṣa</td>
<td>Ṛṣa</td>
<td>(8th) Dvārakā.</td>
<td>Tuesday - Sunday - Friday -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>Purna</td>
<td>Pātā</td>
<td>(10th) Pancha.</td>
<td>Thursday -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Haŭṣa</td>
<td>Ṛṣa</td>
<td>(2nd) Ād.</td>
<td>Wednesday - Sunday - Tuesday -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṛṣa (N.-E.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ṛṣa</td>
<td>(10th) Rādha.</td>
<td>Do. - Saturday -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṛṣa (S.-E.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ṛṣa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thursday - Monday -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṛṣa (N.-W.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ṛṣa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tuesday -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṛṣa (S.-W.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ṛṣa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Friday - Tuesday -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To avert the evil effects of Dīnākāhū, one should on the following days take the things noted against each, before proceeding on a journey:

- Sunday: Oḥi (clarified butter)
- Monday: Milk
- Tuesday: Jaggery
- Wednesday: Sesamum
- Thursday: Curd
- Friday: Barley
- Saturday: Urd (ūrāk)

In a month five Sundays forecast epidemic.
- Tuesdays: Terror and fear.
- Saturdays: Famine or drought.

Each month has been divided into:

(1) the āsci (bright lunar half) and (6) bālo (dark lunar half).

During the āsci the days from the parās (1st) to panchaśi (5th) are lucky and from the panchaśi (5th) to the udbhās (15th) mediocré or middling. Those from the ekādaśi (1st) of the bright half to the panchaśi are deemed unlucky, from the panchaśi to the udbhās (10th) mediocré, and from the udbhās to the purnaṃāslavi (15th) lucky.

Like the Dīnākāhū, Rāhu Chakra or Kāl Chakra has its evil influences. Hence it is essential to ascertain its situation also while
going on a journey. The belief is that Kali Chakra while in front or on the right is very insidious and dangerous, but otherwise propitious. The following diagram shows its situation on different days of the week:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you get yourself shaved on a—
- **Sunday**, your age will decrease by 1 month.
- **Saturday**, 7 months.
- **Tuesday**, 8
- **Wednesday**, increase 5
- **Monday**, 10
- **Thursday**, 11

Certain hours of the days of the week are also considered lucky. These are termed zakki or chaungar-mahurat. The following lines:

The Indian day (and night) has five degrees of auspiciousness:—(1) zakki A., good; (2) duce A., intermediate; (3) bir; and (4) thrasy A., burning. Of these the effects of thrasy are ephemeral, passing by like the air; and those of thrasy are most dangerous. The following is the scheme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hour</th>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Night</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>(night)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>(day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>(night)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>(day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>(night)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>(day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>(night)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td>(day)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lucky days and unlucky names.

give the lucky hours of the various days:

Zakki, Ait (or Sunday), Jumna, Khunse pahr dhayan pichkhe.  
Adhe pahr thin pichkhe Chhanchhāw jo kis zakki puchkhe.  
Dad pahr thin pichkhe zakki Mangal bhyh Sundr.  
Anewal ekti akhar adhā zakki ho Budhwār.

The zakki hours on Sunday, Friday, and Thursday begin at 2½  
pahrs after sunrise (a pahr = 3 hours); on Saturday, half a pahr after 
sunrise; on Tuesday and Monday 1½ pahrs after it; and on Wednesday  
the whole first pahr and half the last pahr are zakki.

The hours other than those mentioned are considered unlucky.  
Works undertaken in the hours given in the above lines are believed to  
end satisfactorily and well.

The earth sleeps.

Another superstition is that the earth sleeps for 7 days in each  
lunar month, and so anything done on those days would turn out  
badly:

Sankhat niti din pachhenu nāweo adhun so
lau ikhās chaubhi din, khat din prithwī so

"On the 1st, 5th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 21st, and 24th days of every lunar  
mouth the earth sleeps."

In those days ploughing or sowing should not be begun, though  
once begun they may go on.

In Chamba town the names of certain places are regarded as unlucky  
and must not be mentioned in the morning. These are Nurpur, Basohli  
and Jamna. This prejudice doubtless arose in consequence of the  
frequent wars with these States in olden times. If it is necessary to refer  
Nurpur, the phrase Sapparwān Shaht or the 'rocky town' is used,  
while Basohli and Jamna are spoken of as pāltā malā, that is the  
country across the Rāvi. This superstition is very common in all the  
north-eastern Punjab, e.g. in Hoshiārpur, where it is also ascribed to  
the fact that some of these unlucky places were the sites of Sikh  
toll-pasts and so on. But the new name, which must be used before-break- 
fast, is not always more auspicious than the old. Thus Talwāra where  
Gler and Nurpur used to meet Dāda Siha and Datāpur in fight is  
estyled Kaliādā or the place of the fight, kalha, or Barapind, the "big  
village," or Chandrapand, the "unlucky" one.

Wasting diseases are often attributed to a form of witchcraft  
called aday or masūna. A woman will collect ashes from a masūn or

1 Chhanchhāw in the south-west Punjab = Sanichar, Saturu or Saturday.
2 A Jullundur version is —

Sanvān niti din pāchhenu, adhunu adhunu tu.
Dad, di, chaubhi din, khat din prithwī tu

that is on the sanvān 5th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 21st and 24th, i.e. khat days, the earth sleeps;

3 Hoshiārpur Gazetteer, 1924, p. 74. Kalha does not appear in the Punjabi Ditty,  
but it may be connected with the word ghalā-ghara—i.e., p. 375.
burning-ground and cast them over an enemy's child, causing it to waste away, while her own child thrives. Hence the proverb: Sāha-sār ko kīdān, bīdāb ko maśān—'the banker bathes on the peasant, like a child on ashes.' To ascertain if a child is suffering from sāyā, take a new earthenware pot and fill it with water from 7 wells, bury it under the threshold and dig it up after 7 days. If the water has dried up, the child is afflicted by sāyā. This affliction is also called deob and can be cured by passing the child seven times under a vessel filled with well-water, which should be thrown away on waste land as it would destroy any crop.

Hiccoughing (hiṣki) is attributed to recollection on the part of some relative or friend who, if mentally identified at the time, can stop the affliction. To cure it then it is only necessary to go through the names of them all and it will cease when you hit on the one who is thinking about you.

Hiccough may also be cured by shock—by thinking of something that disturbs the mind.

Closely connected with the healing properties of many quaint and often unwholesome edibles are the magic properties possessed by articles of various kinds. Thus the jackal's horn, saul sing or gidar sing possesses the power of conferring invisibility. It is also said to be the tiny horn carried by the jackal that leads their howls and when worn prevents any one scolding its wearer from being scolded, for which reason it is much sought after by Government servants. It sells for Rs. 50 or even Rs. 100, and is a recognised article of commerce among abikārīs.

The white or pink rock salt of Kālabāgh is believed to cause impotence, so the black Kohāt salt or that of the Sambar Lake is preferred.

When a goat kills a snake it devours it and then ruminates, after which it spits out a bead (maṣaṣa) which applied to a snake-bite absorbs the poison and swells. Dropped then into milk it is squeezed and the poison strips out. This cures the patient. If not put into milk, the maṣaṣa will burst.

Among other quaint remedies for sickness are pes-fowls' legs, for fever and ear-ache; soup made from the white paddy-bird (kaplā), for asthma; the tip of an ibex horn soaked in boiling water, which is then drunk for rheumatism.

Piles can be cured by winding a thread of 5 colours, white, red, green, yellow and black, three around the thumb, and then putting it round the big toe at night, for a fortnight ending on a Tuesday, the day sacred to Hanuman.

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1. P. N. Q., II, § 302. For Khāna see Kāsaṇ, Vol. II, p. 572 n. "In Simār mandi is a smiling disease, the cure for which are described in the Gazetteer of that State, p. 56."
2. Ibid., IV, §§ 110, 109. And is not traceable in the Panjab Diety.
5. I. L., III, § 782.
Tiger’s flesh has magical qualities. Khatri’s always keep a little by them dried and when a child is attacked by small-pox they burn a little near him to propitiate the goddess. Hence when that disease is raging in a town the house of a Hindu who has tiger’s flesh is frequented by people begging for small pieces of it.

Hare’s blood in a lump of cotton is used in many ailments, the cotton being soaked in water and the blood extracted given to the sick. It is said to be most efficacious in fits of various sorts.¹

Owl’s flesh, particularly the heart, is a potent love-philtre, making the recipient fall violently in love with the giver. Nothing can destroy the affection thus engendered.² Every owl has in its body a bone which will empower its possessor to make others subservient to his will. Keep an owl wide awake for two days and a night and it will tell you where this bone is to be found.³

For spleen use the flesh of the agga or peafowl, a bird which, it is believed in the Mânjha, will cause the death of any animal if it fly round it seven times, unless the following charm be used: the owner must strip himself naked and draw a line of cowdung round the animal and then setting fire to some grass run round it quickly with the burning grass in his hand, calling on his landlord, headman and king against his plunderer.⁴

Epilepsy is cured by administering a snuff made from dried worms snorted out by male camels during the mating season, and which are believed to live on the animals’ brain.⁵

In the hills a curious belief exists regarding the abdâ-dal or ‘heavenly creeper,’ as it is called in Punjabi. Crows are said to pluck twigs of the Gaeata reflexa and aggar and drop them into water, when they turn into snakes and so furnish the crows with food. The possession of the root of this plant is also believed to confer invisibility.

Blindness, provided it is not congenital, may be cured by antimony, applied for 3 days. Antimony is obtained at the Karangli hill near Pind Dahan Khan. Once a jogir turned that hill into gold, but the people feared lest it should lead to wars for the sake of the gold, so he turned it all into antimony which still exists on its inaccessible summit and is washed down by the rains.

Scorpion-sting may be cured in various ways by simple remedies, but charms are also used. Draw a pentathlon in ink thrice over the wound at intervals of 5 minutes and the pains will disappear; or hang a scorpion’s sting up in the house where children are playing and they will never be stung. Indra and Gaurja Devi are also invoked in a rhyme which will send the poison into the Kumbhi, the lowest hell.⁶

¹ P. N. Q. II, § 263.
² R. J., J. 689.
³ G. III, § 421.
⁴ Jb. II, § 335.
⁵ Ib. III, § 360, where Millett suggests that as epiprep is attributed to erotic canine in the Deir-ah-shafa this case is probably explainable on the principle that ‘like cures like’.
⁶ P. N. Q. II, p. 23.
² Or ab-d-dal plant known in Baluchi as house—
⁴ P. N. Q. II, § 345.
⁵ P. N. Q. IV, § 32.
⁶ Jb. III, § 870.
To cure obstatine sores a little curdled milk is put over them and a dog allowed to lick them. They will be cured in two or three days afterwards. This has led to a belief that English men kill dogs for their tongues which contain ambrosia, a cure for sores of long standing.

Remittent fever may be cured by taking a spinning-wheel and placing it on a cot in the sun. The wheel, doubtless represents the sun.

For tertian ague take a saucepan lid and stick on to a wall with dough, saying: 'Don't come out of it.'

For ague take a spider, cover it with cotton and tie it round your neck. You will be cured when you forget all about it.

To cure lumbago it is only necessary to have the painful part touched with the right foot of one who was born feet foremost. And if that fails, to get it touched twice with the peg to which a she-buffalo is usually tied. A whistow can be cured by any wise man. Place the hand on the ground palm downwards and keep it as steady as possible while the wise sits before you and hits the ground hard with a shoe, muttering a charm and calling on the demon of the whistow with implications to withdraw. If your hand moves in spite of you, the disease will be cured. To cure ague take a grass stalk of your own height and cast it into a well some hours before the next attack is due, and this will stave it off. For tertian fever take five shreds from a scavenger’s tomb on a Sunday and tie them round the patient’s neck. Another cure consists in putting juice of the medlar (Aselepias gigantea) on his fingernails, secretly, so that no one else sees it done and on a moonless (Nehanda) Sunday. For a quartan fever tie a thread seven times round a kilda tree early only on a Tuesday morning and then let the patient embrace the tree once. But for a woman it suffices to cover up her spinning wheel with a cloth and remove her to another house.

To cure sore-throat get a person whose right little finger and forefinger will meet over the backs of his two middle fingers to rub your throat with them in that position, or take a piece of salt to a potter and get him to stroke your throat with it seven times, and then bury the lump of salt under an unbaked earthen pot. As the salt melts your sore-throat will go.

A strange cure for tertian fever is to make a pretence of burying your village headman, or, if you have only one in your village, those of adjacent villages. Very small graves suffice, but they must be smooth and neat, a place about half a mile from your house being chosen, and no one should see you going or coming.

To stay tertian fever get a mantra written on a piper leaf, wash it and drink the water.
Cures of disease.

Hydropathy is practised throughout the Punjab Himalayas. Young children are placed under small artificial cascades, so that the water may fall on the brain. This is done for several hours in the hot weather and less in the cold. Children not so treated are said to generally die, and this suit or hydrotherapy is alleged to cause steady bowels, healthy eyes, free action of the throat and a less inclination to small-pox.

Another instance of treatment by shock is furnished by the Bânis who in a case of lingering sickness recite the kalima or Muhammadan creed to the patient. The shock is said to accelerate his departure from this world; but probably it is believed to bring about his recovery. The Christian creed is also said to be recited at the death-bed of a bhand or groom.

Lingering labour may be relieved by giving the school-boy in the village a holiday, or by administering water in which the excrement or girdle of a Râj or holy personage has been washed.

In cases of lingering illness Hindus recite the Bhagavad Gita or Fâhâm Sahârinshu to the patient for 3, 4 or 7 consecutive days. Sikhs recite the Adi Granth instead. The patient ought to die or recover on one of these days.

Relief from sickness, or at least a painless death, can be obtained by performing tul barracks, in which rite the rich sufferer is weighed against silver and the seven kinds of grain called sâna, while the poor may be weighed against copper and coarse grain. The coins and grain go to the Dakants. It is also well to break a coconut that rattles over the sâna, so that its milk may be sprinkled all over it.

Bathing in the Râvi is regarded by Hindus in Lahore as a sure cure for obstinate dyspepsia, that river being very sacred.

Sayyids and Pathâns feed fishes when any one in the household is ill, especially if it be the master of the house or any one of importance. Every member of it makes a pill of bread in which is placed a charm, generally one of the ninety-nine names of God. The women throw these pills into the nearest tank or river.

To cure toothache, which is due to a weevil, take a bit of paper and write on it: 186, the numerical value of the invocation Âsâmbhâri-r-râhâir-râhâir and under the figures write the charm dad sahaq badd. O Changer of colour—aill in Arabic. Fix the paper to any tree except the sacred pipal and banyan (tor), by a nail through the fold in sahaq. This causes instant cure if done first thing in the morning.

Just as trees have casts, so have fevers, and the first step in their cure is to ascertain the casts of the disorder. Some fevers are scavengers (militar), some farmers, others Gîjars or cowherds, and so on. A Gîjar
fever is cured by giving plenty of milk. If it is a niktar, make the
patient sweep the floor; if it ' wa inad, let him plough; and so on. If the
fever spirit be a thief, go at midnight to the graveyard and get a clod of
dirt, put it to sleep with the patient and next morning hang it on a
kitbar tree. This is an infallible remedy as it hangs the fever-thief. This
case of fever comes stealthily by night. But if the night-fever be not
of this case, a good plan is to put the dirty spoon out of the cooking-pot
on the patient's pillow, as that will disgust him, so that he will not sleep
with the patient. Among Muhammadans a light may be lit and taken
to the mosque at night by the patient who pretends to be looking for
something until an inquisitive passer-by asks what he is looking for.
Then the sufferer should throw down the lamp and reply: 'find it your-
self.' The fever will then leave the patient and go to the passer-by.1

A stye can be got rid of in a very similar way. Go at nightfall and
knock at a neighbour's door. At the cry, 'Who is there?' reply that you
have given and they have taken the disorder. When the inmates rush
out to abuse you, you must escape their pursuit.2

Vaccination is also objected to by some Muhammadans because it
is believed that the Imam Mahdi will be born with milk in his veins,
and vaccination would reveal this child by puncturing its arm.3

The causes and cures of disease in animals differ only in detail and
not in principle from those of disease in men. In the Dehi District
branding Chamars on the back has been resorted to as a means to extir-
pate cattle-disease. The victim appears to be entitled to a fee. He must
turn his face away from the village and not look back. This should be
done on a Saturday.4 It may also be got rid of by volley firing near the
animals affected.5

Transfer of cattle-disease is effected by a rite called ror dānd
or nūd, or rorb being the articles carried in procession to the bound-
ary of the infected village and thrown into the confines of the one adjacent
to it. In one case under a faqir's advice they consisted of a buffalo's
skull, a small lamb or pig (carried by a sweeper), vessels of butter and
milk, fire in a pan, wisps of grass, and sticks of sicas (asclepias).6
This must be done on a Sunday and on that day and the preceding
Saturday no field work must be done, grass cut, corn ground, food cooked
or fire lighted. The village to which the murrain is transferred must
lie to the east of that which transfers it. A Brahman should be present
and a gun fired off three times. A simpler method is to get a faqir to
write a charm on a wooden label, hang inside a pot like the clapper of
a bell and hang it over the village gate. It will ring when the wind
blows and stay the disease.8

1 Mrs. F. A. Steel in P. N. Q., I, § 332.
2 P. N. Q., II, 774.
3 Ib., II, § 980, and I, § 1012.
4 Ib., I, § 237, I, § 598.
5 Ib., I, § 336.
6 P. N. Q., I, § 780. Saturday and
Sunday are in some way sacred to horned
cattle, for cattle, leather and pait must not
be bought or sold on those days. And all
cattle dying on those days are buried, not
eaten by the village mensals: 45, 1, § 1012.
7 Ib., I, § 598. A similar rite is
performed in case of cholera epidemic: 45,
II, § 25.
Cures of disease in cattle.

Should a bull die of murrain, it should be wrapped in a cotton and buried in a road leading to the village over which the sick cattle will pass. This will stay the disease.

Tánq or tówá is the generic name for physical prayers of this character. A murrain may be stayed by getting a faqir to bless a long string by reciting passages from the sacred books over it and attaching to it peashers and bits of red rag on which charms have been written. It is then hung up across the village-gate, and the cattle passing under it will be cured.

For the disease called sat it suffices to tie up one of the stricken cattle outside a shrine. But in Hazará a more elaborate rite is used by the Gójars against cattle-plague. The infected animals are placed in a circle and a swillák or some person of saintly descent goes round them thrice. Each animal is then passed under a long piece of cloth in which a Qurán has been wrapped. The bones of dead animals are occasionally buried in another stable to which it is hoped to transfer the disease. Elsewhere a kdr or circle is drawn round the herd and a holy man rides round it, sprinkling water and repeating the creed.

A galled bullock may be cured by applying the ashes of a lizard killed on a Sunday and burnt.

The disease of horses called simuk is cured by killing a goat or fowl and letting its blood flow into the horse's mouth, or if this cannot be done quickly, it is sufficient for a naked man to strike the horse's forehead 7 times with his shoe.

When the pods open and cotton is ripe for picking women go round the field eating rice-milk, the first mouthful of which is spat on the field towards the west. This is called pharásā. The first cotton picked is exchanged for its weight in salt which is prayed over and kept in the house till the picking is over.

Catarrh in horses is cured by burning blue cloth in a lota and making him smell it.

Mála or blight may be expelled from a crop by enticing a Hindu named Múl Chánd or Múdráj into the field and thence kicking him out or driving him away with blows.

Madness in dogs is ascribed to their eating bones on which a kite has dropped its excreta.

Sikhs believe that recitation of the words om sat nam will cure rheumatism, cough and biliousness. They procure salvation in the next world and safety in this. Rooted after meals they help digestion and bring good luck.

1 P. N. Q., I, § 1015.  
2 Zb., II, § 398.  
3 Zb., II, § 278.  
4 Zb., III, § 800.  
5 Zb., III, § 798.  
7 Montgomery S. H. (Pusser), p. 82.  
8 P. N. Q., III, § 390.  
9 Zb., II, § 245.  
The worship of Shiva. 269

MODERN HINDUISM.

SHAIYAS AND VAISHNAVAS.—The grand distinction in actual practice between Shaivas (including Shaktis) on the one hand and Vaishnavas on the other does not lie in any of the numerous theoretical differences noted in the books written on the subject so much as in the fact that the former have not, generally speaking, any objection to the eating of meat, while the latter have. "In Hindustân," as the author of that very curious book, the Dábdástan, puts it, "it is known that whoever abstains from meat and hurting animals is esteemed a Vaishnava without regard to the doctrine." The Shaiva may worship Vishnu, and the Vaishnava Shiva, but the Vaishnava will not taste meat, while the Shaiva may partake of meat and drink spirits. It is sometimes said that the worshippers of Devi are of two classes,—those who worship Vishnu-Devi and who are in every respect Vaishnavas being in the one class, while those who worship Kali-Devi and to whom the term of Shiv is more applicable constitute the other. Of autonomy between the Vaishnavas and the Shaivas we hear very little in the Punjab; and the distinction here is less one of religion or of the god worshipped than of practice and ceremony and the manner of food eaten. Outwardly the main distinction lies in the tilak or forehead marks: those of the Vaishnavas being generally speaking upright, while those of the Shaivas are horizontal. The rosaries of the one sect will be of tilak bead; those of the other of the rudraksha plant. The Vaishnavas worship in the Thakurdwaras where Rám or Sita or Laxman is enthroned; the Shaivas in Shiválas or Shivdwaras where the ling is the central object of worship. There is more gladness and comprehensiveness in the ideas of the former; more mystery and exclusiveness in those of the latter. The Bánias is almost always a Vaishnava; the Brahman, unless he belongs to a clan which has Bánias for patrons¹ (jajmáns), is generally a Shaiva.

THE SHAIVAS.

THE TERMS SHAIVA AND SHAKTI.—A worshipper of Shiv is not necessarily, in the ordinary sense of the term, a Shaiva by sect, nor is a person necessarily to be termed a Shakti by sect because he worships Devi. The term Shaiva is generally applied, not to any worshipper of Shiv, but to those only who are more or less exclusively devoted to his worship or who perform certain ceremonies or adopt certain customs which may or may not be specifically connected with the worship of this deity, but which are at any rate in strong contrast to those which are followed by the Vaishnavas. Similarly, the word Shakti, though applicable in the wide sense of the term to all worshippers of Devi, is in its narrower meaning applied only to those who have been initiated in, and have been allowed to witness and partake in, the more secret worship of the goddess; but as these more mysterious ceremonies are in popular estimation of a somewhat disreputable character, there is a certain bad odour about the term Shaktik, which induces many true members of the cult to return themselves merely as Devi worshippers.

¹ I have changed 'clients' here to 'patrons': the term jajmáns means, literally, 'he who gets a sacrifice performed.'—H. A. R.
SHIVA.—The wonderful mingling of attributes in the great deity Shiva, the strange coalescence of death and mystery, and lust and life, is forcibly described in one of the most powerful of Sir Alfred Lyall's poems. The god is reverence under each of his many characters and many attributes. To some he is the great primal cause, the origin of creation, the "Sada Shiva," the god that ever was and ever will be. His worshippers, following the Muslim terminology, sometimes term him Bābā Adam. To others he appears as the pattern ascetic: powerful by his austerities and terrible in his curses: he feeds on flesh and drinks strong drinks: he lives on bhaṣya: he takes one-and-a-quarter maunds of bhaṣya every day. To a great part of his worshippers he appears less as a god than as a strenuous devotee, all-powerful with the gods. To another part he is an unseen influence, personified in the ling or conical stone, which in its origin represents the regenerative power of nature, but which to nine-tenths of its present adherers has probably no meaning whatever beyond the fact that it is a representation of Shiva. In the plains the ling forms the central object of worship within the dark, narrow cell which constitutes the ordinary Shivāla or Shiva temple; and it is only in the hills that it is commonly to be seen outside or by itself; but in the Panjab, generally speaking, the worship of the ling is not so prevalent or prominent as in Benares and other places, where the worship of Shiva is in greater force.

Shiva has 100 names, but the commonest of all is Mahādeo, or the Great God, under which name he was most frequently designated by his followers at the Census. They also termed him Mahesh,—Mahesh-wara, the Great Lord, and Shamhu, the Venerable One. They call him also Sonoanand, and his following is known as Sheo-mat, Sheo-dharna, or Sheomarg. His strongholds are mostly outside these provinces, at Benares, Rameswar, Khandarp, Somnath, Bahinath, etc. The Ganges, which flowed from his matted hair, is specially sacred to his followers. Their chief scriptures are the Shiva Purāṇa and Uttama Purāṇa. They worship at the Shivala with offerings of flowers and water and leaves, with the ringing of bells, and the singing of hymns. Their sectarian marks are horizontal across the forehead, and they will often wear necklaces of the rudraksha.

All castes are worshippers of Shiva; but he is not a popular favourite in the same way as Vishnu or Krishna. It has been before pointed out that the worship of Shiva is mainly a Brahman worship, and it is undoubtedly most prevalent where the Brahmins have most power—a fact which conflicts somewhat with the theory sometimes put forward that Shivaism is a remnant of the aboriginal religions of the country. The following of Shiva is in these provinces confined mainly to the high class Brahmins and Kshatrias, and the example of the latter is followed by the Sumars, or goldsmiths, and the Thatheras, or copper-workers; the Mahārshi Bānis are also his devotees; but among the ordinary agricultural community the worship of Shiva is uncommon and the Shivalas in the villages of the plains are almost always the product of the piety of money-lenders and traders, not of the agriculturists themselves.

In the Himalayas Shiva is worshipped extensively, especially by all the lower castes. The home of Shiva is believed to be the peak of Khaskar.
Shaivism in the Himalayas. 261

in pargana Takpa of Bashahr, and music is at times heard on its summit. Old men say that on the smallest of its peaks, visible from Chini, is a pool surrounded by mountains amongst which lie Shiv's temple and the homes of the other deities. Many years ago a holy faqir came to this mountain to worship Shiva and accomplished his pilgrimage, but by returning to ask some favour of the god, incurred his displeasure and was turned into a rock which can be seen from Kailas north of Chini. This rock has a white tint at sunrise, a red at mid-day, and a green at sunset. Kailas itself is the abode of the dead.

On Sri Khand, a peak 18,624 feet above sea-level, is a stone image of Shiv, called Sri Kand Mahadeva, which is worshipped by placing a cup of charas in front of it and burning the drug to ashes. Everything offered to the god is placed under a stone. Six miles further on, in Kulu, is Nil Kanth Mahadeva, a peak visited by sadhus only on account of its inaccessibility. It has a spring of red water, Barmaur again is a Shiva-bhumi or 'territory of Shiva,' and hence, it is said, the Gaddis of Chamba are Shaivas.

The prevalence of Shaivism in the Himalayas may be gauged by the following note by Dr. Vogel: "There are no less than 40 places of worship (44 being temples proper) in Mandi, and of these 24 are Civalayas, 8 Devi temples and 2 are dedicated to Civaistic deities. This shows the preponderance of Civism in Mandi. The number of Thakurdwaras (Vishnu shrines) is seven only. Among the civalayas most are Lingatemples, but the oldest are dedicated to Civa Pancavaktra (i.e. the five-faced) whose curious images are remarkably numerous in Mandi." Writing of Kangra, Dr. Vogel says: "Though Civism no doubt prevails everywhere and all the principal temples and shrines are dedicated to Mahadeo or Devi under various names, there seems to have been a great deal of Vishnu (or Krishna) worship among the Rajas. At least I found this with regard to those of Kangra and Nurpur, who may be considered to have been the more important ones. It seems that while the popular religion was the greater Sivaism, the Rajas took to the higher form of Vishnuism. This seems to be the most obvious explanation, though it is quite possible that there were other causes and the Rajas perhaps introduced Vishnuism from the plains. It is curious that a Krishna image in the Fort at Nurpur is said to have been brought from Udaipur in Rajputana."

Similarly, in Kulu, Thakur Gopal, the cow-herd (Krishna), is worshipped by the former Gurus of the Rajas, though Sivaism is prevalent in the Kulu Valley, and in the Simla Hills the cult of Vishnu is said to be entirely confined to immigrants from the plains, the indigenous population being wholly Shaivas or Shaktaks.

The following are accounts of some Shiva temples in Kangra:

1 He is so called because the Bābā manifested himself while yet a child (bābā).
Shaiva cults in Kângra.

who asked him if he would serve him. Jogu consented, whereupon the Gosain instructed him not to tell anybody what had passed between them. Leaving the Gosain Jogu went to the fields where other men were working, and on his arrival there began to dance involuntarily, saying that he did not know where he had left his plough. The men rejoined that the plough was on his shoulder and asked what was the matter with him. Jogu told them the whole story, but when he had finished telling it he became mad. Ganesha, his father, thereupon took some cotton-thread and went to a Gosain, by name Kanhatar Nâth, who recited some mantras, blow on the thread, and told him to put it round the neck of Jogu, who on wearing it was partially cured. Kanhatar Nâth then advised Ganesha to take the lad to Bâhâ Lâl Pûrî, a good Mahâtma who lived in the village of Gannigar Gânjar, which he did. Lâl Pûrî let him depart, telling him that he would follow him. He also declared that the Gosain whom the mad lad had met was Bâhâ Bâlak Rûpî, and that he had been afflicted because he had betrayed the Bâhâ. Ganesha went his way home, but Bâhâ Lâl Pûrî reached Hâr before him. Thereafter both Bâhâ Lâl Pûrî and Jogi Kanhatar Nâth began to search for Bâhâ Bâlak Rûpî. At that time, on the site where Bâlak Rûpî’s temple now stands, was a temple of Gugga, and close to it was a rose-bush. Bâhâ Lâl Pûrî told Ganesha to cut down the bush and to dig beneath it. When he had dug to a depth of 4 or 5 cubits he discovered a flat stone (piñâq) against which the spade, with which he was digging, struck (the mark caused by the stroke is still visible) and blood began to ooze from it till the whole pit was filled with gore. But after a short time the blood stopped and milk began to flow out of it. Next came a stream of saffron which was followed by a flame (rot) of incense (dhâp), and finally by a current of water. Bâhâ Lâl Pûrî said that all these were signs of Bâhâ Bâlak Rûpî. He then took the idol (piñâq) to Neogal Nadi or Kund in order to bathe it, whereupon milk again began to issue from it. The idol was then taken back to its former place. While on the road near Bhobar Kund (a tank near the temple on the roadside) the idol of itself moved from the palanquin, in which it was being carried, and went into the tank. Bâhâ Lâl Pûrî and Kanhatar Nâth recovered it and brought it back to the place where it had first appeared. During the night it was revealed to Bâhâ Lâl Pûrî in a vision that Gugga’s temple must be demolished and its remains cast into the Negal Kund or used in building a temple to Bâlak Rûpî on the same site. This can only mean that the cult of Bâlak Rûpî is, or was, hostile to that of Gugga. Accordingly the idol was stationed on the place pointed out. Bâhâ Lâl Pûrî said that Jogu’s eldest son and his descendants should have the right to worship the idol, while the out-door duties would be performed by Kanhatar Jogi’s descendants. At that time Sarsâm Chand Katoch was the Rajâ of that territory. Rajâ Abhi Chand was the first to make a vow at the temple of Bâhâ Bâlak Rûpî in order that he might be blessed with a son. When he beget a child, the Bâhâ began to be resorted to more eagerly.

A Pathâl Râjpût girl was once told by her brother’s wife to graze cattle, and on her refusing, the latter said:—'Yes, it is beneath your dignity to graze cattle because you are a Râni; be sure you will not be
married to a Rájá. The girl in distress at this taunt untied the cattle and led them to the jungle. At that time Bába Bála Rúpí had again become manifest. The girl supplicated him and said that she would not believe him to be really Bála Rúpí unless she married a Rájá, adding that if her desires were fulfilled, she would offer a bullock of copper at his temple. Five or seven days had not elapsed when a Rájá of the Katoch dynasty chanced to pass by where the girl was herding cattle, and seeing her he bade her to be taken to his seraglio, where he married her. Unfortunately the girl forgot to fulfil her vow, and so a short time after all the Ránis in the seraglio began to nod their heads (chelád), as if under the influence of a spirit, and continued doing so day and night. The Rájá summoned all the védás and chelás. One of the latter said that the cause of the Ránis' being possessed by spirits was that a vow to Bába Bála Rúpí had not been fulfilled. The Rájá replied that if all the Ránis recovered, he would take all his family to the temple and present the promised offering. The chelá then prepared a thread in the name of the Bába and when this was put round the neck of the persons possessed they recovered. This all happened on a Saturday in Jeth. Thereafter a bullock was made of copper, and the Rájá also erected a temple. When the bullock was offered (jtil-dána), the artist who had made it died forthwith.\(^1\)

Whenever any misfortune is about to befall the Katoch dynasty the copper bullock is affected as if by fear. This occurred on the 29th of Hár Sambar 1902 and Rájá Partáb Chand died on the 15th of Sáwan in that year. On that day Bába Bála Rúpí's idol also perspired. For these reasons the bullock is worshipped and vows are made to it.

The játías (officers) who make vows at the temple of the bullock on the fulfilment of their desires offer joma topic and batua and rub the bullock with the offering. They also put a bell round his neck. These offerings are taken by the Jogi on duty, there being several Jogís who attend by turn.

Four fairs, lasting eight days, are held in Bála Rúpí's honour on every Saturday in Jeth and Hár. Those who have vowed to offer he-goats present them alive, while those who have vowed to sacrifice he-goats slaughter them at a fixed spot within the temple precincts. The head, fore-legs and skin are given to the Jogi on duty, and some rice and a pice are also paid to him as compensation for ancestor-worship. The he-goats brought to be slaughtered are killed at Neoga Kund, and also cooked and eaten there. But sometimes the people take the cooked meat home and distribute it as a holy thing.

The ceremony of jamačás (or shaving the hair of a child for the first-time) is usually performed in Bála Rúpí's temple and the hair is then offered at the temple. Even those who observe the ceremony at home often come to the temple and offer the hair. An additional present, the amount of which varies from two pice to any sum that one's means allow, is also made. All these offerings are taken by the Jogi on duty. Játías who make offerings (e.g. of a human being such as

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1. Clearly the bull (kail) of Shiva.
2. Of the story on p. 207 supra.
a child, or of a buffalo, cow, horse etc. according to their vow), give it, if an animal, to the Jogi on duty, but in the case of a child its price is paid to the Jogi and it is taken back. Besides these, cash, curds, umbrellas, coconuts and gât are also offered. The offerings are preserved in the dhanḍôr (store-house).

The people living in the vicinity of the temple, within a distance of 15 or 20 kos, do not eat fresh corn (termed nawaan, lit. 'new') unless they have offered some of it at Bālāk Pārī's temple. Fairs are held on each Saturday in Jēth and Hār.

There is another temple to Bālāk Rāpī at Naṅgroṭa, but no fair is held there. It has been in existence for about 18 generations, and contains a marble image of Mahádev, 4 fingers high. A Gosān pujārī manages it. His caste is Puri and ācārya Ubhī. He may marry, but a chela always succeeds his gurū. Worship is performed morning and evening, fried gram in the morning and bread in the evening being offered as bhog. Artī is also performed in the evening and a sacred lamp lit.

In Mandī Bālāk Rāpī is described as another famous temple of Shiva in Bangālā. He is worshipped in severe illness and is also supposed to remove ailments of all kinds. As a Siddh he has a shrine at Bālāk Rāpī in Kamlā, and a smaller one at Hatī, both visited for the cure of diseases. Bālāk Nāth, the son of Shiva, appears to be quite distinct from Bālāk Rāpī.

The shrine of Siddh Bairāg Lok near Pālampur.—The founder of the shrine, when a boy, when herding cattle, once met a Gosān who told him never to disclose the fact of their friendship or he would no longer remain in his place. Keeping the secret, however, made him ill, and so at last he told his parents all about the Gosān. They gave him saṭṭu for the holy man, but when about to cook it the boy complained that he had no water, whereupon the Gosān struck the ground with his gaja (an iron stick) and a spring appeared, which still exists. The Gosān did not eat the food, saying his hunger was satisfied by its smell. The boy then caught the Gosān by the arm, upon which the latter struck him with his hand and turned him into stone. The Gosān himself disappeared in the earth. The boy's parents searched for him for 5 days, until one night the secret was revealed to one of his family who was directed to erect a temple a little above the spring. Another story is that a few days later a Bhāt Brahman became possessed and saw all that had occurred. So a temple was erected and the place called Bairāg (Gosān) Lok, from alop, disappearance. As Bairāg Lok had been a herdsman, he became peculiarly the god of cattle and fulfills vows made regarding cattle. The fair is held on Hār 3rd. He-goats and corn are offered. In this temple there is also an image of Gorakhnāth, placed therein by a Goleria Mīrā in Sikh times. The stone idol of the boy has disappeared. The followers of the shrine regard the Gosān as Gorakh-

1. Mandī Gazetteer, p. 41.
2. Id., p. 40.
3. Id., p. 38; see infra under Hinduism in the Himalayas, for the cult of Shiva in Mandī.
Shiv temples in Kāngra.

If in the above examples Shiva is disguised almost beyond recognition, those tabulated below are often connected with Shiva by the slenderest of ties, such as the mere presence of his image in the fane:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place and name of temple</th>
<th>Pujārī</th>
<th>Dates of fair</th>
<th>Ritual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bīmarā-Shivji Gauḍhurb</td>
<td>Brahmān, got Sum-</td>
<td>Shāhī dā on Pāgān</td>
<td>Bhat in the morning and soaked gram in the evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the only remaining</td>
<td>kery and got Atri.</td>
<td>hadī choudān,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bastion of the Gau-</td>
<td>Vows are made</td>
<td>Vows are made</td>
<td>for relief from periodic fevers and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhurb fort which was</td>
<td>for relief from</td>
<td>for relief from</td>
<td>red offered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>destroyed in the Sikh</td>
<td>periodic fevers and</td>
<td>periodic fevers and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>times.</td>
<td>red offered.</td>
<td>red offered.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duōjan-Bīshwji, founded</td>
<td>A Brahmān is</td>
<td>None, but on 14th</td>
<td>Fruit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Sikh times by</td>
<td>employed under the</td>
<td>Phāgān, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājpūt.</td>
<td>Rājpūt pujārī.</td>
<td>people assemble to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The maṇḍap of Bājī Nāth</td>
<td>Bhājī and Brah-</td>
<td>A fair lasting 4</td>
<td>It contains a stone lingam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at Rālampur. The</td>
<td>man. The pujārī</td>
<td>days on the chau-</td>
<td>of Shiva which is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>story in that Bāwan</td>
<td>is a Brahmān.</td>
<td>dān in Phāgān.</td>
<td>one foot high above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meditated here and</td>
<td>costh Sundū, got</td>
<td></td>
<td>the ground. A sacred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consequently obtained</td>
<td>Kondal.</td>
<td></td>
<td>lamp is kept lit day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>success in every under-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and night. Connected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taking.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with this are the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>shrines of Lachhul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Narsīn and Shīk Nāth.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1For other Shīk shrines see p. 276 infra.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place and name of temple</th>
<th>Pajāri</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
<th>Ritual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Śīrāj Kund, Mandi</td>
<td>A Girī Gosāīn, got Atlās.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>The largest building contains a stone pedestal of Shiva, one span high; also an image of Śan Mahāshāyān seated by its side, 3 cubits high. The place is one of great sanctity and people come to bathe and pay devotions here. Worship is performed twice a day, morning and evening. Fruit in the morning, rice at noon and bread in the evening form the Śāhāg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir or Thākurdwāra of Gupt Ganga.</td>
<td>Brahman, Lagwāl, got Gurg.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>The temple contains images of Śiva, Ganga and Narmadā made of marble. That of Śiva is 4 fingers high and that of Ganga, one cubit. Both are adorned with gold and silver ornaments. Fruit is offered as bhog morning and evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Kapūlī Bhalīrān in Kangra town. At the Jāg celebrated by Prājapati, his daughter, Śiva's wife, being insulted, committed suicide. Her kapūl was taken from above and Bhalīrān, an attribute of Śiva, standing below caught it on this spot. Hence the mandir was called Kapūlī Bhalīrān.</td>
<td>A Jogi, got Alākh.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Cult of Mahádeo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place and name of temple</th>
<th>Pashri</th>
<th>Dates of fair</th>
<th>Ritual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Bir Bhadra Shiva, the subordinate god of Shiva, was founded in the Sat Yuga. It is held in great sanctity.</td>
<td>A Brahman, caste Bhoda, got Bhárdawáj</td>
<td>None...</td>
<td>It contains a black stone image of Shiva seated on a jálak and one span high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Chakar Kund; the dice of chakar which killed the rakshasas jalanáwar fell on this spot; hence it was called Chakar Kund.</td>
<td>A tioticín, caste Páuri, got Bhorn</td>
<td>None...</td>
<td>The temple contains a stone píndi of Shiva, one span high. The Pashar temple is connected with it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mahádeva is the originator or creator of many castes, generally of the lower grades, Brahma being the progenitor of the higher castes, such as the pure Brahmans, while Mahádev created such castes as the Bhatta and the Cháran. He created the former to attend his lion and bull, but they would not prevent the lion from killing the bull which vexed Mahádev as he had to create new ones. He therefore formed the Cháran; equal in devotion to the Bhatt, but of a holier spirit, and placed him in charge of his favourite animals. Thenceforth no bull was ever destroyed by the lion.

Sleeman relates a story of an informant who naively declared that the British Government was nothing but a multiplied incarnation of Shiva. The god himself had so declared through his oracles and had announced that his purpose was to give his people impartial Government and prevent internecine warfare. The flattery was not so gross as it might appear.

To Mahádeo are offered daily leaves of the bel, *Eugie marmelo*, called bil-patri, and lauki kh minjarán or ears of the sacred basil, while ambergris is also burnt before him daily. To him in particular is sacred the pipal, though Shiva is found in its branches together with Brahma and Vishnu. The banyan tree is similarly sacred to Vishnu and the alos to Devi as Káli Bihuání.

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2. Sleeman's *Rambles*, II, p. 241, quoted in P. N. Q. III, 8, 401. The story recalls the one told to Sir G. Robertson when he asked if Yusuf, the chief of the devils, resembled himself, and was informed that he did not, but that he was like the English private soldier, i.e. of a reddish colour.
3. Dr. Hutchison connects the minjarán kh mel of the hills with the cult of a rivergod; see p. 213 supra.
Cult names of Mahādeo are numerous. In the Simla Hills he is called Bhoteshar, from Bhoti, the name of a village in which his temple is situated.

The cult of Mahādeo is not only deeply seated in Kāngra, but it is also varied in form. Mahādeo being worshipped under various names. At Jawālī he appears as Kamteshar, 2 as Kalīsīhar in Kuthīāra, 3 as Narbadeshar in Sujāmpur, 4 as Bilkeshar 5 in Sapra (Nādānn), 6 as Tameshar in Nādānn, 6 and so on.

The real history of the shrine of Bāhā Baroh Mahādeo, near Jawālī Mukhi, is not known, but the story goes that under a bāyana or bari tree (whence the name bāroh) appeared an idol of stone still to be seen in Dānaya, by name Kāli Nāth, whose merit Bāhā Lāl Pōrī preached. In 1740 S. Dīhan Singh, masīr of Gōlar, was imprisoned at Kōlā and a soldier at the fort, a native of Dānaya, persuaded him to make a vow to Bāhā Baroh, in consequence of which he was released. The masīr however forgot his vow and so fell ill, until he made a large penitent offering to the shrine. In that year the small old temple was replaced by the present larger one under Bāhā Lāl Pōrī. The followers of Bāhā Baroh keep a jōtī (cloth bag), an iron chain, ḍhatēsamū (sandals), and a chōṭī or shirt, in their houses. Grain is usually offered at the shrine, with flour, ḍhīr and ḍur for the bullock (there appears to be an image of a bullock also). If a he-goat is sacrificed, the skin and a hind-leg are offered up, the rest being eaten by the jātri on his way home. Sometimes a khādu or living he-goat is offered, as the substitute for a life in case of sickness, or by one who is childless. Women can enter the shrine.

Gowālā was a holy man in Kāngra. His legend runs thus:

One day as he was sitting on a lofty hill near Baroh a wedding procession passed by and he said to the bride: 'Thorin on this side and on that: she who wears the red veil is my wife.' The bridgroom challenged him to jump down from the hill and he did so but was killed. The bride then took his head in her lap and said to the bridgroom: 'You gave me to him; I burn on the pyre with him.'

A temple to Mahādeo may owe its foundation to a trivial cause, e.g. the image of Mahādeva of Purag was found in a field named Majhouni. It resembled Sūrī in appearance and hence it was called Mahādeo.

Ascribed to the time of the Pāṇḍavas, this temple contains a stone image called Ganga Mahādeo, one span high.

Also ascribed to the time of the Pāṇḍavas. Before that Kāli performed austerities at this spot.

Called after a conical stone or ājag brought from the Narbada, the temple was founded by Bānī Farsān Devī, wife of Rājā Satār Chand of Kāngra. Founded in 1870—1 it was completed in 1882. On each side of it are 4 small shrines; a sun temple, containing an image of a man on seven-headed horse, 2 ft. high; a Ganesha temple; one Chatarbhujī Devī; and one to Lachhāni Nārān. Each of these contains a stone image 3 ft. high. Ājag is offered five times a day, ājeg, milk, ḍhīr, gram etc. being given.

This is called 'after the Bānī and the Kānchā.' It is said that 10,000 years ago the Pāṇḍavas or gods began to erect the temple by night. This was noticed by some men and so the gods left it half-built. It was finished by Rājā Bhim Chand.

Founded by Rājā Abhi Chand (date not known). It contains a stone ājag 4½ cubits high. Connected with it is a temple of Śīlā containing 4 images.

This shrine seems independent of the Cairān near Baroh.
This resolve she carried out, and the cairns erected in memory of Gowardha's bravery exist to this day.

The following is a list of temples in this district to Mahádeo:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Pujári</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Ritual offerings &amp;c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The mound of Gang Bhaisho Mahádeo, in Achi, dates from the Satying when Ganga came and sat down to rest. A few cows were grazing here and the cowherd called one of them whose name was also Ganga. Ganga thinking she had been recognized by the man disappeared, leaving the mark of her hoofs on a stone, which is held in great reverence and people worship it. Formerly an image of Mahádeo stood at the foot of a jujum tree.</td>
<td>Giri Gosála, got Shierdri</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>The temple contains a carrying of Gang Bhaisho Mahádeo on a black stone, 1 span high and 4 in circumference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mound of Tapteshwar Mahádeo in Baraṇj. A hot spring near the temple is attributed to the power of the god. It was founded by a Guler Ráj.</td>
<td>Brahman Gosála, got Lath.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>It contains an image of Shiva, of white stone and 1 foot high. Worship is performed morning and evening when fruit or food cooked by the pujári is offered to the god.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiri-Srī Soha Nath. There is a smaller wánder in the verandah of the temple. It is said that Soha Chand, Ráj of Chiri, founded the small temple and named it after himself, but eventually it came to be called Soha Nath.</td>
<td>Brahman Bhojá. The manager of the endowment is a Giri Gosála by got a Rájasth, who is celibate.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Rice in the morning only. The temple contains a black stone image (pind) of Shiva, 4 ft. in circumference and 3 ft. high. It is held sacred and worshipped largely by the people of Rihla.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Pujari</td>
<td>Date of fair</td>
<td>Ritual, offerings etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Karjear Mahadeo in Palampur was once called Kishore Panjara, it was once a grove of 72 trees amidst which a crane made its nest. From its nest sprang Mahadeo and manifested himself. He was named Kori after the crane. One night it was revealed to Raja villa at the hand of a son of Kanga then childless, that if he built a temple in honour of Shiva, he would be blessed with a son. Accordingly he made a search for the pujari of Shiva in the 72 forest and it was found among the trees where the temple was built. It was not long before the Raja beget four sons. In fulfilment of his vow he celebrated a great fair. A Brahman, caste vardham got Keshal.</td>
<td>A party of pandars who attend the temple in turns. Their got is Kori. The pujari is always chosen from the pandars. Bhog of dali, bread and rice etc. is offered in morning. In the evening aaked gram is offered and distributed only among the low caste people, such as Chamaras, Jatiyas etc., but these low castes are not allowed to make offerings to the temple, nor are they admitted into it.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| The temple contains a black stone pujari of Shiva 4 fingers high and 3 cubits in circumference; and two images of Parvati Nadi (etc.). |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Pejārī</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Ritual, offerings &amp;c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The mausoleum of Nandi Kashūr Mahādiśe in Joldēgal is situated on the bank of the Ban Ganges river. It is said that Nandi, who practised devotional exercises here and enshrined an image of Śiva wherein the temple is called Nandi Kashūr. It is said to have been founded by a Šuket Bānl.</td>
<td>Its affairs are managed by a pejārī and a supervisor, both Śīrśa Gosālī, got. Atta. One is celibate and the other not; so succession is governed both by natural and spiritual relationships.</td>
<td>A fair is annually held on the Śrīśvedī in Phigom.</td>
<td>The temple contains a stone image of Śiva sealed on a jahārī and 1½ space high. It is said that above this image (without any support) hangs the image of Nandi, whom the Bānl once visited to do it homage. Seeing the miraculous suspension of the image, she hesitated to enter the temple, lest it should fall on her. So she built a supporting wall before she entered it. It is held in great sanctity by the Hindus.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hindi—Jīr Mahādiśe A Bhaṇṭi Jōghī, got. Mārdish. No fair, but people gather on the Śrīvesāi to look at the image. The temple contains a stone pāndi of Śhīv-Jī. It is a cubit high and a foot in circumference. It stands on a jahārī. Either jīr or soaked gram is used as Ḡārī in the morning. In the evening only ṛdrī is performed. Sugar or fruit is offerd as Ḡārī in the morning and evening. The image of Indar Shūr is a cone of stone a cubit high and a foot in circumference. Gīrā is mounted on a horse. |

Gāḷā Mahādiśe and Indarash Mahādiśe at Chīṭu founded by the same Rājpiṭh who founded Kidār Nāṭh's temple at Sharish. A Gosālī of the Śrīhāṭṭa got. Jēṭh 13th The temple contains a white stone image, 4 fingers high, brought from the Nārāsā. |

Ghāṭārā—Mahādiśe, Indarash, founded by a Bhaṇṭhi Gosālī in the time of Rauḷiṣṭī Singh, some 200 years ago (1). A Bhaṇṭhi Gosālī who is elected from the obhāla. None |
## Temples to Mahadeo in Kangra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Pujari</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Ritual, offerings &amp;c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pal - Kareri - Mahadeo</td>
<td>A Jogi, by gotal</td>
<td>Though there is no temple, a pind of Shiva exists, and though no fair is held, people resort to the place for holying on the asthami of the Shikali pach in Bhadon when the hill is clear of snow. The place is called after the image.</td>
<td>Essay is offered, and goats etc. sacrificed in bhog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Dharmsala - War-weshwar Mahadeo</td>
<td>A Giri Gosein</td>
<td>Sadi asthami in Bhadon.</td>
<td>Essay is offered twice a day; rice or bread in the morning and sweet pot in the evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Dharmsala - Mahadeo Bhagwa Nath, called by the Gaddis Bhagwan Nag, by others Bhagwan Nath, his real name is Bhongeshar.</td>
<td>A Giri Gosein by gotal; Aturan, who is celibate.</td>
<td>Durga-asthami, sadi in Bhadon. On the day of the fair, offerings of curd, ghee, milk or grain are made. Thread is also offered in lieu of a junco or sacred thread.</td>
<td>Worship is performed twice a day morning and evening. Something cooked is offered as bhog at noon. The black stone pind of Mahadeo, 2 spans high, is said to have created itself. On the birth of a calf, people offer milk, curd and ghee which are called jhak. A young goat is also sacrificed, its head and loin being taken by the pujari as his perquisite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the mandir of Mahadeo Kal in Palampur the god Kal performed directions. The fair is celebrated on the date on which the building was completed. It has been in existence for 100 years and was founded by Sah Chand, a Katoch.</td>
<td>Brahman, got Bholai</td>
<td>Nandini pind in Jat.</td>
<td>The temple contains a stone pind of Shiva. A foot shows the ground. Bhog is offered at noon and evening, and then distributed among faqirs, the pujari etc. The temple is held in great sanctity and the dead of the adjacent towns and villages are brought to be cremated here.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The cult of Shiva being so widespread in the Himalayas, it is interesting to find that in the remote tract of Sarāj in Kulu few temples of Mahādeo are reported to exist. At Shāngri Isar Mahādeo has a temple which came to be founded in this wise: One Chandī, a Kanet, went on a pilgrimage. On the way he met a faqir who joined him. When evening came on they halted for the night in Dhamoli where there were no houses, but only a few deodār trees. The faqir told the Kanet that he had meditated there in the Duṣṭar Yuga. Meanwhile a Brahman had joined them, and they asked him to dig at a certain spot where a pindī would be found. It was found accordingly and the faqir then disappeared. The temple was built at this spot and the pindī installed therein. The pujārī are Sārusat Brahmans.

Shamsheer Mahādeo derives his name from Shamsheer, a village where he has five temples. A stone ling, resembling Shiva, appeared beneath some dry grass and was brought to a village by the Brahman who founded the temple in which it is enshrined. Four fairs are held here, the Bhand in Poh, the Shāānd on an auspicious day in Maghar, the Jal on the anadees in Phāgān and the Parbat on Chot 5th. At the first-named two 400 bā-geons must be sacrificed, but at the last two 40 suffice. Three of the five temples are built of stone and two of wood. There are ten stone idols, each 6 feet high, and a stone ox also. A few masks of brass representing human faces are also used in decorating the god.

Bini Mahādeo similarly derives his name from Bin, the village in which his temple stands. It is called Binidhara. Legend has it that in Bin lived two Thākarars, named Jāi and Tadarā. A dispute arose between them and they fought at Mulgīndōr, until a mānak or saint came out of the stream and bade them cease. Thākar Jāi asked him whence he had come and whither he was going. The saint replied that he had come from the land of the Kaurīs and Pānḍavās. The Thākar begged him to settle the quarrel and when he had done so he and Jāi started for the Bīās. On the road they were annoyed by a man at Shōlad, so the saint cursed the people of that village, and it was burnt. Next day they reached a spring and the saint vanished in the water. At night a voice was heard saying that a temple must be built in the village which should be named Bin after him. So the temple was built and a ling of Mahādeo appeared in it of its own accord.

Jagesar Mahādeo has two temples in Sarāj, one at Dalāsh on the Sutlej and one at Rohru. The Shāānd is celebrated every 30 years at Dalāsh, and there are annual fairs at each temple. The story is that in the Duṣṭar Yuga a devotee, Jagad Rishī, came down from Kailās and meditated here. A black stone idol soon manifested itself to him, and he was so overjoyed at its sight that he became its votary. One night it was revealed to him in a vision that it was Mahādeo himself, who was born on the 5th of Bhādōn. In the morning the rishī found that he was blind, so he made a vow to Mahādeo, and as his sight was restored, he built the temple and fixed the date of its fair. The other temple at Rohru was built later. The temple is managed by Jhinwar kōrdār, but the pujārī is a Sārusat Brahman. Special reverence
is only paid to the guru or disciple of the god, because he goes into trances and answers all questions put to the god.

Buđā Mahādevo has a temple at Netar Dera. The story of its foundation is that Kapāl Dip, an aged devotee, meditated at its site for many years. At length he disappeared beneath the earth and thenceforth he was known as Buđā Mahādevo. Once Rājā Parichat pitched his tent on the site of the temple. Next morning he found himself blind in both eyes. In reply to his supplications he was told of Kapāl Muni (sic) and he sought his aid. When his sight was restored he built this temple which was called Netar Dera or the "place of the eye." The annual fair lasts from the end of Sāwan to the 15th Bhādān. Pratik, a kind of fair, are also held in Chet, Phāguan, Jeth, Sāwan, Bhādān, Asuj and Poh. Low caste people are not allowed to make offerings.

Bashesht Mahādeo has a temple at Nirmand on the Sutlej. A cow was observed to yield her milk to a panīti hidden in long grass and so it was worshipped and a temple eventually built over it. The people of Nirmand use no milk or ghee till it has been offered to the panīti.

The temple of Bougru Mahādeo and Devī Harwā in Phāti Chanūl is known by many names, such as Gashwālī Deors, Deori Deors, and Shīghi. Annual fairs are held on the Shivrātri in Phāguan, lasting for 15 days; during the three days after the Holi; on the Naurātras in Chet and Asūj; on the 9th and 12th Baisākh; the 20th and 25th Hār; on the Punyā in Sāwan; the 2nd, 4th and 5th Asūj; the 16th Kātak; and on the 5th Maghār.

The story of its origin is that a Rānā when hunting reached the summit of a hill, and found a yogī deep in meditation, who told him that he came from Shivpuri and was Shivā himself. At the Rānā's prayer the yogī accompanied him to his home at Khaḷā where he asked the Rānā to build him a temple, but when it was built he would not sit in it and took from his pocket a small box out of which sprang a beautiful maid called Harwā Devī. He then desired that a temple should be erected for this goddess also, and so a shrine was built in her honour.

Kulchhatar Mahādeo has a temple at Alwā, a village founded by Paras Rān after he had extinguished the Khatri. A few Brahmins settled in it, and to them he gave a metal kals for worship. It was enshrined in a temple, and stands three cubits high.

At the temple of Bhānaḥ Mahādeo fairs are held at every Diwālī and on the 1st Baisākh. The Bhūnda is celebrated every 40 years, and is said to be followed by a Shāṇḍ which is held every 12 years. The story of its origin is that a Thākur, Raghū, had a cow which was grazed by a blind boy on the further side of the river. A snake sucked the

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1 The temple of Bashesht, Saeukr, Vishveshvarā, Mahādevo at Bajaurā in the Kula valley appears to give its name to that place. It probably dates from the 17th century when the Rājā of Kula vigorously promoted the worship of Krishna and Rāma; Arch. Survey Rep., 1908-10, p. 20. It is suggested that the promotion of this worship was connected with the incorporation into Kula of the militant Bhrāgus recorded by Lyall: Kaura S. R. Rep., §§ 82 and 94, on p. 85 as having been made under Rājā Theed Singh, sec. c. 1768.
cow’s milk for many days, until, to the cowherd’s great joy, when he reached the other side of the river, his sight was restored. The news reached the Thákur’s ears. The snake was found, but it disappeared under the ground whence rose a metal image which said that it was Mahádeo himself. The Thákur then built a temple in which it was enshrined. The pujári is a Gaur Bráhman.

In Kulu proper Mahádeo has some ten temples. His cult names are Bilí Mahádeo or Bilishar, the lighting god at Malthán Dera, Jawain, Larain or Larani at Larain, Manglishar, Siáli, Sangam and Shibhrarách, besides Gauri Shankar and Nilkanth :—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deota Mahádeo</th>
<th>Chokki Pers</th>
<th>9th of the light half of Maghar.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deota Bilí Mahádeo or Bilishar Mahádeo</td>
<td>Malthán Pers</td>
<td>1st of Chet and 1st of Hár, 1st to 7th Asúj, five fairs from 1st to 5th Balásth. Pipál Játra for 12 days at Sulhánpur, 13th Balásth and 16th Balásth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Gauri Shankur Mahádeo</td>
<td>Dawala Washál Wangar</td>
<td>Shivrátri in the dark half of the month of Phágun for 2 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jawám Mahádeo</td>
<td>Pers Jawám Mahádeo</td>
<td>1st and 2nd Chet, during the same month in the light half of Parwa and Dutía, 1st to 3rd Balásth, 1st and 2nd Sáwan and 1st to 3rd Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Larain Mahádeo</td>
<td>Larum Pers</td>
<td>In Phágun, 2nd Chet, new year’s day 1st Balásth, 1st Jeóh, 1st Bhadon, Janaum-salámi and 1st Asúj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Manglishar Mahádeo</td>
<td>Chhumwar Pers</td>
<td>8th Balásth and a yag every 2nd year from 1st to 4th Sáwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nilkanth Mahádeoji</td>
<td>Known by the name of its deity.</td>
<td>On the Shivrátri, the 4th of the dark half of Phágun and Káll Púja from 1st to 4th of Jeóh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangam Mahádeo</td>
<td></td>
<td>No fair, but two festivals called Tári Rátri and Shiv Rátri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Siáli Mahádeo</td>
<td>Pers Siáli Mahádeo</td>
<td>26th of Phágun on the Shivrátri, 13th and 13th of Chet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Shibhrarách</td>
<td>Pers</td>
<td>1st of Phágun.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Mandi Nangol Mahádeo in Lad has countless natural idols of Shiva. A Gaúló who had incurred his wrath was also turned into stone.1

—

1 Mandi Gazetteer, p. 41.
Kot Ishwar.—Kot Ishwar Mahadeo (Shiva) originated from the temple of Durga at Hát Koti. (Durga’s own history goes back to the times of the Mahábháratas.) When Kot Ishwar Mahadeo began to oppress the people in Hát Koti the Brahmas thought that the god had become a rakshás (dävil), and two Brahmas, Olu and Sholu, by magic shut him up in a tusa and corked up its mouth. The tusa with the god and goddesses and two matriis in it they intended to throw into the Sutlej 40 miles from Hát Koti, which lies on the banks of the Pabar. When they reached Paroi Bil, two miles from the Sutlej, the Brahman who was holding the tusa stumbled and let it fall. As it broke in pieces the imprisoned god, with the two matriis, escaped. Kot Ishwar Mahadeo took shelter among the bana and chekkal bushes; one of the matriis soared to the top of the Tikdar hill, now called Kecheri, where she took up her abode in the kail trees; and the other flew across the Sutlej halting at Khehsu. Kot Ishwar again began to trouble the people in the form of a serpent. He would suck milk from the cows and they blamed the cow-boy who was much alarmed, when one day he saw a serpent suck milk from his cows. He told the owners of the cattle, and a Brahman of Batesa, a village near Kumbhársain, went to the spot and called on the serpent to appear if he were a god, threatening to burn him by magic as an evil spirit or devil, if he did not. So the god walked into his presence and the Brahman bowing before Kot Ishwar invited him to his village where he lived for 12 years. No Rajá then ruled this part of the hills which were held by the meshwas or matriis. Sunu, a powerful meshwas, heard of the god’s miracles and began to worship him. Once he dreamed that the god did not wish to live at Mathana Jaba, where a temple was proposed for him, but would prefer Pichla-tiba, now called Koti; so a temple was built there for him. Long after, his present temple was built on a larger scale at Madholi. At first he was represented by a single nakt dhát idol; but subsequently some 15 more idols of mixed metal were added as its companions. A rath (palaquin) was also made and the god seated in it at melas. Bhura, another contemporary meshwas, came to a melas organised in honour of the god by Sunu meshwas. He was dressed in ape skins. But Sunu did not allow Bhura to come before the god or touch his rath, so Bhura returned to his home at Bhura, scarcely 3 miles from Madholi, in disgust. One day after his return, when breaking up new land he found a gold image, and for this he made a rath. Seated in it this deula was brought to Madholi as he desired to live there with Kot Ishwar, and Sunu and Bhura abandoned their feud. Kot Ishwar was a terror to the countryside. He would kill any meshwas who did not obey him. Some indeed say that the gold image which Bhura found was Kot Ishwar himself in a new form, and that Bhura was killed by him. When the Brahmas of Hát Koti learnt that Kot Ishwar had become a good spirit and was displaying miracles at Madholi, two of them came to Lathi village, where they have been settled now for 77 generations. Bhura deula appeared about the same time as Kot Ishwar. His worshippers offer him only gold or meshwas cloth while Kot Ishwar can accept anything. Goats are usually sacrificed. The following melas called jágars are held in honour of these deulas:
(1) Bharara on the 1st Jeth; (2) Madhavni on the Rakthi Punia in Bhadon; (3) Madholi on the Parnaishi day in Bhadon; (4) Patti Jular on the 6th or 7th Asar; but at several places the jagras are held in Baisakh and Sawan on any day that may be fixed.

Kot Ishwar ruled this part of the hills before the Gera or Giaru family settled at Karangla. Some time later the Gera brothers quarreled over the partition of the kingdom, and so a cow-girl divided it into two parts, viz., Karangla and Kumbharsain. When the first Thakur came to Kumbharsain the country was made over to him by Kot Ishwar, who showed him favour so that State has given him a jagir worth Rs. 506, and pays the expenses of his jagrani. Six generations ago Thakur Ram Singh of Kumbharsain fought with Rana Pirthi Singh of Keonthal and the Thakur gained a victory by his aid. Every third year the deota's chari or staff is taken all the village, and when a new Rana ascend the gaddi the deota himself tours the country in a rath. Every house presents 4 pataus of grain. Kot Ishwar is the Kula Deo or Kot deota (family god) of the chief of Kumbharsain.

MAHADO IN GURGAON.

The deota Sherkot of Kumbharsain has his temple in the palace at Kumbharsain. He is none other than Kot Ishwar himself, but is called Sherkot. None but members of the Rana's family and the State parshad, who are called Sherkoth Brahman, can go into his temple. It is said that the original idol of Kot Ishwar is kept here, and that the image at Mandloli is only a duplicate.

The temple of Bindushwar Mahado at Pirozpur-Jhirka in Gurgaon is peculiarly interesting because its administration vests in a Hindu and as many Muhammadan Jogis families, appointed by the Hindus of the town. Their duty is to keep it clean and watch it by night. The offerings are taken by all the Jogis according to their shares, but they are distributed by the Hindus, Muhammadans not being allowed to touch them. There is no sarvan. The Muhammadan Jogis are Bar-Gujars by tribe and 'Ismat' (sire) by sarvan or sect. They can enter the temple, but may not touch the image and take no part in the worship, doing only mental duties. All the Jogis are at liberty to marry. The image came out of the hill 1000 years ago. West of the image stands a minaret.

The fair of Swami Dya is held at Swamika in tahsil Nahi on Katak sathi 13th and 14th. An old man, Swami Dya by name, used to worship here, so when he died a temple was built and called after him. The village was founded afterwards and was named after the temple. Its management vests in the Hindu Khattris who keep the place clean and take the offerings. Their got is Jangar. Another temple connected with this stands inside the village, but its administration vests in the Muhammadan land-holders of the village and they take the offerings. In the time of the Nawab of Haidar some thieves robbed people at the

* Her desidens is said to have been:—Dhe Kopa tis Kanar, Dhe Khokhar tis Daliy—
  "He who goes Kopa will get Kanar and he who takes Khokhar shall have Daliy." (Kopa
  and Khokhar are villages on the banks of the Sutlej and Kanar and Dali are villages
  high up the valley. A stream, the Sawari Khad, divides the country.)
fair held at the temple outside and so this small temple was built in the village. The fair is now held there. A drum is beaten on every Sunday and lamps are lit. At the fair a chell or piece of cloth is offered on the grave, and offerings of cows and cash are also made. These are taken by the Muhammadan Rajpats, who also take a share of the offerings to the outer temple. The courtyard of the inner temple has a grave at each of the four corners. The offerings on all these are taken by the Muhammadans.

At the temple of Bāhāji, situated in Bajhere, a fair is held from Kātak sāhī 14th to Mangir bādī 1st, lasting 3 days. It begins at Swāmīkā, whence the people come to Bajhere. The temple was built 119 years ago by the Rājā of Bhartpur. It contains no image and has no jārā, but there are 4 bedsteads, one in each corner of the temple, and offerings are made upon them. Its administration is carried on by the Hindu Thākurs of the village whose jot is Khajārī. A chārī is lit by a Gaur Brahman every evening at each bedstead and the offerings consist of pīc, sweets and other edibles. Some 6000 or 7000 people visit the fair. They are mostly Chamar, but they only come to see the sights and make no offerings. The four bedsteads represent the four Bāhājīs or jārās. The oldest was the sādār, the next is the dhāj, the other two his grandsons.

At the temple of Mahādeo at Nāh a fair, called the Jal Jhāli, is held on 11th Bhadon for 4 days in the evening from 6 p.m. The temple was built by Rāja, a Gaur Brahman, 10 years ago. Before that the fair was held at a tank close by. The offerings are taken by Jogi.

The Siddhs—A cult of very great antiquity is that of the Siddhs. In the Mahābhārata they are seemingly associated with sister-marriage and Pārāti funeral rites which might indicate a Zoroastrian origin. They are described by Mommsen as semi-divine supposed to possess purity. They probably represent defiled ascetics of ancient times. They are propitiated in the same manner as the Nāg and Dēva.

In Chamba there are temples to Siddhs at Chhatirī, in pargāna Kohal, at Allā in Pichhā Dīar, at Ghornī in Khār, at Jharoli and Saroga in Khār, at Siddhakera in Pāngī, and to Nanga Siddh at Rājnagar and at Mau in that pargāna. It will be seen that all but the latter are nameless Siddhs. The temple at Chhatirī is a square building, one storey high, built of wood and roofed with tiles, and is said to have been built in the reign of Mūsha Varma. It contains three images of stone, each the miniature of a man, riding a horse of stone. The hereditary chela and jārā are Rāthirs by caste. The temple contains 10 iron chains and 3 maces, which are taken from village to village during the 3 days after the pāmā-anbhān. The god is supposed to make a tour during this period, and villagers, who are under a vow, then make offerings which serve as his bhog throughout the year. Bhog is offered to the god, and he is worshipped once a day. The other Siddh temples resemble that at Chhatirī in construction, and all are said to date from the time of Mūsha Varma. Their images are precisely

\[1, \text{p. 460}\] This description refers to Utāra Kuru.
the same in character, but vary in number, there being 1 at Allah, 2 at Ghornim, 5 at Sabli, 8 at Jharioli and Saroga, 1 at Rajnagar, and 3 at Max (Moa). The chelas and pujaars are hereditary, but of different castes, being Chamars at Allah, Raths at Ghornim, Sabli Brahman at Jharioli, Raths at Saroga and Rajnagar, and Helis at Max. In only one instance it will be seen are they Brahman. The Siddhas of these places also go on tour precisely like the Siddh of Chhatris at the same period. In some cases the chela and pujaara divide the cash offerings, reserving those in kind for the Siddh.1

Dewat Siddha.—The Siddhas of the Himalayas do not appear to be connected with the Jogis, though they may be spiritual relations of Gorakhnath, as the following account of Dewat Siddh shows:—

Baba Balak Nath was born in the house of a Gaur Brahman at Gurnari Parbat, a famous place of pilgrimage for a sect of subha in Kathiawar. He was the disciple of Sidigir Santasi and wandered to Changer Talai in Bilaspur where he became the cowherd of a woman of the Lohar caste. Some Jogis2 attempted to convert him and pierce his ears with force, but he refused to abandon his faith and called aloud, whereupon a rock close by split open and he disappeared into the cleft, in which he is supposed to be still alive, though he was born 30 years ago. A sacred fire (Bhuts)3 is kept burning in the cave, which was made by enlarging the cleft and reached by a ladder placed against the cliff. The priests are GirI Gosains who are celibate, and Brahmanes, who receive a third of the income while the rest goes to the Gosain chief priest. The itinerant chelas collect offerings in kind, such as flour, out of which roti or large leaves are made for the other Siddhas. The followers of Dewat Siddh carry a small wallet (jhadi) and a Jogi’s crutch (gau). Hindus, Muhammadans and low-caste people alike offer sacrifice; for example Bangali snake-charmers offer cock, and Hindus a goat which must shake itself to show that the sacrifice is accepted. Adherents of the sect (for such they may be called) should visit it every third year, and Sundays, especially the first in the month, are the best days for worship. Women cannot4 enter the cave, but they may make offerings to the lesser images of the Siddh at the foot of the ladder. In the cave itself are three images of the Siddh, one of stone, said to be the oldest and about a foot high, one of white marble, and a very small one of gold. The cliff is covered with carvings of Hindu gods etc. Connected with this shrine are those of the brothers

1 Chamba Gazetteer, 1904, p. 183. For the offerings to a Siddh among the Geddas, see Vol. II, p. 269 sana. They closely resemble their character, being suitable to wandering devotees.

2 They are akin to the Jogis. Punjab Census Report, 1892, § 48, p. 107.

3 Another story is that a party of Gosains tried to persuade him to join their sect because they saw his sleeping form overshadowed by a cloud while the rest of the land was exposed to the sun. But he fled and when pursed disappeared in the earth. At the spot a Brahman or a Jogi afterwards found a lamp but hung it with his name of Dewat. The cave is reached by a flight of 10 steps and a platform on which some 300 people can just stand.

4 On this the Meg or food of the Siddh is cooked.

Another account says they can. Probably they cannot a meal if ceremonially impure.
of Dewat, Bāla Charī near Sujānpur and Baroth Mahādeo near Jawāla Mokhi, in Kāngra; and other Siddh shrines have been founded at Banga, in Julhindur, and in Māndī, as the cult is spreading and its popularity increasing. The legend points to some old discussion between the Jogi worshippers of Śiva and those of Bhairava, the earth god, and the fact that a cave is used as the temple also points to earthworship. In Hoschiūpur Dewat Siddh is said to have sucked milk from an uncultivated cow (doubtless a form of parthenogenesis) and his shrine is consulted for sick children or cattle.

But the accounts of the Siddh’s origin are so discrepant that nothing certain can be predicated of his cult. The fact that his fair is held annually on the Gūga Navami, the day after the Janam-ashtami in Bhādon, points to some connection with Gūga. Again it is said that only men of good caste are permitted to worship at the cave, and that the Siddh changed his abode and appeared in five different places during a recent famine, but returned at length to his first home.

Dewat Siddh must not be confused with Siddh Deota who, according to Oldham, has numerous small shrines and statues of stone in the Kāngra valley. On these are sculptured foot-prints of Buddha, known as Siddh-pāt, and they are often seen decked with flowers. Oldham identified Siddh Deota with the Bodhisattva Manjunāri and speaks of images of Siddh as Buddha at Bāijāth and another temple to Śiva, as well as of a Siddh Deota of Siddh Kēri, a very ancient and popular cult. The sign of a Siddh in Chamba also is a pair of foot-prints and to him a pair of sandals are offered. But the correctness of Oldham’s deductions is open to question. He describes a new image of Buddha which its priest, an orthodox Brahman, called Siddh deota. It is doubtful if the image was one of Buddha if new, though an old image might be revered as that of a Siddh. In Hoschiūpur, where there are 10 or 12 Siddh and the one at Barari is of some importance, the cult is said to be a branch of Śiv worship, and as local divinities of the outer Himalayas all their shrines are found on the tops of the green hills.

At the Shivālīa known as Siddh-Singh-wīla in Mogā a fair is held at the Shivāstri. This temple was built in S 1834 by Siddh Singh, Jāt. It contains an image of Śiva made of stone. Its administration is carried on by a Sanātī ādikā who is celibate. The pujārī washes the image of Śiva twice a day and performs āṭha morning and evening.

Reserves.—The Hindu rosary in the Punjāb is called Ḫaṁdakā and contains 108 beads, excluding the sumer or head bead, but each sect has its special type of bead, as the following table shows:

| Shivā | evardakā | the dark brown seeds of the evardakā = cheneerpur pānīta
|---|---|---|

1 P. X. Q. I, XI, § 233;
2 72, § 163. According to the Sind Hill States Gazetteer, Būtāpur, p. 11, a favourite offering to Dewat Siddh is a small pair of wooden sandals, and stones so marked are his commonest symbol.
3 Hoschiūpur Gazetteer, 1904, p. 69. For Siddh Bājīnā Lok, see p. 111 supra.
Hindu Rosaries.

Shaivas  bhadrakīsha  the brown seeds of the bhadrakīsha.
Vaishnavas  tulāśāla  the white seeds of the tulasi=
Dēs  chandanāśāla  sandal-wood stained red.
Shāktas  neelāśāla  yellow beads made of turmeric root.
All Hindus  kadamba  white beads made of kadamba=nanecu kadamba wood.
Rājputs  pramāl  red coral.

Wealthy Brahmans, Kśatriyas and Bānias  mukulāsāla  white pearls.

Bānias and lower castes  kamalādāli  the black seeds of the kamalādāli.

TEHRAI DEITIES.

Most of the tribal deities appear to be forms of Shiv or semi-mythical ancestors equated to Shiv.

Bājia.—Apparently Bāna Bāz (or Bāj) was an ancestor of the Bajus. He was a very holy fagir who worshipped on the bank of the Chenāb at Chak Koha, near Panjātan. Ishwar in the shape of Lakhmanji appeared to him out of the river. So did Jal Pir. Then he became a Siddh (i.e., a famous saint). When he died he was buried, not burned, and his sarī is there. Near it is a temple or thakurdwara of Baghṇathji. The principal murti in it is one of Thākurji, but there are smaller murtas of Shiv, Vashnav, Kṛishna and Dērī, Lakhmanji, Rām Chandar and others. When Bāz was recognized by the gods and became a Siddh the Bajus all put on necklaces of tulsi in token that they were followers of Bāz.

Chāhil.—At the mandir called Jogi Pir at Kuli Chahilān in tahsil Moga a fair is held on the 4th naurātra in Chet. This temple is called after a Chāhil Jāt. It contains no image, and the worship is only offered to Jogi Pir. A fagir keeps it clean, but the offerings go to a Thākur Brahman in whose family this office is hereditary.

Gil.—At the temple of Bājir Pir in Bajīana, tahsil Moga, in Firozpur two fairs are held, one on the chandus of Chet, the other on 1st

The Bājas have a curious rhyme—

Utche pīshna a staircase. Mihir Dēda Dēa.
"Tulā Kānch, Mangā, Nār Singh, Nārān dea,
Aur khā dea, aur khā dea."
"Bas t, Bas khi dea."

Mihir Dēda Dēa, a Mirān, comes out from Utche Pīsh and says to the ancestor of the Bājjas:—"Nārān dea, give you Kānch, Mangā, and Nār Singh.
"You said—
"Bas t, "He has given you. So be it!"—Bas giving a daughter of the Bājjas. Hindus of the clan may not say bas and after a meal they say saun & kyp.

Jogi Pir is alluded to in the article on the Chāhil in Vol. II., p. 446 infra.
Baisikh. Rájá was a Ját. The date of its foundation is not known, but it is said to have existed before the settlement of the village. It contains no image, only a platform of burnt brick. Its administration is carried on by the Gil Ját, its votaries. They bring a Gil Ját chol to officiate at the fair and he takes the offerings. Chol or k rol p r s h d d  is offered, but only by Gil Ját. No sacred lamp is lit. At the fair both men and women dance before the sanctuary.

Goráya.—In Rupam, a village in Muktsar tahsil, lived one Bala Din, a Muhammadan and a Goráya by tribe. He was a faqir who used to make charms etc. and was very popular, so the fair held there was called Goráya after his tribe. On his death on 2oth Phagun S. 1953 a brick platform was raised on which his tomb rests. It contains no image. The administration vests in a darwesh who lights lamps at the tomb. The fair is held on 2oth Phagun and sweetmeats etc. are offered.

Mallhi.—At the temple known as Mari Lachhman at Pabbián in Ludhiana a large fair is held annually on the day after the Chet chand. The villagers who are Jats of the Mallhi got thus describe its origin:—At Charkh in the Kalsia State a large fair is held on this date, and as the Mallhi Jats are entitled to the offerings made there, those of Pabbián claimed a share in the same, but the Mallhis of Charkh refused it. So about 300 years ago the Mallhis of Pabbián sent Sháman, their sástris, to Charkh to bring two bricks and two oil lamps belonging to the mári from that place clandestinely. With the bricks the foundation of the mári at Pabbián was laid in the time of Ráí Qasr of Tulwanj, and the fair which now attracts about 10,000 people every year was inaugurated. The mári is a large dome-shaped building of brick, 22 feet square and about 43 feet in height. It is two storied with an open court-yard on all sides, which with the mári building occupies 12 biswas of land in all. Inside the mári is a platform of 10 bricks, 4 feet 9 inches long and 3 feet 3 inches wide, but no image of any sort. Several hundred bighas of uncultivated land are attached to the mári for holding the fair, and no one uses any wood standing on this land for his own purposes. There is no mahant or manager, but the Mallhí Jats collectively take the offerings. The only form of worship is that men and women of the village gather there every Thursday and distribute sugars in fulfillment of vows. At the fair people from a distance also offer presents which they had vowed to present, if by the grace of the Márôiwa, Pír their desires have been fulfilled. People also bring cattle to get them cured by a night's stay at the mári. Inside the mári is another but smaller dome known as the temple of Bhairon. It is said, was a devotee of Lachhman by whose name the mári is known.

This fair is clearly connected with the one thus described:—At the temple of Lachhman Sádh at Márí village in Moga tahsil a fair is held annually on 14th Chet. Lachhman was a Mallhi Ját. The temple

1 He was a Gil and so specially affected by the Wairal Gilas (Vol. II. p. 300, infra).
2 This fair is not alluded to on p. 308, Vol. II, infra, and is not apparently a tribal one.
3 In the article on the Mallhi Ját (Vol. III, p. 80, infra) this mári is described as that of Tilak Ráí, ancestor of the clan.
contains no image. Only a round platform which is kept covered with a sheet. A lamp is lit every evening by a Mallhi Jāt of Māri. No pause is employed, but one of the tribe is chosen to officiate at the fair and he takes the offerings.

Śidhā.—At the place called Kālā Pāsā or Kālā Mohār in Kohar-Singhwāla in Firozpur tahsil no fair is held Tradition says that Kāla, a Sindhu Jāt of Rājrāng in Lahore, was a cattle thief who ravaged the countryside between Farīlkoṭ and Kōṭ Kupdra, until he met 5 saints to whom he gave milk to drink. They named him Kālā Pāsā. A few days after this, he died and was burnt at this spot which is held sacred. His descendants founded many villages named after them, such as Kohar-Singhwāla, Jhok Thēl Singh etc. The custom of the Sindhu Jāts is to lay one brick on this spot when any of them visits it. A bride and bridegroom also do obeisance to it and offer gur etc. Kohar-Singhwāla village was only founded some 60 years ago. A mirāsī lives at the place, and the Sindhu Jāts make offerings of gur etc. which are taken by him. At the māri or tomb of Māna Singh, saīlālāt, a fair is held on the Baisākhī every year. He was a Hindu Mahtam who died some 20 years ago, and his descendants built it against brick. The fair is attended by 1000 or 2000 people, the Granth being recited and sārāk pakhād distributed among the visitors. Lamps are lit at the Baisākhī, Diwālī and Amās.

According to a legend current in Siākōṭ Kālā Pīr came from Ghazni in Central India, and settled in the Punjab. As his eyes were never closed when he slept, people thought he was always awake. He had two servants (lēgu) a Brahman and Mirāsī, who were with him day and night. His enemies first asked the Mirāsī when he slept, and he replied that he never slept. Then they asked the Brahman who betrayed the truth that he slept with his eyes open. So with the Brahman’s connivance they came and killed him, and his head fell at the spot where he was slain, but his body continued fighting sword in hand until some women met it and said one to another:—“Look! a headless body is fighting.” Then it fell to the ground and Kālā Pīr declared that his offspring would never trust Brahmans. So wherever Sindhu Jāts live they build a place to Kālā Pīr in their village according to their means, and at a wedding bring the bride and bridegroom there to salām. They also give a goat, a rupee and other gifts according to their means to the Mirāsī.

How these tribal deities come to be regarded as emanations or manifestations of Śiva cannot as yet be explained. Possibly some light on the problem could be obtained from Professor Chatterjee’s work on Shaivism in Kashmir, but despite repeated efforts no copy of that work has come into the compiler’s hands.

It is, in this connection, curious to note that Sir J. said:—“Śivaścas are not at all uncommon in” without exception by Bābis. The practice of the hāmphatā or ear-pierced Brahmins can partake...
Shaivism in Karnal.

people, though they will worship him and sometimes assist in the ceremonies, thus deviating from the strict rule of the original cult. On the Shecariatis on the 13th of Sawan and Phagan such people as have fasted will go to the Shivala; but it is seldom entered on any other days. The Banias are essentially a caste of the south-east Punjab. On the other hand, the cult of Sakh Sarwar, "chiefly worshiped by the Gujarals and Rājpūtā," is apparently dissociated from Shaivism, for its great festival is held on the Salono, in the south-east of the Province, and this festival falls on the 15th of the light half of Sawan, a day not apparently devoted to Siva, for it is auspicious for the consecration of amulets, or rakhis, which are then put on. Brahmans and Bairagis take the offerings to Vishnu, and there would not appear to be any Shaiva Brahman in this part of India, though they exist elsewhere, one of their number having founded the Jangam sect.

It appears to be impossible to reduce the ritual of any cult to hard and fast rules, but that of Shiva in Karnal offers most varied features. Thus the śādhana at Kirmach Chak is visited on the bāḍa, asūtswā, in Bhadon, while that of Jagan Nath is visited on the tarasti in Sawan and Phagan, and the chabīra or platform of Shiva in Dāudpura only on the tarasti in Phagan. This last only contains a stone image of Shiva, one foot high. A Jogi only attends at the fair and he takes all the offerings. No puďārī is employed and no sacred lamp is lit. On the other hand, the temple at Kirmach contains 15 stone images of Sālik Rāma and 4 brass images of Lāl Ji, while an image of Hanumān stands in a small temple to Thākar in the precincts of the main māndir. Its administration is carried on by a Bairagi. That of Jagan Nath contains a stone image of Shiva 15 inches high, one of Parbat 18 inches high and an effigy of Hanumān is painted in vermilion on the wall. Its administration vests in a Brahman. Occasionally it is said of a māndir that its puďārī must be a Brahman, but he may generally be a Gosānī or a Jogi and may celebrate all the offices of the temple like a Brahman. A puďārī may be hereditary or elected, or his office may go by spiritual descent if it vests in any order. But a Brahman puďārī is generally hereditary.

The greatest differences are found too regarding the āśāp, the use of a sacred lamp and the maintenance of fire. How far all or any of these divergences in ritual are due to the various deities associated with Shiva it is impossible to say, but the gods and goddesses found in his temple vary infinitely. For example, at the Śātralī of Ek Onkār at Karnāl the annual fair, held on the dāy sudi Bhadon, is frequented both by Hindus and Mūhammadans who pay their devotions alike. Founded by Bāwa Kīrpa at the charges of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh, in S. 1873, it contains a stone image of Mahādev, 1½ feet high and 2 feet thick, a stone image of that god only 6 inches high, and one of Sita 1½ feet high; also stone images of Parbat (9 inches high), of Brahman (1½ feet), one in red stone of Aṣṭha-bhuji (10 inches high),

2 Ibid., p. 289.
3 That is to say, a Brahman if appointed puďārī would transmit his office to his descendants. This may seem incompatible with the view, but probably a Brahman who becomes a Jogi or Gosānī is eligible for appointment in a Shiva temple, as he loses his Brahmanhood by entering one of those orders and yet retains his hereditary sanctity.
and small stone images of Śālig Rām, Ganesh and Gomti. A clay image of Hanumān stands in its outer wall. The pujārī, who is always selected from the Gosāins, is held in great respect, and performs all the rites of worship. The use of charas is ceremonial and all the aśāvaks are provided with it. Bhog is offered morning and evening. A dhāvī or sacred fire is always kept burning and votaries also light lamps at the temple.

The mūt of the Gir Gosāins at Karnāl is said to have been in existence for 300 years. It contains stone images of Devī and Shiva. Bhog is offered in the morning, and a sacred lamp lit in the evening is kept burning all night.

The aśal or mandir of the Bairāgī at Karnāl is visited on the Janamāśṭami in Bhādon. It is said to be 500 years old and contains images of Krishna and Rādhaika made of brass; a copper image of Hanumān and a stone image of Śālig Rām; and another image of Hanumān made of clay and set on a wall. Its administration vests in a Bairāgī pujārī, by vesta Māmānadi and by gat Başpūt. He is celibate and held in great respect. He performs all the rites. Bhog is offered on the janamāśtami in Bhādon and distributed among all the visitors. A sacred lamp is lit every evening. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes.

At the mūt of Gosāin Báwa Bhagwāngīr no fair is held, but the place is visited on each Monday in Sāwan and on the Shivrāmatas in Phāgan; on which occasions offerings of water are made. Said to be 400 years old, it contains 4 stone pindis of Shiva, varying in height from 4 to 6 inches and 3 stone images of Devī, each 2 inches high. The Gosāin pujārī is held in great respect and as such is styled mahāt. He performs all the rites of worship. The use of charas is not ceremonial. Bhog is offered in the morning. Sacred fire is kept burning. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. Connected with this is the Gosāin dhāvī in Pansāra.

At the aśal of the Bairāgīs no fair is held, but the place is visited by people who fast on the hudi aśtal in Bhādon and make offerings of water. The story is that Vishnu dwelt here for some time and after his departure a cow lived on the same spot and in her honour the temple was eventually built. It has been in existence for 200 years, and contains a brass image of Krishna, with two brass images of Bālmokand Jī, all 4 inches high, while that of Devī is 6 inches in height. Three brass images of Nārāyan each 2½ inches high stand under a canopy. The height of a brass image of Hanumān is 2½ inches. There are also small oval-shaped stones which are called Śālig Rām. The administration is carried on by a Bairāgī who is a Vaishnav. He is celibate and the senior chela or disciple always succeeds him gurū. The aśal is held in great respect and performs all the rites. The use of charas is ceremonial. Bhog is first offered to the images in the morning and evening and then distributed among all present at the shrine. Sacred fire is always kept burning but a lamp is lit in the evening only. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. Connected with this is the dhāvī in Parthali. The
Samadhi or aasthat of Devi Dasa Bairagi has existed since the settlement of the village, 100 years ago. It contains brass images of Hanuman, Saliq Ram, Khaniya, Radhika and Shivji. The administration is carried on by a Bairagi.

Another Gosain samadhi is that of Baba Sakhin Mohini in Barota who died in S. 1893. Founded in S. 1911, it has no fair, but it is built of brick and contains his tomb with a few brass and stone idols placed round it. Sacred fire is always kept burning. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. A shivala is connected with it.

The akhara of Bawa Sahijigir in Halka Uncha Sewana was erected in commemoration of the Bawa after whom it is called. It contains the tombs of many sants and has a shivula in its precincts containing a stone image of Gaurian Pahari and one of Saliq Ram, both 11 feet high. A sacred lamp and fire are both kept burning in the temple. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. Connected with this is the akhara of the same Bawa in Karnal.

A shrine of obscure origin is the mutabi of Saudul Singh in Karnal. No fair is held here, and nothing is known of its history. It contains a stone image. Its administration vests in a celibate Jogi. No bhog is offered, but lamps are lit on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

The samadhi of Babas Sital Puri and Bala Puri at Kaithal date from the Mughal times. The place is visited on the Dasera and puramadas in Phagan, when sweets are distributed among the visitors. The mutabi is a Gosain. Connected with these are 5 shrine:

(i) called Gobha, a very old building, containing a black stone image of Mahadeo;

(ii) of Nanda Mal, which contains the ling of Mahadeo, also of black stone;

(iii) of Dani Rani, which also contains a black stone ling of Mahadeo and a white stone image of Vishnu which is 3 feet high, with an image of Ganesha 1 foot in height;

(iv) of Janta Mal Chandhari;

(v) of Bluk Sher Singh.

These two last are modern, being only about 60 or 70 years old. They contain similar lingas.

Other Puri shrines are :

(i) the Dera of Brij Lal Puri at Kaithal which contains an image of Bishan Bhagwan and a ling of Shiva. The priest is a Gosain who is in special request at weddings and funerals. Connected with it are:

(a) two mandirs of Thakar Ji, each containing stone images of Radha and Krishna 1 cubit high;

(b) two small shivalas, each containing a stone ling of Shiva, and

(c) a mandir of Devi Kali which contains an image of the goddess, 1 cubit high.

(ii) the samadhi of Baba Raja Puri where an annual fair is held on the shadhi in Asaf.
The shrines or samādhis of Rāmāthali are of some interest. The
original samādhis are those of Bashisth-puri Santai and his disciple
Darbār-puri, but Bashisth-puri does not seem to have founded the succession,
for we are told that at Kaitthal and Delhi are the samādhis of Sītal-puri
who was the spiritual forerunner of Darbār-puri; in Agondi is the
samādhi of Lāl-puri; the spiritual great-grandfather of Darbār-puri;
in Khair Ghulām Ali is that of Deo-puri his disciple; while at Barnā, Bhrūna, Chikā Nābha are samādhis of other disciples of his. In several
villages of Patāla also samādhis of his disciples are to be found. No-
thing seems to be known of Bashisth-puri or Darbār-puri's other predeces-
sors, but he himself is said to have been a Kāyasth by caste and a
grandee of Shah Jahan's court about 350 years ago. He resigned his
mahārājā and was offered 12 villages in maṭhī, but only accepted
one, Rāmāthali, to which place he brought the remains of Bashisth-puri
from Pasawāl, a village some miles away. Here Darbār Lāl, as his name
was, settled down as the ascetic Darbār-puri, his fame gaining him
thousands of followers. The devat or brick building over the samādhi
was built in the time of Mahant Nibbha-puri about 100 years ago. It
is an octagon facing east and about 40 feet high, surmounted by a guilt
kalās. Its interior is 12 feet square and contains the samādhis of Bash-
isth-puri and Darbār-puri. It opens to the north where there are
samādhis of Anuprāna, the sister of Darbār-puri and of his wife. No
images exist. The samādhis are all circular, standing about 4 feet high
above a platform and some 6 feet in circumference. Numerous other
samādhis stand on the platform. Five smaller devats stand on the east
and south of the larger one and a temple to Sivaji (Mahādeo) is situated
on the platform to the south of it. Two fair days are held, one on the
phag, the day after the Höll, commemorating the day of Bashisth-puri's
demise; the other, the bhāmpara on the 7th of Sāwan being the date of
Darbār-puri's death. The administration is carried on by a mahant
who is the spiritual head of the sect, elected by the other mahants and
members of the brotherhood. No Brahmans are employed. A supervisor
(kārār) looks to the cultivation of the land and other matters not
directly under the management of the adhār. Another man is in
charge of the stores and is called kathar. But it is the pujārī's duty to
look after everything that appertains to the devat. The whole of
this administration is carried on by the mahant and under his supervision—external affairs he manages with the consent of his kārār and others fitted to advise him. The position of the chief mahant is that of
the manager of a Hindu joint family. As the spiritual head of the sect he is the only man who can admit disciples, do worship at the phag
and on Sāwan bādi satnāni and perform the kāwan on Chet ādi
ashtami.

The ritual is as follows:—The whole of the devat and the platform
is washed daily at 4 A.M. at all seasons. The samādhis are also washed
and clothes. At 8 o'clock ṭandav and dhūp are offered to all the shrines and to Mahādeo. Bhog is offered first to the samādhi and then the langar is declared open at noon. At 4 P.M. dhūp is offered to all

1 But the same account also says that Darbār-puri obtained a grant of villages originally granted to Sītal-puri of Kaitthal. This was about 350 years ago. The institution
then appears to have been originally at Kaitthal.
the *samādha*. *Arṭi* begins at sunset; *bhog* is offered at 8 p.m. and then the doors are closed. The ceremonial offering of *bhog* at the *samādha* is in vogue, but there is no ceremonial use of *charas* or any other intoxicant in the sect. In Phagun on the *phag* day as well as in Sāwan on the 7th *badi* a special *bhog* is offered to the *samādha* which consists of fried grain and *rotā* (flour and sugar) and this is offered as *prasad* to any one that worships the *samādha*. A sacred lamp is kept lit day and night throughout the year. A special feature at Rāmthali is that the doors of the *langar* are not closed against any body, equality being the guiding rule, the *mahānt* and men of the highest caste taking the same food as the lowest, excepting Chandās and sweepers who are not allowed to ascend the platform but may worship from the ground. Offerings are not accepted from a Dūm, Bharti, Chhuti or Siśā. The shrines at Kaithal, Agondh, Baran, Kheri Ghulām Ali, Bahūna Chhī, Māna, Kishangarh, Khānudpat, Radharan, Masinghan in Pāthālī, Nāhilī town, Delhi town and Chhota Daribā are all connected with this shrine.

**Panipat.**

The *asthāl* of the Bairāgi in Trikūth is connected with the Trikūth bathing fair founded by Bairāgi Sobhu Rām, a great devotee; it has been in existence for 500 years. It contains stone images of Krishna, Rādhika and Bal Deo, 1½ spans high and all set on a small square. Below them stand brass idols of Rādhika and Krishna, each 1 span high. There are also 4 brass images of Bāla Ji, each a span high, just before which are seated 8 brass idols of Gopāl Ji. A few stone idols of Sālig Rām also stand in front of them. The Bairāgi in charge is by caste Nīyāvat and by gōt-an Ūchāt. A *bhog* of milk or sweetmeat is offered morning and evening, but the sacred lamp is lit only in the evening. *Arṭi* is performed morning and evening when all the images are washed and dried. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. Connected with this are the shrines in Dāher, Lōtha, Bērī, Brahmanājra, Alupur, Tārī, Lohari, Gangtha and Mondhlahāvā in Rohtak and Hāt in Jind. These are all governed by the *mahānt* whose disciples are appointed to each temple. He goes on tour and examines all the accounts of income. At the election of a new *mahānt* a free distribution of food or *bhandār* is celebrated.

**Karnal.**

The Trikūth Tīrath at Pānīpat is visited on the *svaṭi-sadāwa*, a bathing fair, to which great religious importance attaches. Trikūth means 'three-sided,' but its other meaning is 'to wash away the sins of all those who bathe in the tank.' The Tīrath dates from the time of the Mahābhārata. West of it is the temple of Jakshā which is very old. It contains the images of Jakshā and his spouse Jakshasni.

At the *saṅdir* of Tīrath Parasgar in Balogura fair is held every year on the *īṭādhī*. In the desert, where this temple now stands, Pālsrā Rishi used to meditate. After his death the place was depopulated, but the pond dug by him was frequented by the people. The temple has only been in existence for 30 years. In the precincts of the main building are 3 smaller *saṅdira* and a tank. The image of Shiva is of stone, one span high. Of those of Rāmā and Śīta, Sālig Rām, Gopāl, Durga and Harumān, the first five are of metal and each is a cubit high.
last named is of clay. The administration is carried on by a Gosán, by caste a Bhingam and got Atras. The use of chahár is ceremonial. Bhog is offered and then distributed among those present. Sacred fire is kept burning, but a lamp lit only in the evening. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. Connected with this are the dékvars of the Gosáns at Hardwáir and Karnál.

The mandir of Jugal Kishor in Guli is old, having been in existence for 400 years. It contains 145 metal images of Rádhá, Krishná and Salig Rám, each 14 feet high. Its administration vests in a Bairigí pujári, a Vaishnava, by got Achar. The use of chahár is ceremonial. Bhog is offered and then distributed among all those present. The sacred lamp is lit in the evening. Connected with this are the shrines in Sari, Purána, Karnál, Japurdí, Gango, Nismál and in Tabirá.

The Katás fountain is a Truth. Of the temple built round it the oldest is the one called Raghúnátí ji ká Mandar. Here the Katás Rág fair is held on 1st Baisákhí, and the neighbouring villagers bathe on the somawati and vasápa and at solar and lunar eclipses. Katás is derived from katá, 'an eye', because at the creation water fell from the eye of Shiva at this spot and formed the spring. When the Pándus reached it all but Uduhíshántara drank its water and became senseless, but he sprinkled some of the water on them and restored their senses. Hence it is also called Amarkúc. On the north-west the water is very deep and is believed to be fathomless, so Katás is also called Dharí ká neéri or 'the eye of earth.' Stone images of Rám Chandár, Lakshman, Sita and Hanümá stand in the Raghúnátí mandir. They are 5 ft. high. The temple is in charge of Bairigí who recite Raghúnátí's mantra. Other temples have been built by Rágás and private persons and shiválas are attached to them. The pujáris are Brahmans.

The peak in Jhelum called Tilla is 25 miles south-west of the town of that name. Gurú Gorákñáth settled at Tilla in the Tretayog after Rámelándar and adopted Bál Náth as his disciple. Bál Náth underwent penance on Tilla hence it was called Bál Náth's Tilla after him. Rájí Bharátaí, a disciple of Gurú Gorákñáth, also learnt to practise penance from Bál Náth at Tilla and a cave at Tilla is named after him to this day. It is said that owing to a dispute between the Rájí and his fellow disciples he cut off part of Tilla and carried it to Jhang where it forms the Kirán hill. Tilla is the head-quarters of the Jógís and from a remote period all the other places of the Jógís in the Punjab have been under it. The ancient mandir on this hill were all destroyed during the Muhammádán inroads, and the existing temples were all built in the reign of Rájí Mán. A fair is held here on the shivrétí, but as the road is a difficult one and the water bad, people do not attend it in great numbers. Most of the Jógís visit the place on a shivarétí in order to see the cave, and laymen go too there. Food is supplied by the godinášá but some people use their own. A lamp has been kept burning in one of the temples for a very long time. It consumes a seer of oil in 24 hours. Jógís chant a mantra when they go to see it, but this mantra is not disclosed to any one but a Jógi. It is transmitted by one Jógi to another.

Kohát town possesses a tíma Jógín which is visited by Hindus from Kohát and Tirám. Its pídrá dress in red and have their ears torn.
Near Bawanna are the shrines of Barnath and Laeleb Rám. At the former Hindus assemble to bathe at the Baisakhi instead of going to Khushhalgarh. At the latter gatherings take place several times a year.

The mandirs of Nagari Jh and Gopal Nath Jh in tahsil Dera Ismail Khan were founded nearly 500 years ago, by Agul J. Brahman. After his death his son went to Sindh where he became the disciple of a Gosain and acquired power to work miracles. On his return home he brought with him an image of Sri Gopal Nath which he enshrined in the temple in S. 1600. The temples were once washed away by the Indus, but the images were afterwards recovered and enshrined in new temples in the town. One of the temples contains a brass image of Nagari Jh, 1 foot high, seated on a throne. The other temple contains a similar image of Gopi Nath. Nagari Jh's temple is managed by Gosain and Gopi Nath's by a person employed by them. A Brahman is employed in each temple to perform worship etc. Bhog of sweetmeat, fruits and milk with sugar is offered thrice a day. A sacred lamp or jhol is only kept burning in the mandir of Nagari Jh. Twelve mandirs and shivadas are connected with these.

The theek or wallet of Kewal Rám.—Kewal Rám left Dera Ghazi Khan for Dera Ismail to become a devotee. There he dwelt in a secluded corner of Gopi Nath's mandir and spread out his wallet on which he sat absorbed in meditation. This theek (wallet) has been worshipped for 400 years. Hindus have their children's hair cut here and make offerings in fulfilment of vows. The chola is also performed here. The Brahman officiating at the temple takes all the offerings except the sugar which is first offered to the wallet and then thrown amongst the gathering to be carried away. The sugar thus taken is considered sacred. The place is visited on the Baisakhi, in Chet and in Bhadon.

SAIVA CULTS IN THE HILLS.

THE CULT OF SHIRIGUL OR SHIRGUL IN SIRMUR.

Shiva is not extensively worshipped under that name in the Punjab Himalayans, but two cults, those of Shirigul and Mahasad, appear to be derivatives of Saivism. That of Shirigul is especially interesting and is described below. The home of this god is on the Chaur (Chur) Peak which is visible from Simla. But he is worshipped chiefly in Sirmur, from which State comes the following account of his myth, temples and cult:

Shirigul (or Sargul,² fancifully derived from sard cold) has special power over cold, and, according to one account, is propitiated by a fair in order to avert cold and jaundice. In some dim way this attribute appears to be connected with the following version of the Shirigul legend:—Shirigul's expeditions to Delhi were made in quest of the colossal vessels of brass which the Muhammadans had taken away. On his return his mother's sister-in-law brought him sattas (porridge) to eat, and, as he had no water, it flushed out near a field at Shara, a village in the Karli

1 See article in the Imperial Gazetteer of India.
2 The name is probably a corruption of Srd Gura.
Having washed he was about to eat the āṭṭu when suddenly he saw some insects in it and at once refused to eat it. After rescuing his kinsmen from the snake he went again to Delhi and attacked the Turks single-handed, killing great numbers of them, but suddenly seeing a stone tied to a ṭor or banyan tree, he knew that it had been sent by the wife of his servant ṭhāṭir, by name Churu, as a signal of distress. Shirigul at once returned and found that all the members of Churu's family, except his wife, had been transformed into one body by the serpents, and even to this day any branched stone is supposed to be Churu's family and is much venerated.

The following is another legend which is current regarding the origin of the āṭṭu: —One Bhakarū, a Rājput, of Shāśāh, had no offspring, and desiring a son he journeyed to Kasamūr where dwelt Panūñ, a pāndīt, whose house he visited in order to consult him. The pāndīt's wife, however, told Bhakarū that he was sleeping, and that he used to remain asleep for six months at a stretch.

Bhakarū was disappointed at not being able to consult the pāndīt, but being himself endowed with spiritual power, he created a cat which scratched the pāndīt and awoke him. Learning that Bhakarū had thus had power to disturb his sleep, the pāndīt admitted him and told him he was childless, because he had committed Brahma-haita, or Brahmān-murder, and that he should in atonement marry a Brahmā girl, by whom he would become the father of an incarnation. Bhakarū accordingly married a Bhūt girl of high degree and to her were born two sons, Shirigul and Chandēśar, both the parents dying soon after their birth. The boys then went to their maternal uncle's house and Shirigul was employed in grazing his sheep, while Chandēśar tended the cows. But one day their uncle's wife in malice mixed flies and spiders with Shirigul's āṭṭu or porridge, and when he discovered this, Shirigul threw away the food and fled to the forest, whereupon the āṭṭu turned into a swarm of wasps which attacked and killed the uncle's wife. Shirigul took up his abode in the Chūr Dīnār, whence one day he saw Delhi, and, being seized with a desire to visit it, he left Churu, a Bhūt! Kanēṭ by caste, in charge of his dwelling, collected a number of gifts and set out for the city. Halting near Ḥaṭi Rāinā, "the lake of Rainā", his followers were attacked by a tiger which he overcame, but spared on condition that it should not again attack men. Again, at Kōlar in the Kiarda Dūn, he subdued a dragon which he spared on the same terms. Reaching Delhi he went to a trader's shop who weighed the gifts he had brought, but by his magic powers made their weight appear only just equal to the āṭṭu, or difference between the scales, and Shirigul in return sold him a skin of silk which he cunningly made to outweigh all that the trader possessed. The trader hastened to the Mughal emperor for redress and Shirigul was arrested while cooking his food on his feet, because in digging out a ḍumā he had found a bone in the soil. In the struggle to arrest Shirigul his cooking vessel was overturned and the food flowed out in a burning torrent which destroyed half the city.

*Probably ḏāṭir, "servant," is meant, and, if so, we should read "Churu, the ḍāṭir, a Kanēṭ by caste."
Eventually Shrigul was taken before the emperor who cast him into prison, but Shrigul could not be fettered, so the emperor, in order to defile him, had a cow killed and pinned him with the thong of its hide. Upon this Shrigul wrote a letter to Gúrã Pir of the Bágār in Bikanérs and sent it to him by a crow. The Pir advanced with his army, defeated the emperor, and released Shrigul, whose bonds he severed with his teeth. Shrigul then returned to the Chur Peak.

During his absence the demon Asur Dánùn had attacked Churú, completely defeating him and taking possession of half the peak. Shrigul thereupon cursed Churú who was turned into a stone still to be seen on the spot, and assailed Asur Dánùn, but without success, so he appealed to Indra, who sent lightning to his aid and expelled Asur Dánùn from the Chur. The demon in his flight struck his head against a hill in Jubbál, and went right through it; the Ul cave still exists to testify to this. Thence he passed through the Sanj Nadí and across the Dhára into the Tons river, by which he reached the ocean. The Dhára ravine still remains to prove the truth of the legend.

Another account says nothing of Shrigul's visit to Delhi, but makes Bhakurú the Rána of Sháyá. It further says that Shrigul became a bhagat or devotee, who left his home to live on the Chur Peak upon which Síva dwelt. Gaining greater spiritual power from Síva, Shrigul caused all the boys of the neighbourhood to be afflicted with worms while he himself assumed the form of a Bái and wandered from village to village, proclaiming that if the boys' parents built him a temple on the Dhar he would cure them all. The temple was built upon the Chur Peak and Shrigul began to be considered a separate deity.

The temple of Shrigul at Chandhíchar is square and faces east. It has but one storey, nine feet in height, with a verandah, and its roof consists of a gable, the topmost beam (káhaw) of which is adorned with brass vessels (sáva) fixed to it by pegs. Outside the temple is hung a necklace (májá) of small pieces of wood (káhó). There is only one door, on which figures etc. have been carved. Inside this temple is another smaller temple also of dandár, shaped like a dome, and in this is kept the ling which is six inches high and four inches in circumference. It is made of stone and is placed in a jáláhari or vessel of water, which, too, is of stone. No clothes or ornaments are placed on the ling.

1 An instance of the countless legends which explain natural features by tales of Siva's propensities, or attribute them to his emanations. Below is one attributed by Shrigul himself. The Sívakat Páni legend says that in the old times an inhabitant of Juçar village went to Shrigul at the Chur Peak and asked the deity to give him a meal in his village. He stayed three days at the peak and did not eat or drink anything. Shrigul appeared in a monk's garb and gave the man a bowl full of water, which he covered with a leaf, telling the man not to open it on his way home, but at the place where he wanted the water to run. On reaching Sívakat the man opened the bowl and found in it a snake which sprang out and ran away. Water flowed behind the snake, and a small stream still flows in Sívakat and waters several villages. Being thus disappointed, the man again went to the Chur and the god again gave him a bowl, telling him to throw the water and say, Awa, Jágar. Upar Jágar—Juçar village below and a waterfall above it, and he should have plenty of water. But the man again forgot and said, Upar Jágar, Nieka Jágar—Juçar above and the waterfall below. This mistake caused the water to flow below the village and that only in a small quantity.
A worshipper brings with him his own Bhāt, who acts as pujārī. The Bhāt must not eat until he has performed the worship and made the offerings. He first bathes in the adjacent spring, puts on clean clothes and lights a lamp, burning gāt, not oil, before the idol. Then he takes a brass ladle of fresh water, and sprinkles it over the idol and the floor of the temple with a branch of the chāthā or chāthār shrub. He next fills a spoon with fire, gāt, and the leaves of the kathārachal and kāthārachār odorous plants found on the Dhāt, and burns them before the idol, holding the spoon in his right hand, while he rings a bell with his left, and repeats the names of tirās and amūlās only. After this he blows a conch, terminating it with a prostration to the idol. It may be performed at any time. The pujārī or worshipper now bathes, puts on clean clothes, and prostrates himself before the idol. If after this he may make the offerings which consist of a ratti of gold or silver, money, gāt (but not more than two sahālas), a piece or two, small vessels, andas of pewter or copper, which are hung on the temple, and a he-goat. The benefits sought are secular, not spiritual, and the worship is expected to ward off evil.

Jāga or uninterrupted worship for a whole night can only be performed at the temple, as the āstāg must not be removed from it. A lamp in which gāt, not oil, is burnt, is placed all night before the āstāg, and in the course of the night three offices are performed, one at evening, another at midnight, and the third at morn. At this last the pujārī feeds the god; water is poured over the back of a he-goat, and if the animal shivers, it is believed that the god has accepted the offering and the goat is killed. The head is offered to the god and taken by the pujārī on his behalf, the remainder being cooked and eaten. Or the goat is not killed but left loose, and it then becomes the property of the Dewa.

Another account says the two men, a pujārī and a Dewa, accompany the worshipper, the former receiving the goat’s head, and the latter the other offerings.

Other temples to Shirigul.

I.—At Mānāl.

Shirigul has also a temple at Mānāl, which was built by Ulga and Jojra, Dewās, as the following legend tells:

In order to enhance his sanctity Shirigul made an effigy. This he:

1 Ratti is a weight equal to eight grains of rice or 1/16 of a grain [Eng. weight].

The Dewas are a class of Kanseta or Bhāps, held to be peculiarly the men of the god.

1 The pujārī kindles fire on a stone and offers incense, made of gāt, pājī and kathārachār leaves, while he recites the following sentences—Am o wapapac pumawar bind manhito, Sarb varc, sarb varc, sarb varc... māchās borc, mān, mān, gōna gōna, chār bō, am anag, am anag, am anag, am anag, am am anag, am anag, am am anag, am anag...
placed with some lamps in a basin which he floated on the Jalal stream in Bhadon. The basin reached Shakohal village in Pachchid tahsil, and there a Rājpūt of the Sapāla (= sapēla or snake charmer) family of Chanālag saw it. Struck with amazement, he challenged it to float on if a demon, but if a deity to come to the bank. The basin came to the bank where he was standing, and the Rājpūt took it to his home. Some days later it was revealed to him that the image was that of Shīrigul, that it would never be revered by the Rājpūts who were ignorant of the mode of worship, and that it should be taken to Bahnutia where it was duly worshipped, and hence a Dewā, Bidan by name, stole it and brought it to Mānal.

A fair is held on the Hariāli, and another on any three days of Śāwan at Gelyon, a small plateau in the lands of Nahra, at a kōś from Mānal. Men and women here dance the qī, a hill dance, and people exchange mūrs (wheat parched or boiled), maize, rice &c.

The temple at Mānal is square, 24 cubits high, with three storeys, each provided with a stair to give access to the one above it. The property of the god is kept in the middle storey. Outside the door there is a wooden verandah, on which figures are carved and which is furnished with fringes of wooden pegs, andas are also fixed on to it. The highest storey contains the idol, and has the khāswar or gable like the Chur temple. The whole of the woodwork is stained with gārā. The temple faces south-west.

The temple contains 12 images of Shīrigul, all placed on wooden shelves (gūtāhan) in the wall, and the principal of these is the idol brought by Bidan. This is made of qī, kūtāsā (bell-metal), and is five fingers high by two fingers broad with a human face. It is clothed in mārā or silk cloth, with a piece of broad-cloth, studded with 100 rupees and 11 gold mohārā round its neck. The remaining 11 images are of brass, and are of two classes, four of them being a span in height and 9 fingers wide, with a piece of mārā round the neck: the other seven are 10 fingers high and 7 broad. The images are thus arranged:—

3, 3, 3, 3, 2, 2, 1, 3, 2, 3, 3, 3,

the original image being in a silver chāubā (throne), with a small umbrella over it.

2. At Deona and Bandal.

The temples at Deona (Dabōna) and Bandal are similar to the one at Mānal. Each has a bhāndār or store-room, in charge of a bhāndārī or store-keeper. These bhāndārīs are rich, and from them the pujāris, bājāris, and bhāndārīs are paid, and pilgrims and akharis are fed. The Dewās also are maintained from the bhāndārīs.

The second class images of the Mānal and Deona temples can be taken home by a worshipper for the performance of a jāyā, as can the

1 Hariāli is the last day of Ḥār, and the Sukrasé of Śāwan, and derives its name from Ḥārd, a grove.

* I.e. eight metals.
first class image from that of Bandal. The image is conveyed in a copper coffer borne by a bare-footed pajári on his back, and followed by 10 or 12 Dewás, of whom one waves a chauri over the coffer. The procession is accompanied by musicians and two flags of the god.

On arrival at the worshipper’s house, the place where the image is to be placed is purified, being sprinkled with Ganges water. The image is removed from the coffer inside the house and placed on a heap of wheat or maudwa. The arrival should be timed for the evening. The ḫogá ritual is that already described. Next day the god is fed and taken back to his temple. The worshipper has to pay to the pajári and bājī each Re. 1., to the bhangári annas 4., and to the Dewá Rs. 2 or Re. 3.

3.—At Jánmá.

There is also a temple of Shrirugul and Jánmá in Bhọj Mast. Here the god is worshipped twice daily, in the morning and evening. The pajári is a Bhát, who, with the bājni, receives the offerings. When a he-goat is offered, the pajári takes the head, the bājni a thigh, while the rest is taken by the jātrī himself. The temple is like an ordinary hill-house, having two storeys, in the upper of which the god lives. The door of the upper storey faces west and that of the lower eastward. There is also a courtyard, 15 feet long by 10 feet wide, on this side. The forefathers of the people in Jánmá, Pobliār, Kándon, Cháwag and Thána villages brought a stone from Chúr dhár and built this temple as a protection against disease. It contains an image which was obtained from Juiga, and is furnished with a palanquin, canopy, singháras or throne and an amrali or vessel used for water in the ritual. The Bisu fair is held here from the 1st to the 5th of Baisákh, and both sexes attend. It is celebrated by songs, dancing, and the ḥoda or mock combat with bows and arrows.

4.—In the Páváté Táhíl.

Shrirugul has no special mandar in Páontá Táhíl, but he has several small mandares in villages. These contain images of stone or a mixture of lead or copper. He is worshipped to the sound of conches and drums; leaves, flowers and water being also offered daily, with the following mantra:

Namón ád álá, namón bráhmb bálá.
Namón ad Náthí, namón shankha chakra
Gadá padam duári.
Namón māchh kāchh bārāh āvatári
Namón Náhar Singh kurb kí dharí.
Namón asht ashtengí, namón chhált kári
Namón Śrí Suraj dextá, namón namkárá.

I salute thee who wert in the beginning, who art great and supreme Brahms, who wert Lord of all that was in the beginning, who holdest
the couch, mace, quoit and lotus (in thy four hands), who revealest thyself in the forms of a fish, a tortoise, a bear, and a man-lion, who hast eight forms and who art beneficent. I also salute thee, O Sun! thou art worthy of adoration.'

5.—At Naoni.

There is another temple of Shrigul at Naoni village in the tahsil of Nahan. A fair is held here on the day of Hariśāl or first of Sawān. He-goats, halwa or ghi are offered. The people dread him greatly.

6.—At Sanglaūn.

There is also a deotāli or 'place of the god,' Shrigul, at Sanglaūn. The pujā is a Brahman and the mode of worship and offerings are similar to those at Jawāla Mukhī's temple. Goats are, however, not sacrificed here; only halwa being offered. The fair is held on the Gyas day, the Katāk sunit thāl of the lunar year, and the 30th of Katāk in the solar year. Only men and old women, not young girls, attend this fair.

In Jaitak also there is a temple of this god.

The Story of Sri Gūl Deota of Churi Dhar in Jubbal.

In the Jubbal State, which lies to the north and east of the Chaure Peak, a variant of the Shrigul legend is current. This variant is of special interest, and it appears worth recording in full:

In the Dwīpar Yuga Krishna manifested himself, and, after killing the rākṣāsas, disappeared. Some of them, however, begged for pardon, and so Krishna forgave them and bade them dwell in the northern hills, without molesting god or man. This order they all obeyed, except one who dwelt at Chawkiñ, some seven miles north of Churi Dhar. In the beginning of the present age, the Kali Yuga, he harried both men and cattle, while another demon, Neshāra, also plundered the subjects of Bhokrī, chief of Shālgā, in the State of Sirmūr. The former also raided the States of Jubbal, Tanōr, Balsan, Theog, Ghoum etc. The people of these places invoked divine protection, while Bhokrī himself was compelled to flee to Kashmir, and being without heirs, he made over his kingdom to his minister Dévi Rām. For twelve years Bhokrī and his queen devoted themselves to religious meditation, and then, directed by a celestial voice, they returned home and performed the annamaktha, or great horse sacrifice. The voice also promised Bhokrī two sons who should expel the demons, the elder becoming as mighty as Siva, and the younger like Chandēśwār, and saving all men from suffering. Ten months after their return, Bhokrī's queen gave birth to a son, who was named Sri Gūl. Two years later Chandēśwār was born.

1 The Bhokrī of the Sirmūr version. Shālgā and Shiśya would appear to be on the same place.

2 The Chandēśwār of the Sirmūr variant.
born. When the boys were aged 12 and 9½, respectively, the Rája resolved to spend the evening of his life in pilgrimage and went to Hardwár. On his way back he fell sick and died, his queen succumbing to her grief, at his loss, three days later. Sri Gul proceeded to Hardwár to perform his father's funeral rites, and crossed the Chürí Dhar, the lofty ranges of which made a great impression on his mind, so much so that he resolved to make over his kingdom to his younger brother and take up his abode on the peak. On his return journey he found a man worshipping on the hill, and learnt from him that Siva, whose dwelling it was, had directed him to do so. Hearing this, Sri Gul begged Chürú - for this was the name of Siva's devotees - to wait his return, as he too intended to live there. He then went to Shádgá and would have made his kingdom to Chandeshwar, but for the reconstrunaces of his minister, who advised him to only give his brother Nahula village, i.e. only a part of his kingdom and not the whole, because if he did so, his subjects would certainly revolt. To this Sri Gul assented, making Dévi Rám regent of Shádgá during his own absence.

Sri Gul then set out for Delhi, where he arrived and put up at a Bábára's shop. The city was then under Muhammadan rule, and once when Sri Gul went to bathe in the Jamna, a butcher passed by driving a cow to slaughter. Sri Gul remonstrated with the man but in vain, and so he cut him in two. The emperor sent to arrest him, but Sri Gul killed all the soldiers sent to take him, and at length the emperor himself went to see a man of such daring. When the emperor saw him he kissed his feet, promised never again to kill a cow in the presence of a Hindu. So Sri Gul forgave him. He was about to return to the shop when he heard from Churú that a demon was about to pollute the Chürí Peak, so that it could not become the abode of a god. Sri Gul thereupon created a horse, named Shamalwi, and, mounted on it, set out for Churí Chandhri. In the evening he reached Báriya, near Jagadhri, the next day at noon Sirmár, and in the evening Shádgá, his capital. On the following day he arrived at his destination by way of: Bhil-Khari, where he whetted his sword on a rock which still bears the marks. Thence he rode through Bhdró in Jubbal, and halting at Kábábgh, a place north of Churi Choti, he took some grains of rice, and, reciting incantations, threw them on the horse's back, thereby turning it into a stone, which to this day stands on the spot. Sri Gul then went out to Churí Choti and there he heard of the demon's doings. Next morning the demon came with a cow's tail in his hand to pollute the Peak, but Chürú saw him and told Sri Gul, who killed him on the spot with a stone. The stone fell in an erect position, so the place is called Àuripot1 to this day. It lies eight miles from the Chür Peak. After the demon had been killed, the remainder of his army advanced from Chawkhat, to attack Sri Gul, but he destroyed them all. Then he told Chürú to choose a place for both of them to live in, and he chose a spot between Churi Choti and Kábábgh. Sri Gul then sent for Dévi Rám and his

1 àuripot means an erect stone, poti, the hide of a cow or bufalo. It is also said that the cow's hide which the demon had in his hand, as well as the stone which Sri Gul threw at him, are still to be seen at the spot.
Shrigul in the Simla Hills.

(There's a minister's) two sons from Shādghā, and divided his kingdom among them, thus: To Dēvī Rām he gave, i.e. assigned, the State with the village of Kārlī; to the elder son Rabbu he gave Jorna, the pargana of Bhāhal, Jalkhōī in Jubbal State, Baisan, Theog, Ghond and Rakesh States, and pargana Pajhōta in Sirmūr, and to Chhinū, the younger son, he allotted Sarāhan, with the following pargana: Hāmil, Chhatta, Chaulog, Chānḍā, Satōha, Panōtra, Nēwal, Shāk, Chānju, Bagāon, Suntā, in Jubbal State, and Tarōch, with Lādā and Kāngra, in the Sirmūr State, as far as that part of Jaunsār which is now British territory. Dēvī Rām and his two sons built a temple to Śrī Gul between Chōpi Chūri and Kālābāgh; which is still in existence, and the younger brother also built a baoli, which held no water until Śrī Gul filled it.

When the three new rulers had finished building their rāj-bhāanta Śrī Gul sent for them and bade them govern their territories well, and he made the people swear allegiance to them. On Dēvī Rām's death, his third son, by his second wife, succeeded to his State. Śrī Gul bade the three rulers instal, when he should have disappeared, an image of himself in the temple at each of their capitals, and side by side with them to erect smaller temples to Chūhrū. He also directed that their descendants should take with them his image wherever they went and to whatever State they might found, and there instal it in a temple. With these instructions he dismissed the ministers and their subjects. After a reign of 150 years, Śrī Gul disappeared with Chūhrū, who became known as Chūhrū Bīr, while Śrī Gul was called Śrī Gul Deōta.

Two centuries later, when the descendants of Rabbu and Chhinū had greatly multiplied, those of them who held Jorna migrated to Mānal in the Bharmaurī tillāga, where they built a temple for Śrī Gul's image. The Rājā of Sirmūr assigned half the land of the pargana for its maintenance. Some of Chhinū's descendants settled in Deōna, a village in Sirmūr, where they, too, built a temple.

According to this qvāri-historical legend Śrī Gul was a king, who was, we may conjecture, supplanted in his kingdom by his chief minister's family. This minister's sons divided the kingdom into three parts, each of them ruling one part—precisely what happened about a century ago in State of Bashahr. The old capitals of Jorna, Sarāhan (in Jubbal State), and Shādghā (apparently in Sirmūr) are, with Deōna, to this day the centres at which the grain collected on behalf of the god is stored. A pāthā is collected from every house.

1 Should probably read:—To Dēvī Rām he assigned his own State of Shādghā with the addition of Kārlī to Rabbu, Jorna, as his capital, with Bhāhal etc., and to Chhinū Sarāhan as his capital, with etc.

2 Royal residence or capital.

3 The god in Jorna is called Gōvānī, from gō, 'sky,' in the Pahāri dialect. He has one eye turned towards the sky, and hence is so named.

4 The god in Sarāhan is called Bijāt.

5 The pāthā is a basket-like measure made of iron or brass and holding some two stks of grain.
Every year the descendants of Rabbú and Chínú who settled in Sirmúr take the god’s image from Saráhan or Jorna in Jubbal to their own villages, in which temples have been built to him. Some 50 kárldás (officials) and begárís (corede labourers) accompany the god, and each house offers him Re. 1 and a patha of grain, but if any one desires to offer a gold coin, he must give the kárldás, musicians and puJayrí Rs. 0, Rs. 12, or even Rs. 25. Anyone who refuses to make a dhidakra or offering will, it is believed, meet with ill luck.

Like many other gods in the hills, Sri Gül exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction. Anyone doing wrong in his capital has to take the god to Hardwar, or, for a petty offence, pay him a gold coin. Oaths are also taken on the god’s image at Saráhan and Jorna, in cases in which enquiry has failed to elicit the truth, by parties to cases in the States of Jubbal, Balsan, Taróch and Sirmúr. The god reserves judgment for three or six months, during which period the party who is in the wrong is punished by some calamity.

Connected with the cult of Shírigul is that of the dual god Bijat and his sister Bijái.

The legend of Bijat, the lightning god, which is connected with that of Shírigul, relates that when the Asur Agyasur, the great demon who was hostile to the gods, assailed the Chúr Peak and the temple of Shírigul thereon, the god fell upon them in the form of lightning, whence an image fell to earth at Saráhan in Jubbal, and at that place a temple was built for the image, which was placed, with other images, in it. From Saráhan a Dewá, the ancestor of the present Dēwás of Deoma, brought a stone idol of Bijat to Deoma, and this is now the principal image in the temple, and is considered to possess the most power.1 There are 27 other images, all of brass.

The stone idol is to the left of all the minor images, and is never clothed or ornamented. Of the rest four are covered with old silk (mara), and have pieces of woollen stuff round their necks, studded with 80 rupees, and 15 gold woBhars. The remaining 23 have no clothes or ornaments. All have human faces.

The fair of Bijat is held on any three days between Baisákhi 1st and the end of Jeth. It is called Bisu, because it is usually held in Baisákhi, and is held annually in Deoma, and every third or fourth year in Chokar, Sanjé and Andheri villages. It resembles the fair at Mánal, and the thoda game is played.

The temple of Bijat at Bándal was founded in this wise. The Dēwás at Deoma multiplied, and so one of them came to Bándal with a brass image of Bijat from the temple there, and built a separate temple. There are now 52 images of Bijat in the Bándal temple. All

1 Procedurae de deity in a temple.—The presiding image is that which is the most powerful and is placed in the centre, the others being placed on either side of it in the order of their powers, the more powerful being seated near the presiding image, and the others further from it. Dependants occupy lower seats in front. All the images face to the west on the high hills.
are of brass, with human faces. Only the five primary images are
clothed, and these have garments studded with rubies and gold 
metal. They are considered to possess more power than the remaining 47, and
the principal of them, the one brought from Deora, is placed in the
centre and reposes in a silver chanki.

Bijat, as a goddess, has a temple, seven storeys high, at Batrol, where the image is of brass and has a woman’s face. It is clothed in
silk and ornamented. The Bhâts, but not the Kanîts, serve as pujârîs.
A pilgrim to the temple is fed once on behalf of the god. When a
he-goat is sacrificed the blood is sprinkled over the temple. For a
jâgô the idol is taken to a worshipper’s house where a he-goat is killed
and the flesh distributed among those present. The ritual resembles
that of Shirigul, but there is no fair.

Closely connected with the cult of Bijat is that of the goddess
Ghatridì, who has a temple at Panjâhan in Rainkâ talabâ, similar to
that of Bijat at Batrol. The ritual is also the same and no fair is
held. The legend regarding this temple avers that a certain Kanî
chieftain, Bijâ by name, of Tathwa village, once salted forth with
eighteen of his followers to attack his enemies in Dâhar. When
the assailants reached Dâhar they were seized with a sudden panic
and fled homeward, but on reaching Bholnâ, a mile from Dâhar,
they met some women bearing pitchers. On asking who they were,
they were told that the women belonged to Jam-log, a village at
which a jâgô in honour of Bijat was being celebrated, and that
they had come to fetch water. Bijâ asked if he and his companions
could see the jâgô, and was told that they could come and see it, but
must show no fear of what they saw even when offered seats of serpents
and scorpions by the people of Jam-log. The women also said they
would offer grains of iron to eat and gave them rice which they
could eat instead, concealing the iron. Lastly, the women said that
if they were desired to take the image to their house for the celebration
of a jâgô, they should seize it and flee with it, but must on no account
look back. Accordingly Bijâ and his men went to Jam-log where they
found three images being worshipped with great solemnity, and were told
that the finest image to which the greatest reverence was paid was that
of Bijat, the second that of Bâiji, and the third that of Ghatridì. Bijâ,
on the pretence that he desired to worship the images, was allowed to
draw near with his companions, and they then seized the images and
fled. The men of Jam-log pursued them without success, but Bijâ’s
eighteen companions looked back and perished. Bijâ, however, reached
his house in safety, and concealed the image in his granary, which was
nearly empty. When he opened the granary in the morning it was full
to overflowing. Bijâ fell senseless at this portent, and was only revived
by the sacrifice of eighteen he-goats over him. Then one of the three
gods took possession of a man who began to nod his head saying
he was Bijat, the god, and could not remain in Tathwa, as it was not
becoming for him to live with his sisters, so the image of Bijat was
sent to Sârâhan in Jubâl where it still remains. The people of Tathwa
then separated, dividing their property, some going to settle in Kândî.

1 In Dhâm Ghatridì is a ghost: see p. 317 supra.
and the others remaining in Tathwa. The image of the goddess Bijáí fell to the men of Kándí, and is now at Batrol of Dasáknu bhoj, while Ghistriáí remained at Tathwa and her temple was established at Panjáhan in Thakri bhoj.

Every year Biját gives his sister Bijáí a rupee for sweetmeats, and whenever either of them goes to visit the other, the host entertains the guest with a he-goat, and gives him or her a rupee. Biját always gives Bijáí twice as much as she gives him.

It is not expressly stated that Biját and Bijáí are twin deities, but there is a similar pair in Bhur Singh and his sister, and Bhur Singh appears to be identifiable with Búre Singh and Bhúri Singh the twin of Kalí Singh.

At Pejarlı in Sirmur is a temple dedicated to Bhur Singh and his sister Debi (Devi), the children of a Bhát of Pánwá village. When their mother died the Bhát married again, and their step-mother, during his absence from home, used to treat them harshly. Once she sent Bhur Singh to tend cattle in the forest, and as on his return home in the evening one of the calves was missing, she sent him back to find it by hook or by crook. When the Bhát reached home he found his son had not returned, and in going to search for him found him and the lost calf both lying dead at the spot where the shrine now stands. Meanwhile Debi, who had been given in marriage to a one-eyed man, was, in her mortification, returning home; she passed the place where Bhur Singh lay dead, and stricken with grief threw herself from her gole over the cliff. The brother and sister are now worshipped together as Bhur Singh. There are two temples, one at Pejarlı, the other on the high hill known as Bhur Singh ki dhár. The pujáí are two Bháts, one for Bhur Singh and one for Debi, and at the fair, on the Kátik and ikáli, no one dances save the pujáí of Debi, and he dances by night in the temple so that the people may not see him, and at midnight coming out of the shrine leaps on to a great rock above a high cliff. Standing there for a few moments he gives one oracle, and no more, in answer to a question. On returning to the temple he swoons, but is speedily and completely revived by rubbing. Meanwhile, when the secret dancing begins the men of the Panáí family form a line across the door of the temple, and those of the Kathár temple rushing upon them with great violence break the line and enter the temple, but leave it again after touching the idol. As Bhur Singh is known to live on nothing but milk, animals are never sacrificed.

In Karnál and Ambála Jaur Singh is worshipped with Gugga, Nár Singh, Kála Singh and Búre Singh. He is said to be Rájá Jemar, the usual name of Gugga's father, but the twin jora) brothers of Gugga, Arjan and Surjan, are also worshipped as Jaur.

Káli Singh and Bhúri Singh sometimes have twin shrines and Nár Singh is said to be another name for one or both of them.
(B)—The Cult of Mahásu in Sirmúr.

The head-quarters of this god are at Siou, a village in Rainka tahsíl, where he has a temple on a small hillock, at the foot of which flows the Gírí. It is close to the village and shaped like a hill-house with two storeys only. The ground floor has a door facing to the north, while the upper storey has no door, and one ascends by small steps through the first storey. It is only lighted by sky-lights. The gods are kept on a gumbur or wooden shelf. There is one large brass idol and several smaller ones. The idols are shaped like a man's bust. The big idol is in the middle, the others being placed on either side of it. On the left the second place is held by the god Sirmúri, who is the god of Sirmúr, but who is not independent, being always found in the company of bigger god, and has no temple of his own. There is also an image of Dévi Shimláasan. The idols on the immediate right of the big one only go to Hardwára and other places, while the rest are stationary. They go out because they are kept clean for that purpose. The others are in a dirty state. All these idols, except those of Sirmúri and Shimláasan, represent Mahásu. The middle one is the most important, and there is no difference in the others. Milk and goats are offered in the temple, which is only opened every Sunday and Wednesday and on a Sankránti. Worship is held at 11 a.m. and at sunset in the same way as in Shirigul's temple, but there is one peculiarity, in that the devotees of Mahásu who own buffaloes generally offer milk on the day of worship. If there is a death or birth in the family of the Déwá, the temple must be closed for 20 days because neither a jatí nor a Déwá can enter the temple within 20 days of a domestic occurrence. The Déwá must not indulge in sexual intercourse on the day of worship or two previous days, and hence only two days in the week are fixed for worship. The morning worship is called dhápa devá and the evening sanákád. Legend says that one morning the god Mahásu appeared in a dream and told the ancestor of the present Déwá to seek in the Gírí and build him a temple in the village. Accordingly the Déwá went to the Gírí and found on its banks the big idol, which is also called jaldásan (i.e. set up in water). Mahásu is not so widely believed in as Shirigul or Paras Rám. The present Déwá says he is 12th in descent from the man who found the idol.

The Jagra of Mahásu.—This festival, which is peculiar to Kángra in Tahsíl Rainka, is celebrated on the 4th and 5th day of the dark half of Bhádon. On the third of the same half the deotá's flag is erected on the bank of a stream, and on the 4th people arrive, who are served with free dinners. On the night between the 4th and 5th the people do not sleep the whole night. On the 5th, at about 3 p.m., the deotá is taken out of the temple. But if it is displeased, it becomes so heavy that even four or five men cannot remove it. The music is played and prayers offered. At this time some men dance and say an oracle has descended on them. They show their superior powers in curious ways. Some play with fire; others put earth on their heads. They answer questions put by those who are in want of the deotá's help. Some
one among these dancing men explains the cause of the displeasure of the deity, and then pilgrims and pujaśīs make vows, whereupon the deity gets pleased and makes itself light and moveable. Now a procession is made, headed by the deity’s flag, which when brought to the stream, is sprinkled with water, after which the procession returns to the temple, where dancing is kept going till morning. A good dinner with wine is given to the people in the temple yard.

THE CULT OF MAHĀŚU IN THE SIMLA HILLS.

Mahāśu, who has given his name to the well-known hill near Simla, is a deity whose cult is making such progress that he is bound soon to take a foremost place in the hillman’s pantheon. His history as told by the manager of his temple at Anel, the head-quarters of his worship, is as follows:—When vast portions of the world were ruled by demons, between the Tons and Pahar rivers dwelt a race of evil spirits whose chief, Kirmat āđāśa, loved to wallow in human blood. Twice a year he claimed a victim from each hamlet in his jurisdiction. In Madrat, a village above the Tons where the demons held their sports, lived two pious Brahmins to whom the gods had granted seven sons. Six of them had already been slain on the demon’s altars and he had cast his eye on the seventh. His aged parents waited in dread for the half-yearly sacrifice, the more so in that he was the only son they had left to liberate their spirits at the funereal pile. But several months before the sacrifice the wife became possessed. A trembling fell upon her and in a piercing voice she kept on shrieking—“Mahāśu—Mahāśu—Mahāśu of Kashmir will save our child.” Her husband, Una Bhāṭ, could not interpret the portent for he had never heard Mahāśu’s name, so he asked her what her raving meant. Still in her trance of inspiration she replied that in Kashmir there reigned Mahāśu a mighty god who would save their son from the demon’s clutches if he himself would but plead before his shrine. But Kashmir was far away and Una Bhāṭ very old, so he laughed in sorrow at her fancy. “How can I,” he asked, “who am stricken in years and weak of body make a pilgrimage to such a distant land? The boy is already dead if his life depends on such a journey.” But his wife did not heed his weakness and at length her possession grew so violent that the Brahman set out on his lonely journey, more to soothe her than from any hope of succour. He did not even know the road until a neighbour told him that at the famous shrine of Devī in Hātkoti there was a Brahman who had seen the holy places of Kashmir. Thither then he turned and begged information from the priest. But Pandit Nāg, the Brahman, scoffed at the idea of such an enterprise. “Your eyes are dim,” he said in scorn, “your legs tottering and your body worn and wasted; you will surely die on the way. I, who am strong and in the prime of life, took full twelve years to do the pilgrimage.” — But Una Bhāṭ having once left his home was eager to do his utmost to save his only remaining son; and at last the Pandit set him on his road with a blessing.

As the old man toiled up the hill path, his limbs were suddenly filled with youthful vigour and his body lifted into the air. Next he found himself by a tank beneath whose waters the great Mahāśu dwelt,
though he knew it not. And as he stood in wonder on its margin one of the god's wastra, Chekurya by name, appeared before him and asked him what he wanted. Una Bhât in eager words told him how a race of cruel demons vexed his country, how their chief had slaughtered six of his sons upon their altars and purposed to take the seventh, and how his wife had trembled and called upon Mahâsu's name. When Chekurya had heard all this he bade the Brahman retire to a field behind the tank and there wait in silence for the coming of Mahâsu who would help him in his need. He had been gone but a short time when suddenly from the ground beside him arose a golden image which he guessed to be Mahâsu. He clutched it tightly to his breast, pouring out a piteous appeal. "I will not let you go," he cried, "until you pledge your word to rescue my only son. Either take my life or come with me." Mahâsu comforted him with a promise of succour. "I have heard your prayer," he said, "and will surely save your child from the demon. Return now to your home and there make a plough of solid silver with a share of pure gold, and having put in it a pair of bullocks whose necks have never borne the yoke loosen well each day a portion of your land. On the seventh Sunday hence I, with my brothers, ministers and army will come and rid your people of those noisome spirits. But on that day be careful that you do no ploughing." These words were scarcely uttered when the image slipped from the Brahman's grasp and in the twinkling of an eye he found himself once more within his village. There having told of the wonders that had happened on his way, he made, in obedience to the god, a plough of solid silver with a share of burnished gold. Therein he yoked a pair of bullocks which had never drawn plough before and each day ploughed deep a portion of his lands. On the sixth Sunday after his return he did his daily task and had only turned five furrows when out of each sprang the image of a deity. From the first came Bhotu, from the next Pahari, out of the third rose Bâshik and Chahu from the fourth. All these are brothers called by the common affix of Mahâsu. From the fifth furrow appeared their heavenly mother and all about the field the god's officers and a countless army sprang like mushrooms through the loosened earth. Chekurya, the minister, was there with his three colleagues, Kapla, Kailu and Kailat, as well as Chaharya who holds a minor office. When the Brahman first saw them he fell senseless on the ground, but the god's attendants soon revived his courage and bade him show them where the demons dwelt. Then he took them to a deep dark pool where Kirmat dâsun held his revels and there they found the demon king attended by his hosts of evil spirits. Forthwith Mahâsu challenged him to mortal conflict and a sanguinary battle followed which ranged along the river bank and up the neighbouring hills. But the evil spirits had not the strength to stand before the gods so they were routed with much carnage and in a short time only their leader Kirmat dâsun still lived. Alone he fled across the mountains until he reached the Pabar hard pressed by his relentless foes. They caught him at Niwâra in the Dhâdi State and hacked him up to pieces upon a rock, which to this day bears marks of many sword cuts.

In such wise was the land rid of the demons, but the lowlanders say the hillmen still have the manners of their former rulers. Their habits

1 There is a Kailu in Chamba also.
are unclean, their customs filthy, they neither wash nor change their clothes nor understand the rites of true religion. However this may be, the army came back in triumph to Madras, where the four brothers parcelled out the land between them dividing it to suit the physical infirmities of each. For a misadventure had marred to some extent the glory of their enterprise. Mahasu, it will be remembered, had pledged his word to Una Bhat that he would come and succour him upon the seventh Sunday but either in impatience or through a miscalculation of the date, the god arrived a week before his time. Thus the mother and her sons were waiting buried underneath the earth for Una Bhat to break its sun-baked crust and as he drove his plough three members of the family were injured by its blade. Bhothu was damaged in the knee so that thenceforth he was lame; Pabasi had a small piece cut out of his ear; whilst Bashishk’s vision was obscured by the thrashing of the ploughshare into his eye. The fault of course was not the Brahman’s, for if the very gods select the sixth of any period to embark on a venture, they must expect the ill-fortune which attends the choice of even numbers to find them out. So Bhothu thenceforth preferred to rest his injured leg within his temple at Anil and thence he exercises away around its precincts. A portion of the Garhwal State fell to Pabasi’s lot and there he spends a year in turn at each of his six country seats. To him was allotted part of the tract now comprised in British Garhwal and though defective eyesight prevents his making lengthy tours he journeys in successive years to the four main centres of his worship. Chaldru, it was justly felt, being sound in every limb could well fend for himself, so to him was granted no specific territory; so long as he observed his brother’s rights, he was free to exercise dominion wherever he could find a following. Experience justified this estimate of Chaldru’s powers, for his worship now extends over a wide expanse of country. It is he who is venerated in the Simla States, where his devotees are growing more numerous each year. Twelve years on end he spends in wandering amongst his subjects, and every house must then give Rs. 1-8 to his ministers. The priests and temple managers take the rupee for their own use, or current charges, but store the annas in the god’s treasury. Besides this the peasants have to provide instruments of music and ornaments of silver in honour of their deity and also grain and other offerings to feed his following. They must therefore feel relieved when the long touring season is completed and the god can spend an equal period at ease within his shrine, which was built in a village close to where his brother Bhothu lives.

Chaldru Mahasu, is the member of the family revered or dreaded as the case may be by many villages in Bashahr, but the people of that State tell a different story of his advent to those parts. The dynasty, they say, ruled in Kashmir, where the first-born held his court attended by his brothers, ministers and hosts of minor deities. The only blot upon the brightness of his glory was the presence of a rival god, by name Chasrul, with whom he long had carried on a bitter feud, but one day Mahasu lured his foe within his reach and drawing his sword smote him, below the belt. With a gaping wound Chasrul fled in terror taking his life with him, whilst Mahasu with his whole army of retainers rose in pursuit. But the chase
was long, for the fugitive was fleet of foot and had gone some distance before his enemies had grasped the situation. Over ranges of snow-clad peaks, down winding valleys and through dense forests for many days the hue and cry chased close behind the fleeing god, gaining slowly but surely on him until at length he was all but in their grasp. Chasrálu spent and worn was just about to yield his life when he espied a cavern with a narrow opening, going deep into the rocky mountain side and into this he darted as his nearest foe was in act to cut him down. There he lay concealed, gathering new strength and courage, whilst his ancient enemy held counsel with his ministers. 'Who of all my many servants,' asked Mahášu, 'is bold enough to drive Chasrálu from his lurking place?' But no one had the courage to assault the god thus entrenched in his stronghold; only a minor deity whose name was Jakh proposed a plan. 'Let the accursed dog,' he said, 'star in his gloomy cavern doomed to eternal darkness. I with four other of your gods will stand as sentinels upon the five approaches to his burrow, so that he cannot take flight either by the mountain passes or by the valleys or by the river. We will be surety for his safe keeping, if in return you grant us sole jurisdiction over our respective charges and pledge your word to leave us undisturbed.' Mahášu would have liked to see his ancient enemy withered up before his eyes, but in default of any other way to wreak his vengeance he at last approved Jakh's plan, renouncing all control over the actions of his former servants. Then departing with his brothers and the rest of his court he found a heaven after many wanderings in the village of Anel which has ever since remained the centre of his worship. The five wardens of the marches on their part remained behind to keep unceasing watch and ward upon all exits from the cave. Jakh, who dwells in Janglik, watches the mountain passes to the north; Bheri Nág of Tangnu keeps guard upon the Pábar river and a valley to the west; whilst if the prisoner should escape his vigilance and hasten to the south he must pass the watchful eyes of Chilam and Naróm who have their temples in Dudi and Ghésrú. The last custodian is Nág of Peka or Pekían who stays as sentinel upon the road.

Though Chasrálu, gibbed, cabinet and confined on every side had thus to stay within his dungeon yet as the years passed by he won his share of glory and renown. For up to recent times his cave contained a famous oracle where wondrous portents were vouchsafed upon the special festivals held in his honour at recurring intervals. On such occasions a skilled diviner went inside the cavern and as he prayed with tight shut eyes, held out the skirts of his long coat to catch the gifts which tumbled from the roof. Sometimes a calf would fall, a most propitious omen, for then the seed would yield abundant increase, the herds and flocks would multiply, and the peasantry be free from pestilence or famine. Sometimes again a pigeon came fluttering down, proving to be a harbinger of sickness and disease, whilst if a snake fell wriggling in the coat the luckless villagers were doomed to never-ceasing trouble until the year was over. Occasionally it happened that as the sorcerer muttered his prayers and incantations apparitions of the living passed before his eyes and though their human counterparts were well and healthy at the time they surely died within
The fate of Chasālū.

the year. The oracle was also efficacious in pointing out spots where hidden hoards lay buried. The would-be finder first sacrificed a goat and laid before the entrance of the cave its severed head, through which the god conveyed his message to the learned diviner who alone could comprehend its meaning. The people say the clues thus given led sometimes to the finding of hereditary treasure and then the lucky heir made dedicatory offerings of a field or house or other article of value to his god.

But Chasālū's days of glorious miracle have vanished for Mahāsū has declared that the god no longer lives within the cave. Some 20 years ago one of his priests, a man feared for his knowledge in the magic art, came to the group of villages where the five guardians were worshipped, and intimated that his master's ancient enemy had been dissipated into space. He did not blame the warders since the prisoner had not escaped through any lack of vigilance nor indeed escaped at all; he had melted into nothingness and merely ceased to be. But he argued, with unerring logic, that since there was no prisoner to guard, it did not need five deities to hold him fast. Therefore his master, so he said, would deign to come amongst them and resume his former rule. The villagers were very angry at this wanton breach of faith and coming out with sticks and staves swore they would not allow Mahāsū in their hamlets. Also they handled roughly the god's ambassador, threatening him with divers pains and penalties if he ventured in their midst again with such a proposition, so that he had to flee in haste, vowing vengeance as he ran. And from that day misfortune and calamity commenced and never ceased until the people gave their grudging homage to the foreworn god, through fear of whose displeasure they shrink from asking at Chasālū's oracle. Jakh of Janglik has suffered in particular from the advent of his former lord, for previous to his intrusion there was an offshoot of Jakh's worship in the isolated sub-division of Dodra Kawār. There the local deity is also Jakh and till a few years ago a regular exchange of visits took place between the namesakes and their bands of worshippers. Now the people of Kawār deny that there has ever been affinity between the two but when hard pressed admit the bonds were broken when Mahāsū entered into Janglik. They fear the Kashmir deity too much to run the risk of his invasion into their lonely valley, so they will neither take their god to any place within his sphere of influence nor allow the Janglik deity to come to them. The terrible Mahāsū, they opine, might fix himself to one or other of the deities and it is easier to keep him out than drive him off when once he comes.

The superstitious terrors inspired by Mahāsū and the methods he pursues may be illustrated by the following instance:—At one place the mere mention of Mahāsū is anathema, for the village is the cardinal seat of Shālu's worship, a deity with whom the Garhwal god is waging bitter war, the cause of which will be explained anon. In the adjoining hamlet also stands a temple to the glory of the local Shālū, and the brazen vessels, horns and rage hanging to its walls give testimony of the veneration extended to the god by former generations. But a sanctuary to Mahāsū is near completion, so that in the near future the
devotions and offerings of the peasants will be divided between the rival claimants, although the family deity is likely for some time to come to get the major share. The manner in which the interloper has gained a following and a shrine is typical. For some years the curse of barrenness had fallen on the women, crops and herds. Few children had been born within the village whilst those the wives had given to their husbands before the curse descended had sickened suddenly and died. The seed sown on the tilled fields had failed to yield its increase, or if by chance the crops were good some heaven-sent calamity destroyed them were they were garnered in the granaries. The sheep had ceased to lamb and the goats to bring forth young, nay even the stock the peasants owned was decimated by a strange disease. At night-fall they would shut their beasts safe in the lower storeys of their houses, but in the morning when they went to tend them some half dozen would be either dead or dying despite the fact that on the previous evening they had all seemed well and healthy. At last a skilled diviner, to whom the lengthy story of misfortune was unfolded, was summoned to expound the meaning of these long continued omens of a demon's wrath. With head thrown back, fists tightly clenched and muscles rigid he kept on muttering the incantations of his art, until successive tremors passing through his frame showed that some god or demon had become incarnate in his person. Then in a loud voice he told his anxious listeners, that unknown to them some object sacred to Mahâns had come within the village boundaries and with it too had come the god, for Mahâns never quits possession of any article, however trifling, once dedicated to his service. The oppression he had wrought upon the hamlet was but a means of signifying his arrival and until a fitting dwelling place was ready for his spirit, the inhabitants would fail to prosper in their ventures. Hence the half-built shrine above the village site. Strangely enough the diviner in this instance, as in many others, was not connected with Mahâns's cult in any way and as the oracle was therefore free from interested motives it would seem that the general terror of Mahâns's name has obsessed the soothsayers as strongly as it has the people.

In the adjacent village distant but a mile or so, a former generation had raised a temple to Mahâns. It stood close to the road and facing it upon a narrow strip of land, once cultivated but long since given over to the service of the god. Within the courtyard were planted several images each consisting of a thin block of wood, with the upper portion cut into the uncouth likeness of a face. These were supposed to represent the five divine postas and a large pile of ashes heaped before the lowest proclaimed him as the fifth attendant, for ashes from the altars of his master or superiors are the only requisites which come his way; from which it would appear that, like their human counterparts, the under-waiters of the gods received but little. Mahâns had remained contented with his shrine for many years, following a course of righteous living as became a well-conducted deity, but of late he had grown restive, developing a tendency to vex his worshippers. Crops had been indifferent on the lands for several seasons especially in the early harvest, a fact for which their northern aspect would afford sufficient explanation to any but the superstitious natives of the hills. They, of course, assigned the failure of the harvests to a supernatural cause and to their cost
The caprices of Mahāsu.

called in the inevitable diviner. Mahāsu, it then transpired, had nothing much to say against the fashion of his temple; it was soundly built, fairly commodious and comfortable enough inside; indeed it was all a god could reasonably desire; if the site had only been selected with a little more consideration. That was objectionable, for situated just above the public road it exposed his sanctuary to the prying eyes of the passing stranger, a fatal drawback which any self-respecting deity would resent. Now a little higher up there was a nicely levelled piece of land promising an ideal situation for a sacred shrine. Yes, he meant the headman's field, the one close to the village site, richly manured twice yearly so as to yield two bounteous harvests. If this were given to his service and a convenient sanctuary built thereon his present dwelling place would come in handy for his chief wazir, less sensitive, as became a servant, to the public gaze. Indeed in this connection it was hardly suited to the dignity of a mighty god, that his first minister should be exposed to piercing cold in winter and burning heat in summer without some covering for his head; and that was why the headman had lately dedicated to the god one of his most fertile fields within whose limits for the future no man would ever turn a furrow or scatter seed. The villagers too were only waiting for the necessary timber to erect a new and better sanctuary, a further act of homage which they were vain enough to hope would keep Mahāsu quiet for some time. They apparently had overlooked the other four wazirs for whose comfort fresh demands were certain to arise and so Mahāsu never asked but of the best one could only hope that he would cast his envious glance upon a field belonging to an owner rich enough to bear the loss. Shill is one of the earliest seats of worship of Mahāsu in Bashahr in which State he gained a footing through the misplaced credit of a miracle in which he played no part. Several hundred years ago it happened that the ruler of Garhwal set out upon a pilgrimage to the temple of Hākoti, a very ancient shrine situated on the right bank of the Pabar. He was as yet without an heir, whilst Devi, the presiding goddess, was and still is famous for bestowing progeny on those who seek her aid. The Rājā had given timely notice of his royal pleasure to the local ruler who had issued orders to the saīlūdar of the district and headmen of four adjacent villages to make all necessary preparations for the comfort of so powerful a prince. Either through carelessness or contumacy they shirked their duties and the Rājā with his suite suffered no little inconvenience in obtaining the requisite supplies,—a fact which ought perhaps only to have added to the merit of the pilgrimage. The chief however did not take this pious view and though he had no jurisdiction in the territory, this mattered little in the good old times when might was right, so after he had begged his boon and paid his vows, he seized the saīlūdar and headmen, carrying them with him to his capital. There he threw them into a gloomy dungeon, whose inky darkness knew no count of day or night, to meditate in sadness on the ways of half-starved princes. Now in the dungeon there were other prisoners of State, natives of Garhwal who owned Mahāsu as their god, and from their lips the foreign captives heard many stories of his mighty deeds. As the months passed by without a sign of succour from their own ancestral god or ruler the saīlūdar and his friends began to ponder on the wisdom of turning to
a nearer quarter for deliverance. Accordingly, at last, they swore a
solemn oath that if Mahâsù would but come to them from their bonds, they
would forsake their ancient gods and cleave to him alone. By chance
a few days later Devî vouchsafed an answer to the intercessions made by
the princes before her altars, for to his favourite Râîn an heir was born
whose advent was received with feelings of delight throughout the
State. A day was set aside for general rejoicing and on it by a common
act of royal clemency all prisoners were released, the saíldâr and his
friends amongst the rest. Mindful of their oath, they ascribed their
freedom to the mercy of Mahâsù, not to the power of the goddess Devî
to whom the merit actually belonged, and when they journeyed to their
homes they carried with them one of his many images. This they
duly placed in a temple built to his honour at Sanadur, and in addition
each introduced the ritual of Mahâsù’s worship into his own particular
hamlet. The saíldâr on returning to his home at Shîl also told the
people how a powerful deity had freed them from imprisonment and
persuaded them to adopt his worship as an adjunct to the veneration
paid to Shîl, their ancestral god. But neither he nor they accepted
Mahâsù as other than a secondary deity and when a shrine was raised
to him, it was placed outside the village site, upon a plot of land below
the public road. For some years sacrifices were duly offered to the
stranger god and his wazîrs, but as the memory of his timely aid
began to fade, the peasants showed a falling off in their devotions,
offerings were but few and far between, his yearly festival was discon-
tinued and his very dwelling place fell into disrepair. This culpable
neglect remained unpunished for some time until once a cultivator’s
wife fell ill, manifesting every sign of demonical possession. In the
middle of a sentence she lost all power of speech, her lips moved but no
sound came forth and as she struggled inarticulate a trembling seized
upon her limbs. Then suddenly she fell prostrate in a swoon upon
the ground, but almost at once leapt up again, her body still quivering
and shaking as she gave utterance to fearsome shrieks which pierced
the ears of all who heard. Then as suddenly she regained her sanity,
showing no symptom of her temporary madness. For several days she
went about her duties in the house and fields as usual, but all at once the
same wild frenzy came upon her, and moreover as she shrieked her cries
were echoed by a woman in another quarter of the village who too became
as one possessed. As before the mania of both was followed by a
brief period of complete recovery, but, on the next outburst the two
were joined by yet a third and so the madness spread until at length
some half a dozen women made the hills and valleys resound with
their hideous cries. Then it was deemed advisable to summon to their aid
a wise diviner who might read the riddle of the seeming madness.
Standing bareheaded in their midst, his frame racked by the paroxysms
of divine possession, he told the people that Mahâsù the terrible was
angry, that his altars had remained so long neglected and his temple
left to fall in ruins. If now they wished to check the mad contagion
they must purchase expiation by raising a finer edifice, added to the
sacrifice of many goats, both to the god and his wazîrs. The price was
promptly paid, so now womenfolk are free from evil spirits whilst a
fairly modern sanctuary stands on the ruins of the ancient shrine.
But Mahásu still remains dissatisfied and the reason of his discontent is this:—Shálú, the hereditary god, dwells in a lofty temple, built in the centre of the village by a former generation which had never even heard the name of the great Mahásu. But the latter would e’er the local deity and take possession of the shrine, founding his claim on the oath the erstwhile saíldar swore that if the god but freed him from the darkness of the dungeon he would forsake his other gods and follow him alone. Shálú however is himself no weak-kneed godling to truckle to the self-assertion of any interloper from another land. He too commands a numerous following of pious devotees whose zeal is strengthened by a firm belief in the miraculous story of how he first revealed his godhead to their fathers. When in early summer the iron hand of winter has relaxed its rigors and the snows have melted on the lower passes it is the practice of the shepherds to drive their flocks up to the Alpine pastures. The owners of a group of hamlets collect their sheep and goats together in a central village, where they celebrate the massing of the flocks, before they speed the herders on their journey to the dangerous heights where the dread Kálí loves to dwell. It was after such a gathering held in dim ages long past the memory of living man that the nomad shepherds of Pandarásan pargána set out upon their wanderings. Marching by easy stages in the early morning and late afternoon, they gave their footsore beasts a welcome rest during the midday heat, whilst at night their massive sheep-dogs crouching at the corners of the huddled square gave ready warning of the approach of man or leopard. Proceeding thus, they reached a level plateau, forming the truncated summit of a lofty mountain and tempted by the richness of the pasturage they resolved to make a halt until the luxuriant herbage should be exhausted. The sheep and goats were left to browse at will amongst the pastures whilst the men built for themselves rough shelters of piled-up stones for protection from the cold at night. That evening the dogs were set as usual to ring the straggling beasts, but a continued sound of barking soon warned the shepherds that something was amiss. Fearing lest a panther had pounced down upon a straggler from the flocks they hastened to the spot, where on the edge of the plateau they saw a full-grown ram stretched calmly on the ground, indifferent to the onsets of the dogs which were rushing round him snarling and snapping in their vain attempts to move him. The men added their shouts and blows to the efforts of the dogs but all in vain, the ram still lay as though transfixed. At length angered by the obstinacy of the beast one of the men drew his axe and slew it as it lay. Another bent down to lift the carcass from the ground, but as he raised it, there lay revealed two dazzling images of an unknown god, whilst from a stone close by a supernatural voice was heard. Ere they could grasp the smaller image it started moving of its own accord, slowly at first but gathering speed as it went until it reached the edge of the plateau down which it tumbled into a mountain torrent that bore it swiftly out of sight. The larger and finer idol still remained and this they carried to their halting place, first offering to the rock from which the mystic sound had rung the slaughtered ram, through whose inspired obstinacy the god had chosen to reveal his presence. At dawn the following morning they set out towards their starting place, for not one
among them was skilled in the lore of heaven-sent signs to read the secret of the omen. On arrival there the wondrous news spread quickly through the countryside and a gathering of peasants larger even than that which had sped them on their way, assembled to hear from the shepherds' lips the oft-repeated tale and to see with their own eyes the precious image. A sooth-sayer too was summoned from a neighbouring village and he told them that the portent was propitious, for the god, who had revealed his presence to the lowly shepherds, would deign to live amongst them guarding them and theirs from harm if only they would forthwith build a spacious and lofty temple in honour of his coming. Willing hands soon raised the sacred edifice and on a happy day with the full ritual prescribed for installation of an idol the Brahmins placed the image in the upper storcy of the temple. At the same time they gave the name of Shālu to the god, for in the language of the hills Shālu is the term used for the grand assemblage before the sheep and goats are driven to the Alpine pastures. This first temple to the glory of this god was built in the centre of the confederacy of villages, and though many local sanctuaries have been erected, as at Shil, this still remains the main seat of his worship. It is hither that the flocks converge each year, and as in the olden days, so now, a general gathering of the countryside precedes the exodus to the upper mountains. From here too the shepherds take with them in their journey the hallowed emblem of their god, lent them each year from the temple treasury. This is a drum-shaped vessel, sealed at either end, containing sacred relics of the deity whilst round the outer surface a goodly number of rupees are nailed. Only the leader of the herdsmen is privileged to carry it, slung by chains across his shoulders, but when the camp is reached it is unslung and placed with reverence in the midst of folds and shepherds and then both man and beast can sleep in perfect safety secure from all chance of harm. At nightfall the shepherds worship the sacred symbol, and at certain stages in their wanderings they sacrifice a goat or ram of which by ancient rite their headman takes a shoulder as his private portion. Moreover when the grazing ground is reached where stands the stone, the former dwelling of the god, a customary offering of one rupee is added to the accumulated tributes of past years. The recognition of Shālu as a pastoral deity is shown in yet another way, for when he goes on progress every other year amongst his subjects it is his privilege to claim a ram each day, and though his journeys continue for full three months he never asks in vain. With such old-time memories cementing in a common bond the interests of god and peasant it is not surprising that the villagers even of a secondary seat of Shālu's worship are loath to oust their deity from his ancestral shrine in favour of a stranger. And in the meantime Mahāśu carries on a relentless warfare which has been raging now for some ten years, during which time the owners of the houses which immediately adjoin the disputed sanctuary have experienced to their sorrow the power of his vengeance. Several families have vanished root and branch, others have been oppressed with sickness, whilst most have sunk into the direst poverty. A signal warning of the demon's wrath occurred some six or seven years ago. Almost next door to the shrine, perched on the edge of a precipitous slope, stood a building occupied by several humble cultivators, adhe-
rente, like the other villagers, of Shālu their ancestral god. One night, only a few days after the annual festival in honour of Mahāṣu had been duly celebrated, the master of the house was ladling barley from his store-bin. His wife stood by his side holding open the bag of goat-skin into which the grain was being poured. A second man, a near relation, had just crossed the threshold of the outer door. Suddenly without a moment's warning the building started to slide slowly down the steep hillside and before the inmates could make good their exit the roof collapsed pinning them beneath the beams and rafters. For a hundred yards or so they travelled with the débris, until a clump of pine trees arrested further motion. So noiselessly had the incident occurred that their neighbours did not know until the morning what had taken place: then, descending to the mass of ruins they bewailed the loss of friends or relatives. But as they wept a voice came from the heaped-up pile of wood and stone, proclaiming the glad intelligence that one at least of the victims still survived. Quickly the stones and beams were thrown aside and from beneath them issued the men and women a little bruised but otherwise unhurt. Mahāṣu however as though to demonstrate his powers over life and death had killed the household goats which were tethered in the lower storey of the building.

The present sa'idār, a lineal descendant of the perjurer who brought such catastrophes upon the hamlet, recounted this story of Mahāṣu's 'playing', as he termed it and at the end in answer to a question maintained his firm allegiance to the cause of Shālu. But, as an afterthought, he added with a chuckle, that as his house was in a lower portion of the village, the 'playing' of the jealous god had so far affected neither him nor his. A survivor of the land slide was also present at the time and was asked whether he too would like the home of Shālu delivered over to his rival, so that henceforth the people of the quarter might live without the apprehension of impending evil. With a bold and sturdy spirit he answered that Shālu was the ancestral deity not to be renounced without good cause; if the god himself consented to deliver up his ancient sanctuary, then well and good, but otherwise he would remain faithful to the family god. Believing firmly as he did that Mahāṣu had toppled down his house, brought desolation or extinction to many of his neighbours, and that the tyranny would not cease until the sacred dwelling-place was handed over, this simple rustic with his devotion to his ancient faith displayed a heroism worthy of a better cause.

The latest incident in this battle of the gods had been the building of a smaller shrine a year ago to house Mahāṣu's chief wazīr, the people blindly hoping that this fresh concession would appease the anger of the mighty spirit for some little time. The quarrel can however have but one issue. Mahāṣu's victory is assured and in all likelihood it only needs an unforeseen calamity to fall upon the sa'idār or his family to accelerate an unconditional surrender.

The justice of this forecast is indicated by the history of a village a little further on. Here too one of the liberated headmen incurred guilt or earned merit by the introduction of Mahāṣu's cult, its entrance in the village being followed by a bitter feud with the native deity. This was
Nágeshar, lord of serpents, who at the outset warned his worshippers that they would find it difficult to serve two masters with equal loyalty to both, bidding them beware lest the new divinity should prove a greater tyrant than the old. And so the sequel proved for the villagers, less stiffnecked than their neighbours, the followers of Śáhu, had not the courage to hold out against a series of misfortunes succeeding one upon another in all of which Mahásu’s hand was clearly visible. So since several generations Nágeshar had been termed the family god only by courtesy, whilst the real worship of the village has centred round the shrine of the invader. The ancient temple stood dilapidated and forlorn, the single offering of a metal pot nailed on its roof and long since blackened by exposure to the rains of many summers, only adding to its desolation. The buildings raised to the glory of Mahásu, on the other hand, filled up a portion of the village green and the neat group of arbours, granaries and smaller shrines which clustered round the main pagoda testified alike to the number of his votaries and the frequent calls on their devotion. Even the walls and gables of the newest shrine—erected for a minor minister some dozen years ago to check a cholera epidemic—were covered with the horns of sacrificial victims and other votive offerings. Thus if Mahásu had so far refrained from seizing on the temple of his rival the only reason was because he would not deign to grace a dwelling fallen to such low estate. Indeed the people said that the two were now the best of friends and this perhaps was so, for Mahásu could afford to be magnanimous towards a foe completely crushed and beaten. They denied also that the goddess Devi had played any part in rescuing their ancestors. Though the Rája of Gáráñûd, they said, had come to seek an heir, it was not at the shrine of Devi that he sought him, but from the hands of the ruler of Bashahr. For his only son had led some months before an army into Bashahr to join the local forces against the common foe from Kula. The youth had triumphed honourably in battle, but his father in his frantic grief would not listen to the truth and insisted that the people of Bashahr were concealing him for their own ends. And so he took away the zāddás and his comrades to hold as hostages and cast them into prison, binding them first with iron fetters. But Mahásu in answer to their prayers broke their chains unshackled and burst aside the dungeon doors so that they escaped again to their own country. However this may be, the peasants of this hamlet were eloquent in praise of their imported god, protecting that he was the mildest mannered of all divinities, provided always that his modest demands were promptly met, for he was slow to brook delay and ever ready to accept the challenge of an opposition were it human or divine. Nor, in truth, is he without the grace of saving virtues for he cannot tolerate a thief nor yet a tale-bearer, and sets his face against the prayers and offerings of those of evil livelihood.

In the month of Rhádon each year the fourth day of the light half of the moon is set aside in honour of the god. Early in the morning the temple priests carry the images and vessels hollowed in his service to a neighbouring stream or fountain where they bathe them reverently according to their ancient rites. Wrapped in folds of cloth the images are carried on the shoulders of the Brahmans and so secured against contamination from the vulgar gaze. The company of worshippers
The rites of Mahasw.

watch the proceedings from a distance, for if they ventured near a curse would fall upon them. The rites completed, the images and vessels are conveyed in similar fashion to the temple and are placed in garbar except one small image which is set upon the ear and left all day within the courtyard where the subsequent ceremonies occur. At night time it too is put inside the shrine safe from the hands of sacrilegious revelers. A high straight pole, cut usually from the blue pine tree, is planted firmly in the ground and bears a flag in honour of the deity. Another pole, shorter and thicker, cut off at the junction of many branches is also driven in the earth. The forking branches are looped at a distance of several feet from the parent stem whilst in between them rough slabs of slate are placed so that the whole forms an effective brazier. At the approach of nightfall a ram and goat provided by the general community are sacrificed, the first beside the brazier, whilst the latter is led inside the shrine, for a goat is deemed a nobler offering than a ram. But the victim is not actually despatched before the altar, for the family of Mahasw has a strong aversion to the sight of blood, so after the god has signified acceptance of the offering through the trembling of the beast it is led outside again and slaughtered in the courtyard. When darkness falls the worshippers of either sex, with lighted torches in their hands, dance for some little time around the brazier on which they later fling the blazing flagons. All through the night the fire is fed by branches of the pine tree which flash the flaming message of Mahasw's fame throughout the chain of villages which own his sway across the valleys and along the hills, while the men and women spend the night in merrymaking, joining together in their rustic dances and time-honoured songs. At intervals, as the unceasing rhythmic dance circles around the fire, a villager drops from the group and makes the well-known sign of supernatural possession. Then he must make an offering of a sweetened cake of wheaten flour, with a little butter to the god's wavir or, if well-to-do, must sacrifice a goat or ram. Sometimes a votary, snatching a burning torch from the fire, claps it tightly to his breast, but if his hands are injured in the process, he is proved a low impostor and the slighted god exacts a fine of several annas and a kid. Also if many villagers become inspired there is a murmur that divine possession is growing cheap, implying that the would-be incarnations of the deity are simulating ecstatic frenzy. The general riot is heightened by a plentiful supply of home-brewed spirits, but the women do not drink nor is debauchery looked upon with favour. No one who tastes intoxicating liquor is allowed within the temple, and the priests who abstain themselves keep watch upon the portal. But when the revelry is at its zenith it sometimes happens that, despite their care, the drunken worshippers cluster around the porch and some fall helplessly across the threshold. Then the god inflicts upon the culprits the penalties imposed on mere pretenders to divine afflatus. At the break of day each of the merrymakers as are well enough to eat enjoy a common feast for which each house provides a pound of wheaten flour and half a pound of oil. This ends the ceremonies and Mahasw is left in quiet for another year to prosecute his silent schemes by which he hopes to forge a few more links in the ever-lengthening chain that binds his worshippers in bonds of superstitious dread.
Shiva as whistler.

Sindhu Bir.—Sindhu Bir is the whistling god, whose cult is found in Jammu, in the Kangra hills, and in the Jaswan Dhan of Hoshiarpur, and whose whistling sound announces his approach. Sindhu is apparently an incarnation of Shiva conceiv ed of as the storm-wind in the hills, and there may be some connection between this cult and the Jogis’ whistle which is worn as denoting an attribute of the god. Sindhu is generally regarded as a maligna nt deity, causing madness and burning houses, stealing crops and otherwise immoral. But he is only supposed to burn down the houses of those with whom he is displeased, and the corn, milk, ghū etc. stolen by him is said to be given to his special worshippers. He can, however, be mastered by charms repeated at suitable places for 21 days. On the 21st he will appear after whistling to announce his approach, and sometimes with a whistling noise through his limbs, and ask why he was called. He should then be told to come when sent for and do whatever he is bidden. On the 22nd a ram should be taken to the place of his manifestation and presented to him as his steed.

In places where the houses are liable to sudden conflagrations the people who come to beg in Sindhu’s name are much dreaded and if they say they belong to his shrine they are handsomely rewarded. He is popularly believed to assume the form of a Gaddi, with a long beard, whence he is called Dariála, and carrying a long basket (kíro) on his back, whence he is Kiromála. But he has several other titles: such as Lohe or Lohán Pál, ‘Lord of metals’, Sanghán Pál or ‘Lord of Chains’, and Budmi Pál or ‘Lord of the Earth’. In the form of invocation recorded in Kangra we find him addressed as grandson of Ngar Hír, Chatarpál, Lohpál, Agripá, Sangalpál, Thikarpál (‘He of the potsherds’), daughter’s son of Bhünipál, son of Mother Kanhthari and brother of Punia. And the invocation ends with the words: ‘Let the voice of Mahádeo work’.

Sindhú’s principal shrine is at Basoli in Jammu territory, but he has smaller ones at Dhár and Bhangúr in Gurdaspur and at Gantha in Kangra. Most Hindu cultivators in these parts have a lively faith in the Bir, and offer him a karāh of kálw as sweetmeat at each harvest. Not only can he be invoked for aid, but he can also be directed by any one who has mastered his charms to cohabit with any woman, she thinking she is in a dream. Whenever a woman or a house or a man is declared by a jogi, locally called sūlā, to be possessed by the Bir, offerings of karāh, a ram or he-goat should be made to him to avert illness. Those who have mastered his charms can also use him to oppress an enemy at will.

A very interesting feature of Sindhú’s mythology is his association with the pairs of goddesses, Rañi and Bari, said to be worshipped in Chamba, Andlá and Samllá, two hill goddesses, the exact locality of whose cult is unknown, and Cháhri and Chhattráhri, also said to be worshipped in Chamba. The duality of these three pairs of god-

1See the Song of Sindhu Bir, Ind. Ant., 1909, p. 295. Lab, pl. lohan, is said to be metal, not iron. Sindhu is said to have a chain (sangal) always with him, and so his votaries also keep one at home.
Sindhi's two spouses.

Bhairon or Bhairava, the terrible one, is a deity whose personality it is a little difficult to grasp. He is in the orthodox mythology the same as Shiva; Bhairon or Bhairav being one of the many names of that deity. But he appears also as the attendant of Kál, and as such is said to be specially worshipped by Sikh watermen. At Benáres his staff is reverenced as an anti-type of that earthly deity, the Kotwál. More commonly he is represented as an inferior deity, a stout black figure, with a bottle of wine in his hand, whose shrine is to be found in almost every big town. He is an evil spirit, and his followers drink wine and eat meat. One sect of faqirs, akin to the Jogis, is specially addicted to his service; they besmear themselves with red powder and oil and go about the bazaars, begging and singing the praises of Bhairon, with bells or gongs hung about their loins and striking themselves with whips. They are found mainly in large towns, and are not celibates. Their chief place of pilgrimage is Girmár-parbat in Kathiawár, and the books which teach the worship of Bhairon are the Bhairavnáthak and the Bhairavn-stotar. That very old temple—the Bhairon-kā-sthán—near Ischra, in the suburbs of Lahore, is so named from a quaint legend regarding Bhairon, connected with its foundation. In the old days the Dhunwar girls of the Riwārí tahsil used to be married to the god at Baododa, but they always died soon afterwards and the custom has been dropped. As a village deity Bhairon appears in several forms, Kál Bhairon, who frightens death, Bhút Bhairon, who drives away evil spirits, Bhatak Bhairon, or the Child Bhairon, Láth Bhairon, or Bhairon with the club, and Nand Bhairon. Outside a temple of Shiv at Thánnesar is a picture of Kál Bhairon. He is black and holds a decapitated head in one hand. In the eastern Punjab he appears as Khetrpál, the protector of fields, under which name he is worshipped with sweets, milk etc. When a man has built a house and begins to occupy it, he should worship Khetrpál, who is considered to be the owner of the soil, the ground landlord in fact, and who drives away the evil spirits that are in it. He is also worshipped at weddings. Sometimes the Khetrpál is said to be an inhabitant of the pipal tree and to him women do worship when their babies are ill. Sometimes again he is considered to be the same as Shesh Nág, the serpent king. In Ferozepur he is known as Khetrpál, but his cult is probably more widely spread than the small numbers of his worshippers returned would appear to indicate, for in Gurdaspur the Hindu Kätil Rájpúts are said to consult Brahmanas as to the auspicious time for reaping, and before the work is begun 5

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1 The goddess is said to have a temple in Bhat or Bhútán also. Sindhi is described as well-known and worshipped in Lahul and to affect mountainous regions generally.

2 This picture is faced by one of Hanámku whose shrine is sometimes connected with one of Bhairon. Sometimes too a shrine of Gág will be found with a shrine to Gora-káth on one side and connected shrines to Hanámká and Bhairon on the other.

3 East of the Janna Kál Bhairon is worshipped to a considerable extent, offerings of intoxicating liquor being made at his shrine by his votaries who consume it themselves. Vaishnavs, some of whom also offer to him, do not however offer him liquor but moles and milk.
or 7 loaves of bread, a pitcher of water, and a small quantity of the crop are set aside in Khetrpál’s name. In Chamba too, Khetrpál is the god of the soil, and before ploughing he is propitiated to secure a bountiful harvest, especially when new ground or tract which has lain fallow is broken up. A sheep or goat may be offered or incense is burnt. In the centre and west Bhairon is almost invariably known as Bhairon Jatī, or Bhairon the chaste, and is represented as the messenger of Sakhi Sarwar.

**The Cult of Devī.**

Closely connected with the worship of Shiv, and far more widely spread, is that of his consort, Devī. This goddess goes by many names, Durgā, Kālī, Gaurī, Asuri, Pārbatī, Kālkī, Mahesri, Bhuvānī, Asht bhoji, and numberless others. According to the Hindu Shāstras, there are nine crores of Durgās, each with her separate name. The humbler divinities, Sitāla, the goddess of small-pox, Masānī and other goddesses of disease, are but manifestations of the same goddess. She is called Mahādevī, the great goddess, Mahārāni, the great queen, and Devī Māi or Devī Mātā, the goddess-mother. She is known, from the places of her temples, as Jawāli, Mansā Devī, Chintpurī, Nāma Devī, and the like. In Kāṅgra alone there are numerous local Devis, and 360 of them assembled together at the founding of the Kāṅgra temple.

Devī is a popular object of veneration all over the Province, but her worship is most in vogue and most diversified in Ambāla, Hoshiarpur and Kāṅgra. The celebrated shrines of Devī are for the most part in those districts. At Mansā Devī, near Manimajra, in the Ambāla district, a huge fair is held twice a year, in spring and autumn, in her honour.

Mansā Devī, sister of Shesh Nāg, counteracts the venom of snakes. She is also called Jagatgaurī, the world’s beauty. Nitya and 1’adamayati. Her shrine is at Mani Mājra west of Kālkī. With Sayyid Bhūra, whose shrine is at Bāri in Kaithal, she shares the honour of being the patron of thieves in the eastern Punjab, but it is at his shrine alone that a share of the booty appears to be offered.

At Budhera in Gurgaon at the temple of Mansa Devī a fair is held twice a year, on Chet sādi 7th or Asanī sādi 7th. This temple is about 125 year old. It is two yards square and the roof is domed. From the dome projects an iron bar from which hangs a dhūya or small flag. Of the 4 images of the goddess, two are of brass and two of marble, each about 16ths of a yard high. They stand in a niche facing the entrance.

1 Or rather, her cult names are used as place names.

2 One of Devī’s ten incarnations, assumed to receive the thanks of gods and men for the deliverance she had wrought.

3 *S.C.R. VIII, pp. 268, 277 and 260. Bhūra is a title of Shiva.

4 *Mānā in Hindi means the desire or object of the heart.
At Chintpurni, in Hoshiarpur, there are three fairs in the year, and the *pujārīs* make large profits at the shrine. A large fair is held in Chet at Dharmpur in Hoshiarpur, and Nainā Devī, in Bilāspur State, on the borders of the same district, is also a favourite place of pilgrimage. At Kāngra is the renowned shrine of Bejīsāri Devī, which Mahmūd of Ghazni and Firuz Tughlak plundered in days gone by, and which is still one of the most famous in India. And at Jawālāmukhi, in Kāngra, is another and equally famous temple, where jet of gosās proceed from the ground are kept ever burning, and the crowds of pilgrims provide a livelihood for a profligate miscellany of attendant Gosās and Bhojks.

Jawālāmukhi.—This Devī is the chief object of worship to the Tetrāja or Telirāja *faqīrs* who appear to be found chiefly in the United Provinces. The sect was founded by Mān Chandra, Rājā of Kāngra. He was attacked by leprosy, so the Devī made him turn ascetic and beg from Hindu women whose sons and husbands were living a little oil to rub on his clothes and body. By so doing he expiated the sins of a former existence, and was cured in 12 years. He retired to Kāngra and founded the order, Sri Chandra, a Brahman, being his first disciple. Initiation consists in paying a fee of five rupees or a multiple of that sum, and feeding the brethren. The novice then spits some *shokri* upon which the *guru* has breathed. Some of Telirājas are Sikhs, others Hindus, but Devī Jawālāmukhi is their principal deity. They beg oil from Hindu women who have only one son and put the oil on their cloths. When dead they are cremated. Some marry, others do not, and the outward sign of the sect is that their clothes and bodies are smeared with oil.

*Devi is worshipped under various other names in Kāngra,* e.g. as Jāntāri in Samo, Bīlāspur, Bāhārī in Sīlī, Jāpū in Jawāli, Bāla Sundari in Harsar, Baghā Māhki at Nawābandi, and Kotia and Ghānā in Kotia and elsewhere. It is impossible to reduce to rule anything connected with these temples. The priest is usually

1. W. Crake, *J. I. N. Q.* 5 of 267. The *kārīmhān* (literally gravel or pebbles) fair is held at Māher Kotla on Ashad 12th. When pilgrims set for Jawālāmukhi to make the promised offerings, people accompany them on foot without shoes, so that pebbles may be trodden on their naked feet.

2. From Jawāli village or from certain bushes which grow near by. This temple was founded by Rājā Tel Chand some 400 years ago. It is managed by a Bhojki.

3. Founded by Rājā Dalip Singh in 1726.

4. Founded by Panja Wazir 200 years ago. Devī directed him to enshrine in it any stone on which people sharpened axes.

5. Founded by a Rājā Pāmran Singh of Goler in 1456.

6. The story is that Rājā Hari Chand of Goler once, when out hunting near Harsar, fell into a well. The goddess directed him to build her a temple on the spot, but he refused to do so as it was in foreign territory. This enraged the Devī and she prepared to punish him, causing him to fall into the well. In it again he remained 13 days worshipping the Devī and making vows to her. By chance some merchants passed by and one of them being thirsty went to the well and finding the Rājā pulled him out. He then built a temple here to Devī Bāla Sundari. It is said that the merchants also settled here. The Devi is only worshipped by the chiefs of Goler.

7. Founded by Rājā Hari Chand of Goler in 1034 S. With this are connected the shrines of Shiva and Chatarbhuj.

8. Founded by a Khānbeh of Amritsar in 1442 S.
a Brahman but may be a Jogī or a Sanjāṣī. They may contain a single image or a number of images, varying in size and material. The ritual is equally diversified. For instance Devī Bharārī is only worshiped on the Bālsākhī, and on that day only is bhog offered and the lamp lit. As a rule the lamp is lit morning and evening or at least once a day. Bhog may be offered only once a day, but is generally offered twice. It is very varied. For instance Bāla Sundarī gets flowers in the morning and sweets &c, in the evening, but to Jālpā are offered rice and dal at morn and fruit at eve, and to Bagī Mukhi the morning bhog is offered after the images have been washed and in the evening pātākās and gram after the ārātī.

Devi is usually regarded as an activity of a god, but at Laqpatā is a temple to Kanyā Devī the virgin goddess, whose fair is held on 8th ḫār. Her Brahman pujārī is a Bhojki and bhog is only offered and a lamp lit in the evening.

Other temples to Devī in Kāṅgāra are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Pujārī</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
<th>Ritual offerings &amp;c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hāri Devī in Bagroll, Nūpur Tābell</td>
<td>Godām, got Attar</td>
<td>In Chet during the manḍirā</td>
<td>The temple contains a carving of an 8-sided figure on stone. Connected with it are temples of the Thakūrs and a tomb at which worship is performed simultaneously. These shrines contain stone pīndis called Nārsingh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāla Nāg Devī of Garh Gasmāri had 4 sons and a daughter. Bāla Bhūm Āṣā asked him for his daughter’s hand which he refused, thinking it was not safe to marry a girl to a demon. So he abandoned his country and came here with his children. His daughter asked him to build her a temple so that one was built by one of her brothers and she turned herself into stone. It was founded by Bāla Gadd. Bāl Īn the Duwāpur Tūga some 5000 years ago.</td>
<td>Godām, got Attar</td>
<td>In Chet during the manḍirā</td>
<td>The temple contains a carving of an 8-sided figure on stone. Connected with it are temples of the Thakūrs and a tomb at which worship is performed simultaneously. These shrines contain stone pīndis called Nārsingh.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Some of the Brahman gota mentioned in the accounts received do not appear in any list of Brahman gota in the notes furnished on that caste. E.g. Bīsā Devī’s pujārī is described as a Brahman of the Chhānp Bālīnf got.*
<table>
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<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place</strong></td>
<td><strong>Pujari</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dates of fair</strong></td>
<td><strong>Ritual, offerings &amp;c.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Thali (fr. old, &quot;eternal&quot;)</td>
<td>Brahman, got Mitte, gotar Koshal. The 11 groups of pujari take it in turn to manage the affairs of the temple.</td>
<td>Baisakh 8th</td>
<td>Parahid or pardi in the morning and khadi (boiled, rice) in the evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Bhagwati Kirpá Saudri in Bir is said to have been founded by a Ráj of Bangháhal.</td>
<td>An Oo Ti Chandial Brahman.</td>
<td>The 3 days after the Holi in Phagan.</td>
<td>No bhog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Chamudi Devi in Jadralal.</td>
<td>A Bhoomi Brahman, caste Baláti and got Gantam.</td>
<td>On the Shivratri the people gain a sight of the goddess who is said to have killed the demons Chand and Mand.</td>
<td>The temple contains an image of the Devi engraved on a slab, 6 spans long and 3 broad. On it are also engraved images of Manthas and Rakat. The Chandial and Gokhar Brahmas reverence the goddess as their family deity and perform the jussie ceremony here. Five sweet kathi (cakes) in the morning and fried grain in the evening form the bhog. Sandhí-r (vermillion) is also offered monthly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Mata Devi Bajar Shriyat Kángra. Once Braham, with other gods want to do homage to this goddess. Their example was followed by other gods but they could not gain access to the Devi. So they rested to Brahman who founded this temple where the goddess was enshrined. Many additions were made to it by rich rotaries and Ráj Chand Kaar, widow of Kharak Singh, gilded the dome and etc.</td>
<td>Bhoomi Brahman, whose cases and got are:</td>
<td>A great fair during the purne-ás in Chet and Asan.</td>
<td>Worship is performed twice a day, morning and evening. Milk, fruits, sweet-meats, rice &amp;c. form the bhog which is offered five times a day.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following mandirs are connected with this:


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Puja</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
<th>Ritual, offerings &amp;c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Jatanti Devi at Sandrol stands on a high ridge south of the Kangra fort. The meaning of the name is that the Devi killed all the ekkhasen which used to vex the gods, so in return they worshipped her.</td>
<td>A Brahman, Bhojki, got Bhandwaj.</td>
<td>None, but people come to see the image on the Shivratri.</td>
<td>The Brahman and Rapsita in the neighbourhood adore the Devi as their family deity. Worship is performed morning and evening. Bhog of ladda or papa is offered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Ambika Devi in the Kangra fort dates from the times of the Pandavas. This Devi is the family deity of the Kaotch family.</td>
<td>Brahman, caste Sarial, got Sandal.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>The usages of Bhog and lighting a lamp have ceased.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anjani Devi's temple at Dikasu Kalan. This Devi was a daughter of Gantam who, for unknown reasons, caused her to bear a son during her virginity, whereupon she abandoned her home and came here for devotion in seclusion. The temple was founded by Jamadar Kunhahrai Singh of Lohore in S. 1889.</td>
<td>Udiali</td>
<td>Jeth 20th</td>
<td>The temple contains a stone slab on which are engraved images of Anjani and the hoof marks of the cows which gave her milk. Behind it are 3 brooks or springs formed by her miraculous power. Worship is performed morning and evening. Milk in the morning, rice at noon, and fried grain in the evening form the Bhog. A sacred lamp is lit daily.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandir Sitth Mahadev in Tha Badi.</td>
<td>A Giri Gosain, got Atma.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>It contains a pingi of Shiva, one span high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Sitla Devi in Palampur.</td>
<td>Bhojki</td>
<td>Each Tuesday in Jeth and Har.</td>
<td>The temple contains a stone pingi of the goddess. No Bhog is offered.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Devi in Karnal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Pujàri</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
<th>Ritual, offerings &amp;c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mandir of Devi Nārāya Śārā.</td>
<td>Brahman caste Gaddītre, got Baisht.</td>
<td>Chet 12th: Formerly it used to last from 24th Bhadon to 1st Asāj, and towards its close people used to throw stones at one another, to prevent cholera breaking out.</td>
<td>The temple contains a huge black stone 4 cubits high and 20 in circumference, having a figure of Devī carried on it and a trident painted with sandār. Bread is offered as dāya in the evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhali Devī in Bahana in Nārkpur. 500 years ago Dhali, a Rājput girl, was being compelled to marry, but she declined, when pressed she disappeared under ground: on this spot.</td>
<td>A Gīr Gosāwl. He is not celibate, but succession is governed by spiritual relationship; though a son is also entitled to a fixed share in the offerings.</td>
<td>Hār 8th.</td>
<td>The pujārī lives on alms, and performs worship morning and evening. Rice in the morning and bread in the evening form the dāya.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The shrines of Devī in other districts have seldom more than a very local reputation; the most famous, perhaps, are the Bhaddar Kāli temple at Nāzibeg near Lahore, the Jogmāya temple in Multān, where offerings are made and lamps lit on the 1st and 8th of every month, and the old Jogmāya temple at the Mahrauli where the Hindus of Delhi hold their yearly festival of fans, the 'Pankha niṣṭā'.

There are, however, temples to various Devīs scattered over the eastern districts and other parts of the province. Often associated with other cults, the most important of these Devīs are Saraswati at Pehowa, Bhīwi at Thānesar, Mansa Devī in Gurgōon, Jhandī in Dera Ismail Khān and others:

The most important old temples in Pehowa are those of Devī Saraswati, Swāmī-Kārttika and Prithivishwara Mahādeva—

1. The two fairs at Saraswati's temple are held on Chet 1st, chaturthi Kṛṣṇapākṣa, Kārttika shuklapākṣa and ādhāraṇī. It is named after the daughter of Brahma and the stream on which it stands. When the Swāmī Vishvāmitra in his jealousy of Swāmī Vaisīththa invited Oghawati Saraswati to bring his rival to him the goddess carried the land on which Vaisīththa sat to his abode, but divining his intention she bore the sage back again. Thereupon Vishvāmitra cursed the stream, that her water should be turned into blood.
and be no longer worthy of life. But Vasishtha invited all the gods and drew into the stream water from the Aruna āśī. When the gods assembled the śhāyinī of the goddess was first set up and the temple founded on the 14th of Chaitra. The junction with the Aruna was effected on the same date, and since then the water of the Saraswati became amrīt, and the blood, which was food for evil spirits, was purged away. The confluence of the two streams removes all sins and a pīndodakāraka at the Kund purifies even the pīkāśa form. Hence the chaturvāshī in Chaitra is also called Pīkāśa-Mochani. And a pīndodakāraka on that date at the temple and stream according to Hindu belief releases the souls of pītraus from Pretayoni and gives them mokṣa or emancipation. The fair has been held on that date every year in commemoration of the event. The second fair lasts 5 days in Kārtikī from the ek الدaśi to the pūramāśī. It is held in the Kārtikī nakāhaśa pūramāśi and to bathe in the Saraswati in that period gives health, wealth, prosperity and birth of children. It is impossible to guess the temple’s age. The building is a small one and only contains an image of Saraswati riding on a swan and made of Makrana stone. The officiating Brahmins are Gaurs of the Kanaļa got.

2. The temple of Kārtikīkeya is visited on the pūramāśī in Kārtikī. It contains his image but is dedicated to Kārtikeya, the god of war, and was founded when the Mahābhārata was about to begin. The image of Kārtikīkeya has 6 faces as that god was named after his 6 nurses who form the stars of the Kārtikī asterism, the Pleiades, and is mounted on a peacock. Vermilion and oil are invariably offered as acceptable to the god. Two lamps are kept burning continually.

3. No fair is held at the temple of Prithviśwarā Mahādeva, who is also called Prithūdakārṣevara, 1 lord of Prithūdakara 2 or Pehowa. Prithviśwarā means ’lord of the earth’. The temple was founded by the Mahāraṭhas during their ascendancy, and it is also said to have been repaired by one Kripaśupari Śwamī about 100 years ago. Over the building is a large dome and its interior is 6 yards square. It contains a stone image of Mahādeva about 2 feet high. A sādhī pujaṇī, who is a Śaṅkā, is appointed and kept by the pujaṇīshat of Brahman and is removable at their will. The Brahmins also do puja.

At the Bhawāni Dwāra at Thānesar the Devi’s image is seated in a small building in the precincts of the main temple. It is 8 fingers high. Small images of Kālī and Bhairon (Bhairav) also serve to decorate the temple.

At Pari Devī’s temple in Banpuri in Gurgāon a fair is held on the 6th sādī of Chet and Asaṇj. The offerings are estimated at Rs. 400 a year. Nearly 90 years ago one Jawāła of Patehāblī built the temple but the precise date of the year is not known. A chīrāghh fed with pāṭi is lit twice a day during Chet and on each astama a virgin girl is fed with kārī or confection prepared for the occasion. When a goat is offered to the maṇḍir, the pujaṇī paints its forehead with maintain and turns it loose. It is generally taken by the swamīs.

1 The story goes that Kārtikīkeya on being deprived of the leadership of the dvāt have all the flesh from his body leaving only the bones. But the image does not appear to depict this. There are said to be really two images, one of stone, the other of wood.
of the village. The idols are of marble, one being 27 inches long and the other 18. The former is mounted on a lion. The administration vests in a Gaur Brahman who offers *udag* and lights a lamp twice a day, morning and evening.

In Kohát Deví has her abode on more than one peak. Thus Hukman Deví occupies a peak in Shakkardarra which is visited by Hindus at the Baisákhi. Chuka Mái is the highest peak on Shingbar, and Hindus from afar visit it on the *aurãtás* and *aulām*. Khumari Deví is found in the village of that name and Asa Deví in Nár. Muhammadana also visit this village and call it *sidrat* Okhla.

The classical myths of Deví are very numerous and divergent. As Saraswati she is the goddess of learning, wife of Brahma in the later mythology, and personified in the river Saraswati in Karnal which was to the early Hindus what the Ganges is to their descendants. As a destructress she is Káli, as genetrix she is symbolised by the *yoní*, as a type of beauty she is Uma, and as a malignant being Durga. But she is also Sati, 'the faithful' spouse, Ambiká, Gaurí, Bhawáni and Táná. As the wife of Shiva she is Párvati, 'she of the hills', her home is with him in Kailásha the mountain and she is the mother of Ganesha and Kárttikeya. In orthodox Hindu worship the Earth is worshipped in the beginning as an 'Ahtar Shaktí' or supporting force, and in several other forms of worship Earth is taken as a personification of some goddess or other. But the worship of an Earth or mother goddess is not very prevalent in this province except as part of some other worship.

But Káli or Durga must not be regarded as merely as a personification of lust for blood. Deví obtained her name of Durga by slaying the giant of that name. He had obtained Brahma's blessing by his austerities, but grew so mighty that he alarmed the gods. The legend may recall in a dim way the extirpation of some tyrannical form of priest craft. But Deví's achievement did not end with the slaying of Durga. According to the *Márkandeya Purána*, the goddess assumed ten incarnations, including Káli, the terrible and Chhinnamastá, the headless. In the latter guise she gained her famous victory over the rakshas Nisumbha. Even the Káli incarnation was assumed in order to overthrow Raktaviya, the champion of another rakshas, Sumbha, just as that of Tára, the saviour, was assumed to destroy Sumbha himself. Deví also overcame a Tunda rakshasa, but his death is ascribed to Nahusha, the progenitor of the Lunar race, and his son Vítu has was killed by Deví as Durga, the 'inaccessible'.

1 Similarly Chashma Báná Nának in Hangu is frequented by Hindus on the Baisákhi.
3 In the Sinla hills besides the Greater (Bárí) Káli we find a Lesser (Chhótí) whose functions are not at all clear. The Bárí Káli hunts the hills. She is worshipped with sacrifices of goats, flowers, fruit, wheaten bread, and lamps. The difference between the Bárí and the Chhiót Káli is this that the former has 10 hands and the latter only 4. Similarly in these hills we find a Younger Lunska and a *rákshít* Diwáli festival. All attempts to obtain explanations of these reflected in duplicate gods and festivals have failed.
4 *ib.* p. 179 f.
5 *ib.* p. 182.
6 Chinnamastáka is the modern Chámundá or Chaunda.

But in Kulu the legend regarding Tundi Bhūt is that he was a āṭ cif or demon at Manāli (in Kulu) who having conquered the ḍotas demanded a sister of theirs in marriage. Bāsu Nag on this proposed to deceive him by giving him a mason or Thāwi's daughter named Timbar Shaelka, who appears in other tales as a rākṣasa, and Manu the hiṭāi consented to make Tundi accept her. He overcame the āṭif at Khokesar, north of the Rohtang pass in Lāhul, but in memory of his victory a temple was built to him at Manāli, south of that pass. He compelled Tundi to marry the girl. Tundi is in legend a demon who devoured men, until Manu put logs into his mouth and killed him. In front of this temple stands a pile of huge spruce logs, on an altar. These are said to be replaced three at a time every three years. At the annual fair called Phāgal—a khepra or mask—of Tundi rākṣasa is carried about.

Kālī as Chānuoda, carrying her head in her hands, is worshipped at the Hoi, eight days before the Diwālī. At the beginning of the Kuling death, pestilence and famine desolated the world although Brahmanas prayed and fasted on the 7th of the dark half of each month. They would indeed have lost heart and given up that practice but for a Jhīwarī, who came and sitting in their midst encouraged them to persevere. After a while Kālka appeared and declared that as the ills prevailing were due to mankind's loose morals, it could only be saved by a fast on the 7th of the dark half of Kālī firm moonrise or on the 8th till starlight. During this fast the Jhīwarī is exalted to a place of honour. She is petted by the ladies of the house who act as her tire-woman. After the house has been plastered with cow-dung, figures of a palanquin and its bearers are made in colours on the walls and worshipped in the usual way, offerings of radishes, sweet potatoes and other roots in season being made. This is the account given in the Abārtik Māhināla where Pirthivi Ráj asks Nārada to account for the Hoi and the sage tells him the above story. But another account is that Hui or Hoi was a Brahman maid of seven whom the Moslems tried to convert by force. She took refuge in a Jhīwarī's hut and when her pursuers overtook her disappeared into the earth. Since then the water-carriers have looked upon her as a goddess, other Hindus following their example.

This goddess' name appears to have been transferred to Bāba Chūda Bhandāri whose shrine at Batāla is affected by the Bhandāri section of the Khatis and the ear-piercing rite is performed there by its members. At some sight in its neighbourhood he lost his head, but his headless trunk went on fighting, sword in hand, into the town. In the streets it fell and there its shrine was built.

Legends of headless men are also common in other connections. Thus when Parjapāt, the Kumhār (potter), began to build Panipat its walls and buildings fell down by night as fast as he built them by day.

1 N. I. N. Q., IV, § 95. The late Prof. G. Oppert explained the story as a legendary account of the suppression of Kālī worship, with the human sacrifices, by a pers. faith, but it lacks rather like an account of the extermination of an old Tibetan demon-worship by a cult of Kālī herself.
2 P. N. Q., II, § 729.
4 S. C. E., VIII, p. 296.
and so the Brahmanas and astrologers bade him place the head of a Sayyid (Shahid) in its foundations. By chance a Sayyid boy came straight from Mecca and him the people slew and put his head under the foundations. This drew down on them the vengeance of his kin, but the boy’s headless corpse fought against them on the side of his murderers.\footnote{S. C. R., VIII, p. 235.} Cf. also the legend of Brahm Dat, infra.

But Devi has yet another attribute, that of self-sacrifice. The classical story is that Uma’s spouse Shiva was not bidden to a great sacrifice offered by Daksha, her father. From the crest of Kailása she saw the crowds flocking to her father’s court and thither she betook herself, but on learning of her husband’s exclusion she refused to retain the body which he had bestowed upon her and gave up her life in a trance. Vishnu cut her body into pieces to calm the outraged deity by concealing it from his view or, as other versions go, Shiva himself picked up her corpse in his trident and carried it off. Portions of it fell at many places, such as Hingulá (Hinglaj) in Balochisán where the crown fell.

The Punjab can however not boast many of the sites at which fragments of the Devi fell. The top of her neck fell at Kasmír, her tongue at Jawálamukhi, her right breast at Jálandhara, and her right ankle at Kurukshetra.\footnote{Atu-i-Áhib, II, p. 313-14. See also S. C. R., II, 410 f.}

The days most holy to Devi are the first nine days of the waxing moon in the months of the Chetr (March-April) and Asanú (September-October). Some persons will fast in the name of Devi on the eighth lunar day (vattum) of every month, and perform special ceremonies on that day. Sometimes they will light lamps (jot) of flour, and when a Brahman has read the Devi-pàth, will prostrate themselves before the lamps. Sometimes it is customary to distribute rice and sweetmeats on this day to unmarried girls; and goldsmiths will often clothe their shops in honour of the day. The greatest aśtamis of all are however those in the months above-mentioned; and of the two great yearly festivals, that of Asanú, the auroāi; properly so called, is the greatest, following as it does immediately after the completion of the annual shradhás or commemoration of the dead. It is the custom in some parts of the country for worshippers of Devi on the first day of their festival to sow barley and water it and keep a lamp burning by it; and on the eighth [day to eat it and light a sacrificial fire (homa), breaking their fast next day.

Devi is personified in a girl under ten years of age twice a year and offerings are made to her as if to the goddess on these occasions.\footnote{Special feasts are given to little girls twice a year and they are given fees, as if they were Brahmanas, P. N. Q. III, \S\ 418.} On the 3rd of Chet, suá, there is, in Hissár, a special rite, unmarried girls making an image of Gangor of clay or gobar, which is loaded with ornaments and then, after its marriage ceremony has been performed, cast into a well. It is characteristic of the close connection between the peoples of the eastern hills and Bápúitána that this rite should be found in Kángrá, under the name of Ráli worship. Images of Siva and Párbati are made by girls who perform their marriage and then throw them into a pool or river. The ceremonies commence in Chetr and end on the suákánt of Baisákh and are traditionally supposed to commemorate the...
suicide of a woman married to a boy much younger than herself, but a different explanation has been suggested. The deities Siva and Parbati 1 Kangra Gazetteer, 1902. Golden Bough, II, p. 109. The legend goes that once upon a time there was a beautiful young woman who was to have been married to a man who was unable to marry her. In her despair she threw her gold bangles into the river and called out to her brother: "It has been my fate to be married to a child, and I live as one. But in future in memory of my wretched fate, let girls make three toy images of earth, one of me, one of my husband, and one of you, my brother, and let them worship these images for the whole month of Chaitra (March-April) every year until they are married. Then let them marry three images, as I was married, on the 1st Baisak, and on the 2nd or 3rd day thereafter let them take the images in a gali to the banks of a river, and there let them drown them in it. And let this be done in honour of me, Rali the bride, Shankar my husband, and you, Banu my brother. The blessing that shall spring forth from this rite shall be that she who performs it shall never marry an unsuitable husband." Saying this she sprang into the river, and was drowned, and in their grief at this, her husband and brother drowned themselves also. Ever since the worship of Rali, Shankar and Banu, has been universal throughout the district of Kangra. The three chief festivals in honour of Rali are held at Ratangi, at Daha, half way between Palanpur and Dharamsala, and at Chari, three miles west of Dharamsala. Many songs are sung by children in honour of Rali, and the images are decorated with wild flowers. There is a dance every day during the month of Chaitra, and fast on the 1st, 2nd and 4th Mondays of that month. The images are dressed up according to the means of the parents, and are finally thrown into a river with songs and ceremonies.

This legend raises an interesting question. "Did a custom ever exist of taking to wife an adult woman destined to be the bride of a grandson or grandnephew?" As to this problem see Dr. W. H. R. Rivers' Kinship and Social Organization, 1914, pp. 39, 34, 57 and 56, and of the Sinla Hills proverb:—

"China chaudgi ghoti daksam, bado chaudgi lai;"  
"Kali jago ro pohri lagi, addi lai-gaum pada;"

"A dove is warbling on the top of a pine, and a parrot on the top of an oak;"  
"This is said of this iron age, that a grandson has taken away a grandmother."

Of the following note from the Indian Antiquary, Volume XI, p. 297:—The Rali is a small earthen painted image of Siva or Parvati. The Rali ka mata or Rali fair: is a long business, and occupies most of Chait (March-April) up to the Sankranti of Bhadon (April). Its celebration is entirely confined to young girls, and is in vogue all over the district. It is celebrated thus:—All the little girls of the place turn out of their houses one morning in March and take small baskets of dry grass and flowers to a certain fixed spot, where they throw them all into a heap. Round this heap they stand in a circle and sing. This goes on every day for ten days, until the heap of grass and flowers reaches a respectable size. They then cut in the jungles two branches having three prongs at one end and place them, prongs downwards, over the flower heap so as to make two tripods or pyramids. On the single uppermost points of these branches they get a chittra or painted image-maker to construct two clay images, one to represent Siva and the other Parvati. All the girls join in collecting the clay for these, and all help as much as they can in the construction of the images themselves, this being a "good work." The girls then divide themselves into two parties, one for Siva and one for Parvati, and set to work to make the images in the usual way, having cut no part of the ceremonies; not even the bhand or procession. After the marriage they have a feast, which is paid for jointly by contributions solicited from their parents. After this at the next Sankranti (Baisak) they all go together to the riverable, and throw the rali into it at any point where there happens to be a deep pool and weep over the place, as though they were performing funeral obsequies. The boys of the neighbourhood frequently worry them by slashing for the rali and rescuing them and waving them about, while the girls are crying over their loss. The object of this fair is to secure a good husband. These fairs are held on a small scale in all the principal places in Kangra, but the chief ones are at Kangra Fort, where the Kangra  

This recalls a site practised by Hindus in Aftab with a not dissimilar object, viz. to obtain rain in time of drought, in it boys and girls collect together; two dolls are dressed up as a man and a woman, they all say: gaddi gaddi mariga; and then they burn them with small sticks and lament their death saying:

Gaddi gaddi mariga  
Was mili kala;  
Gaddi gaddi piliga;  
Was mili chittia;  
Kala patthar chute ro;  
Bhoolo piu giruwa;  
Rasol (ra) fell near village site."

Dolls we burnt to make down,  
Black cloud! soon comes down;  
Dolls well we bewailed,  
Doo, white rain! set in;  
Storme black and pebbles white,  
Chum (rain) fell near village site."
are conceived as spirits of vegetation, because their images are placed in branches over a heap of flowers and grass, but this theory leaves many points unexplained.

The worship of young girls as Devis is always cropping up. Some years ago, some enterprising people of the Kapurthala State got two or three young unmarried girls and gave out that they had the power of Devis. The ignorant accepted this belief and worshipped them as goddesses. They visited various parts of the Jullundur District, and were looked up to with great reverence everywhere, but as good results did not follow, the worship died out.

Those who are particularly the followers of Devi are called in an especial sense Bhagats, and the Bhagats of our census returns are probably worshippers of this goddess. The sacred books of the sect are the Devi Purāṇ, a part of the Mārkaṇḍa Purāṇ, the Chandī Pāth, and the Purāṇa Sahasranāma.

In the west of the Province at any rate the Devi-upāsak are chiefly Sunāres, Khatriś, Jogīś, Sānīś etc. who follow the books specified above. Their places of pilgrimage are Jwālamukhi, Vaishno Devi in Kashmir, and further afield the Vindhyā hills, and Kāli Devī near Calcutta. They are divided into two sects, the Vaishno Devi who abstain from flesh and wine, and Kāli worshippers who do not. They worship the image of Devī in temples, revere Gauḍ Brahmaṇa, and pay special attention to sacrifices by fire (koh), fast every fortnight, and on Mondays break their fast by eating food cooked on the Sunday night and lighting a flame worship Devi.

The Bām-Mārgīs: The most notorious division of the Shāktikas, as the followers of Devi are called, is that of the Bām-Mārgīs or Vāma-chārīs, the left-handed worshippers of Kāli. They are found in many districts, but they are said to be mostly prevalent in Kānpur or Kashmir, and they are chiefly recruited from the Sānīś and Jogīś. The sect is said to have been founded by the Jogī Kaṃpa; their rites are as a rule kept very secret, but it is generally understood that their chief features are indulgence in meat and spirits and pro-miscuous debauchery. The Kandā marg or Kandā-panthi preserve no distinctions of caste in eating, and they worship the fire. The Konlavī marg appears to be called Kola-panth, Kola-marg or Kola-dharma, in the Punjab, and to be identical with the Kola-chārī who are worshippers of Saktī according to the left-hand ritual. They preserve caste distinctions, in so far as they eat from separate vessels, and they worship Devī under ten separate names, to wit, Matangi, Bhawanesiri or Bhavaneshari, Baglamukhi, Dhunawāli, Bhairavi, Tāra, Chensara, Bhagwatī, Shāma and Bāla Sundarī. Each man has one of them as his īšī or peculiar patron goddess, and the Jogis and Sānīś are said to affect more especially Bāla Sundarī. The book of the sect is called the Kokaṇara, and their creed claims to be founded on the Shiva-Tantra.

1 The word "Mārgī" means nothing more than one who follows a "path" or "sect." It may in some cases be a euphemism for Bām-mārgī, but the greater part of the Mārgīs of our returns are from the Malikī district, where the term is said to be applied generally to a class of followers of the Jain religion.

2 P. N. Q., II, § 649-650. An account, full but very inaccurate, of the Kola-chārīs by Sirdārū Bulhari, of Kānpur.

3 Or Dhunawatī or Lalta-Dhunawatī.

4 (Lalta ?) Kālī, Kamala and Vidiya are given as variants of these four names or titles.
There are further and still more disreputable sections of the Bâm-mârgîs, the nature of whose orgies is indicated by their names, such as the Choli-mârg and the Bîrâj-pârî, whose peculiarities had better be left undescribed.

Orthodox Hindus will not sleep with their feet to the north, out of respect for the Devî who dwells in the Himalayas just as they will not sleep with them to the east out of respect for the Ganges.¹

The Bauaras sacrifice to Devî in a manner which is very common in the hills and is doubtless the normal rite everywhere. They immolate a goat, of either sex, at harvest time.² It must be healthy. They make it stand on a platform of earth plastered with cow-dung. They then secure its hind legs with a rope to a peg and taking a little water in the palm of the hand pour it on its nose. If it shivers after the manner of its kind, it is a token that the goddess accepts it and its head is at once struck off by a sudden blow, jhukâ, of a sword. A few drops of its blood are offered to the goddess and its carcass is distributed to the by-standers. If the goat does not shiver, it is rejected and another is tried.

A circle is the sign of Devî, and a mark of it is made by women on a pilgrimage at every few yards, upon a stone, or some object near the road, with a mixture of rice-flour and water. These marks are called tikâna.³

Aksâ Devî, 'the goddess of Heaven,' also called Gyâsî Devî, is worshipped in the villages round Avâmîla. Her cult is said to be based on a passage in the Devî Bhâgavatî Purâna. Her temples contain no image. She is worshipped with the usual objects of procuring sons, effecting cures, and so on. Her temple stood originally at Jâtârâ village, but in a dream she bade the headman of Bhihâl transport five bricks from the Jâtârâ temple to Bhihâl so that she might find a resting-place there. He did so, and built round them a mud shrine, giving the offerings of corn etc. to a sweeper whom he appointed to look after the shrine. He also used to present coin to Brahmanas. The fairs are held on the 8th and 14th sudi of Chet and on the same dates in Asauj sudi are called Gyâsion kâ mela.⁴

Behmâtâ is the goddess who records an infant's future at its birth. It is a deadly sin to refuse her fire when she demands it, and a faqîr who did so was turned into a glow-worm and obliged to carry fire behind him for ever in his tail. Behmâtâ is Bîhîmâtâ or Bihhnâ, and the glow-worm is called hombâla kîra ( ? from hom or havan).

Kanyâ Devî, who is worshipped in the Kângra valley, was the daughter of Brahmâ Râjâ, who was so enamoured of her beauty that he would not give her away in marriage. When pursued by him, she

¹ L. N. Q., IV, § 192.
² P. N. Q., III, § 721.
³ Shâb's mark is a circle with a line through it; a Shâh has a pair of foot-prints, cf. Oldham, in Contemporary Review, 1885, reprinted in P. N. Q., III, § 102.
fled to a small hill, wherein was a huge rock which split as under and gave her a refuge. At her curse the Raja was turned into a stone. Her shrine stands to this day on the hill near Nagrota and close by it lies the stone which, disintegrated by the noon-day heat in summer, becomes whole again in the rains. The Raja’s city too was overwhelmed by the mountains, and the tract on which it stands is a rocky and barren one to this day. It is called Munja or Parnagara. Kaniyā Devī is worshipped like any other Devī.¹

A shrine very similar to that of Bhūmī (but clearly one erected to a manifestation of Devī) is called Paththarwālī in Gurgaon. When a man who has in sickness put on the cord of Devī recovers he has to perform a pilgrimage to Nagarkot or Jawālamukhi in Kangra, taking with him a bhagat or devotee of the goddess. While he is absent, the women of his family worship Paththarwālī.

**DEVĪ CULTS IN CHAMBA.**

The worship of Devī assumes the most diverse forms in the hills. It is not by any means always ancient, and though often of great antiquity appears to be quite distinct from that of the Nāgs. Thus in Chamba the Devis are female deities, and are believed to have power to inflict and remove disease in man and beast. They are not associated with springs like the Nāgs. It is common to find a Nāg and a Devī temple side by side, and similar attributes are ascribed to both. Some of them, like the Nāgs, have the power to grant rain. The worship is similar to that at Nāg temples, and the offerings are disposed of in the same manner. The image is usually of stone in human form, but snake figures are not as a rule present. The temple furnishings are similar to those of Nāg temples. In front of the Devī temples may usually be seen the figure of a tiger in stone; this is the vaanara or vehicle of the goddess. The most famous Devī temples are those of Lakhshana Devī at Brahmaur, Shaktī Devī at Chhatrari, Chamunda Devī at Chamba and Devī Koṭhi, Mindhal Devī in Pangi, and Mirkula Devī in Lāhul. Sen Devī at Shah in Sāmā has a temple ascribed to Mūsha Varma. Its fair is held on Baisāłk 3rd, and her chelas are Rāthis.²

The following is a list of the principal Devis worshipped in Brahmaur and the southern part of the Sadr wīzārat of Chamba:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Pujares and chelas</th>
<th>Founded in the reign of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bāl Bhairon and Bankhandi</td>
<td>Bhaironghati</td>
<td>Brahmaur...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Chāryā Jogle Ağala and Gaddia.</td>
<td>Sāhil Varma.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ P. N. O., II, § 668.
² For some further details see Vol. II, pp. 218, 214, 269 and 271. On pp. 214 and 271 Chauṇḍ is undoubtedly to be Chāmūnda Devī.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nama</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Panja, as and chelas</th>
<th>Founded in the reign of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bharāṭi</td>
<td>Tohğa</td>
<td>Trehtā</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shipyānu Brahmana</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharāṭi</td>
<td>Chanhōt &amp; Lāman</td>
<td>Chanotā</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rāthis</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharāṭi</td>
<td>Gāglā</td>
<td>Kalundā</td>
<td>Katak, 6th-7th</td>
<td>Rāthis</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmanī</td>
<td>Brahmanī</td>
<td>Brahmanī</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mākān Gaddi</td>
<td>Sajan Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāmundo</td>
<td>Sirnā</td>
<td>Mahlā</td>
<td>Jāgṛā on Chet 30th</td>
<td>Rānīs</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāmundo</td>
<td>Gaawārī</td>
<td>Sāmṛā</td>
<td>Asṛṇ 7th or 8th</td>
<td></td>
<td>New</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chāmundo</td>
<td>Sher</td>
<td>Brahmanī</td>
<td>Bhādon 3rd</td>
<td>Khapri Brahmanī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chāmundo</td>
<td>Sanālan</td>
<td>Sāmṛā</td>
<td>Asṛṇ 1st or 2nd &amp; Assu 1st or 3rd</td>
<td>Uren Gaddis...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chhatarāhi or Adhaktii</td>
<td>Chhatarāhi</td>
<td>Pūra</td>
<td>Jāgṛā on the 8th saukal gakh of Bhādon and 9th, 10th and 11th</td>
<td>Sāruṭ Brahmanī Rāthis</td>
<td>Meru Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hirimbā</td>
<td>Mahlā</td>
<td>Mahlā</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thilān Brahmanī, Gukkā Gaddi</td>
<td>Prithvi Singh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakhān</td>
<td>Grindā</td>
<td>Brahmanī</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mōn Gaddi</td>
<td>Yungākar Varma</td>
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<td>Jālpā</td>
<td>Karṣār</td>
<td>Mahlā</td>
<td>Jāgṛā on Sāwan 1st</td>
<td>Pehnān Gaddi</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jālpā</td>
<td>Mahlā</td>
<td>Mahlā</td>
<td>Jāgṛā on Sāwan 1st</td>
<td>Ghukān Gaddi, Gukāsān Gaddi</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jālpā</td>
<td>Mahlā</td>
<td>Mahlā</td>
<td>Hār 5th-9th</td>
<td>Ghukkān Gaddi and Thālyān Brahmanī</td>
<td>Prithvi Singh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Village</td>
<td>Pargana</td>
<td>Date of fair</td>
<td>Pujāras and eheias</td>
<td>Founded in the reign of</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jālpā</td>
<td>Bhatīyārk</td>
<td>Lil</td>
<td>Basākh 9th</td>
<td>Dumār Brahmāna</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jālpā</td>
<td>Khandrāsan</td>
<td>Lil</td>
<td>Har 10th-12th</td>
<td>Lalnān Gaddis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jālpā</td>
<td>Girrer Mheusaha</td>
<td>Lil</td>
<td>Basākh</td>
<td>Bāthīs</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
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<td>Kabrā</td>
<td>Baloth</td>
<td>Lil</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hīlak Brahmāna</td>
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<td>Kulokhāli</td>
<td>Trehtā</td>
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<td>Gaddākīs Gaddīs</td>
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<td>Kalkotā</td>
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<td>Bāthīs</td>
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<td>Graundi</td>
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<td>Aurēl Gaddīs</td>
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<td>Lusnā</td>
<td>Mahā</td>
<td>Jāgrat on Sāwan 4th</td>
<td>Kureto Gaddīs</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mahā Kāli</td>
<td>Anrāh</td>
<td>Brahmān</td>
<td>Sāwan 6th</td>
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<td>Bijai Varma</td>
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<td>Lennī</td>
<td>Brahmān</td>
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<td>Brahmān</td>
<td>Jāgrat on parasmatā in Bkshon or Asauj</td>
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<td>Tōulkā</td>
<td>Koṭhī Banhu</td>
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<td>Botī Brahmāns</td>
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<td>Sāraut Bānctu Brahmans of the Bhumpāl 50th</td>
<td>Meru Varma</td>
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<td>(Bhādar Kāli)</td>
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<td>Daraklu Brahmān</td>
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<td>Brahmān</td>
<td>Brahmān</td>
<td></td>
<td>Haroto Gaddīs</td>
<td>Vīlaghīhā Varma</td>
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<td>Badgrām</td>
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<td>Pargana</td>
<td>Date of fair</td>
<td>Pashanas and chelas</td>
<td>Founded in the reign of</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shakti Devi</td>
<td>Jandrot</td>
<td>Chhatrāhi</td>
<td>Dalōṭras in Bhādon or Aṣai</td>
<td>Kalān Brahman</td>
<td>Mālah Varma</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shiv Shakti Devi</td>
<td>Bakān</td>
<td>Bakān</td>
<td>Jāgīā on Hār 13th</td>
<td>Rāthīs</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tungāsan Devi</td>
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<td>Brahmān</td>
<td>Bhādon 1st</td>
<td>Rāma Gaddīs</td>
<td>Yugūk Varma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Brahmani Devī's history is this. A Brahmani had a son, who had a pet chākor (partridge), which was killed by a peasant. The boy died of grief, and his mother became sāti, burning herself with her son and the partridge, and began to afflict the people, so they built her a temple.

In Pāngī only four Devīs are noted—Singhāsan Devī at Surāt in pargana Darwās, Shil at Sākhi, and Chaund at Re, Maṅghāsan at Purthī, all three in Lāch.

Devī Chāmnūa of Gāwārī revealed herself in a dream to Rājā Sri Singh, and ordered him to remove her from Prithvijīr to this place. The temple at Sri was built by Rājā Uggār Singh who vowed to make it, if it ceased raining, it having rained incessantly when he had gone to bathe at Manī Mahēš.

Devī Chhatrāhāri or Ādeshaktī, "original power," has a curious legend. A land-owner suspected his cowherd of milking his cow in the forest, so he kept watch and found that the cow gave her milk at a spot under a tree. The goddess then appeared to him in a dream, and begged him to bring her to light. Searching at the spot the man found a stone pindī or image, which he was taking to his home, when it stopped at a certain spot, and there its temple was built. Rājā Bala Bhadra (A. D. 1589–1641) granted it 36 tahās of land whence the Devī was called Chhatrāhāri.

The legend associated with Mindhal Devī is as follows:—The spot where the temple stands was originally occupied by a house, consisting of an upper and a lower storey, as is usual in Pāngī, belonging to a widow with seven sons. One day in early autumn while she was cooking in the upper storey a black stone appeared in the chūla, causing her much annoyance. She tried to beat it down but in vain. At last she was seized with a trembling, and thus knew that the stone was a Devī. Rushing outside she called to her sons, who were ploughing in a field with two oxen to a plough, that a Devī had appeared in the house. They made light of the matter and asked tauntingly if the Devī would enable them to plough with one ox, or give them a sāsan. Immediately the widow and her sons were turned to stone, she in the

1 This temple was erected in the reign of Rājā Mēra Varma (A. D. 580–700).
house and they in the field. From that time only one ox to a plough has been used in ploughing at Mindhal and the place has been a zdesau grant for many centuries.

**Devi cults in Sirmur.**

There is a temple of Devi Jawalamukhi ("goddess of the flaming mouth") at Lāmā Rawāna, concerning which the following legend is told:—Mahant Twār Nāth and the Devī met at Hardwār, where they had gone to bathe, and, when leaving, the mahant asked the Devī when he should meet her again. The goddess promised to meet him after two years at Rawāna, and duly manifested herself in his mouth, but the mahant being unaware of her advent struck his mouth and thus caused the goddess to flee from him. Simultaneously the whole surrounding forest caught fire, and the people, thinking the mahant must be an evil spirit who had enraged the goddess, called in Brahmans who found out the truth. It is said that the stones are still black from the fire which consumed the forest. The place having been purified, a temple was built and a Brahman pujārī appointed. The pujārī offers incense and bhog every Sunday morning and on the first day of the month (sautradār). The fair is held on the Durgā Ashtmi day in Asuj.

Nagarkoti: Devī has her home at Shāyā Pajotha and Sharauli, and the legend states that the Pāndavas on their way from Kailās to Kurukshetra stopped at Shāyā, and built a temple here for the goddess, or, as some say, brought the goddess here. The temple faces south, and on the eighth day of the bright half of the month offerings are made to the goddess. Sapāra is also associated with Nagarkoti Devī, but the place is one of peculiar sanctity whether the goddess be present or absent from it. There is also a Nagarkoti Devī at Dalshān, known also as Dalshān Devī.

Bis Nānā is the home of Bhārī Devī, who is said to have been brought from Kīlār Nāth Badri Narāin in Dehra Dūn. She is also called Kūshkī Devī.

There is a temple of Devī on the hill of Lai, built by Bhera Rangar, the famous robber. Worship is performed here on the saurāt and every Sunday and saurāt and every Sunday and saurāt in Asuj and Chet.

Devi Bhungain has a ling temple in Dhār village, a mile north of Bhung. The legend runs that certain cowherds used to graze cattle in a forest, and their children, seeing a pointed stone, broke it in pieces, but next day the pieces had joined together and all traces of injury had disappeared. This occurred several times, and so the cultivators of Dāsākna, convinced of the ling's miraculous power, erected a temple there. The Shiv Ling, four inches high and as many in girth, is known as Devī Bhungain, and is never clothed or ornamented. There is no special pujārī, and pilgrims bring their own Brahmans. The offerings consist of milk, ghī and he-goats. The flesh of the latter is eaten by the pilgrims, the head being given to the Brahman pujārī. The fair

1 The people believe that if two oxen are used one of them will die.
2 The term Rangar or Raungar used to be much more widespread than it is now. It was used, for example, of the people of Morinda Ranganwāla in Ambāla and of those of Sathīlā and Nāthā in Gurdaspur: Kharān Singh, *Philosophic History of the Sikh Religion*, Pt. I, pp. 211, 216.
is held on different dates in Asārh, and is attended by the goddesses Bijai and Ghatrāli. Only the people of Bhojes Thakari and Dasākna attend.

Naina Devī.

The arrangements for the worship of Naina Devī at Bails are of interest. The puja rīs belong to eight families of Deva Bhāts, each family taking the duties for a month in turn and receiving a share of the produce at each harvest from the neighbouring villages. If the puja rīs perform their service inefficiently and fail to exhibit in a convincing manner the virtues of the goddess, they receive no dues. The Devī has no temple, but her images are kept in the house of a Bhāt. The original image, when brought from Keonthal, was first placed in that house, for which reason the people do not venture to place it elsewhere. The images are 15 or 16 in number, the oldest being fixed (asthāpanā). It is about a foot in height, with four hands, but only the bust is carved. It has a canopy of silver, and wears a necklace of rubies, silver ornament (as-pulk) on its head and a silver necklet (gai-sûrī) and has also a silver palanquin. The fair is held on the Rānuvi Dhār above the village on the first three days of Sāwan, and is attended by the men of Karāli and the neighbouring bhojes, who sing and dance. On each evening of the fair the image of the goddess visits Thauntha, Masha and Tatiāna villages, but in the day-time it remains at the fair. It is believed that if cholera or any other epidemic breaks out in a village it can be stopped by taking the image there.

The fair of the goddess Lā is held in the jungle near Naglā Toka on the sana kṣānt of each month. The temple is small and of great antiquity, containing a stone image of the goddess. She is worshipped by Hindus and Muhammadan Gūjars.

About sixty years ago the people of bhoj Bajga proclaimed the appearance of the goddess of Tilokpur at Shākūr, so they built a temple to her as the new goddess. At her fairs on the sana kṣānt of each month the goddess possesses a Kanet who dances in the temple, and then coming outside shows himself to the assembled multitude who hail him with shouts of jai-jai, and bow before him. In his ecstasy he prescribes remedies for afflicted men and beasts.

The goddess at Kawāg on the dhār of that name is worshipped by Bhāts alone, and only Bhāts dance in her honour. Her ritual is the same as that of the new goddess. The temple is old, and now roofless.

The goddess at Belgī is known under that name, but is also worshipped as Simlāsan.

Devi Kudūn has her temple at Dādam in Tahsil Pachhālā. The legend is that she was a daughter of Sur Purkesh, Rājā of Sirmūr, who was blind, and lived in Nērī Jāgilā. When the Rājā refused to pay tribute to the Mughal Emperor the latter sent a host against him through Dehra Dūn, which was met by the Rājā’s army under the princess herself. The Sirmūr forces were annihilated in the battle, and the sarohi of the princess brought her head to Dādam where he erected a temple and began to worship the princess. Another version says that the
princess fell in an attack on Delhi, and after her death revealed to the
paroṣit that he would find her at a certain spot, at which after a search
the paroṣit found the image now in the temple. The fair is held on the
īkālā before the Dēwālī, on which day the image is placed on a
singhāna or throne. This is also done on each Sunday in Hār.

At Nāg, now in Patīlā, territory, lived Lagāsān Dēvi, the
sister of Kūdin. Her temple is at Khārgāon. Her fair is held on the
īkālā before the Dewālī. It is said that she appeared at the source
of the river Gīrī, but others say she appeared from that river at
Khārgāon.

At Tilokpur is the temple of Dēvi Bālā Sundārī. There is held a
large fair in her honour in the month of Chet when the Rājā attends
and a buffalo and several he-goats are sacrificed. She is as commonly
worshipped by hillmen as by people of the plains.

The goddess Kātāsān has a temple at Bārabhat, seven miles south
of Nāhau on the road to Paunā. In a battle between the Rājpūts and
Ghulām Qādīr, Kohilā, a woman appeared fighting for the former,
when their defeat seemed imminent, and the Muhammadans were routed.
The temple was built to commemorate the Rājpūts victory. On the sixth
day of the saurātras in Asauj, and Chet kāmān is performed in the
temple, and the Rājā occasionally visits the temple in person or deputes
a member of the royal family to be present.

**Devi in the Simla Hills.**

_Devī Adshhti or Durgā Mātā._—A Brahman of the Saktēra
Pujārī family relates that more than 100 generations ago his
ancestors came from Kāshī (Benares) and settled at Hāt Kōṭī;
and that one of them came to Kachehri village with Adshhti
Bhagwati. This goddess, with her sister and Kōṭ Ishwar, were
shut up in the tāmbī as has been told in the account of Kōṭ
Ishwar. Adshhti flew to the top of Tikkar hill above Ghāmānā,
a village in Kumhārān and settled there in the form of a tīsī. Her
presence was revealed to a māscan of Tikkar in a dream, and the
tīsī was found and placed in a temple. The other pujaṭīs of Kachērī
say that Adshhti, commonly called Bhagwati Mātā, no doubt came
from Hāt Kōṭī, but that she was never imprisoned in a tāmbī, and that
when the pānḍa of Hāt Kōṭī had shut up Kōṭ Ishwar in the tāmbī the
two Durgā sisters accompanied him, one walking ahead and the other
behind him, looking for an opportunity to release him. When the
pānḍa fell and Kōṭ Ishwar escaped the two sisters also flew away.
First they went to Kachērī village and thence to Hātū, Durgā Mātā
settled at Tikkar in which neighbourhood Bhūrīā, once a powerful
māscana, had fallen into difficulties. He consulted Brahmans and then
sent for a number of virgins and, having made them sit in a row, cried
aloud that the spirit that distressed the māscana, whether he were
a god or a devil, should appear and reveal through one of the girls why
he had harassed the māscana. One of the girls began to dance in an
ecstasy and said that Bhagwati Mātā was lying on Tikkar hill in the
form of a tīsī and that of the two sisters one lived on Kanda, the top,
and the other at Mūnda, the foot of the hill. The māscana and his
Brahmans excused themselves saying that they had not known of their presence, and they promised to build a temple for the Mātā. The girl in a trance walked up the Tikkar hill, the other virgins, the Brahmins and the nāgas following her. The girl pointed out the spot where the Kāy lay, and on that spot was built the temple called Mātrī Deori, which still exists. At that time Polas, a Brahman from the Sindhú Desh, came to Lathī village and began to worship Durgā Mātā. He came to look after Kōṭ Ishwar who would not appear before him, but at last after 12 years he revealed himself and then the Brahman began to worship him. Kōṭ Ishwar gave the pujārīs of Bāṭārā village to Bhagwati Mātā for worship. These pujārīs are said to have come from Kuru Desh. The Mārō Brahmins were settled in Bāṭārā and they worship Kōṭ Ishwar daily, but at the four Sankrānts in Baisākh, Sāwan, and Māgh and at the Diwālī the Sherkot Mārō Brahmins officiate. Kīrti Singh, the first Rānā of the Kumhrāsī family, acknowledged Durgā Bhagwati as sister of Kōṭ Ishwar and built her a new temple at Kachéri. Every third year a Pājā meta is held and the State pays the expenses.

According to the custom of the Kumhrāsī family the ānātā ceremony (cutting the hair of a son or wearing nose or ear-rings by the girl) is performed at Mātrī Deori. The Rānā and his Rānīs go in person to this temple with their children for the ceremony. Similarly on ascending the gudārī the new Rānā with his family attends at the Mātrī Deori a ceremony called the Jawāla Jātra. Bhagwati Mātā holds a petty jāgir from the State and also has a small kālon (deodār) forest. Goats are sacrificed to her, and every third year or when desired buffaloes are also killed before her at Mātrī Deori. Some people believe that though Mātā has temples at Mātrī Deori and Kachéri she is always sitting at her brother Kōṭ Ishwar’s side at Madholi. Benn and Bhumri are two bhārs or servants of the Mātā. Benn was a Chot from Bens in Kulu and Bhumri came from Jo Bag at Halta. The latter is a female attendant and was originally a ghost. Both attend at the gate of the temple.

With the shrine of Devī at Hāṭ Kōṭi many wonders are associated. One of these may be cited. On one side of the portal of the goddess stands a large bronze vessel battered and soiled with age upon a metal plinth. Formerly its fellow stood on the other side, but one night in Bhādon when the river below was in spate, the pair of vessels moved from their pedestals of their own accord. Rocking jointly from side to side they took their way through the narrow gate of the court yard until they reached the river bank and plunged with shrill whistles into the torrent. The priests pursued them, but were only just in time to save one and the second disappeared. The one thus saved is now securely chained to an image of Ganesha sitting in the temple, but sometimes still in the stormy nights of Sāwan and Bhādon it rocks upon its pedestals straining at its chains, and whistling and moaning as though pleading to be allowed to join his lost companion. At other times the peasant when planting out rice in the fields adjacent to the shrine sees the operation of a brazen vessel, mirrored in the water, which eludes his grasp as he tries to seize it.
Devi Kasumba at Khedhun—Khekhusu is on the north bank of Sutlej in Kulu. Koṭ Ishwar’s other sister, Kasumba Devi, settled here when he escaped from Pro. One of the Chhibeahi Brahmanas of Goan, a village in Kulu Sarāj, saw in a dream a pīṇḍi or linga. The goddess then told him of her presence, and desired to have a temple built for her at Khekhusu. The people say that the artisan who made the image of Hāṭ Koṭi Durga was called in to make her image. When he had finished that image the wawana of Hāṭ Koṭi had cut his right hand so that he might not make any more like it, but with his left hand he made a similar image at Khekhusu. Rānā Kirti Singh acknowledged this Devi as Koṭ Ishwar’s sister and gave her a jāgīr worth Rs. 42-2-9. The original intention was that 9 bharao of kīr hand at Khēkhar and goats should be given by the State on both the ashtamī, in Chat and Naisāk. This Devi also holds a jāgīr from Koṭgarh and Kulu. When Koṭ Ishwar has any jag she comes to Madholi and joins in it. A Devālī melo is held at Khekhusu. There used to be a bhūma every 12 years at Khekhusu, but Government has forbidden it owing to the risk of human life.

Bragu Deo is the bhor or servant of Kasumba. He was brought from Jundla in Kumbārsain and was originally a devil.

In the Simla Hills was a goddess, who first settled in the Tūnā forest (a part of Chambī Kūpar) without any one being aware of her advent. But in the time of Rānā Narāin Singh of Koṭ Khāṭ she came in a woman’s shape, but dressed in old and ragged clothing, to Halāī (a village near Kiārī) where the Rānā had some fields. When he went to see his fields, he took her for one of his labourers, and abused her for her idleness, whereupon the Kāli transformed herself into a kite and flew away saying—

Pīne ri Kālik Kīri dekhun ād.
Narāin Singh Thākur se pūra rūn de lat.
‘Kāli of Tūnā came to see Kiāri.
But Narāin Singh Thākur employed her to transplant rice plants in his kīr (irrigated fields).’

From that time Kāli has been worshipped in the forest and is considered the most powerful of all the Kālis.

Devi Gayāshīn’s idol was brought to Shamānū village in Mahlog State by Surjā Brahmān of Bhagī in the Kuthār State. All the members of his family had been killed by Basbī Kanēs, who were at that period troublesome dacoits, so he left his village for ever and settled at Shamānū where he built a temple for the Devī image. Her fair is held on the first Tuesday in Chat.

DEVĪ CULTS IN SAREJ.

Durga Devī, sister of Lachhmi Narāin, is also called Devī Dhār. Once a girl appeared at a spring near Daogī, and declared herself to be the goddess and Lachhmi Narāin to be her brother.

Devī Gārā Durga’s legend illustrates the disgrace which attaches to a girl’s marriage with an inferior. Once a Thākur was having a house built and the mason asked him to promise him whatsoever he might demand on its completion. When it was finished the mason
demanded the hand of the Thākur's beauteous daughter in marriage; and bound by his pledge, the Thākur bestowed her upon him. The pair took their road to the mason's house, but on the way the mason bade his bride fetch him water from a stream. Unable to bear this disgrace she threw herself into the water, and when he went to look for her he found nothing but an image lying on the bank. This he brought home and worshipped.

Devi Barī has a temple in Kothi Dhaul. She first manifested herself at Charak near Barī by taking the milk of a Rānā's cow. Convinced of the truth of his herdsman's story of this miracle the Rānā went to the spot and then had a black stone image made and placed in a temple. This idol is 2 feet high, and there are also masks of brass and silver in the temple. The pujārī is always a Kanet and the Devi has a gur.

Darā Devī has a temple at Darā. A Thākur's grain was all carried off by ants to the Devi's pāindi, and so a temple was built in her honour.

Devi Kohla or the Devi of Kowel has a curious origin. The cows of the villagers used to graze near Nirmand, and one of them was found to be giving milk to a cat. So the people began to worship the cat and an image of her was made. It is of black stone, 2 cubits in height. The pujārī of the temple is always a pānda.

Pachlā Devī of Srigah has also a curious tradition. Pichhū Chand, Thākur of Deohari, saw in a vision a black stone image which bade him go to see it lying at Kashta. He did so and brought it to Kashta and thence to Deohari, where he worshipped. Thākur Jog Chand, his rival, in jealousy at his devotion, quarrelled with him and Pichhū Chand made a vow to the goddess to kill him. He succeeded and built a temple to the goddess who was named Pichlā after him. This Devī has four temples: at Deohari, Kashta, Chalāma, and Rānī. One fair at Deohari is held at the Diwāli in Maghar and another fair on the ashtami in Asauj at Kashta. At Deohari a chāndī is celebrated annually.

Kasumbha Devī has two temples on the Sūi Dhār or range, one at Khakṣu, the other at Ruhra. A Rājā of Bashahr used to live at Khakṣu, and in order to get a son he used to recite the pāth of Kāli. She manifested herself to him in the form of a black stone image and bade him worship it, so he founded the temple at Khakṣu and named it after himself. It contains a black stone image, 1 cubit high, and a female figure, 3 cubits high, in metal. The pujārī is always a Sārus Brahman. The goddess selects her own gur.

Devi Chobri's temple was founded by Devi Kāli who killed a number of demons who used to devour the children of the neighbourhood. The idol is of black stone, 2 cubits high, and represents the goddess. There are other images also in the temple, but they are only one or two spans high.

Dhanah Devī has a similar legend. Kāli defeated the asurs or demons and in her honour the people of Dhanāh built her a temple.

Devi Pujārī's temple is ascribed to a Brahman who, when ploughing his field, turned up a metal mask which he placed in a niche in his house. Soon after he fell ill and went to his former Devī, Ambikā,
but she told him that her daughter had manifested herself to him and that he should make a vow to her for his recovery. The temple contains an image of black stone, 2 feet high. Ambikā's own temple at Nīrmand is well known and Chandi Devī is said to have slain two rakshasas, Chand and Mund. Her temple dates from the same year as that at Nīrmand.

Naina Devī owes her temple in Koṭhi Banogi to the discovery of an idol with beautiful eyes by a girl who was herding cattle near a stream. Its eyes became the object of the people's veneration. It is of black stone, 3 feet high. Its pujārī is a Nola Kanet.

Devi Bāri owes her temple at Bāri to Brāsanū, a Brahman who lived in Bāri phatī. He was childless, and in order to get a son, used to recite patha to Kāli, on the bank of a stream. One night, it was revealed to him that beneath the earth lay a black stone image of a goddess. She also made him worship her, and he was blessed with a son. The Brahman then in fulfilment of a vow erected this temple in her honour, and it was named after him. Soon after this, the Rajā of Suket became a votary of Kāli and built a temple in her honour at Chhikana.

Three fairs are held annually at as many places, one on the 9th of Baisākh at Bāri called the Tarsālī fair. The Divāli is held at Suket, when the Janamasthmi festival is also observed. The Shāndā is observed every 12 years.

The cult of Devī Bālā Durga is associated with that of Mārkanḍa Deota. The temple at Mārkanḍa was founded by a Sādhu from Triloknāth.

At Bargali is the mandir of Devī Durga called mandir Baggān Deota. A fair is held from 1st to 3rd Phāgān annually and is followed by the navārdas in Chāt and Aśanāj during which girls are fed. On the Rikhi Punīya a jag is celebrated. This temple has existed for a long time, but the date of its foundation is not known. It contains a stone idol of the goddess. A kārdārī by caste a Kanet manages its temple affairs. The pujārī is a Sārsut Brahman. The phata or pyar is a Kanet. Their offices are hereditary.

In Kulu proper the cult of Devī is even more popular than it is in Sārāj. Her cult names are numerous. She is called Bhagā Sidh, Bhānthali, Bharari, Chamunda, Dasmī Bāra, Garanpūrī, Harnam Jagan Nāthi, Jaishari or Mahi Kashār, Jawālamukhi, Kāli Auri,1 Kāli Mahi Khasuri or Phungnī, Khandāsan, Kodasha, Kowana Mahā Māyā, Mahā Māi Jagni, Nainā, Phungānī and Phangani Bāri Shakh, Sir Rāni Neoli, Sanohia, Sarwari, Singhāsan, Tripura Sundari and Rupasima.

1 In Kulu there is at Harchandī village in phātī Nathān (Koṭhi Nagar) a temple to Kāli, the idol consisting of a stone or image. Aeri means a picture, monument etc., and is commonly applied to the stone put on end by a man on first visiting one of the numerous places in Kulu e.g., Aeri Dhar means the "Ridge of the monuments." Such stones are very numerous on all passes in Kulu and are set up on the occasion described, and a sheep or goat is killed and given to the company, or some food is distributed. It is said to have once been customary to write the name on the stone, and the shapes certainly suggest the idea that once they were carved roughly in human shape.

The Devī Kāli is said to have put the stone as her image at Archandī.
The following is a list of the Devi temples in Kulu, their seats and the dates of their fairs and festivals. It is interesting to find a Siddhi Devi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Devi</th>
<th>Site of temple</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhaga Siddhi</td>
<td>Named after the goddess</td>
<td>12th and 13th Baisakh and for 8 days from 31st Sawan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaga Siddha</td>
<td>Pema</td>
<td>7th Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaga Siddhi</td>
<td>Pema Dughli Lag</td>
<td>1st of Chet, 3rd of the light half of Phagan and Chet, 1st of Baisakh, Jeth, Bhadon and Assaj, and on the full moon day of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The goddess Hirnai</td>
<td>Dhungri Pema</td>
<td>Dhungri Jeth for three days on the Phagan, on the 4th Magh, 1st of Sawan, and Baisakh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Harman</td>
<td></td>
<td>7th and 15th Magh, 1st Baisakh and 1st Assaj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Kali Anjir</td>
<td>Devi in Kothl Mungarh</td>
<td>1st Baisakh, 1st Bhadon and 3rd Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kali Anjir</td>
<td>Archhali Pema</td>
<td>1st and 2nd of Chet, 1st to 3rd of Baisakh, 1st of Bhadon and 1st of Assaj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kali Mahi Khasuri, Kali Anjir, or Phungnul</td>
<td>Pema Devi in Kothi Baisan</td>
<td>1st of Baisakh and Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Phungnul</td>
<td>Pema Phungnul in K. Mandargarh</td>
<td>5th and 7th of the inner months of Baisakh and Phagan and on Wednesday and Thursday in the light half of Sawan and Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Phungani</td>
<td>Pema Devi Phungnul in Bissar</td>
<td>1st of Chet, 3rd and 5th of the light half of Baisakh and Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Phungani*</td>
<td>Tum Peema in Kothi Mungarh</td>
<td>In addition to fairs in Sawan, Assaj, Maghar and Phagan, a fair is held on the 3rd, 5th and 7th in the dark half of Baisakh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Ehotunti*</td>
<td>Pana Peema in Kothi Chung</td>
<td>1st to 3rd Assaj.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The temples of the goddess Chánunda, of Narain, Duli Nág, the goddess Indar and Bharat Pál are connected with this.
2 South of the temple is a shándár (storehouse) of the goddess and to the west are two rooms for cooking food. At 100 paces in the latter direction is a morha where a fair is held in her honour.
3 Two temples are connected with this, those at Bhdí Pema and Garan Pema. The goddess visits these temples on the occasion of the fair.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Devi</th>
<th>Site of Temple</th>
<th>Dates of Fairs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The goddess Bhanthali</td>
<td>Banthali Pera</td>
<td>7th of Jeṭh and 1st of Asanuj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devī Bhadrī</td>
<td>Mel</td>
<td>3rd Asanuj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devī Chāmunda ¹</td>
<td>Dabodi Pera at Nashāla</td>
<td>On the dėddakhi (14th) in the light half of Phāgan, 1st Chat, new year’s day, 1st to 4th Baisakh, 1st Jeṭh, 1st Bhādun and 1st Asanuj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devī Chāmunda</td>
<td>Nalar Pera</td>
<td>1st Sāwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shri Devī Damaṇi Bārāa</td>
<td>Kāhr Pera</td>
<td>1st to 3rd Chat, 31st Chat to 3rd Baisakh, 8th to 3rd Hār, 31st Siwan to 5th Bhādun and a yag every 12 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The goddess Dūchā and Muchā</td>
<td>Gajjan and Karjan Pera</td>
<td>The gajjan on the 4th Jeṭh and the sakhās on the full moon day of Chat, lasting four days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devī Gāran Purī</td>
<td>Naraini Garaṇī Pera, Upar Bala Pera and Bāgū Pera</td>
<td>1st Phāgan, 1st Baisakh, 8th Baisakh, Ganesh Chandesar in Siwan, in Hār, 1st of Poh and 21st Baisakh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The goddess Jagannāthī</td>
<td>Jagannāthī Pera</td>
<td>8th to 11th of the light half of Baisakh, 7th to 10th of the light half of Hār, and 7th to 10th of the light half of Asanuj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devī Jagannāthī Jī</td>
<td></td>
<td>Baisakh aṣṭamā 3 days, Hār aṣṭamā 3 days, Asanuj aṣṭamā 3 days. Beside 15th Phāgan, 1st Chat, 1st of new year, 1st Baisakh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalāhrī or Mālī Kāshū</td>
<td>Har, in Bajaur Kothi</td>
<td>6th of Baisakh and 8th of Bhādun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jawālāmukhī</td>
<td>Pera Pali Sari in Kothi Huray.</td>
<td>1st of Baisakh, Jeṭh and Hār, and on the 2nd of the light half of Sāwan. A grand yag is performed every 12 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jawālāmukhī</td>
<td>Shāmshī Pera in Kothi Khokhan.</td>
<td>1st of Baisakh, Siwan and Asanuj, and on the full moon day of Maghar. Each lasts one day.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Another temple called Pera Nīlaśī is connected with this. It contains an image said to be that of the goddess Bhāga Śīh and it is worshipped in the same room as the other goddesses.

²The temples at Brāh Pera and Sangaḷ Pera are connected with this. The god’s chariot is taken to these at a festival.

³The temple also contains an image of Rāḥo Nāṭh. It is of stone, one cubit high. It is worshipped along with the goddess.
<table>
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<th>Name of Devi</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Devi Khundánan</td>
<td>Nauni Pera</td>
<td>The Japari jatra in the beginning of the new year in the light half of the month of Chet for four days, and Sawan jatra on the 2nd of Sawan for four days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Kudula 1</td>
<td>Gohi Pera</td>
<td>2nd, 12th, 13th and 14th Baisakh, and 2nd Asanuj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kovanal</td>
<td>Pera Soil</td>
<td>The Shirdi 4th on the 8th of the dark half of Phågan, Phåghil on the 11th of Phågan, Chhok-Paal on the full moon day, on the 1st of the Baisakh, the Kåpo on the 1st of Jeth, the Kamb on the 1st of Sawan and the 1st of Asanuj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Mahá Máya</td>
<td>Mahá Máya</td>
<td>Tuesday of the light half of Phågan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahá Mai Jagni</td>
<td>Choppur</td>
<td>1st of Baisakh, Sawan and Bhådon, each lasting one day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nainan</td>
<td>Bulang Pera in Kothi</td>
<td>3rd, 5th and 7th of the light half of Baisakh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phungul Bari Shahi</td>
<td>Pera Phungání</td>
<td>1st of Chet and 7th of the light half of Asanuj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phungul</td>
<td>Pera Phungul (harnani in Harnam)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Bani Neoli</td>
<td>Rani</td>
<td>4th to 7th of the dark half of the month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Sandhia</td>
<td>Pera Devi Sandhia</td>
<td>Navami (9th) of Baisakh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarwari</td>
<td>Shuru Yera</td>
<td>1st of Baisakh and Illuminations on the 15th (9th) of Phåh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donsa Singhania</td>
<td>Singhania Devi Pera</td>
<td>5th to 10th Jeth, 1st of Asanuj, Durga aakhan in Asanuj, 3rd of the light half of Phåh, one day in the light half of Chet, 2nd and 3rd Baisakh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pipara Sundari</td>
<td>Nagar</td>
<td>1st Baisakh and yoga every 3rd year on 2nd Bhådon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Rupashna</td>
<td>Sharaní Bher in Kothi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harkandí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 No temple is connected with this, but fairs are held on the 21st Maghar and 21st Sawan when the gods and goddesses visit the fair and return in the evening.
The Bhunda sacrifice.

Bhotānti Devi's original temple is at Jari in the Pārhati valley. She and Parei Devi both have temples at Parei.

There is also a goddess of fire (or else the goddess is typified by fire) for when high-caste Hindu ladies burn a fire hissing they will say ḍhak ḍhak seinda karamedī isū, 'consume the back-biter', because the hissing expresses the wrath of the goddess at the evil habit of back-biting.¹

In Outer Sarāj Nirmand in the Nūrpur Valley on the Shutlej Devī Ambka is worshipped, the great triennial fair being held in her honour. Every 12th year this fair is celebrated on a very large scale and is called the Bhunda. The following is an account of it:—

In the era of the Rishis, there were three kinds of sacrifice: the warmedī, paumedi, and asnumedi, or sacrifices of men, kine and horses. These great sacrifices were performed by any one who had subdued the whole world, e.g. the Pāndavas performed the horse-sacrifice. All the Rishis of renown used to assemble and sacrifice, and at the end of it they used to slaughter the man or animal, calling on the deity's name and burning the flesh. Then the bones were collected, and their prayers had such efficacy that the man or animal was restored to life. But after their era, goats and sheep began to be sacrificed, and, instead of killing a man, he was lowered on a rope, leaving it to chance whether he was killed or not. The Bhunda mēla is the old warmedī jag, and the customs and rites are the same. This great fair is held at Nirmand, because Jamadagan Rikhi being angry for some cause with his wife Ambikā, mother of Paras Rām, ordered the latter to beat her, and he did so. In expiation Paras Rām gave lands to the Brahmins of Nirmand who in return agreed to spend one-tenth of the produce on this Bhunda fair. As the Beḍa caste was appointed as before to ride down the rope, the fair was called Bhunda, though some say Bhunda is a corruption of bhundār or temple treasure-house. It is only held at fixed periods at Nirmand; elsewhere it is held when enough money &c. has been saved. The Nirmand fair is held in the same year as the Kumbh fair on the Ganges, i.e. once in 12 years. Three years after each Bhunda is held the Bharoti jag; three years after that the Bhutpur jag occurs; and again three years later; the Sānd jag. These though attended by several devatās are of much less importance than the Bhunda. They have no connection with Paras Rām and a Beḍa is not lowered on a rope.

Before the recent Bhunda at Nirmand there had been Bhundas at Nīthar (Budha Mahādev), at Shamsar (Mahādev) in Naraingarh, at Bahu (Mahādev) in Sirigargh, and in December, 1892, at Gorah in Rāmpur State, at which latter a Beḍa had been lowered on a rope.

The rope for the sacrifice is made of grass, cut at a propitious time, with music; two-and-a-half months before the fair, and the Beḍa himself makes it, performing constant ablutions while working at it. When

¹ P. N. Q. 11, § 98a. This is another instance of fire being a witness.

* This account was written in 1899.
it is made the right length it is placed in the temple, and if any one steps across it he is fined a goat, which is sacrificed, and the rope must be re-made. No one may approach it with shoes on or with anything likely to defile it. It is revered as a deotd. On the day of the fair it is lifted with great respect on the heads of men and taken to the cliff, where it is securely fastened. At every stage a goat or sheep is sacrificed to it, and when fixed the Beda is placed on it. No other caste can make or ride it and the Bedas regard this as a privilege and deem it disgraceful to refuse the descent. It is a profitable venture, as the Beda is fed by the people for a year, besides obtaining Rs. 84 in cash, jewellery and clothes with other presents for his wife also. Sacrifices are begun in temples where means are available for a Bhunda 2½ years beforehand. Four Brahmins pray and sacrifice daily by burning rice, fruit, ghee and goat’s flesh, the fire being placed in an earthen vessel sunk some four feet in the ground, an image of Kall being set up opposite to it, and small brass images of that goddess being placed near it. This vessel is called wakhe kund, and it is only opened for the Bhunda, a large stone being placed over it on which the sacrifices at the Bhundas &c are performed. Before the fair the deotds are summoned, and the ceremony cannot take place until they come. The wakhe or image of a deotd does not attend, the kala or silver vessel full of water alone being brought. The deotds who must attend are those of Khan, Mabei (in Suket), Niri Nagar (in Rampur) and Nirmand (in Kulu). These are said to be five brothers. In addition thereto Itlak, Dadas, Sanir and Sanki (in Rampur) (called the deotd deotds) should also attend. Others may do so.

On a fixed day, called chhilbichkli, a picture of a pine tree is made of sindur (vermillion) on a clean place in front of the temple, and the deotd who is to commence the fair is worshipped by the Brahmins. At this place also a fight takes place, and then all the kalas or the deotds are collected and prayers recited. All the deotds then go into the kalki of the temple (where the treasure-house &c. are) on to the upper storey, and a radd of Shibji of white thread and a similar tree-picture to that outside are also made on the ground. On top of this is put a plate of keros filled with rice, and a coconut: wrapped in silk clothes is placed on top of the rice. In places on the picture are put cakes, rice and rosh cakes and lamps at each corner. The kalas are brought in and placed in order round the got or rath, and if any mohras of the deotds have come they are placed on a clean spot near the wall. Grain is then given to the people from the temple store-house. This is called ekam or invitation. Next day the deotd’s gur (made) comes with the deota and the people cook cakes and worship round the village (asikher) in which the temple is. Goats, sheep, and samgar (a kind of small pig) are killed, and again a mock struggle occurs, any one who likes taking an animal. When the circuit of the village is completed a number of sheep and goats are cruelly lain in the kalki of the temple. On the third day the rope is worshipped, and goats &c. sacrificed to it. The rope is then fastened on a cliff as described before, one end high up and the other lower down. The Beda bathes and is taken to the radd (of sacrifices). The Brahman worships him, and he is considered a god, the same worship being paid him as is paid to a deotd. Five valuable things (patararu) are placed
The goddess Hirna.

in his mouth, as is done at the death of a Hindu. Then he is clothed in a pagda and karta, and being placed on a goal is taken outside the temple. The Beda gives presents to the people, and is next made to ride on the khardar's (manager of a temple) back, and music is played as at a funeral. His wife and children, unclothed, sit beneath the rope and lament. At the top of the rope four kumbhs or vessels are placed, over which a board is put. The rope is fixed in the earth, passing over the board. A wooden saddle, like those used on phillas or rope bridges, is placed on the rope, and on this the Beda sits, being firmly tied on to the rope. Skins of earth of equal weight are placed on each thigh, and a white handkerchief is placed in his hand. He is lowered at first with ropes to test the balance, and then some barley is tied to his waist. These ropes are then cut and the Beda slides down. He is taken off at the bottom, and he and his family beg of the people, taking whatever they touch. He and his wife are taken to the temple, Rs. 34 and jewellery &c. being given them. They are danced two-and-a-half times round in a circle and dismissed. On the fourth day, after the temple gives presents to the dead and people, the fair ends. This is called the Beit jag.

In 1893 a goal was lowered in place of a man, with the usual accompaniments. The rope is called karta and one account is that the munddaha of the temples usually make the rope. The Bedas are a few casts of dancers. These fairs are held at Nirmand (Devi Ambalâ), Nithar, Dalâsh, Dhamas in Bushahr, and certain other places—all on the slopes running down to the Satlej. Bhundas do not take place in Kulu itself, but very similar ceremonies (Ganaer), in which grass ropes play a conspicuous part, are common, and there is a tradition that men used to be lowered over the cliffs on the Banja on ropes of their own making. Their names are recorded in the temple records and are remembered with honour. Further at液晶 (Sk. khâyan?) festivals the panchebats or five precious things are placed in a man's mouth. The man who was sacrificed was called fidli.

There is an account of a "Bhooma" in Traill's Statistical Account of Kumaon, p. 60. (Reprinted from Asiatic Researches, Vol. XXI, in Battey's Official Reports on Kumaon, 1851.) Captain Harcourt also gave a short account in his Himalayan Districts of Kulu, Lahaul and Spiti, 1874.

The goddess Hirma, who is said to be a sister of Jamu, is worshipped at any rate invoked at the Kali-ridli which is celebrated in Poh, late in December, not in November like the Divali in the plains. It is, however, essentially a feast of lamps, for, according to one account it is inaugurated on the previous evening by a gathering of the men on the village greens where they sing indescribable songs till a late hour, ending with a chorus in favour of Hirna. The dance is circular, each performer dragging his neighbour towards the inside or outside till one gets exhausted and lets go, sending

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1 S. J. S. Q. IV. 1903. p. 144.
3 The Divali in Kulu proper takes place generally in Poh on the Anusâr or last day before the new moon. But in Kpi it occurs from Magh 7th—14th and is called the Kali-ridli, a corruption of sal-ridli. Sal is said to mean house of money.
all the rest sprawling. On the evening of the festival lighted torches are shown at every house, the signal being given from the castle at Nagar and caught up and down the valley. Three days later comes the Ganer. The Ganer (from gān, a knot?) is performed on the 11th or third day of the new moon, i.e. three days after the Dīānī. In former times, it is said, huge grass ropes used to be made and great feasts held, the people jumping over the ropes in sport. The Miāns of Kulu used to have ropes stretched between two posts and jump their horses over them, the people holding the posts, shaking them as they did so, so that sometimes the rider was killed at the jump, his horse catching in the rope.

But at one festival the people of Barāgrīn, a village on the west bank of the Beās (where it is also customary to hold it), got drunk, and the rope they had left lying about turned into a snake, and went on to Nagar—across the river. As the snake went along, a dumb boy caught hold of its tail, and it coiled itself round him, but the Doṭā Jīv Nārīyān was on his way to Nagar, and one of his disciples seized the snake by the head, and it straightway became a rope again by the Doṭā’s power. Then the Nagar people insisted that the ceremony should be held henceforth at Nagar and not at the Dājī’s race-course, and so the practice of stretching it on posts and jumping horses over it was discontinued. It then became, or still continued, customary to drag the rope down to the cliff overhanging the Beās, four men of Jānā village and four of Nagar racing with it to the cliff. If the Jānā men won, they had to pay the Nagar people a goat and two loads (bārās) of rice; but if the Nagar people won, the Jānā people had to pay them Rs. 500. It is said that this racing was discontinued many years ago. The people of Nagar and Jānā now simply run three times with the rope a few hundred yards towards the Beās, bringing the rope back each time. It is then broken, the Jānā people taking one part (the head of the snake) and the Nagar people the other (its tail).

At this ceremony a ram’s horns are placed on the head of a Chāmār (carrier) of a particular family of Nagar. This man is called the jāṭālā and has a sort of headship over the other men of his caste, who are called his aṇak or disciples. He gets an extra share of the clothing given to the Dājīs from the body of a Hindu at his burning. He is chosen every year, and the same man is often re-elected. When the horns are placed on his head, the wejī, or headman of the Kōṭhī, says—

He su māgāl, kēna kāth.
He su māgāl, Raṇjī kāth.
He su māgāl, vīnāgāl kāth.
He su māgāl, nāved kāth.
He su māgāl, dharī ri kāth.
He su māgāl, Hīrma kāth.
He su māgāl, kēna kāth.

"Oh god (and) blessed one, aid the fruits of the earth, the Raṇjī, the people, the princes, the land, the goddess Hīrma, the fruits of the earth."

1 Rājya Sastra, Pt. 11, Kulu, p. 46.
2 S. L. N. Q., IV., § 1.
The Ganer festival.

The segi then places a rupee in his mouth as is done to a dead man. (This is also a feature of a similar ceremony).

After this every one sings and dances, and a feast is held. No offence is taken at anything said. The Dāgans, or wives of the outcaste Dāgīs, abuse the better caste officials of the village, blowing pieces of grass at them out of their hands, and getting some money as a present. This part of the festival is called kalagi, i.e. "tuft of the wooden (peacock) feathers" worn in the head-dress. It is said that in former times the high caste men used to sit and eat with men of any caste at the Diwāli when Shakti (Bhagwati) was worshipped, but this is not the case now. There is a story about the ram whose horns are used. When the Pāl kings from Jagatsuch attacked the Rānas of Nagar, a ram fought for the latter, who were conquered, and the Pāls captured him; but as he had fought so bravely, they honoured him by taking him to the Jagatipat or sacred stone (brought to Nagar by devás in the form of bees), and putting a rupee in his mouth they killed him. His horns are now kept in a little temple close to Nagar. At this same fight certain guzas who fought for the Rānas were also captured. The Pāl king pardoned them and made them dance before him as a sign of subjection to him. Their descendants still dance at the Ganer, and are presented with a rupee each. The family is called Andhāo, i.e. 'inner counsellors.' At the kalagi ceremony an indecent song is still sung.

Appended is a portion of one of the songs sung at the kalagi:—

Jai Devi, Hirna Māi.
Victory Mother-goddess Hirna.
Tori āker, khelōl kā,
We begin to play thy game.
Poaha māh, Pok parāli.
The month of Poh, Poh is the month of rice straw picks.
Therā bhost, bahu jatū.
Māgha māh, cherni lomā.
In Māgh the icicles are long.
Bera jār, kheri kona,
Phagun māh, tā pilā.
In Phagun, all is mud.
Khanyā lund, thokh lēla.
Chet māh, gāk yari kā.
In Chet the place is dug.
Mūnu jahā, lekh paṭikā.
As big as the flail, or pole for husking rice—mem'ra virale rectum est.
Baisākhā māh, bāthe kāpu.
In Baisakh the cuckoo calls.
Pahle, pakhle mānthe laurā-chāpu.
Deví as disease-goddess.

Sítala, the small-pox goddess, also known as Máta, or Deví, is the eldest of a band of seven sisters by whom the pestilential group of diseases is supposed to be caused, and who are the most dreaded of all the minor powers. The other six are Masán, Basanti, Máta Mái, Polamde, Lankariā, and Agrami, whose small shrines generally cluster round the central one to Sítala. One of them is also called Pahārwali, or she of the mountains. Each is supposed to cause a specific disease, and Sítala’s speciality is small-pox. These deities are never worshipped by men, but only by women and children, enormous numbers of whom present the shrines of renown on Sítala’s septuages, the 70th of the light half of Sáwan, when only light food is eaten. Every village has its local shrine also, at which the offerings are all impure. Sítala rides upon a donkey, and grass is given to the donkey and to his master, the potter at the shrine, after having been waved over the head of the child. Fowls, pigs, goats and coconuts are offered, black dogs are fed, and white cocks are waved and let loose. An adult, who has recovered from small-pox, should let a pig loose to Sítala, or he will again be attacked. During an attack no offerings are made; and if the epidemic has once seized upon a village all worship is discontinued till the disease has disappeared. But so long as she keeps her hands off it, nothing is too good for the goddess; for she is the one great dread of Indian mothers. She is, however, easily frightened and deceived; and if a mother has lost one son by small-pox, she will call the next Kurria, of the dunghill, or Bagnar, or the untaste, or Māru, the worthless one, or Molar, bought, or Mungbā, borrowed, or Bhagwāna, given by the Great God; or will send him round the village in a dust-pan to show that she sets no store by him. So too, unity mothers dress their children in old rags begged of their neighbours till they have passed the dangerous age.

In Rohātik, where Sítala is also called Ganwālī, her great days of worship are the Tuesdays in Chet, though in some villages Mondays appear to be preferred. At Rohā twice again the Wednesdays in Hāt are

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1 Sítala means “cold,” from sîh, and as small-pox is also known as Phâhi, cold. Cold water and cold food are offered at her shrines; either to propitiate her, or as suitable food. V. N. Q. I, § 2. According to Sisnna, burning the bodies of children, who die of small-pox, aggravates the disease. Bamblices, i, pp. 218 et seqq.

2 In Máta Katta the Máta Hāt fair is held, on the fourth Tuesday of Chet. Máta, the goddess of small-pox, is then worshipped and sweet bread and rice offered to her.
suspicious and at Anwali there is a great day in Asauj. At her shrine in Rohtak the conourse in Chet is a large one, and food is distributed to Brahmans, but the offerings are taken by sweepers. Sick or well the worship is carried on, and the rupees often seen on a boy's neck is frequently put on when he is supposed to be attacked by Sitala. It is particularly favourable to have a shrine at a crossways, and the goddess is then called Chaungauwa, 'she of the four villages', or Chauranta, 'she of the four ways', Máti. At Ukhachana and Kaili in Rohtak Lukari, her sister goddess, is also represented at her temple, but her shrine faces west. This title may, however, be only another name for Sitala, for she is said to live in the *kładar (acacia arabica)* and its roots are consequently watered night and morning by Hindus. Her vehicle, the donkey, is for the same reason fed with *mol* grain and fried catables, the idea of cooling thus coming into play. 2

The shrines of Sitala, which are to be found near almost every town and village, are about 3 feet high and are generally built by Bánias after a patient has recovered, as a thank-offering. All through the small-pox season, which is generally in the cold weather, and especially during an outbreak of the disease, women may be observed going about carefully watering each shrine in a group to *cool* the goddess and so, vicariously, any patient they may be interested in, or to gain her favour. Her shrines are called Sitalgähr or in Gurgaon Siyar, and the lamps burnt at them are of the *ekshreb* type, a pan with one light, and are lit on Mondays and Tuesdays. In the South West Punjab a mass of clinker, strongly reminiscent of a countenance deeply pitted with small-pox, may sometimes be noticed covered with *gōt*, flowers and grain. These are offerings to Sitala, the clinker being used as a shrine or altar possibly because in a country where Islam is dominant shrines could not be built.

At the temple of Sitala at Danathá in Gurgaon fairs are held on the Wednesdays in Chet. 150 years ago a fair used to be held at Kharnala, but one Udáh, a Ját, who used to worship the goddess, saw her in a vision and she bade him to remove her temple to Danathá, using some of the bricks of the old one. The temple is administered by the headmen of the village and they take all the offerings. Their *gōt* is Sháli. The story is that a Ját used to beg in faqir's clothes and so his descendants came to be called *sháli*, and have been professional beggars ever since. Every Wednesday a lamp is lit in the *mandir*. A sacred lamp is kept burning during Chet and it is also said that a lamp is lit 'after midnight'.

1 Lamkara appears to be another term for this goddess—see p. 359 supra.
2 I. N. Q., IV, § 130.
3 I. N. Q., II, § 646. When a child has small-pox, Hindus will also feed an *as* as Sitala's chosen vehicle. In Khera this ceremony is said to be called *faudiyada* : III, §§ 696, 150, 767, 111, § 688.
4 In Gurgaon Jàts take offerings to Sitala. There is an obscure tradition in that part of the Province that the Jàts are descended from *Bhuddar, brother of Bhil* but no connection with Bhuddar Káll is suggested.
Quite distinct from Sitāla is Kandi Mātā, so-called from the ring of spots which forms round the neck when the particular pustular eruption due to her takes place. Her shrines are usually smaller than Sitāla's, but they are commonly many, not one. At Bērī in Rohtak an avenue of them leads up to Dēvī's temple, as these shrines are usually built on recovery in fulfillment of a vow. The second Sunday after recovery is especially suitable for worship and Rs. 1-4-0 are usually spent on distributing sweets. Regarding worship during health, customs vary in different villages, it being held every Sunday in some and in others only on those which fall in the light half of the month, while others only hold it on these days during an attack of sickness. In Bāhāūṛgāh the 5th of Sāwan is a great day for the Bānī woman to worship this goddess at hair bushes, on the road to the station, by sticking gram on the thorns and giving āopātē etc. to Brahmins. It is becoming usual, especially with Bānīs, for the bride, bridegroom and bridal party to do pāyā at this goddess's shrine. Her shrines at Chirāma are of peculiar interest. The Jāts and Dānūaks have separate rows of them and the Jāts have one regular temple of the Kandi, in which is an image of the goddess, without a head. As a rule her shrines contain no images. They are often on the north of the village, because the disease is supposed to have come from the hills. Occasionally worship is offered by sprinkling gram before them in times of plague. But the plague goddess is one Phulan Dēvī, whose half-completed shrine at Jāsān attests her ill-will or inability to stay the disease. Jagū is a shrine similar to that of Kandi, and it too appears to be erected to a goddess. It is worshipped at weddings with a prayer for offspring, and also when a disease, which seems to be measles or itch, appears.

Māsīṇī's shrines are hardly distinguishable from Sitāla's. Most villages in Rohtāk possess one. Māsīṇī is a disease that causes excoration or atrophy in children, and she is propitiated to avert it. It occurs in Sirmūr where one of the two cures in vogue consists in burning mustard and other oils in a lamp called gākā, with 82 wicks and a hollow in the centre. In this hollow pistachio nuts, flowers and perfumes are placed. Seven marks are made with vermilion on the lamp and one on the child's forehead. All the 82 wicks are then lit and after it has been waved round the heads of both mother and child it is carried out beyond the village boundary and placed in the forest. This may be in reality a rite in the worship of the goddess.

So also in Gurgōn, the chief fair held in the district is that of the goddess of small pox, Māsīṇī, whose temple is at Gurgōn. A small mela takes place there every Tuesday, except in Sāwan, but the largest fairs are those held in Chot. The temple is held in great repute throughout this part of the country and is visited every year by pilgrims from the Punjab and United Provinces to the number of 50,000 or 60,000. The offerings which are mainly to Rs. 20,000 were formerly appropriated by Begān Samru, but are now a perquisite of the land-owners of Gurgōn. Pilgrims visit the shrine on Mondays throughout the year but the biggest gatherings, amounting sometimes

Cf. Pahūrī, above, as a title of one of Sitāla's other deities.

For the other see Sirmūr Gāster, p. 26.
to 20,000 souls in one day, occur on the four Mondays in Chet.
Tradition thus describes its origin:

There was a shrine sacred to the goddess Devi locally known as Masani, at the village of Kesopur in Delhi. Some 250 years ago the goddess appeared in a dream to Singha a Jat, of some influence at Gurgaon, and saying that she wished to leave Kesopur directed him to build a shrine for her in his own village. At the same time she authorised the fortunate Singha to appropriate all the offerings at her shrine, so her orders were promptly carried out. The shrine flourished until its fame reached Benares. A visit to it is an antedote to small-pox, and women from great distances flock to it with their children to obtain this benefit all the year round Singha and his heirs enjoyed the offerings for 200 years. The Begum Samru, when the pargana was under her rule, took the proceeds for a month in each year, but now they are again the perquisites of the village headmen. The temple is called the masad or temple of Masani, masad generally meaning the domed roof of a temple. The origin of the name Masani is not known, but probably it is connected with the disease of masds, to which children are very liable. Another story of its foundation is that the wife of the great saint Dronacharya, the guru of the Pandus and Kurus, knew of a specific for the cure of small-pox, and so after her death this temple was raised to her memory. It has no pretensions to architectural beauty, being almost on a level with the ground. It comprises a main room some 8 ft. square with a small room at the back about 5 to 6 ft. sq, which is used for storing valuables.

There are 5 dharmadiss near it, all built by charitable persons and all far superior in beauty to the temple itself. They accommodate about 1000 pilgrims. The image of the goddess is of mixed metal, bronzed over and about 9 inches high. It is not always kept in the temple but remains in the custody of a Brahman, who takes it home and only puts it in the temple on fair days. In the centre of the temple is a small platform of ordinary brick about a foot high and on this the image after being clothed is placed in an ordinary wooden singhadi. A Brahman is employed to wash the image but his office is not hereditary. No special ritual is prescribed. Offerings consist of fruits, sweet, cash, flowers, live animals, cowries etc., and no distinction is made between the rituals of different castes. A lamp is lit on fair days and only kept burning as long as the fair lasts. The fact is that the administration is carried on purely business lines. The annual contract for the offerings is put up to auction every year and the money realized is distributed amongst the landholders of Gurgaon in proportion to their shares in the village lands.

A Masani fair is also held at the temple of Sifta or Bulho in Muhirikpur. As at Gurgaon the largest gatherings take place in Chet and Baisāk, but people come to worship the devi at all times of the year except in Sawan and Asan. The fair is held on every Tuesday in Chet and continues till 10 A.M. on Wednesday. The
image is worshipped at night. Flowers, Mani, takku, laddu and coconuts form the chief offerings. It is said that seven sisters became goddesses; one is at Mahab疏散pur, another at Basant, the third at Gurgarn, the fourth at Kalka in Delhi while whereabouts of the rest are unknown. The temple is 3 yards square. It has a dome and two doors and is surrounded on all sides by a platform two yards wide, the whole being enclosed by a wall. It is said that 200 years ago a fagina came here and asked the Jat villagers to build a temple at the place where the platform stood of old. He said that there was a goddess there, who would be of great use to them, that her fair will be held every Wednesday and that she would be called Budho. In the western wall of the temple facing the door is a small platform 3 yards wide and 4 long. On this stands an arch containing a painting in several colours. This is worshipped, there being no other image. Once it was proposed to set up an image but the goddess appeared to Basit Ram Jat, who enlarged the temple, in a dream and forbade him to do so. The management is carried on by the jatra who sweeps the temple every morning and washes the painting. He is a Jat, by got Sahrawat, and takes the offerings but bears all expenses. The small mandir outside the temple are also worshipped by the pilgrims.

A local account from Ambala says that there are 10 Mahabidish or Adhakites, chief goddesses, one of whom is Matangi Shakti, the small-pox goddess. She has eight names, Runka, Chankal, Meda, Mardham, Stala, Sijala, Durga and Shankara Devi. By Matangi is meant Matangi Devi and she is the protectress of children suffering from small-pox. Her ears are as large as a winnowing fan, her teeth projecting, her face hideous, eyes huge and mouth wide open: she rides an ass, carries a broom in one hand and a pitcher and ewer in the other and has a winnowing fan on her head. The offerings made to her are taken by Jogis as well as scavengers, but many people content themselves with plastering a small space with cow-dung and putting on them such flowers and eatables as they can afford. Her shrines are about 6 feet high, and consist merely of upright masonry slabs with triangular tops and a projection in front on which to place the offerings. There is always a niche for the chari or lamp.

Devi is in Hisar essentially the small-pox goddess, and the rites to cure the diseases are all based on this belief. If a child be suffering from a mild attack the disease is called Shukar (Venus), and go is placed under a ghara or a stand on which pitchers are kept, and songs are sung. This is termed adhara-kh, or "naming," the disease. In the case of a severe attack it is termed dars Shukur, and on a Sunday a Brahman woman makes the child wear a rakhi, or amulet with a gold bead, kapi (mercury), and marja (a precious stone), fastened with red thread. Bhuti or coarse wheat-flour is given in alms in the afternoon, and that night the mother and child sleep on the ground. The former keeps the Monday as a fast and Bhuti and rice are cooked in the evening. On the Tuesday the child's forehead

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is marked with cow’s urine and young girls are fed with the bhāṭi, with rice and milk, and pīc or kaurī given them. On the Sunday and following days the mother pours laṣṭ, or milk mixed with water, on a jañj tree, sprinkling some also on the ground on her way to and from the tree. Girls are again fed on the Wednesday and on Thursday morning, and the mother again pours laṣṭ on the jañj tree, asking its forgiveness for her act. She should also sprinkle laṣṭ on this day on every tree on her road, and round a kiln as well. On the Monday night following bhāṭ is given in alms and finally women go in procession to Devī’s temple, carrying an umbrella of paper, and accompanied by musicians. Chhand or hymns are sung daily to Devī, but the name of Rām may not be uttered, so he is addressed as Jaidewa. One of the lines sung is—‘O Devī, thou ridest a tiger under the shade of a canopy and a snake is thy whip.’

As long as the disease lasts dhāṇ grass and the dung of an elephant or sheep is burnt, and the child should wear a piece of tiger’s flesh tied in a rag round its neck. Gūḍha may not be eaten in the house after the last visit to the jañj tree, and the mother must avoid gūḍha for forty days, and fast every Monday. Visits of condolence, or receiving bhāṣṭī or food distributed at marriages are forbidden, and if any one comes to inquire as to the child’s welfare he asks, ‘mahā māī khush hai?’ ‘is the goddess pleased?’ and the reply is, ‘mahā māī māī hai’, ‘she is kind.’ The child is called ‘mahā māī hā golā’ or slave of the goddess.

Here again we find girls feasted as incarnations of the goddess, and the attempt to transfer the disease to the jañj tree, with the apology, is an orthodoxy treatment in cases of sickness. The other rites are less easily explained. Clearly there is some connection between the tiger’s flesh worn as a charm and the conception of Devī as riding a tiger, but the exact train of ideas is obscure.

The worship of Devī Mātā, who is propitiated by the lower classes of Muhammadans as well as by Hindus, is thus described in the Yodgrā- Chishā. The child falls ill no one is allowed to enter the house, especially if he has bathed, washed or combed his hair, and anyone who does come in is made to burn karmat at the door. Should thunder come on before the pox has fully come out the sound is not allowed to enter the sick child’s ears, copper plates etc. being violently beaten to drown the clap. For six or seven days, when the disease is at its height, the child is fed with mutton covered with silver leaf. When the pox has fully developed Devī Mātā is believed to have come, and, when the disease has abated and the sores become dry, a little water is thrown over the child’s body. This is called giving it the phoe or ‘drop.’ Kettle-drummers and Mirāsīs are then called in to make a procession to Devī’s shrine and they march in front followed by the men, women and children related to the child who is carried in it, dressed in saffron clothes. A man who goes in advance sprinkles milk and water mixed

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\text{N. I. N. Q., II, § 11.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{Punjab Hīrman, a plant whose seeds are burnt to avert the evil eye or evil spirits: Punj. Dict., p. 693.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\text{Mothers will also on such occasions ply their hand-mills to drown the noise of the thunder. P. N. Q., III, § 170.}\]
with a bunch of green grass. In this way they visit some fig or other shrine of the Devi, and tie red ribbons to it, besmear it with red paint and sprinkle it with curds.

In Mārwār and Bīkaner inoculation for small-pox is not only practised but organised in a remarkable way. Many years ago a Huin, a tribe of Jats also found in Rohtak, received from Mahadevi (sic) the ‘bowl’ or gift of suppressing small-pox and the tribe has been ever since the licensed inoculators of a great tract including Mārwār and Bīkaner, its members residing in scattered villages. When small-pox threatens, one of these practitioners is sent for and he on his arrival begins with rites and offerings to Devī. Children are then operated on by scores, the operation being performed on the wrist. The inoculator (koshkara) is paid in copper and grain at three half-pence a head for boys. Girls are done at half-price. These inoculators have a high reputation for efficiency.1

Mari Mā is the cholera goddess, and failure to worship her, equally with personal uncleanness, produces cholera. But, it can be expelled by taking a young male buffalo, painting it with sinākari or red lead, and driving it on to the next village. This is said to please the goddess. And she sometimes appears in human form. Thus in Shāhpur during the epidemic of 1899 two women were seen crossing the river in the ferry boats of whom one of them was asked where she had been and whether she was going: she replied that she had been staying for a time in Shāhpur, but was on her way north. She and her companion then disappeared. It was believed that this was the spirit of cholera going away, but unfortunately it broke out in the south of the district immediately afterwards.2

Mari Mā is in Kāngra propitiated by the pauch-balā and sat-balā rites. The former consists in offering four male animals, viz.: a he-buffalo, ram, cock and he-goat with a pumpkin (petha) to the goddess at some chosen spot. The animals must be decapitated at a single blow, otherwise the ceremony fails and she is not appeased. The sat-balā is now out of date, as it consisted in the immersion of a pair of human beings, a woman as well as a man, to make up the mystic seven.3

Sītā, as the goddess of cold or who can control cold, conferred a boon on the Dhobi caste for washing her clothes gratis and so they never feel cold from standing in the water washing.

1. L. N. Q. I, 153. Among the Huins also small-pox is conceived of as a supernatural female, indeed the Savages maliciously call her the goddess, while the Greeks personate her by epithets such as the gravida or pitiful one, and the Medes personate her ‘lady smallpox.’ All this is like popular Hesiodism as it could well be, and one is not surprised to learn that Russians look upon vaccination as a sin, equivalent to impressing on children “the seal of anti-Christ.” Plague again is a guilt-old bug, as a par with the Indian notion which regards all diseases as manifestations of the goddess. Even small-pox fever is personified as the red woman or Bevi, just as the Persians typify her disorder as a blushing maid with locks of flame and checks all red hay — P. G. E. Abbott’s Macedonians, Folk-Lore, pp. 40-42.


Traces of Devi-worship are to be found as far afield as Gilgit. In the Astar District Shri Bai, a goddess, lived on a rock, called by her name, a Nangan. This rock was always kept covered with juniper boughs and an attendant called Bob Bin looked after it. Before it barren women used to sacrifice goats and pray for offspring. After harvest too women dressed in their best clothes visited the Devi, singing on the way, and offered a goat to the Bob Bin who then threw up twigs of juniper into the air and the women tried to catch them as they fell, in the hope of bearing as many children as they caught twigs. Descendants of the Bob Bin survive, but the rite is no longer observed. A similar stone exists at Barinas near Gilgit where it is called Mulkom.

In Gilgit the belief in giants (gūth, fem. gūthīnī) still subsists. At first the earth was enveloped in water, which was at some places frozen, and there some gūthás took up their abode under Yamlo Hal Sgl, their ruler. He said his knew of a cunning wolf who lived at a place called Milgank (old ice) who could spread earth over the water, and so they sent Nogí (Fortune) to fetch him, but he refused to come. Then they sent 'Trust' to fetch him and he came, but bade them send for Garai Patan, a bird who dwelt in the snows of the Cosmas mountain. Finally, Bajar Shah, the wolf, sent for a mouse which made a hole in the ice and spread earth over Garai Patan's wings and so over all the ice. The gūthás are here represented as benevolent, but the gūthīnīs were not so always. Thus one gūthīnī was a sister of the man-eating Shri Badat, king of Gilgit, and she devoured half the people who passed by her cliff at the junction of two streams near Gilgit. But a wizard (Daunál) named Sogli contrived to pinion her to a rock with nails and then turned her into a stone by prayers. He also begged the people to bury him when he died close to the gūthīnī, lest she should return to life and repeat her ravages, but they argued that she might return before his death and so they decided to kill him at once. This was done and he was buried close to the gūthīnī, who is represented by a figure of Buddha sculptured on rock.

**DEVI TARA OF TARAB.**

The Devi is the family deity of the Rājā of Konthal, and her arrival dates from the advent of the Rājā's family in this part of the hills. Her legend is as follows:—Tāra Nāth, a jogi, who had renounced the world and was possessed of miraculous power, came to Tarab to practise austerities. He kindled his fire, dhāru, in the jungle. When rain came not a drop fell on his sitting place (daun), and it remained dry. Hearing of the supernatural deeds of the faqir, the Rājā went to visit him. The jogi told the Rājā to erect a temple to his goddess. Tāra Māi, on the hill, and to place her idol in it, predicting that this act would bring him much good, and that it was only with

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3. De, pp. 105-105. How the Buddhist Shri Badat became a man-eater and how his daughter, Migo Rājī Soul secretly married Shaminor and induced her father to disclose to her the secret that his son could not stand intense heat as it was composed of gīr is told on pp. 118-119. Shri Badat still lives under a big glacier and his return is so dreaded by the Tallaus which singing and dancing round fires is kept up all night—and the Nisalo are held to prevent it: ibid, p. 139-140.
Devi as a family goddess.

This object that he had taken up his abode on the hill. In compliance with these directions, the Raja ordered a temple to be built, in which the jogi Tars Nath placed the Devi's idol according to the rules set forth in the Hindu Shastras for asthampaa, or establishing an idol. The Pato Brahman, who attended the jogi, were appointed pujaaris of the temple. This Devi has eighteen hands, in each of which she holds a weapon, such as a sword, spear &c., and she is mounted on a tiger.

The hill on which the jogi resided had, before his arrival, another name, but it was re-named Tarab after him. As the Devi is the family deity of the Raja, she is revered by all his subjects, and it is well known that whoever worships the Devi will prosper in this world in all respects. It is also believed that she protects people against epidemics, such as cholera and small-pox. It is likewise believed that if the Devi be angry with anybody, she causes his cattle to be devoured by hyenas. The pujaris of pargana Kalanj and Kushahal have the sincere belief in the Devi. Whenever sickness breaks out, the people celebrate jogi in her honour, and it is believed that pestilence is thus stayed. Some nine or ten years ago, when cholera appeared in the Simla District, some members of the Junga Darbar fell victims to the disease, but the Raja made a vow to the Devi, and all the people also prayed for health, whereupon the cholera disappeared. The people ascribe the death of those who died of it to the Devi's displeasure. Some four years ago and again last year, small-pox visited pargana Kalanj, but there was no loss of life. Some two or three years ago hyenas killed numbers of goats and sheep grazing in the jungles round Tarab, and the Devi revealed the cause of her displeasure to the people, who promised to celebrate a jogi in her honour. Since then no loss has occurred.

Close to the temple of Devi is another, dedicated to Siva, which was erected at the instance of the jogi Tars Nath. The first temple of the Devi was at Ganpari village in pargana Kushahal. This still exists, and the usual worship is performed in it. The Devi's original seat is considered to be at Tarab. Her oldest image is a small one.

There is a legend that Raja Balbir Sain placed in the temple at Tarab an idol made by a blacksmith named Gosain, under the following circumstances:—One Bhawani Nath a pandit, told Raja Balbir Sain that as Tarab was a sacred place he ought to present an idol to it, which he (the pandit) would place in the temple according to the Hindu ritual, and he added that the idol would display miracles. Accordingly the Raja ordered Gosain to make the idol required. The blacksmith made an earthen image of the shape suggested to him by the pandit, who told the Raja that while the idol was being moulded, he must offer five sacrifices. This the Raja did not do, and moreover he had a brazen image prepared. Immediately after the blacksmith had completed his idol, he was attacked by a band of dacoits, who killed him with two of his companions, as well as a dog and a cat. Thus the five necessary sacrifices were fulfilled. The Raja was then convinced of the veracity of the pandit's statement and acted thereon accordingly to his directions. He performed all the requisite charities and sacrifices, and, having seated the idol,
took it to Tārāb. He performed several ḍharmas in the temple and placed (aṣṭāḍyā) the idol in it. This Devī is the one who is mentioned in the Chandī-Pottī by Mārkandā Rishi, who killed Mahī Kāhābā.†

The fair of Devī Tārā is held at Tārāb in October on the Durgā aṣṭāmī, and lasts for a day. On the first aṣṭāmī, the Brāhmans worship Durgā in the temple, and a he-goat is sacrificed daily, the Rājā bearing all expenses. On the morning of the aṣṭāmī, the Rājā, with his Rāni, and all his family, sets out from his court so as to reach the plain below the temple at ten in the morning, and there takes a meal, after which the whole Court goes in procession, preceded by a band of musicians, to the temple, which the Rājā, with the Rāni, enters at about one in the afternoon. The Rājā first offers a golden aṣālar and sacrifices a he-goat, and each member of his family does the same. Everyone presents from one to eight annas to the bhajāl and the pujaśī. After the ruling family has made its offerings, other people may make theirs, and money, fruits, flowers, ghi and grain are given by everyone according to his means. The bhajāl and the pujaśī divide the heads of slaughtered goats, returning the rest of the flesh to the persons who offered them. This worship lasts till four, and then the sacrifice of bull-buffaloes begins. These are presented by the Rājā as saṅkalp or alms, and taken to a place not far from the temple, where a crowd of people surround them with sticks and hatchets in their hands. The pujaśī first worships the animals, making a tilak with rice and saffron on their foreheads.

Boiling water is then poured on them to make them shiver, and if that fails, cinders are placed on their backs. This is done to each animal in turn, and unless each one trembles from head to foot it is not sacrificed. The people stand round entreat ing the Devī with clasped hands to accept the offerings, and when a buffalo shivers it is believed that the Devī has accepted his sacrifice. The people then shout Devi-jitki-jai, jai, "victory to the Devī!" When all the buffaloes have been accepted by the Devī, the first is taken to the shambles and a man there wounds him with a sword. Then all the low-caste people, such as the Chamās, Kolls, Bharos, and Ahirs, pursue the animal striking him with their clubs and hatchets and making a great outcry. Each is brutally and cruelly killed in this way; and it is considered a meritorious act to kill them as mercilessly as possible, and if the head of any buffalo is severed at the first stroke of the sword, it is regarded as an omen that some evil is impending and that both the person who inflicts the blow and the one who makes the sacrifice will come to harm in the course of the ensuing year, the belief being that as the buffaloes are the children of the Devī's enemies it is fitting to kill them in this way.§ After this sacrifice, food is offered to the Devī, and aṣāl is performed at six in the evening.

† This reference is clearly meant to be classical, and for Mahī Kāhābā read Mahīmahāra.-Sir K. C. Temple.

§ Mahī Kishava, Mahīmahāra, who tormented the Devī, was a bull-buffalo, and, when he was killed, his descendants were metamorphosed into bull-buffaloes.
The fair is the occasion of much merriment and even debauchery. Women of all classes attend, unless they are secluded (pada nakhia), and those of loose character openly exact sweetmeats and money for the expenses of the fair, from their paramours, and put them publicly to shame if they do not pay. The plain is a Sanctuary, and no one can be arrested on it for any offence, even by the Rájá, but offenders may be arrested as soon as they quit its boundaries and fined, the fines being credited to the temple funds. Offences are, however, mostly connived at. There is much drinking and a good deal of immorality, with a great many petty thefts. The Rájá, with his family, spends the night on the site of the fair. The bhokki and the pujári, who, with the bhandári, receive the offerings received at the fair, are Sarnát Brahmane of the Raí-Bhát group, while the bhandáris are a Kamet, Brahmanas girls are also brought to this temple, where they worship and are fed, and also receive money and dakhana (dakhana).  

On the third day of the Dasahna, the goddess is worshipped at 2 p. m., in the darbá, all the weapons being first taken out of the arsenals worshipped, and then all the musical instruments. The essential worship is that of the sword and flag. After this the Rájá holds a darbá with full ceremonial and then visits the temple of Thakurji Natháyan, whence the image is brought in a palanquin, while the Rájá walks just behind it, attended by all his officials, in order of precedence, to theplain set apart for this festival. On this plain a heap of fuel is piled at a short distance from a green tree, which is adorned with small flags and round which is tied a wreath containing a rupee. The Rájá, with unsheathed sword goes round the heap, followed by the rest of the people, and the heap is then worshipped and set fire to. It is essential that the satr of the State should be present at this ceremony, and if he is unavoidably absent, a representative, who wears an iron sajja, is appointed, and the heap is then fired. The man who casts the wreath on the tree in the midst of the burning fire and takes the rupee is considered a hero, and his prosperity during the ensuing year is assured. Before the heap is fired, a pitcher of water with a mark on it is placed close by, and whoever hits the mark is deemed lucky, besides receiving a prize from the Rájá. If no one is able to hit it, the man who represents Hanumán, and who accompanied the idol, smashes the pitcher with his mace. The image is then carried back to its temple with the same pomp as before, and a turban is given to the Rájá on behalf of the Thakurdwás, while his attendants are given bahu and chirman. Wreaths of flowers are then distributed. The festival is believed to commemorate the conquest of Ceylon by Rám Chandar, the ancestor of the Rájpúts, which was accomplished after worshipping Devi.

A somewhat similar festival is the Saer fair held at Khad Ashti. One morning of the first of Asan, a barber, having lighted a lamp in a thál (plate) and made an idol of Ganesh in cow dung, comes to the Rájá and his officials and makes them worship the idol.

1. A fee for spiritual service.
2. The neck is called kalka.
3. The water in which the feet of the idol have been washed.
The Rájá and officials then give him presents according to their means. In the afternoon, the Rájá gives ams, and, accompanied by a procession with a band and his Rájos, sets out for Khad Aish. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages assemble there in thousands to enjoy the sight. Some fighting bull-buffaloes, which have been reared for the purpose, are brought to the fair the day before and fed up with gáf &c. The Rájá himself rears six or eight buffaloes for this fair, and they are similarly prepared for the fight. The fair begins at one in the afternoon, when the he-buffaloes are set to fight in pairs; and the person whose buffalo wins is given a rupee as a reward by the Rájá. So long as the fight lasts, music is played.

The people at the fair distribute sweets and liquors among their friends and relatives. Swings too are set up and the people revel in drink. They can commit disturbances with impunity, as no offenders are arrested on this occasion. Many people from Simla bring haberdashery for sale, and the articles are largely purchased by women. About 6000 or 7000 persons assemble at this fair, and the Rájá distributes rewards among his servants on its termination. Its introduction is due to the Rájá, and it is not held in honour of any particular god. The place where the fighting takes place is dedicated to the god Badmún. Formerly rams were also made to fight, but now only bull-buffaloes are used. Before the commencement of the fight, a reif is given to the god. This reif is made of 5/2 ars of flour, 3/2 of gur, and of gáf. The flour is first kneaded in sharbaf of gur and then made into a thick leaf, which is then fried in gáf. When it is cooked, it is taken with dháp, tilak, flowers and rice to the place of the god, and after worship has been performed, it is divided in two, one piece being left at the temple and the other distributed among the people.

According to one legend, this fair was instituted by the forefathers of the Rájá, who originally came from Gaar in Bengal, and were an offshoot of the Sinh dynasty. This festival is also observed in that country. It is said that the Rájá of the Sinh dynasty were the devotees (mçásas) of the Deví, who rejoices in fighting and the sacrifice of bull-buffaloes. Although a fiction is not generally accepted, the story is told by men of advanced age, and the late Rájá Maler Sain also ascribed the fair to this origin. It is said that Birju Deota is the wazír of the Deví, and therefore the fair is held at the place where there is a temple of the Deví or Birn. It is also said that the day of the fair is the anniversary of that on which Rájá Rám Chandar constructed the bridge to Ceylon, and that the fair is held in commemoration of that event. In the everyday speech of the hill people, Birn Deota is called Badmún Deota.

THE GODDESS ATH-BROJ OF DHARICH.

LEGEND.—A Rájá of Kotla in the Kangra District, named Jaspál, had two sons. The elder succeeded to the throne, and the younger, in consequence of some dispute, quit the dominions of his
brother, went to the hills, and took the name of Ga\'indar Pál. On leaving Kotkher, he brought with him an eight-handed image from the fort of Kángrá, and came to Bhájí, where he begot four sons, Chhrá, Chánd, Lógú, and Bhógú. On his death, these four partitioned his dominions thus: Chhrá took the világ of Bhájí, and Chánd that of Kot, while Lógú, and Bhógú received pargao Phágú in jágir. The descendants of Chhrá and Chánd are to this day the Ránas of Bhájí and Kot respectively. Bhógú married, and three families of his descendants, Marchítak, Púñas, and Hátthak still exist in pargao Phágú. Lógú did not marry, but became a dascéi. In those days the country round Phágú was under the Rána of Bátshá. Harassed by Lógú’s raids, the people complained to the Rána, but Lógú was strong and brave and the Rána could not capture him. At last he commissioned a Chandál to kill Lógú, promising him a reward if he succeeded, but though the Chandál pursued Lógú for some time, he failed to seize him. Lógú had a sanísh with a Brahmán girl, and one day she was sitting with him under a tree, when the Chandál chanced to pass by, and, taking Lógú off his guard, smote off his head and carried it to the Rána, leaving his body at Hóká village, but the corpse of its own accord went to Dhar, a village surrounded by a rampart and with only one entrance, which was closed at that time. The headless body pushed open the gate, and entered the village. When the people saw it all besmeared with blood, they were terrified and gathered together, but the body disappeared; and though they searched for it, they could not find it. At last they discovered a stone pinála (an idol having no special shape). On consulting the astrologers, they were told that Lógú had been transformed into a dacei, and that they should place (astáma) the pinála in a temple and worship it as a god. Then Bhógú and other pás warto established the eight-handed Deví, which Lógú’s father had brought from Kotkher, at Kiliya in Bhatjá village, and placed Lógú’s pinála in the jungle of Dérván. The Brahmans who had come with the Rája of Kóthker’s army were appointed pújáris of both deities, and it was then decided that Deví was the superior and that Lógú was her subordinate. Shortly afterwards several brazen images of Lógú were made and a handsome temple built to him in a Bakhów village, where he is daily worshipped. In Dérván hamlet he is worshipped once every three years.

A fair is held at Dérván’s temple on the Dungá sa\'ími day and at that of Lógú on the Sálósh, i.e. the pàrjával of Sáwan sa\'ími, and at the Dewell in the month of Kátk.

I.—THE KA\' FAIR AT GARN IN PARGA\' S BÁTSHÁ.

This fair is held on the 59th of Júth. The images of the Deví Bátshá and Katwa dacei are brought in procession from the temple, where they are kept, to Gáren, 400 or 500 persons accompanying them, and of these some 50 remain at Gáren for the night, the rest returning home. By mid-day next day a great crowd of people collects, the men coming in bodies from opposite directions, each man armed with a bow and arrow and flourishing a dágra (axe), with a hand of musicians preceding them. A man in one of these bodies

Chandál is a low caste in the hills.
shouts: — Thotārī va bhūkhāti, aman ji ḍhamak lagā, ti, ho ho. I hunger for a shooting match: come, the fair has started, ho, ho. The others call out ho, ho in reply. The tune called a thotārī is then sung and matches are arranged between pairs of players. One champion advances with his arrow on the string of his bow, while the other places himself in front of him, keeping his legs moving, so as to avoid being hit. The archer's object is to hit his opponent below the knees, and if he succeeds in doing so he takes a dhānḍā in his hand and dances, declaring that a lion's whelp was born in the house of his father at his home. The man who has been hit is allowed to sit down for a time to recover from the pain of the wound and then he in turn takes a bow, and placing his hand on his opponent's shoulder says 'bravo, now it is my turn, beware of my arrow.' If he hits his opponent he, too, dances in the same way, but if he fails his victor dances again crying, 'how could the arrow of such a jackal hit a tiger's cub?' This goes on until one of the other is beaten. The matches are usually arranged between men who are at enmity with one another. The play lasts for two days. Sometimes disturbances break out. These need to be serious, even resulting in men being killed on either side, but now-a-days a stop is put to the play, if a disturbance it feared, by pulling down the devī's flag, when the players desist of their own accord.

On the third day a goat and two buffaloes are sacrificed to Devi. The latter are killed in the same way as those at the Tarā Fair, but the buffaloes are at a distance from the temple, and two picked men take their stand, one on the road to Fagū, the other on that to Katesh, to prevent the wounded animals going toward their respective villages; as it is believed that it is unlucky for one of them to reach either village, and bloodshed often results from the attempts of the different parties to keep the animals away from their village. Efforts have been made to induce the people to allow the buffaloes to be killed by a single blow, but the pujārīs will not allow this, as being the offerings of Devi's enemies, they must be slaughtered with as much cruelty as possible. After this the people make offerings to Devi, the money going to the temple fund, while the other things, such as grain, goats &c. are divided among the pujārīs. The next of the Devi then begins to nod his head (kheīmā, lit. to play), and taking some grains of rice in his hand distributes them among the people, saying, 'you have celebrated my fair without disturbances, and I will protect you against all misfortunes throughout the year.' If, however, any disturbance has occurred during the fair, the offenders are made to pay a fine on the spot to obtain the Devi's pardon, otherwise it is believed that some dire catastrophes will befall them, necessitating the payment of a still heavier fine. The Devi passes the night at the fair, returning to her temple on the morning of the fourth day.

II.—The Jāt Fair, Bhalāwāg.

This fair is held at Bhalāwāg on the first Sunday in Hār. There is a legend that a sādgī once lived on the Chaḷāli hill. He was famous

1 i.e., 'you hunger after archery, come on, since you wish for it.' Thotārī, for theārī, an arrow, means: archery, and one of the names or shades of the hill Chaḷāli is so called because it is played at archery meetings.
for his miraculous feats, and was said to be a siddha. He built a small temple to Mahâdeo on the hill, and established a fair which was held continuously for some years. The offerings made at the temple were utilized to meet the expenses of the institution. After the Gurkha conquest this tract was ceded to the Maharajah of Patiala in the time of Râjâ Raghunâth Sain. Once Râmâ Sansâr Sain visited the fair, but a dispute arose, and the Patiali officials having used unbecoming words against the Râjâ, he removed the ling of Mahâdeo to his own territory and established it at Balâwag, and since then the fair has been held there. It only lasts one day. The Râjâ with his Rânis &c. sets out with great pomp to the scene of the fair, the procession being headed by a band, and reaches the place about mid-day. People pour in from all parts, and by two in the afternoon the fair is in full swing. The Râjâ takes his seat on the side of a tank, into which people dive and swim. A wild lee is also thrown into it as a scapegoat (bhej) and some people throw money into it as an offering. In the temple of Mahâdeo, gât, grain, and money are offered by the people according to their means. The pujaâris of the temple, who are Brahmins, divide the offering among themselves. Worship is performed there daily, and on the sankrantâ days Brahmins of other villages come there to worship. On the fair day worship is performed all day long. People also give the offerings they have vowed. There is a legend about this tank which is as follows:

Once a Brahman committed suicide in a Râjâ's darbâr. In consequence of this hatiyâ (a profane act, especially the killing of a Brahman), the Râjâ became accursed. He tried by all the means in his power to remove the curse, but in vain, for if he had a child born to him, it soon died, and though he performed worship and tried many charms and amulets, it was all of no avail. An astrologer then told him that as a Brahman-hatityâ had been committed in his darbâr, he would never be blessed with a son, unless he sank eighty-four tanks at different places in his realm for watering of kine. The Râjâ accordingly constructed eighty-four tanks at different places in the hills from Tâjaur to Mattiâns. Of these tanks some were very fine, and one of them is the tank in question. After making all the tanks, the Râjâ sent for the builder, and, being much pleased with his work, gave him as a reward all that he asked for. But people then became jealous of the kindness shown to him by the Râjâ, fearing that he would be elevated to the rank of mahârâjâ (counselor). As they told the Râjâ that if the builder did the same kind of work anywhere else, the Râjâ's memory would not be perpetuated and that steps should be taken to prevent this. The Râjâ said that this was good advice, and that, of course, he had already thought of it, so the builder was sent for, and although he tried to satisfy the Râjâ that he would never make the same kind of tank at any other place, the Râjâ paid no heed to his entreaties and had his right hand amputated. Thus disabled, the man remained helpless for some time, but having recovered, it struck him that with his skill he could do some work with his left hand, and he accordingly, built two temples, one at Jâthîâ Devi and the other at Sadu, both new places in Patiala territory. When the Râjâ heard of this, he at once went
to see the temples, and was so delighted with their work that he gave a
reward to the builder, but at the same time had his other hand cut off,
and the man died a few days after.¹ It is said that after the making
of the tanks, the Rājā celebrated a jag on a very large scale, and four
years after was blessed with a śīlā [son].

¹ This may be a variant of the superstition that the new structure must be guarded by
a spirit as its custodian. Once granted that necessity, what spirit could be more suitable
than that of the architect himself?
THE VAISHNAVAS.

VISHNU.—We may turn now to the forms of worship which represent the Hindu spirit more truly than the strange practices of the Jogi and Sufi sects. The Hindu, generally speaking, is not a Shaiva, but a Vaishnava, that is to say, he does not eat flesh, onions or garlic, and does not drink spirits. The main features of the Hindu pantheon are revealed to him in Vishnu or the incarnations of Vishnu. He worships the stone image of Vishnu in human shape. He reveres the Brahman and the cow. He wears the sacred thread (janeo) and the scalp-look (koti). He marries by walking round the sacred fire. He burns his dead, throwing the ashes into a river and taking a small portion of them to be thrown into the Ganges. He will often mark his forehead with one or more upright streaks of the calcareous clay known as goplicandas. His place of worship is called a thakurdwara; and his places of pilgrimage are Hardwar, Gaya, Benares, Jagannath, Dwarka, Ajadhara, Badrinath, Pushkar, Rishikesh, Mathura, Pryag, Rameswar, and the like. His sacred books are the four Vedas, the Ramanayan, the Mahabharat, the Bhagavat Gita, and the Vishnupada. He is, in fact, the orthodox Hindu, and in our returns the word Vaishnav means, as a rule, little more than this. The Bania of the south-east, for instance, will often call himself a Vaishnav, when he means little more than that he is Hindu, and not a Jain. A Hindu, when asked his sect, is generally safe in replying that he is a Vaishnav; and the term covers a multitude of other sects regarding whom special separate information is also forthcoming. The numbers returned at a census as Vaishnavas exceed greatly the numbers returned under any other sect. The term is less distinctive, and the difference between the Vaishnav and the Shaiv is less marked in the Punjab than it is in the United Provinces and Rajputana, where the mutual jealousy of the two sects is often very acute; and the Vaishnavs of our Census tables are mainly returned from the districts of the south-east border.

The Vaishnavs also include those who more particularly worship the god Vishnu under terms such as Bishnupuj, Bishnu, and Mahabishnu, or their adoration of the god as Thakur, Thakurji or Sri Maharaj. He is also reverenced as Nirbhar, the fearless one, especially in Multan and Murzaffargarh. He is known also as Narain, and is worshipped as Badrinath at the shrine of that name in the Himalayas. Another name for him which is common apparently in Hissar and Kangra is Visvakarma, Biskarma or Bisram, the Maker of all things, the Great Architect, and under this name is revered by the Tarkhan or carpenter caste, who, on the night of the Dwali festival, will put away their tools and will not make use of them again until they have made to them due offerings of flowers and gar in the name of the god.

Of the minor avatars of this deity, the only noticeable ones are those of Narasingh, the man lion, who tore into pieces the tyrant Harnakas (Hicanaksipa) to save the pious Prahlad; and Parshuram, the axe-hero, who fell with such fury on the Khatri caste. The most

The Sat Narain of Rasulpur is nearly a cheta or Hindu who rides the fast of Sat Narain on the 18th day of the moon (paramaśaś).
popular incarnations are, however, of course those of Râmchandar and Krishna.

According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the various religious systems which prevailed in India in the fourth century B. C. included such sects as the Ajivakas and many others and those devoted to Vâsudeva, Bahdeva, Nâgas, Yakshas, Sunya, Indra, Brahmâ, Deva, Disâ and several others. The worship of Vâsudeva, placed by a Buddhist on the same plane as that of the elephant, the horse, the cow and other animals, was destined to become the predominant religion of a large part of India even to the supersession of that of fire, sun, moon and Brahmâ, as well as of animal-worship. Worshippers of Vâsudeva were called Bhâgavatas and their creed predominated in north-west India and was adopted even by Greeks. The etymological sense of Vâsudeva is given as one who covers the whole world and is the resting place, adhityas, of all beings. But the word may mean the 'son of Vâsudeva' and it would appear that in the Mâbhârata two accounts are interwoven. In the earlier one the Supreme God is Hari and his worship has not completely emancipated itself from the religion of sacrifices. The later account connects a reform in this direction with Vâsudeva and his brother, son and grandson and the new religion is represented to have been identical with that taught in the Bhagavad-Gîtâ and to have been promulgated by Náryâna himself. Possibly a religion of devotion had arisen yet earlier but only took definite shape when Vâsudeva revealed the Gîtâ to Arjuna. Vâsudeva's brother etc. were associated with him as his vâdyas, who presided over certain psychological categories and the reformed sect became conterminous with the race of the Sâtvatas, another name for the Vrishnis. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's conclusion is that the worship of Vâsudeva owed its origin to the same stream of thought which in the east culminated in Buddhism and Jainism.

But Vâsudeva soon came to be identified with Krishna and other names. The process by which this identification was made is obscure. Krishna was a râja, one of the composers of the Vedas, and Vâsudeva seems to have been identified with him and given a genealogy in the Vrishni race through Sûra and Vâsudeva, although Krishna's patronym was Angirasa and he appears to have founded the Kârshnâyana gotra, or 'collection of Krishnas'. The only possible explanation is that

1 Sir R. G. Bhandarkar does not suggest any connection with the king Vâsudeva of a later period. That king was a Kshatriya, whereas Vâsudeva, the worshipful, belonged to the Vrishni race: cfbid., p. 4. It would be interesting to know if the Brahmo Brahmans, who are still officiants at weddings among the Mahomedan Nâras in Jullundur, are in any way connected with Vâsudeva.
2 The Ajivikas were a sect of Brahman ascetics devoted to Nâryâna, as a form of Vishnu, according to Vincent Smith, Aesop, p. 246.
3 Other texts were the Jñâna or long-haired and the Nighântus: Grondin's, der Indische Aryische Philologie etc., Vrîshâkras, Kshatriyas etc., p. 2.
4 Bhandarkar, op. cit., pp. 58-9, where the story of Nîrada's visit to the 'white island' is given. But why should Kârshna be translated 'island'? In Sangaldrap it means of both a 'land between two rivers'.
5 Jánârâna and Kshâhav are the two others.
6 A Brahman gotra could be assumed for a scribal purpose by a Kshatriya. As the only real ancestors of the Kshatriyas were Mânavas, Ahus and Prumdravas (which rather seem to be patronyms derived from the names of rivers) and as these names did not distinguish one Kshatriya family from another, the priest's gotra and ancestors were assumed: ibid., p. 12.
Vásudeva assumed the title a Kárshnáyana and as such was called Krish- 
na though it was a Brahman-Páráshára gotra.

Just as Hari is older than Vásudeva so also is Náráyana or the 'place to which Nāda or a collection of Nādas go.' He is connected by 

tradition with the waters and the waters were called Náras or sons of 

Nara, and, since they were the resting place of Brahma and Hari; the 
two were called Náráyana. Another form of the tradition is that 

Brahmadeva sprang from the lotus in the navel of Náráyana or Vishnu. 

But whatever form it may take the tradition reproduces the Rig-Veda 

X, 88, 5 & 6, which runs:—'Prior to the sky, earth and living gods, 

what is that embryo which the waters held first and in which all the 
gods existed? The waters held that same embryo in which all the 
gods exist or find themselves; on the navel of the unborn stood some- 

thing in which all beings stood.' Here the embryo corresponds to the 

Brahma of the later tradition and the unborn to Náráyana. The heaven 

of this Náráyana was the Svetadvipa or 'white land' which Nárada 

visited to learn the monotheistic religion of Vásudeva. The sage Markan-
deya tells Ydhishthirá that Janárdana, or Vásudeva is Náráyana and 

this concludes the question of his identity. Like Vásudeva, Náráyana 
in his four forms Nara, Náráyana, Hari and Krishna, is the son of 

Dharma and his wife Ahimsa, a metaphorical way of saying that 

righteousness and the doctrine that life was sacred begat a protest 

against the old sacrificial rites and the killing of animals connected with 

them.

It remains to trace Vásudeva’s identification with the Vedic deity, 

Vishnu. In the Rig-Veda he measured the universe in three steps, the 

first two discernible by men, the third beyond their ken. Reverence for 

this third step raised Vishnu to a high position during the epic and 

Puranic period until three streams of religious thought, that flowing from 

the Vedic god Vishnu, that from the cosmic and philosophic god 

Náráyana and the third from the historical Vásudeva formed the later 

Vaishnavism.

Still later came the identification of Vásudeva Krishna with Gopála 

Krishna, the cow-herd god. No chapter in the history of Vaishnavism 

is more obscure than the process by which this was effected. The story 

of Krishna’s boyhood in the Gokula or cow-settlement was unknown to 

literature till about the beginning of the Christian era. The cow-herds 
lived in a ghaśa or encampment, as when they left Vraja and encamped 
in Vrindávana (Bindrában). Ghaśa is defined as Abhirapháli or the 

‘Abhir’s enclosure’ and the cow-herds thus seem to have been men of 

that race who occupied the country from Mekhuná near Mathura to 

the region about Dwárka. Mentioned in the Mahábhárata as having 
attacked Arjuna when he was taking the Vrishni women, whose males 
had been exterminated from Dwárka to Kurukshetra, they are described 
as Mlechha robbers living near Panchanáda, the Punjab. They must 

have immigrated into the country in the 1st century, bringing with 
them the worship of the boy-god and the story of his humble birth, his 

reputed father’s knowledge that he was not his son, and the massacre of 

the innocents. The stories of the Krishna’s boyhood, such as that of

1 S. Bhamákar, op. cit., p. 31.
Vishnu’s incarnations.

the slaying of the wild-ass demon, Dhenuka, were imported by the Ahirs, and it is just possible that they brought with them the name of Christ also, and this probably led to the identification of the boy-god with Vásudeva Krishna. Krishna dissuades his foster-father Nanda from celebrating a festival to Indra and induces him to worship the mount Govardhana instead. His dalliance with the gopis or cowherdesses was an aftergrowth.

Krishna’s cult name of Govind may have had one of two origins. In the form of Govind it was an epithet of Indra in the sense of “finder of cows”, and Govid may be a later form of that name. But it does not appear to have been bestowed on Krishna because of his having had to do with cows, for Govinda is said to have been so called because in the form of a bear he found the earth (go) in the waters. It would be quite in accordance with the laws of mythological evolution if Krishna took over Indra’s title of Govind when he supplanted him and if the legend of the Gokula and the gopis were then all developed to explain the name Govind or Govid by a pastoral people as the Ahirs were. The theory of a Christian origin for the name of Krishna and the massacre of the innocents overlooks the fact that in primitive folk-lore the father who is ignorant of his son’s existence and who takes steps to remove all children likely to be dangerous to himself is a stock character. We have another form of it in the legend that when the tyranny of the demon Kansa over the earth became intolerable she, in the form of a cow, complained to Indra who sought redress from Vishnu. The latter god plucked two hairs from his head, one white impersonated as Balaráma, the other black, as Krishna. Soon after when Kansa was driving the rishi Vásudeva and his wife Délokí in a chariot a voice thundered from the sky that the eighth child of the woman whom he was driving would take away his life. So Kansa slew all Délokí’s seven children, but Krishna, the eighth, was changed for the child of Nanda, the cow-herd, and he and his wife fled with the infant to Gokula, leaving their own child to be dashed against a stone by Kansa. And to this day the eighth child is unlucky to its father.

The Incarnations of Vishnu.—The incarnations (avatáras) of Nárayana or Vishnu are variously given. The original six appear to be the boar (Varáha), man-lion (Nrisinha), dwarf (Vámana) Ráma of the Bhrigu race and that assumed for the destruction of Kansa (Vásudeva-Krishna). Then to these were added Hamsa (the swan), Kurma (tortoise), Matsya (fish) and Kálikin, or future avatáras. The incarnations given however sometimes number as many as 23, and include sages like Nárada, Kapila, Dattatréya Rishabha, undoubtedly the Jain Tirthankara, Dhanvantari, the teacher of medicine, and the Budha. Finally ten incarnations seem to have been recognised as the orthodox number, and they were Matsya, Kárina, Varáha, Nrisinha, Vámana, Parasuráma, Rám Chandr, Krishna, Budha and Kálikin. These avatáras or descents are the distinctive feature of Vishnu who, whenever any great calamity overtook

1 A mound in the characteristic shape of this mound may sometimes be noticed near a village by the side of a road in the Panjab.
the sons of man or their progress was opposed by the asuras, came to earth in some form to rescue them and, his task fulfilled, returned to the skies. "Some of these are of an entirely cosmic character; others, however, are probably based on historical events. ..." The course of evolution is also through the lower forms of life to the lowest form of manhood and thence to semi-divine man.  

Ramchandra and Krishna.—The adoration of Rám is almost co-extensive with Hinduism. Every Hindu knows the main points in his history as told in the Rámdás. Every Hindu sees his triumph in the yearly festival of the Dusera; and the repetition of his name is the common method of salutation between Hindus all over India. Rám (or Ramchand, or Rámavtar, or Raghu Rám, or Raghnáth, as he is variously called) of Ayodhya or Oudh was the husband of Sita, the son-in-law of Janak, the brother of Lachman; and these names are not uncommonly mentioned along with his Sita especially is often worshipped in conjunction with Rám as Rádhá is with Krishna. Lachman, or Lachman Jati, the chaste, is supposed to have gained superhuman power by his austeritys, and his worship is especially popular in the central portions of the Punjab. His shrines are often attended by Musulman ministers.  

Krishn, as a hero of romance, is as well known as Rám, and though the actual worship of this incarnation is probably not as extensive as that of the other there are particular bodies of men who venerate Krishn with an exclusive devotion such as is not found in the worship of Rám.

The scripture most intimately connected with the worship of Krishn is the Bhágavat Gītā, in which he is the principal speaker. The country round Mathura and Bindrabhan and the holy shrines at Dwarka are the chief places of pilgrimage affected by his followers. Sri Krishnaj himself goes by many names. He is called Devkina-dev after his mother, Nand Lāl after his foster-father, and Vasdev after his real father. He is known also as Kesho or Smalji, or Muridhar, as Gwalji, or Gopál, the great herdsman, and as Raneen, the coward, from his Horatian discretion in the battle with Jassindha. He is worshipped also in connection with his brother Báldeo and his wife Rádhá; and one of the famous shrines of Rádhá and Krishn is probably that at Hodal in Gurgaon. Krishn is more particularly the patron of the Ahirs or cowherds; but his worship is also especially popular among the Bánias of the south-east and the Khatri of the Central Punjab.

Sir Denall Ibbetson did not classify the Hindu cults into Vaishnav and Shaiva. This was done by Sir Edward Maclagan and the
classification greatly aids us to understand the bewildering mass of
details which a study of Hinduism in the modern Punjab reveals.

Vishnu, the sole survivor of the great Vedic gods in the modern
Hindu pantheon, is essentially a personal god. Without dogmatising
or laying undue emphasis on certain points of difference we may say
that he is in marked contrast to Shiva because the latter is rather to
be regarded as a deification of the material universe than as a personal
god independent of that universe. Many qualifications must be under-
stood and many points of resemblance admitted in thus distinguishing
the conception of Vishnu from that of Shiva, but fundamentally it will
be seen that the distinction is the key-note to much that is elusive in the
two creeds. Vishnu as a personal god is the creator, loving and
compassionate. Shiva is the destroyer, as well as the creator.

In speaking of the Vaishnava cults it must be borne in mind that
there are two Krishnas—one of Dwārka, who was a great nature-god
of immemorial antiquity, worshipped in the Kābul mountains and the
Indus valley; the other the child Krishna. And in the Krishna of
Dwārka again three Krishnas can be traced: (i) there is the chief
of Dwārka, whom the bards of the Mahābhārata compliment with the
rank of a Yādava, though he is clearly a dark-skinned indigenous hero
of the lower Indus at a time when the Indus valley was a land of
degraded Aryas, Shūdras and Aūdhras, and the Kahatriyas were far
inferior to those whom Parasurāma had destroyed.

(ii) As a god the dark Krishna is associated with his elder brother
the white Balarāma, but in spite of his immemorial antiquity as a great
god on the North-West Frontier he appears in what looks like a
description of a historical siege of the city of the Dāitya king Shālwa.

(iii) The original Krishna of the Indus valley underwent a gradual
fusion, at first with Indra and then with the Vedic Vishnu. Though
called Upendra, or the lesser Indra, and Govinda, or the herdsman of
the rain-clouds, his final development came from the purely Aryan
Vishnu, but was not completed till 400 A. D. He is identified with
almost complete certainty as the Indian Dionysos who was wor-
shipped in the hills and the Indus valley as well as in the regions
north and north-west of the Indus, i.e. in Ariane, and possibly in
Bactria also.

The child Krishna of Mathura first makes his appearance at the
end of the 5th or early in the 6th century A. D.

The modern Hindu doctrine of works merits notice. As it is
assumed as the basis of the doctrine of bhakti that faith, and faith
alone, can save a man, the question naturally arises as to what relation
his good or evil works bear to his salvation. This question is mixed up
with the puzzle of predestination, which has given birth to two schools,
the 'cat'-school which teaches that Bhāgavat saves the soul as a cat
takes up its kitten, without free-will on the latter's part, and the
'monkey'-school which declares that in order to be saved the soul must

1 Sir George Grierson, The Modern Hindu Doctrine of Works, in J. R. A. S., 1908,
p. 557 et seqg.
reach out and embrace Bhágavat, as a young monkey clings to its mother. Nearly all the bhakti sects of Northern India are followers of the latter school and naturally investigate the problem of works. Their answer to it is that good works which are disinterested produce bhakti; and that it is bhakti, not the works themselves, which wins release from the weary round of endless births and re-births.

The Bhágavatas have taken the old Brahmanical system of ten anyátras and largely developed it. Usually translated 'incarnation', anyátra has a much wider significance from their point of view and may be translated "descent." The Supreme, as Avalóśin or Descender, descends in one of four characters as (1) a Víbhó or Víbhóva Anyátra, (2) an Anyátrai or (4) Arádh Anyátra. Of these the Víbhó Anyátras interest us more for the present purpose which is to show how the bhakti sects reconcile their tenets with the older Hinduism. These Anyátras may be Párna, 'Complete,' as were Ráma-Chandra, Krishna, the Man-lion and, according to some, the Dwarf; or they may be Anu, 'partial,' as were the Fish, the Bear, the Tortoise, the Dwarf, Hari, Hayagriva, Dhruva's Boon-giver, Nára-Nárâyana, and perhaps Kapila, or they may be Kála, 'fractional,' as were the Swan, Datta, Kapila, Sanaka and his brethren, with perhaps Kalki, and Dhanvantari. All these are Mukhya or principal Anyátras.

Another class of Anyátras is called Gánu or subordinate. It includes Shakti, 'Power' or Kárya, 'purpose'; and Avesha, 'taking possession' Anyátras. Such are Párašu-Ráma, the Buddha, Kalki, Manvantara, the Vyáasa, Prithu, Yajna. Risábha, Dhanvantari, Mahá, Lakshmi-nivasa, and others. As the Bhágavata faith was originally propounded by Kshatriyas its followers naturally relegate Párašu-Ráma, the exterminator of the Kshatriya 'race,' to a very subordinate place in the series of Anyátras.

The Víbhó Anyátras or Governance Descents include Brahma, Nárada, Shiva, Manu, Súryaambhuva, Ráma-nanda, and others.

Descent as an image or Arádh Anyátra is based on the theory that an idol, murti, is merely stone or metal until it is consecrated. It then becomes a descent of the Supreme for worship.

Thus the Bhágavata Víbhó descends alone number 24, as against the 10 anyátras of the Brahmanical system, which they place first. Space precludes fuller description of them, but they include the Hansa or Swan from whom three of the four great modern Bhakti-apostles trace their spiritual descent. The Swan taught Sanaka and his brethren who taught Nárada (whom some identify with the Swan), who taught Nimbórka, the founder of the oldest, the Nimbót, church of modern Bhágavatism. The Swan also taught Bráhma who taught Suddhá, who taught Nara-

2 Id., p. 635.
3 Id., p. 637.

*Sanakádi is the collective term for Sanaka, Sanandá, Sanatana and Sanat-kumára, the four mind-born sons of Brähma. They enjoyed perpetual youth and innocence, and hence this incarnation is known as the Káma-átra, from Káma, a youth. They are sometimes called the four "Sanás." *th., p. 634.
bhāri, who taught Madhva, founder of the Madhva-chāri church. Shiva who is the object of great veneration amongst all Bhāgavatas, taught Nārada, who taught the Vyāsa of the Veda, who taught Shukra, who taught Vishnuśvarīma, who taught Paramāṇa. Forty-eighth in spiritual descent from him Vishnuśvarīma was born again and then became the real founder of the Rudra sampradāya or Rudra church.1

Shiva is regarded as himself the first or primeval bhākta or "faithful" devotee by the Bhāgavatas.2

Bhāgavatas also admit that Shiva became incarnate as Sankara-chārya, the great teacher of the Advaita system of philosophy. As this doctrine is radically opposed to the central tenets of the Bhāgavata cult, Shiva's connexion is got over by explaining that when the world was filled with Buddhism and other forms of false religion, the Adorable appeared to Shiva, directing him to become incarnate and to preach a doctrine invented by himself (Shiva), so as to turn people from the Adorable and to manifest His glory by the consequent destruction of unbelievers.

The commentators on the Bhākta-māla tell two stories which they say are not genernlly known, but which illustrate Shiva's bhākta towards the Adorable. Herewith is given a free translation of Priya-dāsa's version of these, filling up lacunae from the commentary of Bhagawan Prasada and from the Bhākta-premākara of Kirti Simha. The latter tells the legends at greater length and in full detail.3

Sati, the wife of Sankara (Shiva), once, under the influence of delusion, asked why, if Rāma (an incarnation of the Adorable4) were really the Supreme Deity, he was wandering about in the desert distraught at the loss of Sītā. Shiva warned her against such irreverent thoughts, but without success, and she went forth to test Rāma's divine knowledge. As she departed Shiva cautioned her to be careful as to what she did. In spite of this Sati took Sītā's own form, and, so far as she could imagine, made herself Sītā's exact image. She approached Rāma as he was wandering in the forest, but he at once saw that she was not his beloved and would not speak to her. Sati returned to heaven and told this to Shiva, who became greatly distressed, and reproached her with having ventured to take the form of the special object of his loving worship, Sītā, the divine spouse of the incarnate Adorable. Thereafter he refused to treat Sati as his wife or to be reconciled to her so long as she remained in her then birth. Sati accordingly destroyed herself by becoming 'suttee' at Daksha's sacrifice,5 and being born again as Pārvati was in due course wedded to Shiva. Priya-dāsa adds to this story that it is very dear to him and that he sings it with especial delight.

The other legend is that one day Shiva and Pārvati went out riding on the bull Nandi to visit the earth. On the way as they passed two

1 J. R. A. S., 1900, p. 639.
2 cf., p. 630.
3 cf., p. 640.
4 A parallel to 'He saved others, himself he cannot save'
5 Most Vaishnav sects worship Sītā as an incarnation of the Adorable, as well as Rāma. According to the usual account Sati killed herself because Daksha abused Shiva, her husband, whom he had not invited to the sacrifice.
mounds where there had once been villages, long since fallen to ruin, Shiva dismounted, and bowed himself to each. Pārvati asked him to whom he paid reverence as there was no one in sight. He replied:

"Dearest, on one of these mounds there dwelt 10,000 years ago one who loved Rāma and Śītā, and who was supremely faithful (bhakta), and on the other, 10,000 years hence, will there be another king of bhaktas. For this reason both these places are to be highly revered by me." Pārvati heard these words and kept them in her heart. Therefrom her affection for bhaktas increased beyond limit, so that now it cannot even be described. Yes, the white garment of her heart is dyed deep with love for them.

With the Vībhūti Avatāra Rāmānanda we enter the domain of history. He founded the Rāmāvat sect of Rāmānuja's Śrī Saṃpradāya and to him Northern India really owes its conversion to modern Bhāgavatism.

The following is a list of some of the principal Vaishnava shrines in Kāṅgṛa:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The mandir of Thākur Brij Rāi in Nūrpur was founded by Bājā Jagat Singh of Nūrpur some 450 years ago. He composed Chatur-gaṛth and then brought the Thākur's image.</th>
<th>Brahman, got Kāshṭab.</th>
<th>Three fairs are annually held in Jeth, Mār and Bhādun on Nārāsingh chandar, nirjala akāndīr, and janam akāndīr.</th>
<th>The temple contains a black stone image of the Thākur, 5 ft. high, and one of Lachmi, 3 ft. high. Bhog is offered a time a day and consists of fruits, sugar, rice or bread. A sacred lamp, in which gāh is burnt, is lit daily in the evening. No distinction is made in the offerings of Hindus.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Thākur Madan Mohan at Nūrpur was founded by Bājā Madan Mohan nearly 1000 years ago. Blānkār Śwāmī used to pay his devotions here.</td>
<td>A Satīřa, got Dāchāri who lives in the village.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Rise in the morning and fried things in the evening form the sacramental food. A sacred lamp is lit in the evening. The temple which is in bad repair contains a black marble image of the Thākur and a brass image of Blānkār both 2½ feet high.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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1 J. B. A. S., 1909, p. 642.

2 Connected with this are the shrines of Rām Chandāl, Lachmi Nārāsin, Ambākā and Čaundar. The first contains images of Rām Chandāl and Śītā, Lachmu and Hanumān, all of marble, set on a stone 6 feet high. The second Lachmi and Nārāsin—of black stone each a foot high. The third 3 images, between 1½ and 2½ feet high and the fourth a carving 2½ feet high. Four pāndārs are in charge of these temples—caste Brahman, got Sārāṭā.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kidar Nath at Shurah</td>
<td>People gather on 20th Jeth and make offerings of what at every harvest.</td>
<td>The temple contains a black stone-plaf of Bajri, 14 foot high and 1/2 foot in circumference. Worship is performed twice a day, rice or bread being offered at bhog morning and evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidar Nath’s mandir at</td>
<td>A Girl Godin, got Bilingan</td>
<td>It contains a black stone-image one foot high and 1/2 foot in circumference. Bhog of fruit or sugar is offered in the morning and bread or rice is used as such in the evening. Bread fried in gat in the morning and fried gram in the evening is offered as bag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahura</td>
<td></td>
<td>The temple contains images of Narsingh and Lakshmi, engraved on a stone slab which is one cubit square. A sketched picture containing a plaf of Shiva is connected with it, in which occasion worship is performed. Bread in the morning and soaked gram in the evening are offered as bag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Rihlu Chitrachh Narsingh</td>
<td></td>
<td>The old image of Lakshmi Narsingh has been replaced by one of Gauri Shankar engraved on a black stone slab, 1/2 cubits long by 1 cubit wide. Worship is performed only in the morning, when gram or fruit is offered as bag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laxmi Narsingh at Gharch</td>
<td>A Dechait Brahman by gotar a Bhabat.</td>
<td>It contains marble images of Rishu and Krishna which are 1 foot high. The temple is 15 cubits high. Worship is performed morning and evening. Pudi in the morning and fried gram in the evening form the bhoog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Laxmi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Worship is only performed in the morning when milk, peps or fruit is offered as bhoog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narsingh in Sangam on the</td>
<td>A Brahman, caste Didad, got Kushal.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ban Ganga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandir or Bakhadawara</td>
<td>A Brahman, caste, Lakhota, got Sandal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balkapi at Ujjain</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mandir, Gaushal Jh in</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dautaspur, The building</td>
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<tr>
<td>which is in a dilapidated</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>condition stands on a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>platform called tiwana</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
In the Kânga District about two-thirds of the women, and some of the men believe in Nârsingh. It is said that he gives sons and assists in all difficulties. His worshippers keep a nārjil (cocoanut) and chandan (sandal-wood) paste. Every Sunday or on the first Sunday of each Hindu month they worship him by putting the nārjil on a brass plate (thāli), first washing it with fresh water. Then they put a tilaka of the chandan on it, just as Brahmans mark their foreheads, and then an aśhkat of as much washed rice as will stay on three fingers of the right hand i.e., on the thumb, first and second or middle finger. When this is done they adorn the nārjil with flowers, and then burn some ākāra (Dolomitea macrocephala), besprinkled with powdered camphor, sandalwood, almonds and spices. It is made into pastilles, and when burnt emits a pleasant odour. The nārjil is then worshipped as Nârsingh and the sweetmeats offered to it are subsequently distributed to the children and other members of the household and to the neighbours. Nârsingh's worshippers also wear a bahuta (amulet), containing a picture of him in the form of a man. This bahuta is of silver, and is worshipped like the nārjil. A ring, generally made of silver with a projection towards the nail, is also worn on the little finger in his honour and it too is worshipped. A special costume is also worn during this worship. When a mother or mother-in-law worships Nârsingh, her daughter or daughter-in-law must also do so. Barren women consulting a chela or a yogi are usually advised to worship Nârsingh for offspring. He is believed to cohabit with women in their dreams in the form of a Brahman and aged from 12 to 20 years, and clothed in white. When a woman is sick a chela is sent for to charm away her illness. If he says that Nârsingh's anger has caused it he orders a baithak. If she do not happen to have a bahuta, or the proper rings or clothes or a nārjil, the chela orders any of them that may be lacking to be procured before performing the baithak. The baithak ceremony is as follows:—On a Sunday, or any other fixed day, the chela comes with a baïtri or singer of sacred songs, who plays on a dopatra, an instrument made of two lambas (ascetic's bowls) connected by a bamboo rod. A wire runs along this rod fastened to its extremities so as to give out a sound when twanged. The baïtri sings his song and the chela repeats his magic words, and then Nârsingh comes and shakes the woman's body or of the chela. The tremors last two hours or more, during which time the man or woman into whom the spirit has entered tells the fortunes of those attending the baithak. They are usually told to worship some deity who will cure the sick woman. While the patient or the chela keeps shivering with the force of the spirit in him, the baïtri sings an incantation, accompanying himself on the dopatra. The following is its translation:—

1. O friend born at the fort of Mathura, that wert incarnate in Gokul.

Refrain.

O my Nârsingh, O great Naranjan!
O thou that hast captivated me (bis);
O thou that hast captivated the whole world;
O my Nârsingh, O my Lord Naranjan.
2. O friend, son of Vásudeva, child of Yasodha.
3. Where the maids and virgins are, there is thy home.
4. Thy home is in the mangoes, in young mangoes, in wells and in tanks.
5. Thy home is in the pipals, in young pipals and the jasmines.
6. Red as red can be is thy turban flowered and crested, fine the robes on thy body.¹

In Kulu Nársingh is regarded as one of the most potent demons of those spirit-haunted hills. He dwells in abandoned houses and in flower gardens, as well as in large temples, and is said to affect women and children more at night and noon-tide than at any other time. To cure one so affected a goat is sacrificed to him and sweet bread and a garland of flowers are offered. He is also made the patient's brother in this wise: a Brahman is given a turban and called Nársingh; and he treats the afflicted woman as his own sister. Thenceforth he and Nársingh are both regarded as her brothers. When Nársingh cohabits with women in dreams he is said to wear white garments, but his usual dress is a white āhōṭi and a tārōba, and he carries a coconut hūgga. This cult is special, if not restricted, to the twice-born castes.

At Nagar in Suket Nársingh is worshipped under the name of Pákhaṇ, whose idol resembles those of Sālig Rām to be found in Panjab temples and is kept in a locked cofen in which there is a narrow hole through which Pákhaṇ may be seen, but permission to look upon him has to be obtained from the State and even the gujār who bathes and feeds him has to keep him eyes closed and his face averted from him. It is dangerous to gaze upon him and a sādhu who was once allowed to do so died and thieves who stole from his temple were struck blind.² In Mandi Nársingh is found in temples to Gūgas with many other deities.³

Other spirits classed with Nársingh are Kalia Bīr, Dakni, Shamshān ōhōṭi and Banahera. All these seem to have the power of assuming any shape or costume. They cause madness and disease, and to get rid of them spells are obtained from sorcerers and sādhu as well as from Brahmanas and the doōda themselves.

Kalia Bīr seems to be the same as Kala Bīr, Kala-bāhān or Kala Bhaïronic. He will possess any one with whom he is wrath but as a rule he will not affect a man until he is irritated by his sādha (? ) against him and then he will sometimes kill him. He can be propitiated by sacrificing a sheep etc. When he is a-hunting it is dangerous to see him as a sight of him causes possession by an evil spirit.

Nársingh photār, at the petrifying spring and cascade in the Katha gorge in the Salt Range, is a place of pilgrimage.

¹ "Anār. Singh is the Nriṁśa arādra of Vishnu, but the above song is to Kṛṣṇa, some verses of which are commonly sung all over the Panjab at the Rās Līla, which commemorates the dance of Kṛṣṇa with the Gāpis. This mixing up of the Nriṁśa and Kṛṣṇa arādra of Vishnu is very curious."—P. N. Q. J. s. 88, 757. But this note confuses Nārsingh with Nārsingh who is the Man-Līna incarnation of Vishnu. In Chamba Nārsingh is regarded as the snake of Gūga (Shamshān and the idea that he is identical with Nārsingh is ridiculous.
² Suket Gazetteer, p. 22.
³ Mandi Gazetteer, p. 30.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Pujaří.</th>
<th>Date of fair.</th>
<th>Riteal offerings &amp;c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amārān</td>
<td>Brahmān, Rāmacūri by got and Gurg by gotra.</td>
<td>Rādi akhṭāmi in Bhādorn.</td>
<td>As ḅhāgo, any food prepared by the pujaři, twice a day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shālpur</td>
<td>Balṛgo-Achhūt.</td>
<td>Joam akhṭāmi</td>
<td>Food cooked by the pujaři as ḅhāgo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrī founded in the time of Rājā Umēl Singh of Chamba, 150 years ago.</td>
<td>Brahmān-Koshal.</td>
<td>None, but at the jaimān akhṭāmi people collect and the idol is placed in a got (cradle) and worshipped.</td>
<td>Bolled rice in the morning, and bread in evening as ḅhāgo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tīrī</td>
<td>Brahmān—A Khāmīnī by got and by gotōgo Kresh.</td>
<td>No fair, but same rite is observed.</td>
<td>Same, fruit being offered as ḅhāgo during a fast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rīhū, founded by a Brahmān over 100 years ago when Rīhū was a part of Chamba.</td>
<td>A Khāmīnī Brahman, Kāśip got (etc).</td>
<td>Same rite. This temple also contains a relief of Lāchhun.</td>
<td>Bread or rice in the morning and soaked gram in the evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghanākāra, built 7 generations ago in time of Rājā Partāp Singh Ghanākāra.</td>
<td>Brahmān, got Chhēṭān. and gotōg Balas.</td>
<td>Some 20 years ago Nāśīṅg bā’s image was thrown into a stream and replaced by one of Lācēlēmī Nāśīṅg, carved in relief on a slab with Sheshāṅg on one side and two boys on the other.</td>
<td>It contains images of Rām Cān, Ḍālā and Krishna, a pīṇḍ and a crane, made of marble and in height from one to two feet, Eleven lamps in which ghūr is burnt are lit every evening. Muhammadans, Chamārs and other low castes are not allowed to make offerings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The temple of Thākur Nāśīṅg in Fatehpur was founded by Mahāt Mahān Dās, a man endowed with power to work miracles. He brought a stone pīśā from the Deccan which he enshrined in this temple 500 years ago.
VAISHNAVA CULTS IN THE HIMALAYAS.

In the Sirnum State, Punjab, the Hindus have two chief cults, one Vaishnava, the other Saiva. The former of these two is represented by the cult of Parsa Ram and his derivative deities, which centres in Ranikâ-fio, in the Bâinka tahsil of the State at a great lake. Parsa Ram's brothers are usually supposed to have become water, but, according to one local variant, Jambâgga called his brothers cowards and turned them into women, so that now they are dévis or goddesses, to wit: Lâ Devi, Dornai, Bhâdwaâchri or Bhâdâkâlî, and Kamlî, all of whom have temples in the State. The local cult and ritual of Parsa Ram are described in the Gazetteer of Sirnum, 1904, and to that description may be added the following mantra or prayer, and the habit or costume which are given below:—

TRANSLATION.

The story of Sri Raghunath of the thousand names, by whose grace we sing the praises of Hari.

Om! Om! Om! The stainless light of the letter Om! From the light the navel, from the navel the lotus, from the lotus was born Brahmâ. He took his staff and bowl and went to bath. Shankâsûr, the Dânâ, was born.


2. Ji is apparently an old form of ji, and the localised form of the legend runs that Jambâgga Ramâji used to practice austerities at a spot called Jambu-khâchar, near Jambu, where a mitra or temple still exists at the spot where the rishis had his abode or fire. The yajûs of Jambu still exists this mitra every Sunday and Diwâlî day to worship there. Jambâggaâ's wife, Bâinka Ji, had a sister Bâinka who was married to Bajâ Sahasrârkâh (of the thousand arms), and once when rishis celebrated a jâr, Bâinka asked Bâinka to invite her to it. Bâinka begged the rishis to do so, but at first he refused, because he could not afford to entertain a rûf and his queen. He yielded, however, to Bâinka's reiterated request and asked the God Indra to grant him Kâmâsû, the cow of plenty, Kupî-lokhâh, the tree of paradise which yielded all manner of gifts, and Kûrû, Bândaâ, the celestial steward who could supply all kinds of burnum. When the rûf arrived with all his court and the cow of plenty, the rûf was thus enabled to entertain him sumptuously, and the rûf was so mystified as to the source of the rûf's wealth, that he decided his ha-ha to find out where it came. Learning that Kâmâsû was the main source of supply, the rûf asked for the cow as a gift, which the rishis refused, and so the rûf determined to take her by force, but the rûf sent her into the sky to Indra. Thenupon the rûf shot an arrow at the cow and wounded her in the feet, so the cow returned and attacked him. The rûf attributing this to the rûf's enmity, put him to death and returned home. Bâinka, taking the rûf's body in her lap, was bewailing his death, when she was divinely told that Kubér, Bândaâ, had the amrâ or elixir of life, and that a drop of it placed in the dead rûf's mouth would bring him back to life. So the rûf was restored to life and ordered his younger son to kill Bâinka, thinking that she had incited his murder with intention of marrying Sahasrârkâh, but they refused. Then the rûf summoned Parsa Ramâ, his eldest son, who was then procuring authorities in the Kothan, and who appeared in an instant. Parsa Ramâ killed his mother and then, in consequence, of the divine curse which fell upon him, went to the plains (dâs), and swore to kill all the Chhatris and to swim in their blood, desiring Sahasrârkâh the cause of all his misery. Waging his war of extermination against the Chhatris he had reached Kurâkâl, where Indra learnt what bloodshed he was causing in fulfilment of his oath and sent rain until the water rose to the height of man, and caused the upper currents to turn red. Meanwhile Jamâgga had been searching for his son and, meeting him with his axe on his shoulders, was so pleased with his performance, that he asked if he had any desire. Parsa Ramâ in reply begged his father to restore his mother and brethren to life, and performed his mother's funeral rites. The rûf replied that his wife and sons had become just serpents or water, and that the former was in the pasture and the latter in the tanks at Ranika.

1. c. 2, first came the stainless light.

2. c. the dead and kashmâridcarried by fajbir.
Brahmá then taught the Védas, and for that purpose Brahmá went to Siva's abode. (Said he): "Shivji, thou art the slayer, thou art the Creator, thou knowest the meaning of the Four Védas."

Said Mahádev (Siva): "I meditate on the virtues (of God), I ask alms, I repeat (the name) of Hari (Vishnu). He is the slayer! He is the Creator! He knows the meaning of the Four Védas.

"For this he first assumed the Machh (Fish) incarnation. The mother of the Fish was Shankháwatí, the father Purav Rishi, the teacher Mándhátá, the birth-place Mánasávar (Lake). He slew Shankhásur, the Dánava.

"Secondly, Náráin (Vishnu) assumed the Kurm (Tortoise) Incarnation. The mother of the Tortoise was Karnáwatí, the father Bilochan Rishi, the teacher Dhagisat Báwá Rishi, the birth-place Dhangaipurí. He slew Mándho Kínav, the Dánava.

"Thirdly, he assumed the Barshróp (Boar) Incarnation. The mother of the Boar was Lítáwatí, the father Kául Rishi, the teacher Sahaj Rishi, the birth-place Kanakpur. He slew Hírnákásháp, the Dánava.

"Fourthly, Náráin (Vishnu) assumed the Nársungh (Man-lion) Incarnation. The mother of the Man-lion was Chandráwatí, the father Hari-brahm Rishi, the teacher Káshi Rishi, the birth-place Multánpurí. He slew Hírnákhásh, the Dánava.

"Fifth, Náráin (Vishnu) assumed the Báwan Incarnation. The mother of the Báwan was Lángáwatí, the father Bilochan Rishi, the teacher Káshap Rishi, the birth-place Banáres. He deceived Baháji and slew him.

"Sixth, Náráin (Vishnu) assumed the Parás Rámjí Incarnation. The mother of Paras Rámjí was Rainkáji, the father Jâmagganji, the teacher Agást Munji, the birth-place Kópalpurí. He slew Sakásár-báhu, the Dánava.

"Seventh, he assumed the Srí Rámancārdarji Incarnation. The mother of Rám Chandurjí was Káushalyá, the father Dásrath, the teacher Bashisht Muní, the birth-place Ajúdháipurí. He slew Dásür Ráwan.

"Eighth, Srí Náráin (Vishnu) assumed the Krishna Incarnation. The mother of Krishna was Dewá, the father Básdev, the teacher Durbáshá Rishi, the birth-place Mathorápurí. He slew Kanásúr.

"Ninthly, Náráin (Vishnu) assumed the Búdh-rúp (Buddha) Incarnation. The mother of Búdh was Pamánwatí, the father Bilochan Rishi, the teacher Dhagisat Bánd Rishi, the birth-place Párotampurí. He slew Gayásur, the Dánava.

"Tenthly, Náráin (Vishnu) will assume the tenth Incarnation. When will he assume it? Now! he will assume it in the month of Mógh, in the light half, in the Réwati Nakshastra, on Saturday, the

At the following conjunction of the stars.
The cult of Paras Rám.

18th of the month. He will be a man thirty-two yards in (height), his sword will be eighteen yards (long), his swish will be nine yards (long). It will rain heavily. White his horse, white his saddle, heavy clouds about him, an umbrella over his head. Salt water will become sweet. The elephant will give milk. Sour milk will become sweet. The mother of Nishkalank is Matangi, the father Dhanuk Rishi, the teacher Sahaj-rūp Rishi, the birth-place Sambhālāngri. He slays Nishkalank (2), the Dānav.

The following are some of the couplets or kābīts addressed to Paras Rám at Rainkā-ji:

The KĀBĪTS.

1
Parbat chār toī būnde nīr gharā jahān bhar mand hai,
Bāddhā bharth dhīs̄om kalāh jahān par chand hai.
The hill was broken, and the lake made full of deep water,
Kings and the poor worship (there), and the miracle is
known far and wide.

2
Ashānā kitā pāp jāt, dhānā kitā tāp jāt,
Darbān kitā sāp jāt, majā jahān aśā akkanē hai.
By bathing sins fly away, by devoutly meditating trouble
flies,
By looking at (it) curses depart, where such prosperity is?

3
Cahan samān kūhā jahān,
Kanchan samān pākhān jahān,
Shīr samān nīr jahān, aśā udbhat mand hai.
Wood is like sandal,
Stone like gold,
and water like milk at this wondrous place.

4
Rainkā samān tīrath nahi, lēk tari lēk bhumān me,
Ompat jagah bhi kito chārōn tarā jahān ban khand hai.
There is no place so sacred as Rainkā,
The place that is holy and densely wooded all round.

5
Kīnā hi tīrath bāst aśā, vāhīta hai utyān,
Jinko sahāna kordh phāsum ko baddhār gand hai.
Some pilgrims are so foolish,
That to bathe is to them as great a penalty as hanging.
The name of the Tenth incarnation.
Vishnu in Kulu.

6

Man men dhidwe aur kdn mukh se bele jai Paras Ram,
Din rats pare karan dard, kinkar darshan karan zehr hai.

They are thinking of other things, while with their lips they say 'Jai Pars Ram.'

They take their ease night and day, but to visit a temple is poison to them.

7

Kahe Dekh Hirir Lal, men pdpi khd chhor khial,
Hot Pars Ram didi, Jin par unki mihr hai.

Says Dewa Lal, 'Take no thought of your sin,
Puras Ram favours those to whom he is gracious.

The following list shows how numerous and important the Vishnu temples are in Kulu and the variations in the dates on which the fairs and festivals are held:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deota Nârâîn</th>
<th>Gawanego Pâra</th>
<th>Either on Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, or Saturday in the light half of Phâgan and Sâwan. A large fair is held every 12th year.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ditto (a)</td>
<td>Pâra Nârâîn</td>
<td>On the 3rd, 5th or 7th of the light half of Sâwan and Phâgan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Pâra Baksola in Baksola.</td>
<td>1st, 3rd and 5th Balâskh, and 1st to 7th Magh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto (b)</td>
<td>No special name. In Damehlin.</td>
<td>Full moon day of Maghar, 9th, 15th and 16th of Bhâdon and 2nd, 15th and 16th of Phâgan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Lachhmi Nârâîn</td>
<td>Nârâîn Sari</td>
<td>1st Phâgan, in Chet, 1st to 11th and 21st Balâskh, 1st Jeâh, 7th Har, in Sâwan, during the Anant Chandan, 1st Asan, in Har, 1st Maghar, and 1st Poh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto (c)</td>
<td>Pâra Nârâîn Nâbi in Bhallan. Also called Pâra Bhallan.</td>
<td>1st, 9th and 11th Phâgan, 1st to 5th Balâskh, 6th and 14th Balâskh, 18th Balâskh, 1st to 6th Sâwan, 7th, 9th or 11th Bhâdon, in Bhâdon, 1st Asan, 1st Maghar, and 1st Poh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thâkur Lachhmi Nârâîn</td>
<td>Lachhmi Nârâîn</td>
<td>Third of the lunar month of Poh.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. For some further notes on Nârâîn etc. in Kulu see under Hinduism in the Himalayas.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temple Name</th>
<th>Festival Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thakur Lachhmí Nárál</td>
<td>Râm Naumî, Jumâm Ashtam, Dasehân, Jâl Bûhar, Bûm Bûchâr, Dîwâlî, Anku, Nárâsingh, Chaundâ Phág, Parî Bhikhamî and Utran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>No particular name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Lachhmí Nárál</td>
<td>Kharumul and Bâlâdhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daulâtu Nárál</td>
<td>Pera Bhalta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Chogari Nárál</td>
<td>Chagari dera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakur Chhamaini Nárál</td>
<td>Pera Chhamaini Nárál</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harangut Nárál</td>
<td>Pera Ghâlâyâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Helâb Nárál</td>
<td>Narainî Pera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Karhahl Narái(e)</td>
<td>Kalam Pera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karol Nárâlu(f)</td>
<td>Naraini Pera in K. Tarapur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Kasoli Nárâlu</td>
<td>Kasoli Nâradî in K. Kaushwar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Kesbo Nárâlu</td>
<td>Dharâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Khalsri Nárâlu</td>
<td>Pera Khalsri Nárâlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalaini Nárâlu</td>
<td>Pera Phallan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Sammou Nárâlu</td>
<td>Phallâmi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) Two temples and a bhânda are connected with this. The bhânda and one temple are in Garaliing village and the other temple in Rajang.

(f) The temples of the goddesses Nasti Holâ Mâlâjâni and Phungnâi are connected with this. The expenses of their worship are borne by the god himself.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deota Sapurna Nárâin or Sapat Rikhî (g).</th>
<th>Dēu</th>
<th>5th Baisakh and 8th Chet.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deota Sarashti Nárâin</td>
<td>Bāst Katōn</td>
<td>First Sunday in Phāgan, on the beginning of the new year and on the Dēnguri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siam Nárâin</td>
<td>Pers Siam Nárâin</td>
<td>On the dēđōk̚ of the dark half of Phāgan. Another on the 1st half of Amāl lasts for three days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Sīkhi Nárâin (b)</td>
<td>Nāgī Pers</td>
<td>1st of Baisakh, 7th of Sawān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākūr Tājgōjī Nárâin (k)</td>
<td>Tarjōgī Nárâin</td>
<td>13th Hār, Rām Namūl in Baisakh, Janam Ashōtim in Bhādon, Holi in Phāgan, Ankūṭa and Dewāī in Kātak; also a yag every 2nd year on 16th Hār.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Nárâin Lapa</td>
<td>Deota Nárâin</td>
<td>8th and 10th Sawān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Nárâin Māha</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Phāgan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Nárâin Pulga</td>
<td>Pers</td>
<td>1st of Jeṭh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākūr Chatar Bīj in Koṭhi Dūgī Lag</td>
<td>Thākūr Dāwāla Dūgī Lag</td>
<td>On the full moon days of Phāgan and Chet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākūr Gōpāl</td>
<td>Thākūr Dāwāla Sarsī</td>
<td>Jagari fair for half a day, 3rd light half of the month of Chet, Uchehā 3rd Namūl one day in the month of Chet, Uchehā Janam Ashōtim one day in the month of Bhādon, Ankūṭa Dip Māla for two days on the Amāl-was of the light half of Kātak; Uchehā Phāg one day in Phāgan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Gōpāl Jī</td>
<td>Kūstār Pers</td>
<td>One festival in the month of Chet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Hari Nárâin (j)</td>
<td>Pers Nárâin</td>
<td>Full moon day of Maghar, on the 9th, 10th and 16th of Bhādon and on the 9th, 15th and 16th of Phāgan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākūr Jagān Nāth</td>
<td>Jagār Nāth ra Dāwāta</td>
<td>Namūl of Chet, on the Janam Ashōtim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākūr Mālhe Rai (k)</td>
<td>Thākūr Dāwāla Ṣārī</td>
<td>Dāsmāra for 6 days, Bāmānt, Panchamā for 1 day, birthday of Bāmānt 1 day, Dev Saiñ on Ṣādōk̚, Janam Ashōtim for two days, Holi for 8 days, Dip Māla of Ṣādōk̚, Ankūṭa for 1 day.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(g) Besides this there is another temple belonging to this god in Bāṛgōjī Nárâin. The ceremonies performed at these places are the same.

(b) A temple of the god Manu Rikhī is connected with this and is situated in Bhatī village. Manu Rikhī came to Mandī in the guise of a Jāgīrī. He saw a woman named Gnari Manī and the Rikhī asked her for milk. She replied, 'My cow has gone to graze in the jungle I cannot get you milk at present.' The Rikhī lied to her, 'Milk these calves,' she did so and from them drew milk which the Rikhī drank. He displayed another miracle by killing a demon who lived in the village. Seeing this the people began to believe in him and built him a temple. The putōrī is a Rakat of the Kāthab got.

(i) Close to the big temple there is a smaller one.

(j) Another temple of this god in Kokārī village is connected with this.

(k) A temple of the goddess Bhalamāsān is connected with this.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thākur: Murlōdhār and Chatar Chug (J)</th>
<th>Two temples which bear the names of the duties to whom they are dedicated</th>
<th>Ninth of Asuṇj and lasts till full moon-light half of Māgh for one day, one day in the light half of Phāgon, and one in Jēth.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Murlōdhār Ji</td>
<td>Name of the god</td>
<td>Dasēhra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Murlōdhār attached to Rām Chandr J</td>
<td>Murlōdhār</td>
<td>No fair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Har Śinh Ji (sa)</td>
<td>Thākur Dāwāla Lohāl in K. Khokhan.</td>
<td>Ninth of the light half of Chet. On the Janam Ashāmat, i.e., the 8th of the dark half of Bhādon and on the day of the full moon of Phāgon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Nārāsingh Ji</td>
<td>Thākur Dāwāla Wasehāni</td>
<td>In Māgh, Sāwan and Phāgon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Dāwāla Karjan</td>
<td>Rām Neumī in Chet, on the Janam Ashāmat in Bhādon, on the Ankut in Kātāk, on the Poll in Phāgon and on the Dāwāla in Kātāk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Harman Naśān Ji</td>
<td>Rām Neumī which may fall either in Baisākh or in the light half of Chet and Janam Ashāmat in the light half of Bhādon for one day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Thākur Dāwāla Wasehāni</td>
<td>1st Baisākh, 1st Jēth, 18th Har, 3rd Bhādon and any day in Bhādon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Naro Mani (sa)</td>
<td>Pera in K. Kotli Kandhian</td>
<td>One day in the month of Bhādon. 1 day in Kātāk, 3 days during the dark half of Kātāk, 1 in the light half of Phāgon, one in the light half of Baisākh, and one in the light half of Sāwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Nārāsingh Ji</td>
<td>In Jharīn known by the name of the place</td>
<td>10th to 16th of light half Asuṇj, 5th of light half of Māgh; full moon day in Phāgon, 12th of light half of Baisākh, and 16th of light half of Jēth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Thākur Baghu Nāth Ji</td>
<td>Called after the god in K. Shāri.</td>
<td>Full moon day of Asuṇj or Kātāk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Rām Chandr Ji</td>
<td>Thākur Dāwāla Rām Chandr Ji in Dāwāla.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Rām Chandr</td>
<td>Known by the name of the god</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) The temple, Chatar Bīnaj is connected with this. Its worship is performed in the same way as that of Thākur Murlōdhār.

(5) Inside the temple are images of Thākur Murlōdhār and Sīṭā Ji. They resemble a human being in appearance. Each of them is of stone and 14 cubits high. It is said that in the time of Bāχ Kān, who troubles Parsīhsat and oppressed the people, Sri Bhagwān appeared as an incarnation of Kṛishn and killed Kān. In the time of the hill chiefs these images were in Bīχ Kūrgār whence they were removed by the Ādī Bhrāmaṇs and made over to a Bāχī for worship when this territory passed into the hands of the Sikhs. When the Bāχī died, they were brought to this temple. No mandā is attached to these temples and the god Bhrāmaṇs give them some money as ḍhārana urā to meet the expenses of worship.

(6) Insomuch as the big temple there are six temples in all and at each fairs are held and ceremonies performed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temple Name</th>
<th>Festival</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thakur Ram Chandra Ji</td>
<td>Thakurdwara</td>
<td>Dasara on Dauni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakur Salligram Ji</td>
<td>Thakurdwara</td>
<td>Rama Navami in Balakh, Janaam Ashtami in Bhadon, Holi in Phagun, Ankut and Diwali in Kartik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Datta</td>
<td></td>
<td>No fair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakur Salligram Ji</td>
<td>Sita Ram Ji</td>
<td>Ninth of the light half of each month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Datta</td>
<td>Sita Ram Ji, Keel</td>
<td>Rama Navami in Chet, on the Janaam Ashtami of Bhadon, on the Ankut and Holi in Phagun and on the Dip Maha (Diwali) in Kartik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Datta</td>
<td></td>
<td>Upp Mala, Rama Janaam, Balakh, Jeeja, Bhair, Jal, Bika, Narsingh Chandra, Janaam Ashtami, Dassam, Anant, Ankut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakur Bishnu Bhagwan</td>
<td>Prana Sajja in K. Baram</td>
<td>Bama Navami and on the Janaam Ashtami.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Bishnu</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Jeth Bher Shiv on 1st of Chet, the Cheti pall for 8 days on the full moon day of Chet, the Varniya, Bher Shiv on Ist Balakh, the Devkhet for three days on 8th Balakh. Also the Rama fair on 1st Jeth, the Shivrul on 1st Hari, the Dasi Parakh on the 1st of Paldon, the Janaam Ashtami in the dark half of Bhadon, the Sutari on 1st Asan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Laachimi Naraain has at least four temples in Saraj. Regarding one the usual story, as usual, is that in the dada par yagn, people used to graze cattle on this spot and once a boy noticed that a cow used to yield her milk to a black stone image every day. At last he told his parents of it and his father with other good men of the village came to verify his tale. When they reached the place they saw a jagir seated by the image, and he told them that it represented Naraain promising prosperity to all who worshipped it. With these words he disappeared under the ground. The people then built a temple there and installed the image in it. It is believed to have been founded in the dada par yagn, and is built of stone and wood. It contains a black stone image, 3

(a) The temples connected with this are those of Raghu Nath, Chaur Bihaj, Narasingh, Murlidhar and Laachimi Naraain.

(b) No other temple is connected with this except a dharamahl where jagir is put up.

(c) No temple save that of Sagar Dommal is connected with this. It contains an image of stone about a foot high. Its worship is performed by the jagirdar of Bishnu deota.
feet high and 2 broad. Its administration is carried on by a kâr-
dâr, by caste a Kanet and by got a Kâshab. He is married. The
pajârî is a Sârswat Brahman by caste and by got a Gautam. These
posts are hereditary. Thus in no respect does the temple differ from
those to a Nâg or any other devo in Sarâj. The ritual has no distinc-
tive features. A bhog of rice, idd or milk is offered once a day, and a
sacred lamp lit every evening. No distinction is made in the offerings
of different castes. The annual fair is held on 1st Baisakh. Connect-
ed with this are the shrines of Thâch Deora and Dâogi. The fair at
the former is held on the 1st Baisakh and at the latter from 1st to
3rd Phûgan. The expenses incurred on these are borne by the
respective gods.

Lachhmi Nârâîn's temple at Chunai was founded by a thâkar who
bestowed a plot of land on a faqir who declared himself to be Lachhmi
Nârâîn. It differs in no essentials from the one first described. Two
fairs are held, one on the 3rd Baisakh and the other on the pûrumâshî
in Bhâdon.

Regarding the temple at Deori it is said that a sâdhu came to a
Brahman's house there and sitting at the door began to dig up the
ground. In it he found a pindî to which a cow daily yielded her milk.
This was noticed by a girl who was grazing cows near by. She told
her father all about it. The sâdhu told him that the pindî was the
image of Nârâîn, and then disappeared under ground. The temple was
founded in the dudpar yug. It contains a stone pindî a foot high.
Its administration is carried on by a Sârswat Brahman kârâr and the
pajârî is also a Brahman. The god has two places for his worship, at
each of which a fair lasting from 1st to 3rd Bhâdon is held. Other
fairs are held on 7th Baisakh and 7th Asuuj every year.

The fourth temple at Chir or Chira Kelân, the deodâr grove, owes its
origin to a very similar accident. As a thâkar was ploughing his field
he saw a pindî appear above the ground. It told him that its name
was Lachhmi Nârâîn who desired to meditate on that spot, so he
brought it to Chira Kelân where a temple was built in its honour in the
dudpar yug. It contains the stone pindî and its administration is
carried on by a kârâr. The pajârî is always a Brahman. The dis-
ciple is called guru and special reverence is paid to him as he answers all
questions put to the god in his trances. The fair begins on 1st and
ends on 3rd Phûgan. The Shivrâtri festival is also observed.
Another fair follows on 1st Cet. The 9th and 10th Baisakh are
however the great festival days. The yag is annually celebrated on the
rink pûrâna.

Râmjî has a temple at Râmgur. In old times a devotee and a
snake used to live on its present site from which the villagers used to
cut grass and fuel. One day they observed a pindî at the spot where
the devotee Râmjî had disappeared underground, so a temple was built
and named after him. It has been in existence since the srîsya yug,
and contains a stone pindî a foot high. Its administration is carried
on by a kârâr a Kanet who is by got a Kâshab. There is also a
pajârî. Bhog is offered only once a month, on the sankrânti, and a
sacred lamp is only lit during Bhádon and in the evening. She-goats only are sacrifiaed at the temple. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. No other shrine is connected with this one.

The temple of Thákur Murídhar in Chini owes its origin to the Rájás of Manjí, the Thákur’s image having been brought there from Mathura by Rájá Mangal Sain of that State. The date of its foundation is not known.

The temple is of stone and wood, and contains a blackstone image of the god which is 3½ feet high. On either sides of it are seated the pindís of Shiva and Kidar Nath, each 4 foot high. Its affairs are managed by a kárdár and pujári, both Brahmans of the Dharmáni gót. The fairs are held on the Varanmáshi in Phágán, rámnavami in Chét, janaam ashtami in Bhádon and on the dasi in Asunj every year.

The cult of Mándho Rai, who is Krishna in his acádár of Murídhar or the flute-player, is important in Manji. He has a temple in the capital of that State which was dedicated to him by his Rájás Súraj Sain, after the loss of his 18 sons, and the god is still the head of the State. All the village deities visit this god at Manji during the Shibrátri játara.

*THE HINDU REVIVAL IN THE SOUTH-WEST.—In Montgomery, Multán and Muzaffarghaz considerable reverence is paid to the shrine of Ganjamál in the Multán city. The founder of the sect was a Brahman who is said to have lived some 4 centuries ago, and to have obtained the title from his wearing a necklace (mála) of ganja seeds. He was a Gosán, a resident of Multán and a worshipper of Krishna; he is now looked on by many of the Aorás as their gurú, and his cult is closely connected with that about to be described.

The most celebrated of all the Bairági movements in the Punjab and by far the most predominant in the south-west corner of the province is that connected with the names of the Gosáins Shámjí and Lálji. These two men were the leaders of a great revivalist movement among the Kirás or Hindu traders of the south-west some three or four hundred years ago.

Shámjí, or Shám Dás, was a Khatri, a resident of Dipálpur, who went to Bindráhan when he was twelve years old and became a disciple in the temple of Sri Chethan Mahá Prábhá. The Gosám, in charge, Dwárká Dás, gave him his blessing, and he became endowed with miraculous powers. In the Sambat year 1600 (A.D. 1543) the god Krishn presented him with two idols and said: *The Hindus of the western country of the Sind are ignorant of their religion. They have no guru to guide them between good and bad. Go to the west and teach the Hindus the ceremonies of their religion and make them your disciples (swámi). Your words will have speedy effect.* Shámjí thereupon set out, and on reaching the Indus commenced his mission by making two and a half disciples, namely, two Khathris and half a Chándías Baloch. He settled down at Manza Bapilwár.

1 Manji Gazetteer, pp. 30 and 9. Súraj Sain had an image of the god made of silver. The number 18 seems to be conventional.
Fatteh Khán, and founded in the town of Dera Gházi Khán a temple in honour of Krishn as Naunit-praya, the lover of butter. This temple is one of the oldest in those parts and its present head is Gosán Dharmí Dhar. There are other temples erected by or in honour of Shámjí at Dera Ismáíl Khán, Kot Sultán, Kot Addú and Multán.

Shámjí had three sons, Kahnújì, Dwárkánáthjí and Jugál Kishorjí; and his followers are derived from three sources—those belonging to the Gándia Ját are called Rang Rangita, the Chándia Baloch are called Chhabala, and the Khattris Chhabháiwaile.

Láljí was in a way the successor of Shámjí. He was a Brahman, a resident of Siwán in Sind, and was born in Sambat 1608 (A.D. 1541). He also went when quite a boy to Mathura and Bindrābān, and while there in Sambat 1641 received from the god Krishn a divine errand similar to that of Shámjí. At first the young man refused, but the god told him to start for the Indus at once, adding that the divine image would follow him and that he would hear the tinkling of its anklets behind him. Whereupon Láljí set forth and on reaching the country west of Dera Gházi Khán he stopped and looked round. The idol then said: *You have stopped; and I too am going no further.* So Láljí built a temple on the spot to Krishn under the name of Gopináthjí, and this temple still bears a considerable reputation in Dera Gházi Khán and its neighbourhood. Two other shrines were also established, one at Dera Ismáíl Khán, called Nágárjí and one at Bahlwalpur, called Śrī Girdhārjī. The miracles performed by Láljí were a very convincing proof of his mission, and his descendants still hold the temple of Gopináthjí which he raised.

The influence of these men in favour of the Hindu religion has been enormous and they have in all probability reclaimed the whole of the trading community of the south-west from a virtual conversion to Sikhism or Mahomedanism. To be a Hindu by religion is in these parts almost synonymous with being a follower of these Gósáns. The Khattris and Arojias of the south-west are divided into Sikhs and Sewaks—the followers of Nának and the disciples of the Gósáns; and it is due to the exertions of Shámjí and Láljí that the latter are as numerous as they are. The only object of reverence, which can be said in any way to rival Krishn and his apostles, is the River, and the people have gone so far as to confuse the two, and at times it is the Indus, at times Láljí, who is addressed and worshipped as Āmar Lál, the immortal one.

The Gósáns or priests of Shámjí and Láljí live largely at Leiháb and Bhakkur and are Khattris. The number of those who have succeeded the original pair is legion, and the sect itself is also known by various names such as Krishn Láljí, Maháñ Prabhú, Sewak, Lítá Dhar, Bánśi Dhar and the like. These however may be separate sects or off-shoots of the parent sect, like the Chábil Dásíes.

The Chenáb is famous for its saints,¹ and these are by no means entirely Musalmáns. The Hindu saints of the Jhang district deserve

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¹ The saying is: Sattaj Kírl Réñí amír, Chenáb faqírí, Jhelum sharírí, wá Sind illírí.
special motion, and the names of four of them, Rám Piára, Móla Sant, Bábá Shañána and Jinda Kálína, may be noted. Of Rám Piára nothing can be ascertained except that he was bhagat, who generally resided in Jhang and Dora Ismáil Khán and professed Vaishnava tenets.

There have been religious men of the name of Móla Sant both in Lahore and at Talagang in Jhelam, but the most celebrated Móla Sant was a famous Gauri Brahman of Wazirábád, who lived in the beginning of the 16th century. This man quarrelled with his caste-fellows in Wazirábád, and emigrated to a place called Sulimán in the Chiniot tahsil of Jhang where he gave himself out as an Arora. He was advised by Sayyid Jamal Sháh and Bábá Jíndá Sháh (of whom more hereafter) to visit the shrine of Badránarán; and at Badrínáran he was ordered by the oracle to marry an Arora woman. He complied, but of course a considerable stigma attached to the offspring of this irregular union, one Haridás by name, and it was only in consequence of Haridás’s wonderful miracles that the matter was condoned. The tenets of Móla Sant were Vaishnava, and he is said to have spent 12 years worshipping in a hole which he had dug. His son Gósún Haridás succeeded to his position at Sulimán, and his tomb there is still an object of great reverence among the Aroras who attend in large numbers to shave their children’s heads (jhand ōdār) in honour of the saint. Fairs are held here in April and September. The Mulsanties or followers of Móla Sant are mainly found in Jhang, Sháhpur, and Gujranwála; they abstain from meat and wine, reverence Rám and worship no idols but merely the sáligráms. They are chiefly Aroras and make pilgrimages to his tomb at Sulimán.1

Like Móla Sant, Bábá Sháhána was not originally a native of the Jhang district. He was a Gauri Khatri of Satghara in Montgomery who lived some 300 years ago. His original name was Mihra and his original occupation was boiling gram. One of his customers was a Mulsamán jajír, who made him his chela and bestowed on him the name of Míhr Sháh. Míhr Sháh then emigrated to Leiah, in Mianwáli, where he converted two goldsmiths. From thence he moved to Kheljan, a Khatri village on the Chenáb, in Jhang tahsil, which is now deserted; but his assumption of the Mulsamán title Sháhí offended the susceptibilities of the Khattris and led to a good deal of cursing on the part of the saint, who shifted his quarters; once more to Khíva, a village of the Mahni Shaís. The saint appeared in bad spirits, and the inhabitants to prevent more cursing gave him a house, a wall and a plot of ground, which are still in the possession of the Bábá Sháhána jajír. This restless devotee had however another and more celebrated residence at Gilmál, 12 miles from Jhang. He had shot an arrow into the air, and it fell at Gilmál, where now there is a large building inhabited by members of his order. A fair is held here on the first Friday in Phagún every year. The followers of Bábá Sháhána do not respect the sáligráms as they should; they call themselves “Sháh,” and they use the name of “Sat Sháh” in their prayers.

1 Sháhpur Gazetteer, 1867, p. 91.
Another Jhang sect, and one that worships one god only, is that of the followers of Jinda and Kaliána, two saints who are said to have lived in the early part of the 16th century. Jinda was a Gauḍhí Brahman of Pírkot Sadhana, in Jhang tahsil, who in early life was an Aghori fágír, and his chief residence was Massan, in the Vichand, a few miles from Jhang. Kaliána was a Sahar Brahman of Takhí Hazárí, in the Shálpur district, who left his home for Sálkot and passed some time there in devotion on the bank of the Chenab. From Sálkot he went to the Kirána hill to compare his attainments with those of the Kirána pírs. At Kirána his miraculous powers became well established, but the Pírs suggested his moving on to Massan, and when he reached Massan, he met Jinda. As the two saints met they exclaimed simultaneously: Jinda so Kaliána, Kaliána so Jinda. "As is Jinda, so is Kaliána"; the two are one and the same; and they are now known by the joint name of Jinda-Kaliána. There remained, however, the difficulty that Jinda was still an Aghori, while Kaliána was a Vaishnav; and it was not until Jinda has ascended at the shrine of Jagaunáth that he could drink a ser and a quart of molten lead and pass it out in the ordinary way and had exhibited his ability to do this in the presence of ten fágírs, that he was able to renounce the old sect and enter the new. Jinda was a celibate and his chélás are the regular successors to the gádár at Massan. Kaliána, on the other hand, married, at Jinda's instigation, a Brahman girl of Alipur, in Jhang tahsil, and his offspring, still known as Góshíns, are found in many villages of Jhang, are looked on with reverence by the people and are entertained with particular care by the gádáns of the Massan shrine. The buildings at Massan are striking in appearance, and an annual fair is held there. The two sámádís of Jinda and Kaliána are there, and the mázáí of the place honours them by blowing his shell (snának) morning and evening. Their followers are chiefly Brahmanas, Khuáfís, Aníras, Sunárs and Bhabás. They worship no god but Brahm, and they ciri each other with the words "Sat Jinda Kaliána." Some accounts assert that Jinda and Kaliána were contemporaries of Gúrá Gobind Singh, and others would class them with the Nánakpanthis; but the above is the received version, and though possibly influenced by Nának they do not appear to have been in any way his followers. The Jinda-Kaliána ke sewak make a pilgrimage to their tombs at Massan at the Dasehra.

To give further details:—

Jinda or Zinda, 'the living one,' was a Bunjáhi Brahman of the Gauḍhí gót, while Kaliána also a Bunjáhi was of the Sahar gót. Kaliána's natural descendants are now, however, Góshíns by caste; but as Zinda was celibate his spiritual descendants are fágírs of Jinda-Kaliána.

The Mahant or Gúrá is one of the fágírs. They wear a cap of silk (drágás, or gálbán), round which they bind a black strip of woollen cloth (suli), shaving the head, but keeping the chói or tuft of hair,

1 If not honoured by him as stated in the Sháhpur Gaz., 1897, page 59.

The Gauḍhí are the Brahmanas of the Muhammadan Síla of the Jhang fár.
Minor Hindu sects

like Hindus, and the beard and moustaches. They also wear shoes, a māṭha, or waist-cloth, a ṭingōli, a kārī or shawl, and a chādar or shawl. They also carry a māṭa or rosary and a necklace of ṭulsi beads. The Mahant, however, may not wear a shirt or shoes, though when walking he is allowed saundals. He must always sleep on the ground, or on a māṭha, a square bed of grass made on the earth between four posts. The chelas or disciples may sleep on beds. Further, the Mahant must eat on a separate āşan, or mat, though the faqirs may eat on the same āşan and in the same chānka, with one another or with Brahman; they may also eat in the same chānka, but on separate āşanas, with Khatri and Aroras. The Mahant may also take food from Brahman, Khatri or Aroras, but he can only drink water drawn with a dūr, or rope, in a lota, but his chelas may use water drawn in earthenware. He also has a separate ḍhuṭa, but the faqirs may smoke with Brahman, provided the latter are willing to allow them to do so.

The faqirs employ Brahman for religious and ceremonial purposes but not so the Gosāns, who, like other Hindu castes, call upon the daughter's son, the son-in-law, the sister's son and husband to take the place of the Brahman, who is only employed when no such relative is available. The faqirs receive the bheṣṭ or offerings made to the sāṁdākā: the Gosāns receive arāḍa (alms) or dān. The former however now visit their followers to collect offerings. Near the tabās, or residence of the Mahant, stand the sāṁdālās or the tombs of Zinda, Kaliān, Amadiālī, and Darya Sāhib, a chela of Zinda, while close by is a house in which a sacred fire (dānā) has been kept burning for four centuries. This house also contains a long red flag, which is worshipped, and conch shells and bells which are used when the dūkṣ grass is reverenced. Bhaṅg is offered daily and is also taken regularly by the Mahant. The faqirs, after preparing their own food, offer bhoṅg (or sacramental food) to the sāṁdākā. The faqirs and the public worship the sāṁdālā, the dānā or sacred fire, and a ṭulsi plant growing near by. The Gosāns or secular priests intermarry with all the Bunjāhi Brahman: and of course avoid widow re-marriage.

Some Minor Hindu sects.—We have seen above that though the teaching of Rámānand was in the beginning an introd on the caste principles of orthodox Hinduism, the influence of the Bairagi devotees, who look to him as their founder, has been almost entirely in favour of pure Hinduism, and the sect is in the Punjab as orthodox as any other. It would therefore be well if, before we go on to record the more liberal results of the teaching of Rámānand, we should glance at the names of various petty leaders of orthodox opinion in various parts of the Province. Even among these we shall find some whose doctrines are not in accordance with ordinary Hindu opinion, but this is the most convenient place to notice them.

The Birbahl-panthas are from the Marwat tahsil of the Bannu district, and it would be interesting to know whether they really venerate the memory of Akbar's minister, or whether the object of their reverence is some other Birbahl. In Peshawar and Kōnā ḅ a few people return the name of Miran Bai, a famous poetess and devotee of
Krishn, who is said to have lived in the time of Akbar. Her shrine is at Udaipur in Rájpútána, and there are many legends about her, but that best known in the Punjab is connected with the supposed fact that the God Krishn partook of her kusch ki khétri.

Laló Jasná was a Khatri, whose shrine is in Díulpur in Montgomery. A large number of Khatri's put their faith in him and take their children to his shrine to have their heads shaved. He is reverenced also at Labore, Amritsar, Jálindhar and Jagraón. Kesár Sháh was a fajr in Gujranwálá. Bábá Sánj of Chhá Bhagtái, in the Kábúta tahsíl of Rawalpindí, was a Brahman, who some 200 years ago served a Jogi, and from him learnt a mantra by which he became a distinguished fajr. He is commonly known as Chhábewálá and his followers as Bhagtís. Bál Gurú is a Kashmirí saint.

Mehr Dás was a fajr who resided at Ketá in the Pind Dádan Khán tahsíl, and Jodha Rám was a pious Brahman who lived at Hazro in Rawalpindí. Regarding the Jairáms' little seems to be known, except that the founder of their sect was also known as Bábá Kúrewálá, or Bhangewálá which would point to a low origin.

The Talrágás have been noticed above and the Martani in Vol. III, p. 79.

Another and even smaller Vaisnava sect is the Dól-Bháwan-panthi, founded by one Dól Bháwan, a cloth-seller of Giroń, who was attracted to religion by an exhibition of second sight (sháhí) in a Pathán woman with whom he was staying. Its followers are initiated at the Ramgarh tank at Giroń where they are taught special prayers and have their heads shaved. Some wear the jancee, others not. The great fair on the Baisakhi at Giroń is an auspicious day for a Hindu boy to have his head shaved and don the sacred thread. 1

The Bairágás also claim to have won tolerance from Jahángír. When that emperor visited Káhmúán in Gúrdásípúr the celebrated Bairágí fajr Bhagwánjí abandoned his attempt to make his acquaintance by burrowing through the ground to Pindorí, 10 miles to the north, and thence to Dhamtal across the Chakki in Kángra. The holes in the ground are still shown at Káhmúán and Pindorí. Jahángír subsequently found Narán, Bhagwánjí's disciple, at Pindorí, but failed to make him speak as he was then undergoing a penance of silence, so Jahángír took him to Lahore and gave him 7 cups of poison each sufficient to kill an elephant, but he resisted its effects. Bhagwánjí's explanation however not satisfied the emperor but induced him to build a temple, domed like a Muhammadan tomb, which still exists at Pindorí. The daughter shrine at Dhamtal was founded by Bábá Harí Ránjí and possesses an inscribed magic crystal which dates from his time. At Pindorí are 13 samádaá representing the 13 gaddis or secessions of gurú of the shrine. Close to that of Bábá Maheś Dásjí, another disciple of Bhagwánjí, is the samáda of the dog who is also said to have resisted a dose of 14 tons of opium administered to him by the gurú in proof of his powers. This shrine has 50 or 60 branches scattered all over India. Lahl near Dhárfwál is an important branch and barren women

1 Shahpur Gazetteer, 1897, pp. 68 and 68.
resort to it to obtain issue which the mahat is said to bring about by the use of mantras.¹

The Láljís are described as 'a sort of Bairágis, followers of Lálji', of Dhiánpur on the Rávi in Gujáspur. Their tenets are much the same as the Vaishnava Bairágis. They appear to be Rámañandís and Lálji who lived in the time of Shah Jahan had frequent discussions with that emperor's son, Dára Shikoh, on the subject of monotheism. Pictures of these debates still exist on the walls of the main building at Dhiánpur.² The Shahpur Gazetteer states that Dára Shikoh was also a friend of Dádúji, himself a disciple of Rámánand; but Dádú's date is open to much doubt; see Vol. II, p. 215, note². It also adds that the sacred tract of the Dádúpanthis is called Dádú Bilás which may be distinct from the Dádú Bani alluded to on p. 216 of that volume.

A sect called Ápá-panthi is described very briefly in Vol. II, p. 18, but the Ápá-panthi of Multán appear to be distinct from it. In September 1903 one Hem Ráj, son of Pokhar Dás, of Multán, who had turned fagir some 10 years before and had inaugurated a religion which he termed Ápá-panthi, died. His relatives and followers some 3,000 in number dressed his body in silk clothes, placed some tilás on his forehead, a garland round his neck and a tiládár (gold-laced) cap on his head. They then placed his body in sitting position in a coffin and after carrying it round the city, had it photographed. They then took it to the river arriving about 11 a.m., put it in the water, proceeded to cook and eat some halwá and finally returned with the grave clothes and coffin. Besides these proceedings, which were against the principles of Hinduism, they omitted to perform that portion of the funeral ceremony called the kirya karm. The Hindus were disgusted at these obsequies and with the relatives and followers for trangressing all the regular Hindu funeral rites.

The fair at Baldeo Chhat lasts from Bhádón sudi 6th to 8th. The temple contains an image of Baldevji. It is about 200 years old. The image stands in the centre of a square in the west of the temple on a platform. It is of marble, 4 feet high and is dressed in clothes suited to the season. The pujári is a Gaur Bráhman. He only looks after the temple and the image, bathing and worshipping it. Jhánkis are made in Sáwan. Another fair is held at Bahim in tahsil Núh, but no temple exists there. It is held on Bhádón sudi 7th and lasts 2 days.

The Bisáh fair at Kásan is held once a year on Bhádón sudi 13th, when the pilgrims arrive, but the sádhi or worship takes place on the 14th. There is no image in the temple, only a niche. Márápị form the chief offering. The temple is ancient. The legend goes that when Paran Mal a Rájá's son was engaged in austerities here, a Hanjaíá passed with loads of sugar in bags. On being asked what

¹ Gujáspur Gazetteer 1914, pp. 16, 27 and 31.
² Dh., pp. 30-31.
³ Shahpur Gazetteer 1897, p. 28.
they contained he replied 'salt'. Páran Mái said that it would be salt, and when the Banjára opened them he found salt instead of sugar. He sought forgiveness for his falsehood and the Rájá told him that he would sell the salt at the price which sugar would fetch. He did so and impressed by this the trader built a temple vowing to finish it in a single night. But some women began to grind corn at midnight, and the Banjára thinking it was morning went away and so the temple was not completed. It is 3 yards square and has a chhatrî over it. It has four doors and the roof is domed. From it projects an iron bar to which is attached a dhājā. The management vests in the Gaur Brahman parašits of the villagers, but 4th of the offerings go to Mamáth Jogi and the rest to the Brahmins.

The Tijon fair is held at Gurgään and Sohna on Sáwan aŭdi tij (3rd) for about 2 hours in the afternoon. Men and women, mostly young people, assemble in the fields and the girls swing on a rope thrown over the branch of a tree.

No account of what we may call the 'personal religion' of the Hindus would be complete without reference to the curious worship of the 'Name of God'. 'God (Náma)', they say, is great, but the name of God (Náma Ráma Náma or Ráma ká Náma) is greater. There is abundant evidence of this in the songs. We have one often heard in songs in the Kángra valley:

'Repeat always the Name of God,
To whom Thou hast to go.'

The original of which runs:

'Tá bhaj láe Ráma ká Náma,
Jihé laíp jánd hái.'

These words admit of no doubt translation and are plain and clear. In a song given later, a hermit or saint (jogi) reads a homily to a young girl who comes to see him, and in it the 'Name of God' occurs three times as the object of worship. Thus she is bidon: Sára nit Bhagyada ká Náma, 'Call always on the Name of God' and again Jápá káro Bhagyada ká Náma, 'Keep on repeating the Name of God'. She herself says once: bádo, 'Bhagyáda ká Náma, 'Say, and I will take the Name of God'. One of the laks current in the valley may be translated thus:

'He who repeats the one True Name
Holds a fruitful charm and Great.'

The original words are:

'Sál Náma tó mántr hái,
Jápe só phát pái.'

Here we have Náma, the 'Name', by itself, with the epithete sati 'true'. It is the Name, the True Name, the Name of God, that is the charm that will reward him who repeats it. Lastly, a song, which belongs properly, however, to formal religion, treated of later on, shows
clearly the relative position of Nām and Rām in the popular estimation. In some parts of India, Kāngra for instance, the 1st of Chit (March-April) instead of the 1st of Baisakh (April-May) is New Year's Day, when it is the custom for āsūr (musicians) to go from house to house singing songs in its honour. It is very unlucky for any one to mention the day until the āsūr has mentioned it. It is also a custom to dedicate the first spring flower seen on a tree to Nām and the second to Rām. Both these customs are exhibited in the āsūr's New Year's song:

The first of flowers for thee, O Name!
The second, Rām for thee.
The first of Chit brings luck to him
That bears it first from me.
O Krishna of the turban gay
With jewels fair to see,
Do thou live on a thousand years
With thy posterity!

The more important words in the original are:

Pahīlā phulī tān Nām kā
| Dājī nām Nārāyānī.

which, translated literally, mean—

'The first flower thine, O Name!
The second name Nārāyan.'

Observe the canonization phulī, of the first spring flower and the personification of 'The Name!' Sir Richard Temple was not prepared to explain the origin of this cult, which, however, is nothing new. It may have its origin in the fact that Rām, with whom Nām is now specially associated, was an incarnation of Vishnu, to repeat whose thousand names (Sahasrā-nāmā) was an act of virtue from all time. That Vishnu himself was long ago connected with 'The Name' is shown by his Sanskrit epithets of Nāmā and Nāmā-nāmikā.

The custom is whenever a birth occurs in a house for āsūr and musicians, such as Hijras, and other harpies who seek a fee on these occasions, to collect there and sing congratulatory songs. It is wonderful how these people scent out a birth, so much so, that I have thought of employing them as registration agents. About the commonest and best known song, which is also rather inappropriately sung at weddings, is that here given. It is spirited and curious, and bears a resemblance in more ways than one to our own Christmas hymns. It describes the birth of Rāma Chandra, the great hero and incarnation of God (Vishnu), the god, in fact, of many parts of India, and god par excellence in the Sikh theology. His earthly father was the celebrated king Dassaratha.

1 Some Hindu Songs and Catchas from the Villages in Northern India, by R. C. Temple, & C. E., VII, pp. 421-2.
2 Eunuchs who go about the Punjab and United Provinces dressed up as women, generally not less than three together, with a drum, and earn a living by attending weddings, births &c. Their fee is usually a rupee. They appear to be dying out; at least, all I have seen are old people.
Swinging fêtes.

now known popularly as Jasrat Rāj, and his mother was Kansalya. The song describes the birth as according to the usual modern customs. The child Rām Chandra is born; Jasrat Rāj and Kansalya are delighted; the nurse takes and washes him; the barber comes (as is proper) to plant fresh āह glass for luck; while his wife summons the neighbours. The child's old grand-aunt brings him his first clothes, as is also proper and right, since it brings luck; his aunt is the first to hold him in her arms, and last, but not least, his father distributes presents to the poor, while the family priest comes prowling round for his dues. The name of the aunt, however, is Subhadra. Now Subhadra was never the aunt of Rāma Chandra, but the sister of Krishua, the great god of so many of the Hindus, and also an incarnation of Vishnu. Here, then, we have another instance of what is so common and puzzling in modern Hindu folklore, the mixture of classical legends. I have previously given two songs which also mix up the stories of Rāma and Krishua. The confusion may have arisen thus: both are 'God' and both favourite subjects of song; and besides there were three Rāmas, all supposed to be incarnations of God. They lived evidently in different ages, and probably in the following order:—Pacum Rāma, axe Rām, root-and-branch Rām, the champion of the priests (Brahmans) against the warriors (Kahatriyas); Rāma Chandra, gentle Rām; and Bāla Rāma, strong Rāma, brother and companion of Krishua. Bāla Rāma and Rāma Chandra have probably been mixed up in popular songs, and there is nothing unlikely in this. It is a simple mess compared with some the bards have got into.

One of the prettiest and most widely-spread customs in North India is the swinging in Sāwana (July-August), when the rains are usually at their height, in honour of Krishua and Rādha. It is done for luck apparently, much as our Christmas pies are eaten, and seems to have no ulterior object. Everyone who wishes to be lucky during the coming year must swing at least once during Sāwana. Like most customs of this sort, it is confined almost entirely to women and children, whose swings may be seen hanging from the branches of trees in every garden and along the roadside, by villages, bazaars, and dwellings. Connected with this is the Doll fair (Gañonā ka melā) carried on during the whole of Sāwana, and with the same object of procuring good luck in the future. Customs differ in various parts as to the manner of conducting the fair, but in Kāngra every man, woman and child goes at least once to the riverside during the month, wearing a doll at the breast. The visit to the riverside must be on a Sunday, Tuesday or Thursday, and must have been previously fixed on by a kind of private promise or vow. Arrived at the river the doll is thrown in, and the superstition is, that, as the doll is cooled by the water, so the mind will be cooled (eased) by the action during the coming year. There is a song sung on these occasions by the children having allusion to the advent of the wagtail as a sign of the time for the Doll Fair having arrived. It is also sung in the Sāwana swings:

Fly, fly the wagtails so;

Mother, 'tie the rainy month;
MOTHER, 'TIS THE RAINY MONTH,
YES, MY DARLING, MOTHER O
FLY, FLY THE WAGTAILS SO;
MOTHER, WE MUST GO AND SWING,
YES, MY DARLING, MOTHER O.

THE PATRON SAINTS OF THE TRADER AND ARTIZAN CASTES.

The system of saintly patronage, exemplified in Medieval Europe, was in force in Hindu society from an early period. Thus Visvakarma is the patron deity of the workers in wood and indeed of all craftsmen. But the system found a fuller development in medieval Islam. Thus "Adam was the first builder and sower; Seth the first manufacturer of buttons and wool-carder; Enoch the first tailor and clerk; Noah the first carpenter and joiner (in the later tradition of the Moslems Joseph was venerated as a carpenter and Jacob as a joiner); Hus the first merchant; Sālīh the first camel-driver; Abraham the first milkman and later, when he received from God the command to build the Ka'ba, the first builder; Ismaīl the first hunter; and Isaac the first herdsman; Jacob the first who led a life of contemplation; Joseph (the Egyptian) the first watch-maker, because he busied himself with this invention while in prison, in order to decide the time of the morning and evening prayers; Job, as the patient one, was the patron of all unfortunates; Jethro of the blind; Moses was a shepherd, as well as pastor of men; and his brother Aaron a masir, i.e. minister and representative; Sīl-kofel was the first baker; Lot the first chronographer, Esdras the first donkey-herd; Daniel the first interpreter; David the inventor of coats of mail; and Solomon gained his daily bread by basket-making; Zachariah was the first hermit; John a saniśṭā; Jeremiah a surgeon; Samuel a saniśṭā-dīvīvar; Lokmān a learned man; John a fisherman; Jesus a traveller; and Muhammad a merchant.

Hence the patron saint of the Hindu weavers being Kabir, they call themselves Kabīrbansī, just as the tailors are called Nāmdevī from Nāmdeo and are offended by being called Jūlāhā or Darzī. So too Hindu barbers sometimes resent being called Nāf and call themselves Sainīhagati. Sain Bhagat was a Rājā's barber and deeply religious. Once sunk in meditation he forgot to wait on the Rājā but the deity did his work for him. When Sain Bhagat learnt of this he devoted the rest of his life to religion. In the Punjab plains the Hindu weavers are also called Rāmājīsās or followers of Gurdī Ram Dās, but this term appears to be restricted to the Chamārs who live by weaving.

2 Von Hammer, Constantiopolis und der Berophoros, II, pp. 335-8. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. J. Horovitz.
3 S. N. Q., L, § 72.
4 Id., § 153.
5 Id., § 643.
The spiritual ancestor, as he may be called, is held in such respect that a false oath is never taken on his name. Indeed there is much reluctance to swear by it at all.

The Muhammadan weavers are great observers of the 'Id-ul-fitr which is described as the festival of the Julâhâs, just as the 'Id-uz-zuhâ is said to be held in special esteem by the Qassâhs, the Shab-i-barât by the comb-makers (khuñghâr) and the Muharram by the Sayyids.¹

Sâdhuâ, bhâgât, is the patron saint of butchers. He was once going to kill a goat, but the animal threatened vengeance on him in the next life, so he joined the sect of 'Sâds', whence his name. Another story is that he was a Muhammadan, but this is inconsistent with his name, which appears in many folk-songs.²

Some other patron saints are: Omes Karím, Pir of the comb-makers; Shâh Madâr, Pir of the jugglers; and Prem Tot, jûrà of the Udâsis. But the last-named appears unknown to the Udâsis themselves and nothing can be ascertained regarding him.

¹ N. I. N. O., I, 648.
² 78, 26.
Hinduism in the Himalayas.

In the preceding sections a good many facts relating to Hinduism in the hills have been given in their appropriate places, but many have been omitted. These are now given in a special sub-section in which the arrangement will be much the same as that in Hinduism itself. Distinctive as Hinduism in the Himalayas is, many or most of its facts could have been with at least equal propriety given a place in orthodox Hinduism, and very little doubt may be felt that a place in it could be found for every cult and temple, rite and observance, yet to be noted. But while Himalayan Hinduism does not really differ in kind from the Hinduism of the plains, it is highly distinctive in degree, retaining much that is older than Buddhism and more still that is older than latter-day Hinduism. Nāg-worship for example must have existed long before Buddhism arose. It must have been absorbed by that creed after the first fervour of the early Buddhists had cooled down and left them more tolerant of popular and primitive cults, and then when Buddhism perished it must have survived in almost its original forms, unaffected by the religion which the State had adopted, but not imposed on the people.

Regarding the legend of Tikkar Nāg, given at p. 159 above, Mr. J. D. Anderson, C. S., writes:

"The Nāg never came down to Śūni itself but stayed up round Tikkar, where the three States of Kumhārsain, Madhān and Bhuajji join (? is there always a Nāg at a junction). The Koṭi people say that it ought to be a Ganesha, but this is, I think, a perversion. The Bhuajji god who kept the Nāg out from the Basantpur-Śūni valley is called Dānn or Sarahan, i.e. the god with the strength of 1000 arms. He is a god of the low ravines; whenever there is a considerable volume of water between Arkī and Śūni this god is worshipped. This is interesting, as Emerson has a certain amount of information to show that Nāg is a river god. Here however the Nāg is definitely the god of a high place, and his rival, who is anthropomorphic in the strictest sense, holds the river valleys — which incidentally swarm with snakes. He has however one point in common with the Nāg: no one in his īlāqa dares sleep on a bed, if they do the god at once tips him off. He is also a sanitary god; if any person washes clothes or his person in the āsūna under his protection, he is stricken with leprosy."

In Kulu the rainbow is called Budhi Nāgan the 'old frightened': Diack, Katāki Dialect, page 54. This points to the Nāg being regarded as a rain or water-god, as he usually is in the Simla Hills. But in Chamba the Nāg is described as a whitish-coloured snake that frequents house-walls and is said to drink milk: its presence is regarded as a good omen and puja and incense are offered to it. The natar is another snake, uniform in thickness and: believed to have a mouth at each end, whence it is called domnaka, and it is believed that any one bitten by it will be bitten again every year.  

Hinduism in the Hills—The Hinduism of the Himalayan areas differs considerably from that of the plains. It would seem that in all

Chamba Gazetteer, p. 80.
mountainous countries, the grandeur of their natural features and the magnitude of the physical forces displayed lead the inhabitants to defy the natural objects by which they are surrounded, or rather to assign to each its presiding genius, and to attribute to these demons more or less malevolent character. The greater gods, indeed, are not unrepresented in the Punjab Himalayas. There are the usual śākhārādwāras sacred to Vishnu in some one of his forms, and śīrādas dedicated to Śiva; but though Nātha, with their ears bored in honour of the latter god, are to be found in unusual numbers, these deities are little regarded by the people, or at any rate by those of the villages. The malignant and terrible Kāli Devī, on the other hand, is worshipped throughout the Kāngra mountains; and to her, as well as to the ītha presently to be mentioned, human sacrifices were offered up to the period of our rule. An old cedar tree was cut down only a few years ago to which a girl used formerly to be offered annually; the families of the village taking it in turn to supply the victim; and when the Viceroy opened the Sirhind Canal in November 1852, the people of the lower hills believed that 200 of the prisoners who had been employed on the works were released on condition of their furnishing a similar number of girls to be sacrificed at the inaugural ceremony, and lit fires and beat drums and sat up for several nights in order to keep off any who might be prowling about in search of female children for this purpose. But the every-day worship of the villagers is confined to the īhas or genii of the trees, rocks, and caves of Lāhul, and the local spirits or demons of Kulu, variously known as deotas or godlings, Devīs who, apparently the corresponding female divinities, Rikhis and Munis or local saints, Śāhas or genii of the hill-tops and high places, Jognis or wood fairies, Nāgīs or snake gods, and by many other names, though for practical purposes little distinction is apparently drawn between the various classes. A favourite situation for a shrine is

1 I shall not attempt to distinguish the various grades of belief which obtain in the different Himalayan ranges; but it may be said generally that the deeper you penetrate into the mountains, the more elementary is the worship, and the more malevolent are the deities.

2 There is one curious difference between the gods of the hills and those of the plains and that is, that many of the former are purely territorial, each little state or group of villages having its own deity, and the boundaries between their jurisdictions being very clearly defined. The god Sipur, in whose honour the well-known Sipī fair is held near Simla, lost his nose in an attempt to steal a deodar tree from the territory of a neighbouring rival; for the latter woke up and started in pursuit, on which Sipur not only fell down in his alarm and broke his nose, but he dropped the tree, which is, I am told, still growing upside down to attest the truth of the story. The only territorial god of the plains that I can remember is Bhima, the god of the village. Perhaps the difference may be due to the striking manner in which Nature has marked off the Himalayan territory into small valleys separated by grand and difficult mountain ranges. So Sir Dossal Hothson wrote. But the feudalism of the hills is not wholly territorial. In this connection Mr. H. W. Emerson observes—"In olden days the personal bond was so strong that it often continued to exist for generations after the hereditary ruler had ceased to exercise sovereign power over the land of his former subjects. For example, the petty principality of Sairi was conquered by Bahadur many years ago and absorbed within the boundaries of the latter State. The peasantry, however, though compelled by force to pay regular Impost, was simply denied all obligations to contribute their monthly quota to the sepoys. Also they still call the representatives of the Sairi family by his ancient title, contributing towards his marriage and other expenses as though he was in fact their natural ruler. The nature of the link binding together the sovereign and the land-owning classes was the more appreciated by the latter because
a forest, a mountain peak, a lake, a cave, or a waterfall; but almost every village has its own temple, and the priests are generally drawn from among the people themselves, Brahmins and other similar priestly classes seldom officiating. Idols are almost unknown or, where found, consist of a rude unhewn stone; but almost every deity has a metal mask which is at stated periods tied on to the top of a pole dressed up to represent the human form, placed in a sedan chair, and taken round to make visits to the neighbouring divinities or to be feasted at a private house in fulfillment of a vow. Each temple has its own feasts, at which neighbouring deities will attend, and on all such occasions sheep or goats are sacrificed and eaten, much hill-beer is drunk, and the people amuse themselves with dances in which the man-born deity is often pleased to join. There are also other domestic powers, such as का विर, नर सिंह, the गद्दि or fairies, and the like who have no shrines or visible signs, but are feared and propitiated in various ways. Thus for the ceremonial worship of का विर and नर सिंह, a black and white cat respectively are kept in the house. Sacrifice of animals is a universal religious rite, and is made at weddings, funerals, festivals, harvest time, on beginning ploughing, and on all sorts of occasions for purposes of purification, propitiation, or thanksgiving. The water-courses, the sprouting seeds, the ripening ears are all in charge of separate genii who must be duly propitiated.

"Till the festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, no one is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry, and send floods to destroy or injure the harvest. If therefore a Lašāka wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with a sickle made of the horn of an ox or a sheep, or tear it off with the hand. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices."

All misfortune or sickness is attributed to the maliere of some local deity or saint, and the priest is consulted as is the bhangat in the plains. Indeed the hill priests serve as a sort of oracle, and are asked for advice on every conceivable subject; when "by whisking round, by flogging themselves with chains, and so on, they get into the properly exhausted and inspired state, and grasp out brief oracular answers". Magic and witchcraft and the existence of witches and sorcerers are firmly believed in. In the Hill States, if epidemic attack or other misfortune befall a village, the soothsayer, there called sklā or "disciple", is consulted, and he fixes under inspiration upon some woman as the witch in fault. If the woman confess, she is purified by they themselves relieved, and in fact still rely, on a similar relation is dealing with their ancestral servants."

Mr. H. Fyson, C. S., notes a somewhat similar case of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction having no relation to any political one:

"The Lagal tīpa, whose jurisdiction comprises the four कहाट्स of Tikapur, Chaparmas and Mānaš in eastern Lag, Malābāda, and Dūghl in eastern Lag, Nārī, has a separate system of deities and devils. At its head is Devī Phumpat and beside her are the Nārās of the कहाट्स, the gaddi deities and village goddesses. Of these Devī Ganchi above seems to be not wholly of this tīpa as he has a temple also at Dālpura on the plain near Sattāpur. Devī Phumpat was called up by the Rāj of Kāpī the other day and reproached with not having cast rain. She was given a date for it to fall — and it came! The Rājā's ceremony is common and is probably as old as human sacrifice as the men shown (to represent the victim) is palced with arrows and clouds passes and is carried round three times before he addresses again. But Lagal does not seem to have had a specific origin, for the people say that they never had a tīpa of their own, but were always under the Rājās of Kāpī."

Tibetan: § 288.

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the chala, the sacrifice of a he-goat forming the principal feature in the ceremony. But if she deny the accusation, she will be tried by one of several kinds of ordeal very similar to those once practised in Europe, those by water and by hot iron being among them. True worship still flourishes. Mr. Alexander Anderson wrote:

"In matters of everyday importance, such as cattle-disease, health, good crops &c., in short in worldly affairs generally, the people of Kula go to the old deciduous trees in the middle of the forest where there is often no temple at all, and present a plate of iron to propitiate the deity. Such trees are common in Kula, and the number of iron nails driven into them shows that this form of worship is not dying out."

Both men and women of all classes eat meat, with the exception of widows; spirits and fermented liquids are commonly drunk, and Brahmans will eat when seated alongside of the lower castes, though not, of course, at their hands. The local saints and divinities are, unlike their rivals in the plains, all Hindu, with the doubts exceptions of Ganga Pir, and of Jamlu, a demon of Malana in Kula, who possessed great virtue before our rule, his village being a city of refuge for criminals, and whose hereditary attendants form an exceedingly peculiar body of men who are looked upon collectively as the incarnation of the divinity, are apparently of a race distinct from that of the hill-men, intermarry only among themselves, speak a dialect which is unintelligible to the people of the country, and use their reputation for meanness and the dread of their god as the means of wholesale extortion from their superstitious neighbours. Jamlu is said to be a Musalmân because animals offered to him have their throats cut. But neither he nor his worship bears any other trace of Islam, and his attendants are Hindus. His incarnation, too, is known as Râ Devi, while his sister is called Prini Devi. The other devâs indeed refuse to visit him, and pretend to treat him as an outcast; but he revenges himself by assuming a superiority to them all which in old days sometimes took the practical form of a successful demand for a part of their property. In the lower hills the Muhammadan saints re-appear as Bâba Fattu, Bâba Bhopat, and their friends, and the majority of their worshipers are again Hindus.

In Suket the temple of the Sun, known as the Sûraj Kund, was built by the Râjâ Garû Chand (or Sain) and his consort. In front of it is a tank or kánd which gives it its name and adds to its beauty. The idol, of brass, is flanked by two horses, a bâliâk in height, thus giving it the appearance of a chariot.

Memorial tablets are also found at Râmpur in Bashahr. Occasionally they contain figures of male servants who died with their chief.

1 The name devâs (Dera-dara) means 'the divine tree'. It is applied to the Himalayan cypress (Cupressus torulosa) in Kula, and to Lâhul to the Juniperus oxycedrus. The Himalayan cedar (Cedrus deodara) is called by the people dhau or ko, not devâs. — D. V.

2 There is a tradition that they were deported to their present homes by one of the Empresses as a punishment for some offence. [D. V.]

3 Mr. Fison observes that the Prini people deny this relationship. Sir Alexander Dick says that Gypshoan, the god of Lâhul, is Jamlu's brother and Hirva, the goddess to whom is attributed the peoplir of Kula, his sister: Refulit Diastol of Hind, p. 69.

4 Gouazier, pp. 30-7, where a full account of the administration is given. Apparently it was not the erection of this temple under the Râjâ's influence which led to the excommunication of the Muhammadan Brahmans, but the Devi's warnings against the pariahs and her infliction of epilepsy on his son.
a survival of the primitive idea that the Raja must enjoy the same state in the next world as in this. Mr. H. W. Emerson has come across a curious sati superstition in Manqi. He noticed that just before crossing a stream a villager picked up a stone and when he passed a certain spot threw it on a large pile of similar stones. He was told that a widow had been burnt there, that her spirit still haunted the place and that every passer-by must placate it with an offering.

Another interesting case of memorial stones is that of the rude slabs erected before a few village temples in Manqi with figures of deceased diviners carved on them. The idea here is that their spirits should serve the god.

**The Legend of Mahasī Deuta.**

Mahāsī, doubtless a corruption of Mahā-Siva, is the god who gives his name to the Mahāsī hills. In the legend that follows he appears in quadruple form as four brothers, just as Rāṇā Sut had four sons.

When Krishna disappeared at the end of Dwāpar Yuga, the Pāṇḍavas followed him. On their road to Badri-kāshram they crossed the Touns, and Raja Yadhishtir, struck with the beauty of the place, ordered Viṣṇukarmā to build a temple there. Here the Pāṇḍavas, with Draupadi, halted 9 days. They named the place Hanol, and thence journeyed by the Gangotri and Jannotri ravines, through Kedar, to Badri Nāth, where they disappeared, and the Kali Yuga began.

At its commencement demons wandered over the Uttarā Khaṇḍa, devouring the people and plundering towns and villages. The greatest of demons was Kirmar, who had Beshi, Sengi, and a host of minor demons under him at Mainḍārath, on the Touns, whence they ravaged towns and villages, until the people sought refuge in cliffs, caves and ravines. The demons devoured every one who came in their way. Once the seven sons of Hūna Brahman, who practised penance in the Desban forest, went to bathe in the Touns river and encountered Kirmar, who devoured them all.

As they did not return for some time, their mother set out in search for them, but when she reached the river without getting any clue to her sons, she sat down on its bank and began to weep bitterly. Meanwhile Kirmar, passing by, was struck with her beauty and asked why she wept. Kīrtakā turned to him and said her seven sons had gone to bathe in the river and had not returned home. Hearing this, Kirmar said:—"I am fascinated by thy beauty. If thou wilt accede to my heart's desire, I will extinguish the fire of my heart and will be grateful to thee and try to help thee in this difficulty. I am a brave man, descended from Bāwan. I have won the kingdom of these hills through the strength of my own arm."

The chaste wife was terrified at these words and they increased her grief. In her distress she began to pray, saying, "O Lord, the giver of all boons, everything rests with thee."

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1 Temple's *Legends of the Panjāb*, 111, pp. 304 et seqq.
Shiva as Mahātt. 405

Dohā (complete).

Puttar dukh dukhidh bhai,
Par-bal abaldoj.
Sattī ko sat-jit hai.
Bākho, Ishwar, lāf.

"I was distressed at the loss of my son.
To-day I am a woman in another's power.
A chaste woman whose chastity is like to be lost.
O God, keep my chastity!"

After this she took her way home, and by the power of God the demon's sight was affected, so that Kirtakā became invisible to him as she passed. She then told the story to her husband, saying with clasped hands that Durgā Devī would be pleased with her devotion and destroy the demons, for she alone was endowed with the power of averting such evil. The demons had corrupted religion, outraged chastity and taken men's lives.

On hearing this, her husband said they would go and worship Hāt-kotī Ishwār Matā. So Hūna went to the goddess with his wife. He first offered her flowers, and then prayed to Hāteshwārī Durgā with the eight-hands. While he prayed he unsheathed a dagger and was about to cut off his own head with it, when the goddess revealed her spirit to him, caught his hand, and said:—"I am greatly pleased with thy devotion. Go to the mountains of Kashmir, pray to God, and all thy desires will be fulfilled. Shiv-ji will be pleased and will fulfill thy desires. Go there cheerfully and there will be no obstacle in thy way."

Obeying the order of the goddess, Hūna went at once, and in a few days reached his destination. After his departure, he gave up eating grain and lived on vegetables. He also gave up clothes, using the bark of trees for his dress. He spent most of his time in worship, sometimes standing on one toe. When Shiv-ji was pleased with him, the spirit of the four-armed image addressed him, saying, 'I am greatly pleased with thee: ask me any boon which thou desirest'.

On hearing these words from the god Siva, Hūna clasped his hands and said:—"O Siva, thou hast power to kill the demons. Thou hast power to repel all enemies and to remove all difficulties. I pray and worship the Ganges, the saviour of the creatures of the three worlds, which looks most beautiful as it rests on thy head. There are no words to describe thy glory. The beauty of thy face, which is so brilliant with the serpents hanging round thy neck, beggars all description. I am highly indebted to the goddess of Hāt-kotī, at whose feet I bow my head, and by whose favour I and my wife are so fortunate as to see thee in Kāli Yuga".

Uttar Khāng me vikhash bāse, manukhā ko karte ādār.
Kuī mūlī bārdā koī, ābādī hogāt ejiār.
Shiva as Maháráj.

Tum hi Rudar, tum hi Bishnú Nand Gopáľ.
Dukh hídá sur sidhána ko, mrdá rakhnae tat-káí.
Sát puttar mujh dás ko nahdná gae jah parbháí.
Jab ghdí gayo nádi Tous ko jinko Kírmár kháño ek-édth.

"The demons who dwelt in the Northern region are preying upon the people.
They have laid waste the country and the people have fled.
Thou only art Ruddar (Siva), thou alone art Bishnú Nand Gopáľ.¹
The sages and devotees are in distress, kill the demons at once.
Early in the morning the seven sons of me, thy slave, went to bathe.
When they reached the banks of the river Tous, Kírmár ate them at once.²"

The god Siva was pleased at these words and said:—"O Rikhi, the people of the Káli Yug being devoid of religion have lost all strength. I admire thy sincere love and true faith, especially as thou didst not lose heart in worshipping me. Hence all thy desires shall be fulfilled, and I have granted thee the boon asked for. Be not anxious, for all the devils will be killed in a few days.³"

Dohá (couplet).

Bidá bhiyo jab Bipra ko, déyé aaháit, phul, chháíág.
Saktí rúp pahlé pargat gai Mainádráth ko bá̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃̃‌

¹ Explained to mean ' the son of Nand, i.e. Krishna'.
garden at Maindārath. Numerous demons will come out of her thimble, and every hair of her body will send forth a halo. Do not lose courage but go home with thy wife. Keep the garland of flowers, the rice, and the lamp which I have given thee concealed beneath the pipal tree which stands in the garden behind thy house, and perform the customary daily worship of all these. Light this lamp and offer me flowers and incense on the asthas of Bhādon and thenceforth worship me with a sincere heart. Also perform the ājgaras on that day for one day and night. By so doing thou wilt, on the third day, observe a Sakti emerge from the ground with a fountain. Flames will then be visible all around. From her forehead and other limbs will spring gods, who will be named after the member from which they were born. The four gods, called the Nāg Chaath or Mahāsū, will appear on the fourth of the light half of Bhādon. Those who appear on the following day, i.e., the 5th, will be called Kiyān and Bānī. Moreover, many distinguished above the rest by their courage will spring from the Sakti’s hair. They will kill the demons and give great happiness to the people. They will fix their capital at Hānd, which was founded by the Pāṇḍavas.

When this boon was granted to Ḫūla Riki, he walked round the god and paid him obeisance. After this he went his way homewards and the god disappeared.

After many days the Riki reached home with his wife, and acting on the god’s directions carefully placed the lamp, flowers and rice on the prescribed spot. On the asthas of Bhādon he worshipped and lighted the lamp. On the third day a fountain sprang up, wherein the Sakti appeared.

Chaudā?

Bhāmi in qirn Matā Deo Lārī.
Thān Deo Matā ko Konga re Bārī.

"Mother Deo Lārī appeared from the earth."

The temple of Deo Matā (was named) the Bārī of Konga. over ājgaras.

Ta hi yog, yugti, ta hi yog māl.
De, Matā, bachen de pānā ko men Ḫāi.

"Then only art devotion and the law, thou art the mother of the age
O Mother, give us thy promise to lead us on the (right) path."

Matā ho bala Māl re aqī re gothu.
Bōthā vijī Mahāsū hi sūraj re bhakhe.

"On the Mother’s head burnt a fire of faggots.
Mahāsū was born with luster like the rays of the sun."
"Placing her hand round her breast,
The Mother brought forth her son, Chálīḍa".

Mážá Deo Lári ne háth bhe bhare
Báshak Pábási done háth dē jhare.

"Mother Deo Lári raised her hands.
Báshak and Pábási both sprang from her two hands".

Chauth men upne Mahású châte.
Panchmí hái tithi de Deo Kiyálu Banár.

"The four Mahásús were born on the fourth." On the fifth were created the gods Kiyálu and Banár".

Sher Kálíd Kiyálu hoe Bohhe re vauir.
Ravo hoe ramo de nau lákher bhe.

"Shér Kálíd and Kiyálu became the ministers of Botha. Nine lákhs of heroes sprang from every hair".

Háth jote Hána gau daip naire vé jéi:
'Sahe manukh lé, Málhá, dilkáhád khádi'.

"Hána fell at her feet with clasped hands:
'All mankind has been devoured by the demons, O Mistress'".

Háth bande paire shér lágy jánú:
'Maindárath Tālo de Kirmar dánú'.

"With clasped hands and feet he placed his head on her knees:
'Kirmar, the demon (dwells) in the Maindárath Itake'".

Kathá hál saind Maindárath ke báig.
Chár kháti Mahású kardé re áig.

"The armies were arrayed in the garden of Maindárath. The four Mahású brothers were like the fire".

1. Báshak is also called Chálīḍa, i.e., the 'goer', the serpent.
2. Of the light half of Bhádón.
3. That is to say, two of the four Mahású were created on the 5th of the light half of Bhádón.
5. Of cow-dung raka.
Shiva as Mahásīt.

Hánum jáise rikhiye atri binti liki,
Isi ko kiran chār Mahāsū ài.

“Hána, the Rishí, made a great prayer:
The four Mahāsū for this purpose have come’’
Sabhi jābi dehte ne binti liki:
‘Kyā dēna dūyi Deo Lāri Māi’?

“All the gods made a prayer (saying):
What are the orders of the goddess Deo Lāri Māi’’?
Jab ādi dūyi Srī Devī Māi:
‘Kirmar Keshi rékhas ko tum do ghūn’.

‘Then Srī Devī Māi gave orders:
You must kill the demons Kirmar and Kēshī’’.

Chambala.
Rājā Rikhl cholīyā lāyo tero nāw,
Rājan ko rāj nāw tero nāw.

“Thy name is king of Rikhl-choliyā.
Thy name is king of kings’’.
Kungā, kastārā, Rājā, gurgā ko dhāp,
Chār Bhādī Mahāsū Narān ko rāp.
Rājān ko rāj nāw tero nāw.

“With saffron, musk, and fragrant resin and incense, Rājā,
The four Mahāsū brothers are Narān incarnate.1
Thy name is king of kings’’.
Hāth shankh, chakhar, gāl aṃp ko hār,
Chār bhādī Mahāsū Buddar avatār;
Bhekhdāhārī edjān ko rāj, nāw tero nāw.

“With conch and quoit in their hands, and serpents round their necks,
The four brothers Mahāsū are Buddar incarnate,
In spite of all disguises, thy name is king of kings’’.
Hāth shankh, chakhar gaju, tārshāl,
Nāch lāyo part ro, bakhā hoe phāl,
Bhekhdāhārī dājā lāyo tero nāw.
Rājan ko rāj, nāw tero nāw.

1 i.e., Śiva.
"Conch, quoit, mace and trident in hand,  
Dance of fairies and rain of flowers,  
In spite of all disguise kingly is thy name,  
Thy name is king of kings".

Uliyá ko náti Rájá Bhimlá ko jāyo,  
Kashmiré chhorí Rájá Maindárath áyo.  
Rájan ko ráj, náv tero náv.

"Uliyá’s grandson and Rájá Bhimlá’s son has been born,  
The Rájá left Kashmir and came to Maindárath,  
Thy name is king of kings".

Dohá (complete).

Tháro ant koí nañig jāne, liló param apár.  
Bhayat hit körne tum koí bidh séte ko actér.

"None knoweth thy infinity, thy glory is infinite,  
Thou dost take many shapes in order to do good”.

Binti sàn rikhi ki, parvar hve utyat.

Hukam déyé sañípañton ko ‘méra asur turant’.

"Hearing the prayer, great was the joy of the saints,  
They gave the order to the leaders to slay the demons forthwith”.

Agyá páí, Mahású kí mungar légo háth,  
Möhán rath par Chállág baiñho naú lákh saíná láth.

"Receiving the orders, the Mahásás took bludgeons in their hands,  
Chállág sat in his great-war chariot at the head of nine lâkhs of men”.

Pértham yudh hóh Maindárath meñ, saíná móri apár,  
Aísr Shìb Shànkar bhae jo santín prán adhár.

"Battle was first joined at Maindárath and armies were slain,  
It was Shìb Shànkar who thus came to save his disciples”.

When the whole army of the râkshasas had been killed, Kirmar  
beat a retreat and came to Majhog, the abode of Singi, the demon.  
There they collected their scattered forces, intending to give battle afresh.

Dohá (complete).

Jab Majhog meñ devat pahánche án,  
Singi móro jag dzíit, hóh yudh ghamán.

"When the râkshas reached Majhog,  
They killed Singi, the demon, and a desperate battle was fought”.
On hearing of the slaying of Singi Rákhshas by Sher Kuli, and that most of his men were slain, Kirnár fled to Kínári Khandái, a village on the river bank, but was pursued by the dólás. When he was about to hide in a ravine of Mount Khandái, he was overtaken by Chálda Mahású, who rode on a throne of flowers borne by two soldiers.

Dohá (couplet in Pahári).

Khandái jiné ko pão há thá thão,
Bir bhánë yé Bajíne hánánt ré láo.

"He took refuge under a rock in the village of Khandái,
Intending to smite with his sword his opponent.".

When Sri Chálda killed the demon, a large force of other gods reached him.

Dohá (couplet in Pahári).

Sáth larnu deko kharë háhántë,
Ghúk húos ré khébas lái lái háhántë.

"All the gods attacked with their swords
And cut the demons to pieces."

After killing the demon Kirnár, all the gods threw flowers over Sri Chálda and paid homage to him.

Dohá (couplet).

Aái Káli Yag mén Kirnár hígh réí,
Sant mahétma ko dwar déyo deit samáj.

"Kirnár ruled the world in the beginning of the Káli Yag.
The demon brotherhood caused great trouble to the saints and the men of God."

Sub deyan ko deb hái Mahású kértár,
Kirnár dái márë, dár biyo mahí-bhár.

"The lord Mahású is the god of all gods,
Killing the great Kirnár, he has lightened the burden of the World."

Yah charít ne Mahádev há chít de sune jó kól,
Sákh raho sukhumampadá var mákht phal hái.

"He who listens to this story of Mahádev with a sincere heart,
Will always remain happy and attain the fruit of salvation."

1. From sád-as, to break, in Pahári.
2. Lit., "raising high".
3. I.e., Mahású.
4. Ghúk hám, "are killing".
After killing Kirmar, all the gods encamped in a field near Khandaj and the place came to be called Dev-khatal. It still forms the jagir of Dev Banjar. The place in Khandaj, where Kirmar met his death, still retains the marks of his sword on a rock. Travellers and passers-by worship this stone by offering flowers, and also express gratitude to Mahasud.

Next morning at daybreak Huna Rikhi came toMahasud with clasped hands and expressed joy at Kirmar's death. He further begged that the demon, Keshi, who had made Hanol his abode and was destroying its people should be killed, adding that the place was a delightful one, as it had a fine temple, that the rippling waves of the river by which it lay added beauty to its scenery, that it was a place of sanctity and would be better under his rule than under the demons, and that it was therefore right that the demon should be killed.

Hearing this the god marched his army in that direction, and on the march they passed Salna Patti, a village in Raisingarh, near which lived another demon in a tank, receiving its water from the Pabar. When the flower-throne of Mahasud reached this spot he saw a demon dancing in the tank and making a noise. Sri Naath Ji said to Mahasud:— "This is a fearsome sight! When Mahasud heard Uma Shankiri's words he knew by the might of his knowledge that this was the demon spoken of by the rikhi. He stopped his throne and destroyed the demon on the spot by muttering some charms, which had such power that even to this day the river does not make any sound as it flows. Hence the place is called Nashudi.

**Dokā.**

Bajā jari-bhārtha deote ra bājā,
Boṭha Bajā Mahasū Hanola kha birājī.

"Jari-bhartha, the music of the gods, was played,
When Boṭha, Bajā and Mahasū left for Hanol".

Mahārāj Mahasū Chālīga Pabārī,
Hanol dēchhīra bahatu mano dē hād.

"Mahārāj Mahasū, Chālīga and Pabārī,
The gods laughed greatly in their hearts on seeing Hanol".

Chhotē chhotē bahutē deo,
Sri Boṭha Mahasū deote ra deo.

"There are many minor gods,
But Sri Boṭha Mahasū is the god of gods."

When Sri Mahasud reached Hanol with his army, he asked Huna Rikhi if it was the resort of Keshi the demon. The latter humbly replied that it was, but he added that the demon sometimes haunted the Masmor mountains, and had perhaps gone in that direction and that
preparations for his destruction should be made at once. Upon this all the gods held a council and sent Sri Chālā with Sher Kaliā, Koli and others to the mountains of Masmor to kill the other warrior-gods. They set out in search of the demon. This song of praise was sung:—

Teri Hanol, Rājā, phelga ki bāri,
Chār bhāi Māhāsa Māla Deo Lārī.
Rājān ko rāj, nāw tere nāw.
Mēsh-dhāri Rājā-jī
Rājā, Rājā ahīve, purjā nāve.

“Rājā thou hast a garden of flowers in thy Hanol,
The abode of the four Mahāsaś and their mother.
Thy name is king of kings.
In spite of all disguise thou art Lord,
The queen, the king and his subjects bow down to thee”.

Potgi.

Khanḍā dākā nāmi chor,
Le chala Potgi meri uhhī Masmor.
Rājān ko rāj, nāw tere nāw.

Kashmirī Rājā dawā kethī? Bhimā kī or.

“Thieves and robbers of Khanḍā,
Bear ye my palanquin up to Masmor.
Thy name is king of kings,
Whither is the king of Kashmir gone? He is gone towards Bhimā”.

Kailās Kashmirī chhāto rājasthān Maindārath ayā.
Rājān ko rāj, nāw tere nāw.

“Thou hast left Kailās and Kashmir and came to Maindārath.
Thy name is king of kings”!

When Sri Chālā’s throne reached the hill with his attendants playing music, the demon Keshī witnessed his arrival, and thought him to be the same who had killed his lord Kirmā, and had come there for the same purpose. So he made ready for battle and said, “It is not right to fly”. Thinking thus, he took a huge mace and spear to attack the god. When about to shatter the god in pieces with his mace, the god’s glory was manifested and the demon’s hand hung motionless. Sri Chālā ordered Sher Kaliyā to kill the demon at once. This order was instantly obeyed. The people of the place were exceedingly glad at this good news, and there was much throwing of flowers over Mahāsa.
"All the hill people rejoiced:

Accept as thy revenue the offerings made out of our (share of the) produce.

Kár deo khaunpání pàre Hano lé,
Sadd báreí de barse deo Bháraúr le bulđa.

We will work and send tribute in our turn to Hano,
And will bring the god for worship to Bharáu every twelve years.

Sádá káher, Mahátaúdá, mulak thihrá,
Sál deo samato vá káto vá kher.

O Maháu, we say this land is thine for ever.
And we will give thee each year every kind of grain in due season.

Bhát, kar, rákhshar, parét, chhál,
Kár deo khaunpání sádá rāhai parjá támhrá.
Achhiddar de our karó rakshá hamdá.

Protect us from the evil-spirits, spirits, demons, ogres and goblins,
And we will give thee tribute and ever remain thy subjects.

Give us prosperity and grant us protection.

After killing the demon, Sri Chálāḍa Maháu sat on his throne and came with his forces to Hano in great state. He brought with him all the offerings in gold and silver, as well as a gold saddú taken from the demons.

On reaching the place he recounted the death of Kesh to Botha Maháu, saying:—"All the demons have been killed by thy favour, and all the troubles removed. Accept these offerings which I have brought and send them to thy treasury".

Hearing this, Botha Maháu said:—"O Sri Chálāḍa, go with all these heroes to the places which I name and divide the country among them, so that they may rule there, and guard the people against all calamities. The people of these lands will worship thee as thy subjects and be dependent on thee. Every person will offer thee silver, gold, brass or copper on the attainment of his desires. Wherever thou mayest go, the inhabitants will worship thee, performing a jāydrā on the Nág-chauth and Nág-panchami days, which fall each year in Bhádou. They will be amply rewarded for these annual fairs". And he added:—"Thou shalt be worshipped like myself, and be highly esteemed throughout my kingdom, but thou wilt have to pay the māti ká fisá dues
for each place to the other gods. When a grand jégrá is performed, thou wilt be invited to present offerings to me”.

Dái té lál mardang shumkh báje ghánta
Sabhé Sri Mahášá taje déboton ko ráij déno bánte.

“"The cymbal, the mardang and the conch were sounded and bells were rung.

When Sri Mahášá divided his kingdom among his minor gods”.

Ráj sabé déboton kó is tarah bánte,
Rájáháni Pabásé dénd Deban rā janádí.

“"He divided his State to the gods thus,

Giving the territory of Mount Deban to Pabásé”.

Báshuk ko Báwar déno poru Bilo boli Sáthí,
Pabásé Bel déno puruá ko Bel Páshe.

“"To Báshuk he gave the whole of the Báwar territory with the part of Bilo on this side of Sáthí;

To Pabásé he also gave the country of Sháthí which is on the bank of the Patwál”.

Kálé Kotlá há déno Kyálée Bandár,
Bothá Cháláá Mahášá ró ráj hooma sarah pahár.

"To Kálé and Banár he gave Kálé and Kotlá also.

And Botha and Cháláá Mahášá became rulers of the whole of the hill tract”.

Bothá Cháláá Mahášá sab déban re deo,
Pújané ró Mahášá re jánade ró annu.

“"Botha and Cháláá Mahášá are the gods of all the gods.

The people do not know how to worship Mahášá”.

Sab richá dani Húná Rikhi khe Veda ri batás.
* Isi бûrī kēr mere debte ri pújan karūt’.

"The hymns of the Vedas* were dictated to Húná Rikhi:

* Perform my worship according to them *”.

Sub guare debte apne sahána khe játi,
Veda ri richá dani pújané lāi.

1 This is the meaning as explained by the descendant of Káverd. lit. the translation appears to be — to Pabásé he gave Bel on the day of the full moon, and so it is (now) called Bel Páshe.

* That is, in regard to the worship of this god.
"All the gods went to their own capitals.
The Vedic hymns should be used in worship."
Sri Mahásá is sah sah dothe goe di,
Is Khang Uttar men dothe maná kardí.

"All the gods who had come with Mahásá,
Are worshipped in this Northern Region."
Nótáre Pokhó chhopá jo maréshwar Mahádeo,
Hanol me Bothá Mahásá jo suh dehan ke deo.

"Nótáre! and Pokhó remain, Mahádev the god of the burning places.
Bothá Mahásá is the god of gods in Hanol."
Ohré men Chuirishwar wahi Mahásá hai deo.
Desh chhore deshore Pun dí Bhrindrá deo.

"That same Mahásá as Chuirishwar is the god of the Chúr Peak.
Pun, Bhrindrá and others are in charge of the other parts of the plain country."
Naráin, Ruddar, Dhaúlá, Ghoród dothe gayé Bashahe ri ndí.
Hát-koti me Mátá Haidishvarí aur pahár pahré men Kálí.

"The gods Naráin, Ruddar, Dhaúlá and Ghórdú were sent towards the valley of Bashahe.
Mother Háté-hwarí was in Hát-koti and on every hul was Kálí."
Sabhán hi pújan Bháti hai jai jai kír.
Kírmár dí ndí ndí ke áándh bhoje sañáír.

"All worship the Brothers and give them (the cry of) victory.
The world became very happy at the death of Kírmár and the other demons."

Déh humá mútak, Sri Chálóa, tumhántá.
Hanoló ke bhejá húto rá hárá.

"Sri Chálóa, all this country is thine.
Thy servants give thee tribute in Hanol."

"Thus was a separate tract assigned to each, and they were sent each to his own territory. Húna Rikhi was loaded with blessings in money. After this, Mahášá disappeared and an image of him with four arms appeared of its own accord. It is worshipped to this day."
Sab gya dothe upnu apnu aathá,
Jab Bothá háte Shrí Maháshá-jí antar-dhyan.

"All the gods went to their own places,
And then Bothá Sri Mahásá disappeared."

1 In Gañhwá.
Kiyâlu and Banâr flew away,  
And took possession of the fields of Kût.  

The following story is connected with these two places:—The capital of the two gods is Pajárrî, a village at the foot of the Burgâ Hill, beyond the Pabar stream.  

When all the gods had gone to their own places, all the land was regarded as the kingdom of Mahâsû, and his capital was Hâniol. It is now believed that if any irregularity occurs in this territory, the gods in charge of it and the people are called upon to explain the reason. The people of this country believe Mahâsû to have such power that if a person who has lost anything worships the god with sincere heart, he will undoubtedly achieve his desire.

Dohâ (couplet),

_Lele ishi barnan sakke koâ kamn t?
Aâdi deban ko dev hât, Mahâsû kahiss jaun._

"Who can praise him?  
He is the chief god of all gods, and is called Mahâsû."

_Jo jen dî-na-khar unho dhâyuse.
Woh samay man-bînchhât phât pînès._

"He who remembers him with humble mind,  
Shall at last have all his desires fulfilled."  

_Aise bhan yih Rudder avâtär,
Jin kêt sahät samadî._

"So (great) is the incarnation of Rudder.  
That all the world is delivered from transmigration."  

_Woh Shih Shankar avâtär,
Jînhî mâyâ ne bânâhî samadî._

"He is Shiv Shankar incarnate,  
And the whole world is enthralled by his illusion."  

_Aise haiâ woh Shih Shankar dînandâ,
Jîn ke simran sa bête kar phandâ._

"Such is Shiv Shankar ever pleased,  
Who remembers him passes safely through the whole maze."  

_Jis ne is men shankâ uñhî,
Woh narâh ki mèt hât Shamkhâ ne pêt._

"He who has doubts as to these things,  
Is doomed to hell by Shambhû."  

1. Kût is a place in Rawâingsâ, near the Burgâ Mountains.  
2. Shivâ.

Or we may read Har phandâ and translate: ‘By remembrance of him (mankind) may be delivered from the maze of Har (Shiv)."
Woh Shīv Shankar antarjāmi,
Jin ko dhyānat sur nar guṇād.

"He is Shīv Shankar, the heart-searcher,
On whom meditate the heroes and the sages".
Yē Shambhu Jagat suh dāl,
Jin hā pār hā nāhī pāī.

"He is Shambhu and gives blessings to the world,
And no one can fathom his doings".
Bhāva, Sharva, Rudra, Pashu-pātī, Griiaha, Mahesha, mahaṇ,
Jin le guṇānu vāh ko pīve Veda Purāṇa.

"He is Bhāva, Sharva, Rudra, Pashu-patī, Giriha, Mahesha, the great one,
Whose virtue is sung in the Vedās and Purāṇa".
Aise bhuā woh Mahāśe suh-dāyī,
Tad that aur jo vah savāyī.

"Mahāśe comforts every man,
And his glory pervades both sea and land".
Kūd bharman nā sahe nahi prabhutāri;
Brahma, Vishnu, Sāradā anī nahi pāī.

"We lack words to tell his greatness ;
Brahma, Vishnu, and even Sāradā could not know his reality".
Tān lok hā nāhī hāi ant nahi; kaahhu pāī;
Brahmad, Vishnu, Sāradā, hāre guṇe man nahi.

"He is the king of the three worlds and is infinite :
Even the gods Brahma, Vishnu and Sāradā could not stand before him".
Hāth jo te Brahmad, Vishnu, shairī Sāradā maāi;
"Tān lok mān jāte bhāte par kīne nahi pāī".

"Brahmah, Vishnū and Mother Sāradā stood with clasped hands before him :".
"We have been round the three worlds, but could find no end (to his glory)".
Khi̇d mara saha khaat bhae pār nahi jāh pāī,
Hāth jo bhras thāte bhae māth-pāde sāh nahi.

"When they could find no end to his glory,
They came before him with clasped hands and bowed heads".
Shiva in Manći.

Sic manći ko nātha puṣṭ ka bhiṅe bahūt pukadr:
‘Tum dēsā nā ḍā ḍā ḍā pāravā apār.’
“They bowed their heads to the god and praised him aloud:
‘Thou art the god of all gods and wondrous is thy glory’."
‘Hai Chandru-chāra mandālāḥ-thāk puṣṭ ka jātād:
Tā hō ḍā hṛtā hṛtā dēsā ḍā ḍā Mahāhād.’

‘Thy light is like that of the moon and thou art full of water like the ocean:
Thou art Mahādā, the creator and destroyer of the three worlds’.

Johān tahān bhaṇ Mahādıṇa nātu tur-phāṭān,
Tab māṭī nātuṭī kāṛat Ḍanḍa Ṣhāṇ

“From the time that Mahādā disappeared,
He began to be praised in the Hanol temple’.

Woh śāṇ hāi Uttar Khand māṭā;
Nāṭā ḍānār Tāṅś ko mandāṛ baṇā nāṭā.

“His place is in the Northern Region:
His temple is built on the bank of the river Tāṅś’.

When all the gods went to their own places, the other gods agreed to pay tribute to Hanol according to the directions of Mahādā. They also agreed to pay adhānā dues on the birthday of Mahāndītā to the inhabitants.

In Kulti Mahādā is known as Kashu-bhānu and when disputants take an oath, they drink water in his name. The party telling an untruth suffers from the draught thus drunk.

Shiva worship is very common in Manći, both in the town and in the ḍāgā — much more so than in Bashair, where Kālī worship is far more important. The veneration of Shiva, however, is not universal. In several ḍāgās adjacent to Kulti the shīrāṭ receives very casual notice whereas Dvari worship is general there. Mr. H. W. Emmeren does not think it safe to say that the cults of Shiva are imported or that they are merely the cults of the educated classes. In the hills, as a rule, the low aboriginal castes are the greatest worshippers of Shiva, but the Kanets also — though the custom varies considerably — are very zealous observers of the shīrāṭ. There is also a close association between Shaitism and Nāg worship — the Nāgs are his (or Kālī’s) favourite servants. Lingās are common and in more or less orthodox temples are found with the gōm. Near the entrance to the kāruṅ sārdā there is a very horrible image of Darga with a realistic lingās in front round which a cobra is coiled with the canopy over the top of the
lingam. The shivratri is the great official festival of Mándi, corresponding to the Dasahar of Kulu. The gods are all brought in and do obeisance first to Mādhu Rāj, the real ruler of the State, and then to the Rājā his vice-regent. The latter always goes behind Mādhu Rāj in the procession.

In Mándi the cults of Śiva are chiefly affected by Brahmans, Bājpūts, Khatris and Bohras which may point to their imported origin, or merely indicate that they are the cults of the educated classes as opposed to the cultivator masses. In Mándi town a temple is dedicated to Śiva Ardhanāreshwara or Śiva as half himself and half his consort Gauri or Pārīnāti, the first creator of all things, older than sex itself. On the left bank of the Bīś is a temple to the Pancha-bāktra or 'five-faced' Śiva and on the right bank one to Tīlōkānēth, 'lord of the three worlds', with three faces. It would be interesting to know if these temples are complementary to each other like those of Dēra Din Panāh in Muzaffar-gārgh. Another and a very old temple to Śiva is that of Bālāk Nāth in Mándi town, regarding whose idol a legend of the usual type is told. A cow was seen to yield her milk to a stone, and beneath it Rājā Ajbar Sain (c. 1500 A. D.) discovered the idol and founded the temple in consequence of a dream. Bālāk Nāth, son of Śiva, has a temple on the bank of the Bīś. He is not to be confounded with Bālāk Rūpī. Rhāīro is a disciple of Śiva and a Sōthī, and Gāmpati or Gānesh is his most dutiful son, as elsewhere. In Suket Rājā Mādan Sain founded a temple to Aṣṭān (??) Sthamba Nāth, apparently a form of Śiva.

Although out of 49 fana in Mándi town no less than 24 are dedicated to Śiva, the Gōsāns, his votaries, have declined in importance.

In Kulu the tradition is that the deotas represent the rishi and other great men who were in existence at the time of the Mahābhārata. After that war the deotas and rishis of that epoch came and settled in the Kulu valley and the autoclouns built temples and raised memorials to them. The reason advanced for this tradition is that all the temples and deotas bear the names of those rishis and heroes. But the temples at Manikāran (Rāmchandara's), Sultānāpur (to Rāghūnāth), Mahārāja and Jagat Suck are ascribed to the time of Mahārāja Jagat Singh while the Sikh temple at Haripur was erected by Rājā Hari Suck.

In Mándi Tomasha rishi is still worshipped by Brahmans at Rawal-sar lake, as well as by Buddhists under the name of Padmasambhāra.

* Women visit this temple every Monday and sing hymns with khangas in their hands.
* For a beautiful illustration of a temple to Bālāk Nāth in Mālwa see Arch. Survey Rep., 1913-14, Pl. VII—Pl. VIII.
* In the hillie Ganesa is known as Bānpūs or Bānhīn: picture, called hāvū or hāva, is carved in stone or wood and set up in the house-door when ready. J. A. R. 1911, pp. 184, 205, 175. Haswell's explanation of Ganesa's elephant head is worth citing. He describes him as the god of worldly wisdom and as the 'protector of household', representing the wisdom which brings to mankind a great store of this world's goods; the dignity of an elephant which keeps the mind tied to earth, not the spirit, nerve of Śiva, which can take wings and lift the soul to heaven; wherefore he is the patron deity of scholars and publishers. But how much of this explanation is due to Mr. Haswell's own ingenuity and how much to orthodox or current belief? The Ideals of Indian Art, pp. 51, 52.
* Francke's Antiquities of Indian Text, p. 139.
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1 The temple of Bāha Rājī is connected with this; the Purāṇas say that the place where he preached the Gāṇa was the source of the river Bile. Any one shouting Bile Kund is fed here. The purāṇas are Gauḍa, Kusmanda and Mārkāna.
2 At another temple the chanting of the gītā is kept. It is decorated with fine statues, as well as ornaments of silver and gold, and the images of gods are arranged in it. The gītā is also worshipped at the fair.
3 A temple called Gauḍa Pera is connected with this. When the Charhit is elsewhere the god is kept in the temple.

4 This village also has a temple to Saum in Mānall (Gauḍa Bile, p. 40).
5 Two other temples are connected with this.
6 Mārkānanda fair is held annually on the 1st of Balsākh in Kāgra. Mārkānanda was an angel, but his image is now applied to any water which flows eastward. On the Kāgra of each month people bathe in this water and give alms. In Kāgra proper Mārkānanda’s image seems to have been placed on bridges and as guardian of bridges he would appear to have been known as Mangalādar—unless that was the name of his spouse. The god Mangalādar Dēk is attached to the temple.

7 When Mānalla was queen Mangalādar’s drum was heard; the bridges of Saum carried the god Mārkānanda to Mānalla.”

And the legend goes that when queen Mangalā ruled at Jīn, at the junction of the Bile and Saumāli rivers, the latter used to be spanned by a bridge at bāhā, just above the confluence. When the drum used in the worship of Mangalādar burst the bridge fell, but the last of Mārkānanda, which was on the bridge when it fell, was carried on the timbers of the fallen structure down the river to Māhāl, where Mārkānanda’s temple now stands. (Dīkṣit, Kālāth Dīsāl, p. 20.)
In Saraj there are several minor cults of interest. Besides that of Jamun who is identifiable with Jamdagni rishi, Markanda and Shringa rishis are the objects of worship. The former has three temples. That at Mangaur, which derives its name from one name of the temple, is also called Kalandari. From 1st to 5th Phagan a fair is held here every third year, and on the shivaratri in Chat a bramkhoj (free distribution of food) is celebrated and girls are feasted. On 1st Baiak a jag is held at which the god is taken to the nearest river to bathe. Small fairs are also held during the first week of Baiak. During Bhadon the god is invited to all the neighbouring villages, and for many nights an illumination is made before him. Throughout Pho and Magh the god is shut up in the temple which is re-opened in Phagan. Once upon a time, the story goes, a Raja in Mangaur asked a Brahman to recite the Chandi to him and while he was doing so a sidhi appeared. It was declared that Markanda rishi had thus manifested himself, and many people became his followers. His fame soon reached the ears of Raja Mangal Sain of Chand who gave land in nasi for the maintenance of his shrine. After the Raja's death a shikharsa was built at Mangaur in his memory, but the exact date of its foundation is not known. It contains a stone pindi, 2 feet high, as well as a stone image. Its affairs are managed by a kardar by caste a Gaur Brahman. A Sarsiti puja is employed for worship. The gur is also a Brahman. These persons do not celibate and their offices are hereditary. A bhoog of sweet meat, phal, rice etc. is offered daily and a sacred lamp is lit every evening. No other shrine is connected with this one.

The story about Markanda's other temples is that he is in the habit of manifesting himself through his gur, who goes into a trance on 2nd Phagan every year. While in this state he declares that there are seven Shivas in Tribhunath in Lakhul, who begot seven devotees named Markanda: that one of them stayed at his birthplace, while the other six came to Rothi Kot. One of them settled in Maklahr, while the rest set out for Mangaur. There one of them carved out a principality and the other four made their way to Balagad, Fatehpur, Mandi and Nur. Nur was governed by a thikur whom the devotee killed and took possession of his territory. After this Markanda disappeared below the earth, whereupon a pindi of stone appeared. Two temples were built at this place. The date of their foundation is not known. One of them contains a stone pindi 3 feet high, and the other a chariot of the god. Their administration is carried on jointly by a kardar and the villagers. The puja is Bharalawaj Brahman. He is not celibate and the succession is governed by natural relationship. Special reverence is paid only to the gur. No special rites are performed by the puja. The usage of bhoog is not known. No sacred lamp is lit, nor is fire maintained. Connected with this are the shrines in Nur and Nola. The annual fair is held on 10th and 20th Baiak. A jag is celebrated after every 12 years, at which a few animals are sacrificed. It generally falls in Maghar or Katak.

Markanda and Devi Bala Durga have a temple at Markanda where a fair is held on 5th Phagan, and at the Holt it lasts from the end of

*Popularly called Singh rishi.
The rights in Saraj.

Chet to the 10th of Baisakh. Other fairs are also held on 12th and 18th Baisakh. During the navratras festivals also virgins are fed and worship performed. The story is that once a ekdak came from Triloknath and declared that the places should be consecrated to the worship of the Devi and Mûrkanda. Accordingly they were installed here. The temple was founded in the Dwâpar Yug. It contains a stone prâti. Its affairs are managed by a kârdâr. For worship a Brahman is employed. The kârdâr is a Gaur Brahman and the pujârî a Sârsat. All the questions put to the god are answered through a gur.

Deota Shringâ Rikhi in Chaîni has two temples: one in Sikarn and the other in Bijepur. The fair at the former is held annually on the last day of Baisakh, and at the latter on any auspicious date in Phágan. Besides these, a fair is held at Banjûr on 2nd Jeth. The story is that Shertâgan, a Kanet of Rikhi, was once ploughing his field on the Tirthan Khâd when he heard a voice saying: "I will come". This was repeated on three successive days, and on the morning of the last day of Baisakh a prâti in the image of a man emerged from the Khâd and approached the man. It directed him to carry it to the place where during the Dwâpar Yug it had performed asceticism. On the way it stopped at two places, Bijepur and Sikarn, where the temples were afterwards built. Here a ekdâ, during the night, learnt in a vision that the god's name was Shringâ Rikhi. The temples were founded in the Dwâpar Yug. It contains a black stone prâti 2½ feet long. Its administration is carried on by a Kanet kârdâr. A Brahman pûjârî is employed to perform all the rites. His caste is Sârsat and got Dharmian. A bhog of rice, dîl, milk, gî or sugar is offered twice a day, and a sacred lamp is lit every evening. Low castes are not allowed to offer any edible thing as bhog, but no distinction is made in their offerings of other things. Connected with this are the shrines in Chaîni and Bâgi.

In Saraj Jamil and Devi Jâlpâ have a temple at Galun Deora, where a fair is held every year from 21st to 28th Phágan, and another from 21st to 26th Sâwan. The navratras in Chet and Asaî are also observed as fairs. Virgins are worshipped and a path is recited. The story goes that a ekdâ was found in Galun sitting absorbed in meditation. A thâkur asked him who he was and whence he came. He replied that people called him Jamisâgan Rikhi and added that he desired a temple to be built in his name. The thâkur built a temple, but it did not satisfy the ekdâ who, taking an image of the deor from his hair, said that a temple should be built for her residence also. This demand was not acceded to; so eventually both were installed in the same temple. It is said to have been built in the Dwâpar Yug, and contains stone prâti of the god and goddess. A silver club and a silver horse are also kept in it. Its administration is carried on by a kârdâr, by caste a Kanet. A Brahman pujârî is employed for service in the temple, while the gur is the disciple of the god. These three incumbents are not celibate and the succession follows natural relationship. The pujârî's position is good, but special reverence is paid to the gur who answers all questions put to the god. A bhog of sweetmeats, milk, rice etc. is offered daily, and the sacred lamp lighted every evening. Connected with this is the shrine in Sînch.
The principal fair in Saraj tahsil is that of Sing or more correctly Shringa Rikhi. It takes place at Banjar, the head-quarters of the tahsil on the second of Jeth and lasts from 10 a.m. to 4 a.m. Men and women dance in crowds, a dance which is called nata. All offerings below two annas, including sweetmeats, grains and fruit, go to the pujares, those of that amount and above it are credited in the god’s treasury. Some 2000 or 3000 people attend the fair. Sweetmeats, fruit and clothes are given to relatives, especially to women. Men and women swing on jhoolyas, sing the songs called shantoths and make other forms of merriment. A considerable amount of trade also takes place.

**The Cult of Jamlu (Jamdaggar).**

The cult of Jamdaggar Rishi is widespread in the Kangra hills, the temple at Baijnath being dedicated to him. In Kulu he is especially worshipped at Malana, the remote valley whose people are called Kadou.

The following is a list of his temples in Kulu proper:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of god</th>
<th>Site of temple</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu</td>
<td>Kharan Mandir. in Kothis Malana.</td>
<td>10th of Maghar, full moon day of Maghar, one day in the dark half of Phalgus, one Thursday in Maghar, one day in the light half of Maghar, one in the light half of Phalgun, 8 days in Phalgun, 3 in Chet, 10 in the light half of Chet, 1st and 2nd of Baisakh, one in the light half of Baisakh, 1st of Jeth, 1st of Har, 3 days in the light half of Sawan, 31st of Sawan to 5th of Bhadon, Shooli Shantoths for 3 days, 5 in the light half of Aasau, and 1st of Katak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu Saman</td>
<td>Deora Jamla Saman in Saman.</td>
<td>10 days of Phalgan start lasting 4 days, 1st of Chet, 1st of Bhadon, lasting 4 days, and full moon of Maghar last 2 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deora Jamla Bhulli</td>
<td>Deora Jamla Bhulli in Sall.</td>
<td>One lasting 4 days from the Chabadi of the light half of the month, another on 1st of Chet, a third lasting 4 days in Bhadon, and a fourth 3 days on the full moon day of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deora Dafri</td>
<td>Deora Dafri in Dafri.</td>
<td>6 days in the light half of Phalgan, 3 from 1st Chet and Baisakh, 4 days from 1st Bhadon, in Sawan, and 2 days on the full moon day of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deora Shangchar</td>
<td>Deora Shangchar in Shangchar.</td>
<td>7 days on the Chabadi of the light half of Phalgan, 2 days beginning on 1st of Chet, 1st of Baisakh, and 1st of Bhadon, lasting 4 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of god</td>
<td>Site of temple,</td>
<td>Date of Fair,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durga Jaimui</td>
<td>Shesh and Jaimui in Shiggl</td>
<td>4 days on the second half of Phâgan, 2 days on the 1st of Chêk and Bûl-khêk, 4 days on 1st Bhâdôn, and in Sâwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Phâgl in 7th to 10th Phâgan, Khami Phâglî on 1st of Chêk, and Sâwan jàlô on 1st Bhâdôn.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durga Jaimui</td>
<td>Shêk and Bâlûk in Panain</td>
<td><em>Talêk and Phâgum.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durga Jaimui</td>
<td>Jamdagnag Nêkhi</td>
<td>1st of Bhâdôn, full moon day of Maghar, 6th of the light half of Phâgan, 1st of Chêk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durga Jaimui</td>
<td>Dûrî Nêkhi in Jagat Nêkhi</td>
<td><em>Phâgan and Chêk, Sâwan jàlô in Sâwan and Bhâdôn, and a fair on the full moon day of Maghar.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durga Jaimui</td>
<td>Bêl in village Shîbak</td>
<td>1st Bhêlûk and 24th Sâwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durga Jaimui</td>
<td>Jamdagnag Nêkhi in Nêkhi</td>
<td>7th Bâlûk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durga Jaimui</td>
<td>Bêl in village Bêl</td>
<td>7th Phâgan and 1st to 7th Bâlûk also Bakhri Phulûk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durga Jaimui</td>
<td>Ghât and Chêk's temple in Nêkhi</td>
<td><em>On the 2nd and 3rd half of Phâgan, 1st of Chêk and Bhâdôn, and on the full moon day of Maghar.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durga Jaimui</td>
<td>Chêk in village Sêk</td>
<td>12th Bhâdôn, 1st Phâgan, and 1st and 3rd Bâlûk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durga Jaimui Bhadagam</td>
<td>Bêl in village Bêl</td>
<td>8 days from the 2nd half of Phâgan, 1st of Chêk for 3 days, 1st of Bâlûk for 5 days, 1st of Bhâdôn for 5 days in Sâwan, and on the full moon day of Maghar for 3 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durga Jaimui Battaraka</td>
<td>Nâtûl in Phûl</td>
<td>5 days in the light half of Phâgan, 2 in the light part of Chêk, 3 days on the 1st of Bhâdôn, and 5 days of Kêr pêja for one day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durga Jaimui Gajjan Wala</td>
<td>Gajjan Bêl</td>
<td>1st of Chêk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durga Jaimui Kurjan Wala</td>
<td>Bêl in village Bêl</td>
<td><em>Phâglî in Maghar on the 2nd half of the lunar month for 2 days, Phâglî on the full moon day of Chêk, Sâwan, jàlô from 1st to 6th of Bhâdôn, and in Maghar on the full moon day.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durga Jaimui Khaduri</td>
<td>Bêl in village Khaduri</td>
<td>On the 2nd half of the light half of Phâgan for 5 days, 1st of Bâlûk for 2 days, 1st of Chêk for 5 days, 1st of Bhâdôn for 5 days, and 1st of Asanî for 5 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of god.</td>
<td>Site of temple.</td>
<td>Date of fete.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Janbu Kulang</td>
<td>Dera Janbu</td>
<td>1st of Phagun till 10th and Sawan fete on 1st Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Janbu Majakk</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Phagun 1st, Phagun and Sawan fete on 7th, Phagun, 1st Chet, and 1st Bhadon, respectively.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakori Janbu</td>
<td>Mahr. Baril</td>
<td>On the Holi in Sawan and on the festival of Maghar. A large gathering also takes place every third year in Sawan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Janbu Soll Wala</td>
<td>Pheli. Narb</td>
<td>7 days in Bhadon, phagun in Phagun and Chet, Sharat jash and in Sawan and pans for 2 days in Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Janbu Tegri</td>
<td>Dera Janbu</td>
<td>10th and 11th of the light half of Chet, 1st Friday of Bhadon, and 1st of Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Janbu Tote</td>
<td>Deota Janbu</td>
<td>Tuesday of the light half of Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Mandi the tradition is much the same. In that State most of the deuts are right or saints of Hindu mythology, but others are named after the hills on which their temples stand. Devis, especially, control rain, like Phugni Devi in Chohar and so do Naurin and Pasakot. The two latter also dislike smoking. Tandi, Loogii and Tongi are well-known deities in Mandi Sagar. Baratw Deo, whose fair is held on Sawan 2nd on Lindi Dhur or ridge, is effective in curing barrenness in she-buffaloes.¹

But the Devi-sults in Mandi are of a higher type than those of a mere rain-god. Srilvidya or Raja Shwari is not only popular but ancient as the old Rajas used to worship her. Bagla munshi or the brown-faced Devi is affected by the parakshas of the ruling family. She wears yellow and holds a club in one hand, in the other a demon's tongue. Like Srilvidya, Bala and Tara have four arms, but their attributes are different. Kali assumes many forms. Dichhat Brahmans are her chief devotees, and her shrine is on the large tank at Mandi. Less orthodox deuts are Shikari or the huntress in Nahan, who dwells on a lofty hill and is fount of the blood of goats, Tonga in Samod who is angered by evil deuts and when offended kills people by lightning, and Nawahi in whose honour a great fair is held on Baisakh 6th at Anantapura, where her temple is surrounded by many smaller ones of some antiquity.² The ruling family of Suket has been long under the protection of Devi. Raj deb Madan Sain removed his capital from Pangoo on her warning him in a dream that it was her ancient abode and by her Gardar Sain was admonished against his disloyal, though apparently hereditary, parokshas who were ex-communicated by his successor and were not re-instated for some time.³

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¹ Madni Gazetteer, pp. 40-1.
² Ib., pp. 30 and 41.
In this State Hindu women observe the *chirya-basant* on the 3rd of the bright half of Bhadon. This fast is kept by eating no food prepared on a hearth and no plantsains, but only milk and other fruits. Sparrows, 5 of silver and 20 or 25 of mud are prepared, the former being clothed and adorned with silver ornaments and a gold nose-ring put in the beak of each, and then given to Brahman, while the mud images are given to children. Parsats by observing this rite obtained Shiva as her spouse, and women still observe it to ensure long life to their husbands.

The following are some temples in Kangra which cannot be classified with any certainty:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of god</th>
<th>Rite of temple</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Images, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Mander Beva Shospa</em></td>
<td>Beja</td>
<td>Jeth 1st</td>
<td>It contains images of the Beva carved on a stone. Worship is performed morning and evening, <em>hales</em> being offered as <em>hajj</em> every morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sowal Beva Dara</em></td>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>Jeth 1st</td>
<td>It contains a tomb on which is seated a brown stone <em>pajot</em> of Shri Ramshanker, 2 spans high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sowal Beva Dara</em></td>
<td>Ah-Beats</td>
<td>Jeth 11th</td>
<td>The stone image of the Beva is a span high. Bread or rice is the morning, milk or gruel in the evening form the <em>hajj</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Bukat Gazetteer*, pp. 8, 12, and 22.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of god</th>
<th>Site of temple</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Images, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tikkar. Gupteswar's mandir in Khad Ma-</td>
<td>Brahman, etc</td>
<td>Mār 1st</td>
<td>The stone image has under a large slab of stone and is 4 fingers high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nathla (bastina). Over its stage is the same Godhi.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tir to Bāl Singh of Chamba who fell in battle against R. Par-</td>
<td>Haridār. The temple contains an idol of Mihkādev Rāmehar.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rice is in the morning and bread in the evening is offered as milk; soaked grain or fruit is also used in worship. It is said while the Rājī was dying, he smeared his hand with his own blood and marked it on a stone, over which a smaller temple was raised. Here lamps are lit on the fair day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūš. Chamba at Guler and Samār Chaud</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Worship is performed morning and evening, but a nāgī of khesan is offered only once a year, at the festival. Connected with this is the same Rāwā’s shrine at Nandpur at which a fair is held simultaneously.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāthi. Founded in Sikh times.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The temple contains a stone image of Rāmiya, the fairy, 14 cubits high. By its side is a plant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māndir Bābā Jami Dīa in Mātī. Founded in Sikh times.</td>
<td>Brahman, etc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māndir Apsara Kand. Hindu women mostly frequent this temple and offer fresh grain during Phīānā; Chet, Baidāk, Jeth, and Mār. It is also frequented by people of the neighbouring towns, who often bathe in the hand or spring, which is fed by the Gunt Ganges with water from the Jum Ganges.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the mandir of Ajjī Pāl in Teri no fair is held. Ajjī Pāl was a Rājī of Ajmer, who was adored by the people of this place. In his lifetime, he enshrined a small image which was eventually worshipped as the Rājī himself. The temple has existed for 400 years, but the old building was replaced by one of masonry under Sikh Brahman some 60 years ago. It contains a conical stone 8 spares high, called Ajjī Pāl.

In conclusion, attention may be called to the side lights often cast on history by the legends and occasionally by the records of these temples. Thus the story of Ithāb Devi’s temple at Bhagwāra is that—

1 The mandir of Shāh Mādār is connected with it and all offerings made by Muhammadan women bathing in the Jumā are taken by the Muhammadan jayārs who are the guardians of the shrines.
once it was revealed in a vision to Rājā Tej Chand that he should go to Bāsan, where she would appear, and worship her there if he desired to regain territory lost to the Rājā of Mandra. Before long he achieved a complete success. When the news of his defeat reached the Rājā of Mandra, he carried away by stealth the Devil's image in a polka, but when it reached the Kāṇgrā boundary the bearers, to take a rest, placed it on the ground, and when they tried to lift it up again they could not do so. So they left it there and took their way homewards. In the morning the Kāṇgrā men came and tried to carry it back, but equally in vain. So Rājā Tej Chand erected this temple at the spot and there the fair has been held ever since. The date of foundation is not known. The temple stands on a raised chhātra. It contains a stone pinda of the goddess, the height of which is only equal to the breadth of 2 fingers.

**List of unclassified deities in Kula.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of god.</th>
<th>Site of temple.</th>
<th>Date of fair.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baradhi Bīr</td>
<td>Nandi Dera</td>
<td>1st Basakkh, in Bhudon, 1st Asan, during saradīla, 1st Pēk, 1st Phāgan, and in Phāgan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baramthan</td>
<td>Baramthan in K. Mahārzāla.</td>
<td>From end of Phāgan to 1st of Basakkh, from end of Chat to beginning of Basakkh, from end of Sāwan to beginning of Bhudon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panj Bīr</td>
<td>Bera</td>
<td>In Sāwan and Basakkh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bīr Nāth</td>
<td>Bera Bīr Nāth Pasāl in K. Panthan.</td>
<td>Full moon in Maghar and on the janaam-ashwani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri</td>
<td>Bera Bīr Gauhri</td>
<td>1st Chat, 1st Basakkh, 1st and 2nd Asan, and festivals during light half of Sāwan and on 15th Phāgan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bīr Nāth</td>
<td>Bera Bīr Nāth Buxhali in Buxh.</td>
<td>12th of Basakkh and full moon of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri</td>
<td>Lakṣṭa Shiva</td>
<td>1st of Basakkh, Chat and Asan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bīr Nāth or Gauhri</td>
<td>Bera Tota Gauhri in Buxh.</td>
<td>1st of Jēth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bīr Nāth or Gauhri</td>
<td>Bera Bīr Nāth.</td>
<td>Fifth Phāgan and 2nd Basakkh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri</td>
<td>Bera Gauhri in Kauain.</td>
<td>2nd of Chat and one day at the new year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri</td>
<td>Bera</td>
<td>1st of Chat and Basakkh, and on the 10th of Basakkh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri</td>
<td>Dhori Buxh Jēth Bīr Shīr in Buxh.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bīr Nāth or Gauhri</td>
<td>Gauhri Bera in K. Mahārzāla.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of god</td>
<td>Site of temple</td>
<td>Date of fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhr Nāth</td>
<td>Dera Sargati Pa[h]ar in Fangan.</td>
<td>1st of Chet, 1st of Jeth, light half of Shrawan, 1st of Asar, 5th of light half of Asar, 10th of Ushna, and light half of Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauri or Bhr Nāth</td>
<td>Hatal Peer</td>
<td>4th of Bhadon, 1st of Balacak, Bhadon and Asar, and on the day of the full moon of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaseshar Nāth</td>
<td>Hatal Peer</td>
<td>1st of Asar and 3rd, 5th and 7th of dark half of Phāgan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajinal</td>
<td>Ajinal Naraini Peer</td>
<td>No fair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anil</td>
<td>Naraini Peer</td>
<td>1st to 7th Phāgan. 21st Balacak and 1st Jeth. Every 12 years a gap from 1st to 3rd Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arjun Gopar</td>
<td>Arjun Gopar</td>
<td>Seven days in the light part of Phāgan, 3rd of Balacak, 1st of Har, and 1st of Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bania Mātho</td>
<td>Lānu Peer</td>
<td>From Sunday to Thursday in the dark half of Sivar and Phāgan and on 1st of Māgh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chōṅga Shin</td>
<td>Chukhan Peer</td>
<td>1st to 3rd Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damobal</td>
<td>Maror</td>
<td>1st Asar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanbāl</td>
<td>Dera Damba Dhombal in K. Hāwāng.</td>
<td>Friday to Monday in Phāgan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhobāl</td>
<td>Dera Dhomal in K. Bada-gara.</td>
<td>11th to 20th of Phāgan and on Tuesday.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donkurn</td>
<td>Mewā</td>
<td>Aṃrīna in Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauri Māhu Khat</td>
<td>Gauri Māhu Khat</td>
<td>Shāṅkār.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagītma</td>
<td>Narain-dī Peer in K. Buda-ga.</td>
<td>For three days from 1st of Balacak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagīti pat</td>
<td>Dhara Peer</td>
<td>Aṃrīna in Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagatīta</td>
<td>Dhara Peer</td>
<td>In Phāgan, at the 1st of Asar and on the full moon of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamārāna</td>
<td>Dera</td>
<td>20th Chet, 8th Balacak, 25th Balacak and 6th Asar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of god</td>
<td>Site of temple</td>
<td>Date of fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navan</td>
<td>Kasturi Pura</td>
<td>3rd, 5th, 7th and 8th of the dark half of Falak, Phagun and Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fith</td>
<td>Shakti</td>
<td>7th Falak and 1st Asan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainal</td>
<td>Bars Narsi in K. Bhakat, Narkana Nab.</td>
<td>Bhog on 11th Falak, 9th or 11th Maghar, 1st on 9th or 11th Falak, auspicious pancham in Bhadon, and panchay of 1st Phagun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rampel</td>
<td>Lahad Pura in K. Khokhan</td>
<td>1st of Chet and Falak, on the 23rd and 26th of Falak, and on the 1st of Sawan and Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rashi</td>
<td>Talsam Pura or Koth Pura, Dassol Dasta, Gamar Pura, Chhamal Pura, Pali Bhal Pora, Patibhit Koth, Patibhit Naka, Patibhit Pore, Khot Kot, Kan AREA, Kan AREA Kot, and Ruphit Pura in Kot Kot</td>
<td>9th and 10th Falak, 9th and 10th Bhadon, 6th Falak, 11th Falak, 11th Falak of Sawan, 1st Falak, 2nd to 6th Phagun, 1st of Chet, and first Sunday of Sawan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gori Rashi</td>
<td>Bhat in K. Bhat</td>
<td>12th Falak and 8th Hari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rashi Chokhun</td>
<td>Guna Bhat</td>
<td>Bakher: sanction, birthday, shama-bhela, after 6th and 11th days of the week, jana-ashram in Bhadon, Kothari jhira on 1st Asan, mahto jhira on Pana Falakka ashram, gendar jhira on 1st Phagun, and bha jhira jhira on 1st Falak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rashi</td>
<td>Mahandra Pura</td>
<td>7th Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senajpal</td>
<td>Dera</td>
<td>1st of Hari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taka</td>
<td>Balti Pura in K. Taka pur</td>
<td>1st of Chet, 7th of Falak, and 1st of Asan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taka</td>
<td>Taka</td>
<td>1st of Phagun, 7th Magh, and 1st Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thiri Malik</td>
<td>Narluni Pura</td>
<td>1st to 9th Phagun and 1st to 6th Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shri Kirti</td>
<td>Dasa Dasta Shri Kirti</td>
<td>1st and 2nd or 3rd of Chet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suhag</td>
<td>Narluni Pura</td>
<td>9th of Phagun, 1st of Hari, and 1st of Falak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawal</td>
<td>Pura in Gourahan</td>
<td>2nd and 3rd Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da</td>
<td>Rawal in Uda</td>
<td>9th and 10th Falak.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nauni is a _jogni_, a malignant demon, who is worshipped at Khopri in Tarapur _koṭāi_ and at Kasbānī, a village above Karanī. No other _deot_ is worshipped there. She has no image.

Gramang _deot_ at Rajag in Chuparna has two temples (_dehra_), the smaller up the hill-side, the larger lower down. In the light halves of Sāwan and Maghar he visits the village for a day, and pays it a longer visit of three days in the light half of Phagun, spending an hour or two in the upper temple and the rest of the time in the lower. He is one of the lesser Narāins and though regarded as Parneshar he is not asked for rain, as that is demanded of Phungni _devī_ — in Tiun and Mānagar. Gramang Narāin came from Dariāni in Mānagar _koṭāi_, where he has a _dehra_. In Gramang, a village in Bahl _phāltī_, Narāin has two _dehras_ and a _bhāndar_ in which a _chhamkī_ or umbrella is kept, but no _pūdī_ or image. No oblations are taken on him, and his _pujārī_ etc. are all Kanets. The villagers go to Rajag for the fair in Phagun and the _māna_, held in Sāwan and Maghar, which are lesser fêtes. Related to this Narāin are Kudrī Narāin in Tarapur, Phalāni in Dughī Lag and Hurang Narāin in Tandari. Hurang Narāin came from Hurang near Sit Bedhvāni in Mandi, but the people have now no relations in Mandi, though, it is noted, this Kulu people intermarry with those of Mandi. From this part of the valley half fell when the _deotas_ all went to the Dasehra at Sultānpur, so now only Hurang of Tandari, Ghilrē Thām1 of Bhuthi in Tarapur and Bhāgā Sidō of Dughī Lag go to it.

Kudrī Narāin has a temple at Bhuthi in _phāltī_ Bhalāni on a _pah_ called Dochig where the road bends to descend to a bridge. He has a _juch_, e.g. in Baishakh _pūdī_ or light half, at the same times and places as Ghilrē Thām, though he is a great _deot_, ranking above Gramang Narāin. Ropri may however be regarded as his head village and he has three places there, a _dehra_, a _sour_ and a _bhāndar_. He also has a temple at Chathāni, a hamlet in _phāltī_ Bhalāni — and one in _phāltī_ Bhanttir, where he is worshipped with Shēla Deo. In other villages too he is worshipped but not alone. Gauhī Deo and Gramang Narāin being also worshipped. Deo Gabri ranks below him and his _pujārī_ etc. are all Kanets. He has a temple at Sultānpur and another, with a _bhāndar_ at Brahman village, which contains a _chāitar_ or canopy and a white stone but no _swārat_.

In Kulu Deo Amal has nine small temples in all, the chief being at Jugogi hamlet.

Another godling Dani, also called Rachhpāl, is worshipped for increase of the flocks and for prosperity in general, a sheep or goat being

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1 _Ghilrē_ means _goitre_ and _Thām_ a place where the earth split and a _pūdī_ emerged. Ghilrē Thām as a name has however no apparent connection with goitre, though the water of the _santāni_ is supposed to cause that disease. Though his temple is at Bhuthi his _māna_ is at Namāl and there his _pujārī_ and _pūdī_ live, while his _koṭāi_ is at Kasberī. He has no big fair but _māna_ on 1st Baishakh, Chet and Sāwan, with dancing, as well as one at the new moon in Chet when the new Sambat year begins. No villages but Bhuthi, Narāthī, Kasberī and Bhalāni worship Ghilrē Thām. A _Thām_ can be made by placing a stone under a _bhāndar_ beam, and then sacrifices are made at it for good harvests.

2 The _sour_ is a place where lights are placed and food cooked on one day in the year.
offered to him. But he is not avoided in any way. A pujari worships him on the sacrificer’s behalf.

In Kulu Gash deota takes the place of Kashti in the Simla Hills. His cult is peculiar to Brahman and the twice-born castes, and if one of them wishes to injure an enemy, he wears an image of Gash round his neck and gets him to cut some of his leavings (jatha). If he can manage this, Gash will surely injure his enemy in some way. But Gash is also worshipped at weddings.

A number of deities exercise similar functions. Such are——
Shanghari, Tharu-tateri, Thumbardev, Suthankal, Karali, Nabhda, Tharamper of Shamahi, Montha-Makan, who will at the earnest request of clients kill or injure their enemies.

An aggrieved person will go to a temple, pull out his hair and pray that evil may befall his enemies. Such prayers are sometimes heard and the life or property of an enemy thereby lost or injured. This is called pata gat.

To avert such a curse, the transgressor must placate the man he has injured by the chhida rite, which is thus performed:

A piece of kunja grass or saradara is held by the transgressor at one end and by the injured person or one of his relations (or in their absence by an idol of flour or earth made to represent him) at the other. Then a Nar or a cheda of the local deota asks them to take oath that if, so-and-so have injured such a one, ‘it is his chhida,’ and he hereby begs his pardon; after this the Nar or cheda cuts the grass in the middle, a goat or sheep is sacrificed, and the villagers and relatives are entertained. Sometimes some barley cores are also thrown over the grass before it is cut.

Procedence.—The principal temple of a Thakur is that of Bhagadath, near the Roi’s palace at Sultanpur. All the other Thakurs are dependent on him and have to make him certain offerings. Originally their jatirs and madya were a part of his mada; and he allotted them as grants in return for presents.

All the gods have to wait on Bhagadath at Bhalpur at the Dashehra. They have also to visit their place of origin (gadga) in Phagan. At the latter ceremony goats are sacrificed and a feast held.

The minor gods in the villages are subordinate to the god who is commonly regarded by one or more bauhus in which the villages live as their chief god. At festivals and fairs such godlings make certain offerings to their superior and he in return supplies them with all their necessities.

Subordinate gods.—The following are the subordinates of each god in Kulu, namely, Kokal, Chungru, Thomhr, Dohangnu, Makal, Mahti, Sarmkai. They are called his bauhu. At such festival or feast these are given a sheep and a pind.

A superior has the following subordinate deota:—
(1) Jatru, (2) Dari, (3) Dohangnu, (4) Phangri etc.
These appear to be called, collectively, bauhu, minor godlings or second class deotas?  

1 Dick, Kauli Dial. p. 80.
At the festivals held in the temples and at a wedding or a jog, these servant deots are given a bhegu or bhera (a sheep or goat).

The thakur and Shivji do not visit any fair or tirath.

Forms of temples and their appurtenances.—The forms of the temples vary greatly. Sometimes the building, which may have one to five storeys, is called a bhandar or kathi. These are picturesque structures in no way differing from ordinary dwelling-houses except that the deot's houses have larger and stronger timbers to support the floors, because there may be one or more above the lowest storey. The images are kept in the inner room, and in the verandahs the staff and musicians are accommodated. There are also many thakurvaras and shivkairs. Stone structures, called shail, for the most part, they generally have only one storey. In the shail is kept the image of the thakur, Shiv or Devi, as the case may be. Attached to the shail are houses for servants and menials.

Other houses or rooms attached to a temple are the dekhi, dehra, and maro; but the god only comes to live in them at fairs and festivals.

No place for bathing the god exists outside a temple, but a compound is attached to it for the people to stay in at the fairs or when they have to offer prayer or make enquiries at it. This is called the deota's seat and contains a platform for the cheha to play on.

In Himri kathi the house in which the image is kept is generally one-storeyed, while the buildings attached to it have from 2 to 4 storeys.

In Chamba little 'chapels of ease' exist. They are called padaika or foot-print pillars and consist of a pile of stones covered by a flat slab, on which is carved a trident (trisul), with a foot-print on each side of it. They are seen by the roadside often at a considerable distance from the temple with which they are connected, their object being to enable passers-by to do obeisance and present offerings, usually flowers, to the deity without having to go all the way to the actual shrine. They are also found in front of temples. No trace of such padaikas seems to exist in Kulu.

Position of images.—An image of Sri Rámechandar or Raghunáth should be placed on the right hand, and that of Jánki or Síta on the left of Krishna's. An image of Rádhiká is also kept in such temples. The rule as to placing images to the right or left is based on seniority, i.e. a superior god must be placed to the right and a servant one to his left hand according to their spiritual positions.

In a thakurvar it is necessary to have an image of Garúra placed near that of the latter: in a shivula the presence of a bull is necessary as Shiv's vehicle; where there is an image of Rámechandar there must be one of Hanumán; and in a devi-dwile the presence of a lion is essential, because they are considered to be the attendants of that god or of the goddess.

3 Other houses attached to every temple are the Chhati Devi, Marh Chinghámili and Kothi Namkher.

5 In the temples of Saraj, where the number of storeys and rooms varied from 1 to 7, the image is by preference kept in the north-eastern room.

6 Chamba Gazetteer, pp. 48-9.
The **pujārīs** are generally Brahman, but may be Kanets, Kumhārs or goldsmiths by caste. All the offerings are placed in the god's storehouse; the **pujārīs** do not get any share in them as a rule. But Brahman or Bhogi **pujārīs** often get a share out of the offerings, besides holding the revenue-free lands assigned in **pūrā** to the temple. At marriages one rupee is offered to the local god, but there are no other fixed times for making offerings. None of the temple officials are hereditary. They hold office only as long as they do their work well, and they are liable to dismissal for misconduct. All the secular affairs of a temple are controlled by its **kārādār** (manager). The **bhog** presented to the image is taken by the **pujārīs**, tenants and other office-holders. All offerings are voluntary. The **kārādār** is respected and the tenants readily obey his orders. All classes serve the local god according to their callings, but tenants have to render special services, in return for which they are allowed the drum and other temple instruments free at weddings etc.

The god is usually worshipped twice a day, except when his idol is shut up in the store-house, in which case worship is only held twice a month, on the 1st and 20th.¹

The **Tala.**—For this rite the villagers open a subscription list and on the day fixed by the **deota** at their request the ceremony begins with the ordinary **Ganesh pūja**. A jar full of water is placed in the **deota**'s compound and a **mandap** (a place for him to sit) is prepared, and the **nangraha** (nine **deota**s) worshipped. A stick of the **vibhād** tree 1½ **kāthas** long is set up by the **deota**'s **tkān** (resting place). This is followed by **śhantī hawan** and the sacrifice of a sheep to the **nangraha**. A large fire (**jebra** is lit and the **chela** on a sheep's back goes thrice round the fire and then the sheep is thrown across the fire and killed. A large rope of straw and a woollen thread are wrapped round the stick, stuck near the **tkān** (place), and it is then taken out by the people who accompanied the **deota**'s **raat**. The sorcerer, drummers etc. go round the village pitching, setting up a stick in each of the eight directions, sacrificing a fish on each. On reaching the spot whence they started, a **śhantī hawan** is performed and the **parabhi** is given **dakhana** amounting to annas 8 for Re 1. This part of the ceremony is called **śhantī or sūrta hawan**.

Early next morning a **Dāgi** (called the **jathaśīla**), with an empty **killas** (basket) on his back and a fowl in his hand, followed by the **deota**'s sorcerers and other people dancing and singing, visits each house in the village; every household offers a piece of cloth to the sorcerer and **satādāra** (7 kinds of grain), wool and nails are put in the **killa** which the **jathaśīla** carries. After going through the village the party proceeds to the nearest river or stream, and there a pig, a fowl, a fish and

¹This may account for the unsuitableness of the number 9. Sometimes a **fāntar** is made so that the figures in each line, whether added perpendicularly or lengthways, make 90. This is called the **kia fāntar** and as the proverb goes:—

**Ja ki aha ha fāntar bha.**

**Us kā ghar mar puṇā khāre jat bha.**

but few know this **fāntar** and it is very difficult to make it complete (**śhik khāra**). It is worshipped for the first time during an eclipse or on some other auspicious day with **nasana**, and when **śhik** or complete it is carefully preserved in the house and worshipped at every festival.
a crab, brought with them, are killed and the jati is thrown into the water: this finishes the ceremony and the party returns to the deota's sob, where the parohit is given annas 8 or 4, at least as dakhona. The villagers entertain each other, sur or lugri being drunk.

As in the Simla Hills, the ghardani, which consists in killing a goat and worshipping the family priest at home, is observed in Outer Saraj. But in Kulu the ghardani jag is unknown and another ceremony, the surarbanth, takes its place: the parohit and local god's chela are invited, the former performs the shanti-hawan and the latter arranges for the bali sacrifices: a stick or peg (of rakhgal, 'yew') is stuck at each corner of the house and a rope made of rice-straw tied to them: a sheep and a goat are sacrificed. The parohit gets from annas 4 to 8 as dakhona and when the ceremonies are finished a feast is given, and all the people (even the twice-born) drink sur and lugri.

Four branches of a kela tree are pitched in the form of a square tied at their tops with a piece of cloth, this is called kithan. Beneath it the parohit performs the shanti-hawan, and a man selected from the Nar caste performs the chhatra shanti ceremony with a wooden drum. The Nar together with his wife and an unmarried girl of that caste and the deota's sorcerers dance before the deota: a turban and some cash by way of dakhona are given to the Nar and a dopatta to the Nar girl. The fair lasts all day, people offering pico, fruit and flowers to the deota and joining with the Nar in the performance of the chhatra. In the evening the deota's chela shoots the Nar with an arrow in the breast, making him insensible and a rope is put in his mouth. He is taken into the kithan with two yards of cloth on his body as a shroud, and the chelas by reading mantras and burning dhup (incense) restore him to his senses. This jag is celebrated during the shukla paksha (full moon days) of Jeth at Shirrah in Kohli Raisan, every second year in memory of Kail Nage deota. The other deotas can only afford to perform this jag at considerable intervals.

When rain is wanted a feast is given either by the samindas themselves or by the local deota. In the latter case the cost is met from the deota's treasury, in the former from subscriptions raised by the samindas themselves. The feast is called parat pajari, phungi or jogni. A lamb is sacrificed on a hill, jogni deota is worshipped, and a flat stone adorned with flour, pings of dung, and the heart of the lamb being offered to the jogni. Formerly the Rajas used to pay for such feasts, but now local deities or the samindas do so.

The phungi is also called tikar-jag, which is thus described:—The villagers go up a hill, taking with them a lamb, goat or sheep; there they worship the jogni and painting a large flat stone with different colours spread over it the liver of the animal brought with them, as an offering to the jogni.

To preserve a heap of grain a large sickle and a pint (ball) of flour are placed on top of it. When a new animal is brought home branches

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1 Pr. ghar wani.
2 In Kulu called sai I think, or kani, sansh, khaya, xpilation.
3 We shall come across the khidra later.
of the ḍhēkha after being touched by the animal are buried beneath a large stone. Great precautions are taken in bringing grain home during the ḍhādra ṅakhaṭra. If the crops are very good the grain heap is worshipped, a goat killed preferably on the threshold and a feast held. In Inner Saraj the land is also worshipped on the ṣemārā amānas in Bhādon, in addition to the goat sacrifice and a ḍhāma performed. If in a piece of land the seed does not germinate, while round it it does, a goat is killed on the spot and its head buried there so as to get rid of the evil which prevented the seed from coming up.

The ceremony of jay ḍaya is performed when on account of illness offerings have to be made to the deuta. On the evening preceding it men, women, children go to the temple, pass the night in dancing and singing. Early next morning the necessary offerings are made, a goat is sacrificed and Brahmans are fed.

Release from an oath can be secured by observance of the chhīdra or chhāna khaṭā rite. This is practically similar in all parts of Kulu. In Inner Saraj the consent of the local god being first obtained, a feast is held at which the parties at enmity with each other are made to eat together. This feast is called Brahm bhoj. Or both parties contribute one goat each and some flour to the local god’s temple, leaves are prepared and given to those present. This is called chhāna khaṭā or ‘reconciliation’.

In Himri kothī both parties go to the temple of the village god and worship the earth there: the god is offered Rs. 18 and a goat, which is afterwards killed, and a feast is given: thus the two parties are reconciled.

The abandonment of property.—When the owner of a house has no son, or if he or his family are constantly ill, or his cattle do not prosper, or if a chela declare that some demon or ḍhūṭa lives there, he abandons it as inauspicious. He will also show some earth from inside it to the deuta’s sorcerer, and if he too confirms his doubts he will promise to offer land, a house or cash to the god, provided the latter helps him to surmount the trouble. If the calamity is got rid of, the promise must be fulfilled by giving the land etc. to the god.

If the gu or sorcerer of a deuta declares a thing to be needed by any demon or god, it is abandoned in his name or stored in the local god’s ḍhānaṭ (treasury).

First fruits.—The usages regarding first-fruits are variously described. Speaking generally, food is given to Brahmans, sādhus and the local god before fresh grain is used by cultivators. In Inner Saraj high caste people offer some of the new grain before they use it, and when it is brought home incense is burnt and a lamp lit before it is stored. In Kulu proper some of the new grain is thus offered and the Brahman etc. are also fed. Then the neighbours and relations invited for the occasion are fed, and the guests say ago ḍhī ḍo, ‘give in future too’; and the spirit in reply says ago ḍhī khō, ‘eat in future too’. On this occasion sometimes goats are also killed, while Kanets and other Sudras drink ḍhūṭi and sur.
The chela of a deola is also invited after the Rabi and some ears of barley are offered to the god through him; a goat or sheep is killed and a general feast (author)\(^1\) is held in Jeth. Again at the Kharif a subscription list is opened for the purchase of a goat, which is sacrificed over the god and a feast is held just as after the Rabi. This is called gidri.

Equally various are the beliefs regarding cracks in the soil and other omens. The bejindri is called wariyati, and an o or khel is called khdan in Kulu. Both are inauspicious, and to avert the evil a sheep or a goat is killed on the spot and in the case of a crack its head and legs are buried in it.

But in Inner Saraj, where a crack is called haindri, only one which occurs at the sowing of the Rabi crop is considered inauspicious, one in the Kharif not being so regarded. In the former case a Brahman is fed or a goat is killed and its head buried in the crack. In Himri khati (Outer Saraj) a crack which suddenly appears in a field is called haldai.

But an abnormally good crop is sometimes considered inauspicious, and a goat is sacrificed to avert its evil effects—such as death or other injury.\(^2\) If one stalk brings forth two ears it is a good omen as is also a bird building its nest in a field out of ears taken from it. But if it build its nest elsewhere than in the field from which it took the ears the omen is unfavourable.

In Kulu if a snake (stala) cross in front of the ploughshare or both oxen lie down when ploughing, or if blood comes at the milking of a cow, it is considered an unfavourable omen, and the owner’s death or some other evil is feared. Jap and path are used to avert it.

Tuesday and Friday are auspicious days for commencing ploughing in either harvest. Indeed Tuesday is considered best for beginning any agricultural work, but the rule is not strictly observed. Cattle are not sold on a Wednesday, Thursday and Sunday.

When going on a journey, paying a visit to superior or to court, it is well to meet a jar full of water, any loaded man or animal, any one with fruit or game, or a dead body. On the other hand an empty jar, basket, or basin and sneezing are bad omens.

At the mandir of Chambhá deola in Randal two fairs are annually held on the 7th Baisakh and on a date fixed by the people in M CHVAR. At these all visitors are fed free. The story is that all the Ránás, save one of Somibadgani, were killed by this god, who then took up his abode in the Jouse forest at Randal. Here he manifested himself\(^3\)

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\(^1\) Salhar (as in Sthik) of Jeth, Black, p. 87. The offerings to the deols are essential, feeding Brahmanas being optional. At the harvest-home in Kulu no ceremony is performed.

\(^2\) Or bejindri hati, which strictly speaking means a gap between two furrows into which no seed happens to have dropped.

\(^3\) The idea seems to be that harm will only result if a he-goat is not sacrificed, as in default death or other harm is to be apprehended.

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Two ears sprouting out of one ear, the falling of a heap of grain on the khirmangá or of a pile of leaves, is considered inauspicious and some sacrifice is made to avert the evil.
in the usual way—a Brahman's cow used to yield her milk to a black piṇḍi in the forest. One day the Brahman saw this and inferred that the piṇḍi was possessed of miraculous powers, so he told his Rākṣa, who with his wife and family went to the spot and paid their devotions to it. The date of the temple's foundation is not known. It contains the black piṇḍi, a foot high and 4 in circumference, as well as carvings of many deities. Silver and brass masks are kept in the temple. Its administration is carried on by a Brahman kārār, by got a Gautam. The pujārī is also a Brahman, by got a Gautam also. Neither is celibate and succession is governed by natural relationship. The got receives special reverence, but the rites are performed by the pujārī. Bhog of rice, milk, ghee etc. is offered daily, and the sacred lamp is lit morning and evening at the time of worship. At the fairs he-goats are sacrificed. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes, but low castes are not permitted to offer any edibles. No other shrine is connected with this.

At the other mandir of Chambhū at Kasholt two fairs are held, one on 1st Jeth and the other on the chanda in Maghar. To both other gods are invited and fed free. The story is that Chambhū had three brothers, all bearing the same name. One night the Rākṣa of the tract saw a light at a distant place which he visited next morning, and here found a stone as white as snow which he brought home. After a time he fell ill and went as usual to Ambikā Devi to pray for his recovery. The goddess directed him to propitiate her son, the white stone, which he did. He enshrined it in a temple built on a site where 7 Brahmans had once dwelt and where 7 jāt trees also stood. The date of its foundation is not known. It contains a black stone image, 3 feet high. Two silver masks are kept on the god's chariot. Its administration is carried on by a Kanet kārār, by got a Bhārgū. The pujārī is a Brahman, got Bhārdawāj. He is not celibate, and the succession is governed by natural relationship. Special reverence is paid only to the god's disciple because he nods his head and answers all questions put to the god. The use of charus is not known. A bhog of ghee, rice, milk and sugar is offered daily. The sacred lamp is lit in the morning and evening at the time of worship. No distinction is made in the offerings of Hindu castes, but the low castes are not allowed to offer bhog. No other shrine is connected with this.

At the mandir of Dakhwashūri in Nirmand an annual fair is held on the satar in Bhādon. This god is said to have come from the Deccan and settled here after he had killed a demon which was a terror to the people. After his death the temple in which he was enshrined was built. The date of its foundation is not known. It is of stone and wood, and contains a stone image 8 feet high. Its affairs are managed by a Brahman kārār who is generally appointed by a committee of the god's votaries. He is by caste a khāt, got Kāshab. The pujārī is a Brahman. Succession is governed by natural relationship. No bhog is offered to the god, and the sacred lamp is lit only in the evening. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. No other shrine is connected with this.

1 For the inscriptions at Nirmand see Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
At the mandir of the Chaurāśi Sidh at Pekhri fairs are held on 3rd Phāgan and 3rd Baisākh every year. Once a shepherd grazed as thākūr’s sheep near a tank. As he felt thirsty he went to drink at it and saw an image emerge from the water. In the evening he took this image home and gave it to his master, the thākūr, who kept it for some days in a niche in his house-wall until one day it occurred to him that a temple ought to be built in its honour. So he founded this temple and called it Chaurāśi after the village. The date of its foundation is not known. It is built of stone and wood and contains images of gold silver and brass. The stone image taken out of the tank is also installed in it. Its affairs are managed by a kāndār, by caste a Kanet, got Kāshāb. The pujārī is also a Kanet. They are married and are always of this caste. Bhog of gift &c. is offered in the morning only, but a sacred lamp is kept burning all night. The low castes are not allowed to offer edible things. Seven shrines are connected with this one.

Deota Jalāndhī’s annual fairs are held on 1st Sāwan and at the Diwāli in Maghar. The tradition is that once a thākūr, named Thulā, daily went to bathe in a pool called Mansarwar. One day the god manifested himself and the thākūr begged him to accompany him to his house. To this he agreed and there the god was seated at a place in a grove of oak (kāharāh) trees. Temples were eventually built at these places and called after the names of the trees &c. The date of their foundation is not known. There are 4 images of the god. The stone pindi is ½ foot high; the bust is made of brass; the third is of stone and 2½ feet high; and the fourth is the chariot of the god. The temple administration is carried on jointly by the villagers and a kāndār who is also its pujārī. By caste he is a Nūl Kanet. He is not celibate. A bhog of flowers, scent &c. is offered in the morning at the time of worship. No lamp is lit nor is sacred fire maintained. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. Connected with this are the shrines of Kanju Shallor, Barāmghār, Bag Deora and Sardāhan.

Mandir Khudjāt in Deokhī.—The tradition is that in former times a thākūra named Thulā, had a cow called Kailī who used to yield her milk to a black stone pindi in Khudj village. Her master, enraged at his loss, determined to break the pindi, but the cow told him that the pindi should not be broken as Jamadgān rishi had manifested himself to it, but he ignored her warning and struck the pindi. No sooner had he done so than he died on the spot, owing to the rishi’s miraculous power. So the people took to worshiping it and eventually a temple was built on this spot. The date of its foundation is not known. It contains a black stone pundi 2 feet high. Its administration is carried on by a Kanet kāndār. The pujārī is a Brahman, by got a Bharāhrāj. He is not celibate. A sacred lamp is kept burning all through the night. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes, but a low caste man is not permitted to offer edible things. No other shrine is connected with this one. For 11 days ending with the pūramār in Sāwan or Bhādon the fair is in full swing. The place is also enlivened by visitors at the Diwāli. Small fairs such as shed or thiarkhā are held on 1st and 16th Phāgan, 9th Baisākh and 29th Hār.

1 In Uchāndī kaṭhī.
Some fairs in Sardj.

Deota Chambhá has a temple in Deogi. The story goes that on the site of the present temple a cow used to yield her milk to a small black stone set in the ground. One day this was noticed by a herdsman who followed the cow. He returned home and told the people of his town all about it. They went to the spot and found his tale was true, so they founded a temple in which the image was enshrined. The exact date of its foundation is not known, but tradition says that it was built in the Tretiya Yug. It contains a smooth, black stone image, 2½ feet high. The temple walls are decorated with various pictures and busts of brass and silver are also kept in it. A Kanet kárdár manages its affairs. He is married. The puñári is always recruited from the Brahmanas. He is not celibate either. The gur is held in greater respect than either the kárdár or puñári. The use of chhaupi is not known. Bhog is offered daily to the god. A sacred lamp is lit daily morning and evening when worship is held in the temple. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes, but low castes are not allowed to offer edible things. No other shrine is connected with this one. The annual fairs are held on 11th Baisákhi, 12th Bálád, and on 2nd, and 3rd Asauj. Illustrations are also displayed on the Diwáli in Maghar.

Pabhári, the god on the Jalori Pass, has 5 temples called after the names of the villages in which they are situated. At these annual fairs are held: at Kotarshu on 12th Baisákhi, 12th Sáwan, on the Diwáli in Maghar, and on the 1st of Phágán; at Dim on 20th Sáwan; at Jalsauri on 15th Sáwan and 3rd Két; at KánÁ on 3rd Phágán; and on 15th Baisákhi at Sariwalpur. The story is that a man of Kota Thirshu chanced to find a metal mask which had him enshrine it in a suitable place. So a temple was built and the mask placed in it. The dates of the fairs were fixed by a committee of the villages in which shrines were erected. The stone image is 1½ cubits high. The date of foundation is not known. Its affairs are managed by a Kanet kárdár. Under him are a bhandári (store-keeper), a gur and puñári, all Thari. They are all married. Special reverence is paid to the gur. A bhog of rice, meat &c. is offered daily, and a sacred lamp lit in the evening. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. Connected with this are the shrines in Kot, Dim and Jam.

Koneri deota has a temple in Kuñuri. His main fair is held annually at the Diwáli in Maghar, and it is followed by small fairs called shádd and thirha, on 1st and 16th Phágán, 18th and 20th. Hár. The story is that Karn Déo, a Brahman of the village, used to bathe daily in a spring. One day he found a black stone or pandi in the water which said it was BiÁs sañá and had come from Kuñuri. He worshipped it and his example was followed by others. Eventually a temple was built, but the date of its foundation is not known. It contains a black stone pandi, 2½ feet high. Its administration is carried on by a Kanet kárdár. The puñári is always recruited from the Brahmanas. His got is Bhárshwáj. He is not celibate. A sacred lamp is lighted in the evening at the time of worship and kept burning the whole night. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes. No other shrine is connected with this.

No particular fair is connected with the mandir of deota Pauj Bir, but a he-goat is sacrificed at the shankhánat of Asauj and Phágán.
The story is that on the site of the present temple a Brahman used to meditate, reciting the names of God on his rosary. One day by chance a cow fell from his hand and struck against a stone which burst into many pieces and from it sprang 5 images each of which told the Brahman that they were 5 brís (or heroes) and brothers, adding that people should adore them. At this spot a temple was erected in their honour. The date of its foundation is not known. It contains 5 brass carvings of Bhairon, each 5 foot high. Its administration is carried on by a Kanet, kárdar, by got a Káshab. The pujiár is a Brahman, by caste a Gaur and by got Sársut. He is not celibate. Special reverence is paid to the gur. Bhog is offered on the first of every month and particularly on the shakrānts of Phágan and Asanj, on which occasions a he-goat is sacrificed. A sacred lamp is lit every evening for half an hour only.

Deota Shang Chul has a temple in Kohti Shángarh. Three fairs are held annually, one on the 3rd Hár at Khambálvala, another on the 1st Asanj at Nagari, and the 3rd on 8th Phágán at Batár. The story goes that a cow used to yield her milk to a stone piṇḍi hidden under ground. A Brahman observed this and dug up the place. The piṇḍi was found and from the hole came out a snake which declared that he must be worshipped. The date of foundation is not known. All the four temples are of wood and stone. One contains a stone piṇḍi, a foot high. Mohras of gold and silver are also kept in the temple. Its administration is carried on by a kárdar who is also pujiár and gur. His caste is Gaur and got Sársut. He is not celibate. Bhog is only offered at festivals. The sacred lamp is lit only in the evening. No distinction is made in the offerings of Hindu castes. A low caste is not allowed to offer edible things. Connected with this are the shrines in Batár, Jiladhura, Diuradeora, Nagari and Lapa.

Deota Sandeo has 3 temples at which annual fairs are held on the last day of Sáwan, and on the 2nd and 8th of Phágán. On these occasions a hawan or sacrificial fire is lighted, and the rite is repeated on the 2nd Baisakh every year. It is said that three gods sprang from a hawestone. Two of them carved out principalities in Nohanda, while the third took up his abode in Shrıkot which had already been occupied by the god Márkanda, so the latter left the place and went to Manglaur. After that the people began to worship Sandhu. The date of the temples' foundation is not known. None of them contains any image, but gold, silver and brass mohras (masks) are used in adorning the god's chariot. The administration is carried on by a Kanet, kárdar. The gur and pujiár are also Kanets. They are not celibate. Special reverence is paid only to the gur. A bhog of rice, phir, milk &c. is only offered at festivals. A sacred lamp is lit morning and evening at the times of worship. No distinction is made in the offerings of different Hindu castes, but a low caste is not permitted to offer edible things. Connected with this are the shrines of Naráin, Kandi and Guda Deora.

The Cults of the Simla Hills.

The Simla Hill States form a network of feudal States with dependent feudatories subordinate to them, and the jurisdictions of the local godlings afford a striking reflection of the political conditions, forming a complex network of cults, some superior, some subordinate.
To complete the political analogy, the godlings often have their wazifs or chief ministers and other officials. Perhaps the best illustration of this quasi-political organization of the hill cults is afforded by the following account of the 22 Tikás of Junga. At its head stands Junga's new cult. Junga, it should be observed, is not the family god of the Rájá of Keonthal. That function is fulfilled by the Devi Tára.

THE CULT OF JUNGA.²

Legend.—The Rájá of Kóthlehr had two sons, who dwelt in Nádaun. On the accession of the elder to the throne, they quarrelled, and the younger was expelled the State. With a few companions he set out for the hills and soon reached Jakho, near Simla. Thence they sought a suitable site for a residence, and found a level place at Thagwa in the Kótí State. Next morning the Míán, or 'prince', set out in a palanquin, but when they reached Sanjauli, his companions found he had disappeared, and conjecturing that he had become a dêota, returned to Thagwa, where they sought him in vain. They then took service with the people of that part. One night a man went out to watch his crop, and resting beneath a bëmú tree, heard a terrible voice from it say, 'lest I fall down!' Panic-stricken he fled home, but another man volunteered to investigate the business and next night placed a piece of silk on the platform under the tree and took up his position in a corner. When he heard the voice, he rejoined 'come down', whereupon the tree split in half and out of it a beautiful image fell on to the silk cloth. This the man took to his home and placed it in the upper storey, but it always came down to the lower one, so he sent for the astrologers, who told him the image was that of a dêota who required a temple to live in. Then the people began to worship the image and appointed a chëta through whom the god said he would select a place for his temple. So he was taken round the country, and when the news reached the companions of the Nádaun prince they joined the party. The god ordered temples to be built at Nain, Bojári, Thoud, and Kótí in succession, and indeed in every village he visited, until he reached Nádaun, where the Rájá, his brother, refused to allow any temple to be built, as he already had a family god of his own named Jipúr. Junga, the new god, said he would settle matters with Jipúr, and while the discussion was going on, he destroyed Jipúr's temple and all its images by lightning, whereupon the Rájá made Junga his own deity and placed him in a house in his darbár.

Jipúr is not now worshipped in Keonthal, all his own temples being used as temples of Junga who is worshipped in them. Nothing is known of Jipúr, except that he came in with the ruling family of Keonthal. He appears to have been only a jathéra or ancestor. Junga has another temple at Pajarli near Junga, to which he is taken.

¹ An account of this goddess will be found on p. 357 supra.
² (The family likeness of the legends connected with these hill deities of the extreme North of India to those connected with the 'devils' of the Taluvas on the West Coast, very far to the South, is worthy of comparison by the student. See Devil Worship of the Taluvas, Ind. Ant., XXIII—XXVI, 1894—1897.)
The feudatory gods of Junga.

when a jag is to be celebrated, or when an heir-apparent, 'tika', is born to the Rājā, on which occasion a jagra is performed. On other occasions the images made subsequently are alone worshipped in this temple. The ritual is that observed in a śikāla, and no sacrifice is offered. There are 22 tīkas or "sons" of Junga. None of these can celebrate a jag or observe a festival without permission from the Junga temple, and such permission is not given unless all the duces of Junga's temple are paid. Thus Junga is regarded as the real god and the others his children.

The Twenty-two Tīkās of Junga (Keonthal), near Simla.

The State of Keonthal is one of the Simla Hill States in the Punjab, and its capital, Junga, so called after the god of that name, lies only a few miles from Simla itself. Besides the main territory of the State, Keonthal is overlord of five feudatory States, viz. Kōtī, Theog, Madhān, Gōnd and Ratesh. Excluding these States, it comprises six detached tracts, which are divided into eighteen parganas, thus:


III.—Pargana Rāwīn, and

IV.—Pargana Pūnnar, together forming Rāwīn tahsil.

V.—Pargana Rāmpur, and

VI.—Pargana Wāknā, both in Junga tahsil.

The three tahsils are modern Revenue divisions, but the 22 parganas are ancient and correspond in number to the 22 tīkas, which are described below. It does not appear, however, that each pargana has its tīka, and the number may be a mere coincidence. The fondness for the Nos. 12, 22, 32, 42, 52 etc. in the Punjab, and indeed, throughout India, is well known, and goes back at least to Buddhist times.

The following are the 22 Tīkās of Junga:—

(1) Kalaur.
(2) Manūnī.
(3) Kaneti.
(4) Deo Chand.
(5) Shānēti.
(6) Mahāniphā.
(7) Tīrā.
(8) Khāteśwar.
(9) Chādeī.
(10) Shānēti and Jānu.
(11) Dhīrrā.
(12) Kūthī.
(13) Dhāntīn.
(14) Dōmā.
(15) Rātīnā.
(16) Chānān.
(17) Gaum.
(18) Bhūtān.
(19) Kūshēlī Diō.
(20) Bāl Diō.
(21) Rawāl Diō.
(22) Kawālī Diō.
The feudalatories of Junga.

Legend.—A Brahman once fled from Kulu and settled in Dawan, a village in pargana Batach. There he incurred the enmity of a Kante woman, who put poison in his food. The Brahman detected the poison, but went to a spot called Bangapâni, where there is water, in Doran Jangal, and there ate the food, arguing that if the woman meant to kill him she would do it sooner or later, and so died, invoking curses on the murderer. His body disappeared. In the Garhál-ki-Dhâr plain was a bakhalt plant. One day a Brahman of Garâwag observed that all the cows used to go to the plant and water it with their milk, so he got a spade and dug up the bush. He found under it a beautiful image (which still bears the mark of his spade) and took it home. When he told the people what had happened, they built a temple for the idol, and made the Brahman its pujârî. But the image, which bore a strong resemblance to the Brahman, who had died of the poisoned food, began to inflict disease upon the Kanets of the place, so that several families perished. Thereupon, the people determined to bring in a stronger god or goddess to protect them from the image. Two Kanets of the pargana, Dheli and Chandî, were famed for their courage and strength, and so they were sent to Lâwi and Pâlwi, two villages in Sirmîr State, disguised as faqirs, and thence they stole an aâh-bhujawali, 'eight-handed', image of Devi, which they brought to Dhawar in Batach. The people met them with music and made offerings to the stolen image, which they took to Walân and there built a temple for it, ceasing to worship Kalaur. The plague also ceased. The people of one village Churej, however, still affect Kalaur.

(2) The Cult of Manûn.

Manûn is Mahâdeo, and is so called because his first temple was on the hill of Manûn.

Legend.—A Brahman of Parâli, in the Jamrot pargana of the Patidhra hill territory, a pujârî of Devi Dhâr, and others, went to buy salt in Manû, and on their way back halted for the night in Mâhûr Nag's temple at Mahûn in the Suket State. The Brahman and the pujârî with some of the company, who were of good caste, slept in the temple, the rest sleeping outside. The pujârî was a chela of the god Dharto, at that time a famous shakta, revered throughout the northern part of the Koochthul State. On starting in the morning, a swarm of bees settled on the baggage of the Brahman and the pujârî, and could not be driven off. When the party reached Munda, where the temple of Hanûman now stands, the swarm left the baggage and settled on bûn tree. Here, too, the pujârî fainted and was with difficulty taken home. The astrologers of the pargana decided that a god had come from Suket and wished to settle in that part, and that unless he were accommodated with a residence the pujârî would not recover. Meanwhile the pujârî became possessed by the god and began to nod his head and declare that those present must revere him (the god), or he would cause trouble. They replied that if he could overcome the god Dharto, they would not hesitate to abandon that god, though they had revered him for generations. Upon this 'a bolt from the blue' fell upon Dharto's temple and destroyed it, breaking all the idols, except one which was cast into a tank in a cave. The pujârî then led the people to Munda, where the bees had settled and
directed them to build a temple at the place where they found ants. Ants were duly found in a square place on Manún hill, and a temple built in due course, but when only the roof remained to be built, a plank flew off and settled in Paráli. Upon this the puñári said the temple must be built there, as the god had come with a Brahman of that place, and so a second temple was built and the image placed in it. That at Manún was also subsequently completed, and a third was erected at Kotí Dhár. The cult also spread to Nala, in Patášla territory, and to Bhajji State, and temples were erected there. The Brahmanas of Paráli were appointed Bhójís and the puñáris of Kotí Dhár puñáris of the god. Meanwhile the image of Dharto remained in the tank into which it had fallen. It is said that a man used to cook a rot (a large loaf) and throw it into the water as an offering, requesting the god to lend him utensils which he needed to entertain his guests. This Dharto used to do, on the condition that the utensils were restored to the pool when done with. But one day the man borrowed 40 and only returned 35 plates, and since then the god has ceased to lend his crockery. Besides the god’s image is another, that of a bir or spirit, called Tonda. Tonda used to live at Paráli in a cave which was a water-mill, and if any one visited the mill alone at night he used to become possessed by the bir, and, unless promptly attended to, lose his life. But once the puñári of Manún went to the mill, and by the help of his god resisted the attempts of the bir to possess him. In fact he captured the bir, and having laid him flat on the grind-stone sat on him. Upon this the bir promised to obey him in all matters if he spared his life, and so the puñári asked him to come to the temple, promising to worship him there if he ceased to molest people. The bir agreed and has now a separate place in the temple of Manún, whose wazír he has become.

(3) The Cult of Kaneti.

Legend.—After the war of the Mahâbhârata, when the Pândavas had retired to the Badri Náth hills to worship, they erected several temples and placed images in them. Amongst others they established Kaneti in a temple at Kwâra on the borders of Garhwâl and Bashbhar, and there are around this temple five villages, which are still known after the Pândavas. Dodra and Kwâra are two of these. The people of the former wanted to have a temple of their own, but those of Kwâra objected and so enmity arose between them. The Dodra people then stole an image from the Kwâra temple, but it disappeared and was found again in a pool in a cave. It then spoke by the mouth of its chela, and declared that it would not live at Dodra, and that the people must quit that place and accompany it elsewhere. So a body of men, Kanets, Kolís and Tûris, left Dodra and reached Dagon, in Keonthal State, where was the temple of Jîpûr, the god of the Rájá’s family. This temple the new god destroyed by lightning, and took possession of his residence. The men who had accompanied the god settled in this region and the cult of Kaneti prospered. Aichá, Brahman, was then wazír of Keonthal, and he made a vow that if his progeny increased, he would cease to worship Jîpûr and affect Kaneti. His descendants soon numbered 1500 houses. Similarly, the Bhulé tribe made a vow to Kaneti, that if their repute for courage increased, they would desert Jîpûr.
The feudatories of Junga.

(4) The Cult of Deo Chand.

Legend.—Deo Chand, the ancestor of the Khanagé sect of the Kanets, was mazir of Keonthal and once wished to celebrate a jag, so he fixed on an auspicious day and asked for the loan of Junga's image. This the pujárí refused him, although they accepted his first invitation, and asked him to fix another day. Deo Chand could not do this or induce the pujärís to lend him the image, so he got a blacksmith to make a new one, and celebrated the jag, placing the image, which he named Deo Chand after himself, in a new temple. He proclaimed Deo Chand subordinate to Junga, but in all other respects the temple is under a separate management.

(5) The Cult of Shaséti.

There are two groups of Kanets, the Painoi or Paindi and the Shaintí. Owing to some dispute with the pujárís, the Shaintís made a separate god for themselves and called him Shaséti.

(6) The Cult of Rákánphá.

The Chibbar Kanets of Jatil pargana borrowed an image of Junga and established a separate temple.

(7) The Cult of Tíru.

Legend.—Tíru is the god of the Játik people, who are a sekt of the Brahmans. A Tíru Brahman went to petition the Rájá and was harshly treated, so he cut off his own head, whereupon his headless body danced for a time. The Brahmans then made an image of Tíru, and he is now worshipped as the father of the Játiks.

(8) The Cult of Kháteshwar.

The Brahmans of Bhakar borrowed an image of Junga and built a separate temple for it at a place called Kóti, whence the god's name.

(9) The Cult of Chádei.

The Nawáwan sect of the Kanets brought this god from pargana Rakesh, and built his temple at Charol, whence the god's name.

(10) The Cult of Shaséti and Jáu.

Junga on his birth made a tour through the Keonthal territory, and having visited Shaint and Jáu villages, ordered temples to be built in each of them. Shaséti is subordinate to Junga, and Jáu to Shaséti. Both these temples are in the village of Kóti.

(11) The Cult of Dhúru.

A very ancient god of the Jáu pargana of Keonthal. All the zamindars who affected Dhúru died childless. The temple is financed by the Rájás and the god is subordinate to Junga.

(12) The Cult of Kálták.

The Chibbar sect of the Kanets affect this god. His temple is at a place called Kawálath.
The feudatories of Jungé.

(13) The Cult of Dhanú.

Legend.—The image of this god came, borne on the wind, from Nádaun, after Jungá's arrival in the country. It first alighted on Jhiko and thence flew to Neog, where it hid under a rice plant in a paddy-field. When the people cut the crop they spared this plant, and then turned their cattle into the fields. But all the cattle collected round the plant, from under which a serpent emerged and sucked all their milk. When the people found their cows had run dry, they suspected the cowherd of having milked them, and set a man to watch her. He saw what occurred, and the woman then got enraged with the plant, and endeavoured to dig it up, but found two beautiful images (they both still bear the marks of her sickle). The larger of these two is considered the Rájá and is called Dhanú (from dhanád, rice), and the smaller is deemed the wazír and is called waro (meaning 'tyrant' in the Pathári dialect).

This was the image which assumed a serpent's shape and drained the cows. Two temples were erected to these images, but they began to oppress the people and compelled them to sacrifice a man every day, so the people of the pargana arranged for each family to supply its victim in turn. At last weary of this tyranny, they called in a learned Brahman of the Bharobó sect, who induced the god to content himself with a human sacrifice once a month, then twice and then once a year, then with a he-goat sacrificed monthly, and finally once every six months, on the thúdahús of Hár and Khátik wádu. The Brahman's descendants are still pujáris of the temple and paróhás of the village, and they held Bhíyár free of revenue until Rájá Chandar Sain resumed the grant. They now hold Sigar in lieu of service to the god.

(14) The Cult of Dúm.

Dúm has a temple in Katián, a village of Phágú tahsíl, and goes on tour every five or ten years though Keonthal, Kothár, Mahlog, Bashahr, Ko Kháí, Jubbal, Khánár, Bághal, Ko histó and other States. In Sambat 1150 he visited Delhi, then under the rule of the Turwars, many of whom after their defeat by the Chauháns fled to these hills, where they still affect the cult of Dúm. He is believed to possess miraculous powers and owns much gold and silver. He became subordinate to Jungá, as the god of the State.

(15). Ráhid.

This god has a temple in pargana Parílhi.

(16) Chánánd.

He is the deity of the Dóli Brahmans.

(17) Gaun.

The image is that of Jungá, who was established by the Rawal people.

(18) Bijn.

Bijn was originally subordinate to the god Bijat, but as he was in the Keonthal State, he became subordinate to Jungá. His real name is Bijleshwar Mahádeo, or Mahádeo, the lightning god, and his temple stands below Jori Chandni in the Jubbal State.
The god Düm.

(Regarding Nos. 19) Káshoká Deo, (20) Ból Deo, (31) Rawól Deo and (32) Rawól Deo, no particulars are available.)

The deots of the Punjab Himalayas include a number of divine families each ruling over its own territory, just as the ruling families of the Hill States rule each its own State or fief. In the Simla Hills for example we find a family of Nág, another of Düm and a third called Marechh, besides the more orthodox families of Kót Ihsán and the Devís.

THE CULT OF THE DÜMS.

One of the most remarkable cults of the Simla Hills is that of Düm, who appears also as one of the twenty-two šíkas of Keonthal. In that State he is a subordinate deity, but elsewhere he is a godling of the first rank. His cult extends to several other states, e.g. to Bashahr and Kumhásain. Zámání offer him ghf every time they clarify butter, otherwise he would prevent their cows yielding milk. Every three years the accumulated ghf is spent on the god’s entertainment. He is closely allied with páp or nád, and one account thus describes his origin—Khalnúlah, an aged Kanét, went to worship Hákkoží deví, and pleased with his devotion the goddess gave him some rice and told him that two sons would be born to him. When they grew up they used to graze a Brahman’s cattle, and the goddess conferred on them the power of doing anything they wished. On their death their páp or khót began to vex the people of this ilág, so they were propitiated by worship; and one of them stayed in the State while the other took up his abode at Kutchán in Keonthal.

The deota Düm or Nágarkótha, as he is also called, of Katián (properly Gáthán), a village in the Shillí parganá of the Phág tabšíl of Keonthal, is the brother of Düm deota of Sharmala, which is his capital, lying in the Kumhásain State. The latter’s history is as follows:

An old Kanét, named Shúra, living in Homri village (now in parganá Chagchón in Kumhásain), had no son. His wife, Pargí, was also old and she asked her husband to marry a second wife in order to get a son, but Shúra refused on account of his advanced age. His wife induced him to go to the goddess Hákkoží Dúrgá and implore her aid, threatening to fast even unto death unless she promised him a son. Shúra reached Hákkoží in seven days (though it was only a two days’ journey) and for seven days sat before Dúrgá Deví fasting. The goddess was so pleased at his devotion that she appeared before him with all her attributes (the sámkha, chakkár, gadá, padám and other weapons in her right hand) and riding on a tiger. She granted his request and bade him return home. Overjoyed at this bar or boon, he went home and told his wife the good news, and three months later she gave birth to twin sons, but both parents dying seven days later, they were nursed by a sister named Kapí. While quite young the orphans showed signs of superhuman power. Their sister too soon died.

\footnote{Sharmala lies in parganá Shil of Kumhásain and Düm is worshipped by all the people of parganá Ubedesh and by some of parganá Shil.}
and the boys were employed as cowherds by the people, but they were careless of their cattle and devoted themselves to their favourite game of archery. So the people dismissed first one and then the other. Both of them then took service with the Thákur of Darkotí, but were again discharged for idleness. They then roamed the country seeking service, but no one would help them, and so they went down to the plains and reached Delhi, where they enlisted in the king’s army. To test the skill of his archers the king set up a *tawa* (pole?) from which hung a horse hair with a small grain in the centre. No one in all his army could split the grain with an arrow, except these two recruits, and the king was greatly pleased with them, but as his Ráni told him that they were not common soldiers but possessed of magical power and should be dismissed to their native hills with a suitable reward, he gave them a huge vessel (*cheru*) full of coins which they could not lift, and they were about to depart when two *deotá*ś, Mahású and Shrígul, who were prisoners at Delhi, appeared and calling upon the brothers for help, as they belonged to the same hill country as themselves, promised that if they petitioned the king for their release they would be set free.

The Dúm brothers implored the king for the *deotá*ś release, and their request was granted. The *deotá*ś were so pleased that they bade the youths ask of them any boon they liked, and they asked their help in carrying the vessel home. The *deotá*ś told the brothers to mount their aerial steeds, look towards the Kañláš hill, touch the vessel and whip up their horses. So they did, and their steeds carried their riders high up into the sky, flying northwards over the hills and halting at Binn, a place near Gathán village. The gods went to their dominions and the vessel full of coin was buried at Binn, where it turned into water, which was made into the *bati* now on the boundary of Kumhár’sain and Keonthal. The aerial steeds disappeared on Mount Kañláš after leaving the young Dúms at Binn. Binn then belonged to the Thákur of Rajáán, and the Dúm brothers made themselves very troublesome, breaking with their arrows the *ghurás* full of water which the women were carrying home on their heads or setting their bundles of grass on fire. The people became so alarmed that at last the whole countryside with the Thákur at its head brought the brothers to bay in a battle in which the elder, who was called Dúm, was killed. Kon, the younger, also died and both were cremated on the spot where they had fallen, but they emerged from the ashes in the form of idols. These miraculous images punished the Thákur in many ways, haunting him in his sleep and overturning his bed. To appease the images, who were thus become *párś*, the Thákur conveyed them to Nagarkot in Kulu, but when presented there before the goddess they vanished. The people were distressed at their loss and fasted before Durga until she made them re-appear. So she gave them back the images; but some say that she gave them other images in lieu of the originals. Thereafter Dúm

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1. The *deotá*ś Mahású and Shrígul were captives kept at Delhi for being devil oppressors in the hills.
2. See the note in the account of *Oós*.
3. The descendants of Kon settled in Keonthal State and are called Kathán.
Dum's legend.

Deota was also called Nagarkotia deota of Sharmalla. One image was brought to Sharmalla, where Dum was established, while the image of Kon was taken to Gatham village. Temples were built for the residence of each at those places. But some say both images were first established at Sharmalla. People used to invite the deotas to their houses, but the Sharmalla people refused to send them to Gatham, and so the people of the latter place stole one of the deotas and established him there. Dum of Sharmalla is worshipped daily by Brahman, but his gur (the man into whom the spirit comes and through whom it speaks) is always a Kanet. The deota has his kardar, the chief among them being the khandari in charge of the stores. The Sharmalla women call him by the pet name of Naun, but other people call him Dum. His annual mela is held on the Bishu day in Baisakh, but his jatra is held every 7th or 8th year. When a new Rana ascends the gaddi a rajadhi mela is held and the deotas tours in the villages of his devotees. The Shant mela is held every 50 years. The deota's followers are found mostly in Ubdesh pargana, but he is also worshipped in several other scattered villages in Bashahr, Khaneti, Theog and Shill. He used to have a mela at Shamokhar. Some say that the deotas Magneshwar, Kot Ishwar and Dum sat in their respective places and the mela began, but the trio quarrelled and the mela was forbidden to be held in the future by Government. The Dagrot people in consequence pay a cheshri of Rs. 30 to Manjun or Magneshwar every third year. The deota helped Kumharasa in to gain its victory over Konthal, and when besought by a Rana of Jubbil blessed him with a son for which the Rana presented him with a gold image. Dum's original image is of brass, but a few smaller images have been added as its companions. The Thakur of Rajana was also blessed with a son at an advanced age, and he presented Dum with a silver chain worth Rs. 140. The deota is rich, having silver instruments (narsinga and karnal) of music, while a necklace of gold maharas and gold ornaments always adorn him. He is not khudadhari, but goats are sacrificed before him. He is believed by his devotees to be a very powerful god, blessing the people but distressing those who do not obey him. He had a large dominion of his own, but Dum of Gatham has a much larger one. The Dum of Sharmalla had seven khanda (descendants of nadis or mawans) who recognised his authority. These are—Baghalu and Charog in Khaneti, Atmet and Relu in Bashahr, Dogre and Rachala in Kumharasa and Dharog in Balsa. The Charog, Relu and Dharogu valleys were seized by Dum of Gatham and added to his dominions.

The following is another account of this strange quarrel:—
The worshippers of Manji deota, whose real name is Magneshwar Mahadev and whose temple is in Manji, a village in Shill, are

1Cheshri is a fine levied thus:—The god every third year visits the villages from which the fine is due. This fine comprises a goat, Rs. 1-4-0, and as much grain as will suffice for the worshippers who accompany the god.

2Khanda also appears to mean a tract of country. The Khand Kanets are in Bashahr distinguished from the Chota Kanets. They are sometimes called Nara or Nure, and certain religious ceremonies, such as the bawada and abad are only performed in villages where there are Khand Kanets.—Stula Hill States Gazetteer, Bashahr, p. 31.
confined to that pargana. Nearly 70 years ago the worshippers of both the gods, Mauni and Düm, used to assemble with their gods at a fair held at Shamokhar, an open space on the borders of the Ubedesh and Shil parganas. About 65 years ago, in the time of Ráná Pritam Singh, of Kumbhárain, the worshippers of Düm objected to the admission of Mauni deota and his worshippers into Shamokhar. This led to a feud between the two parties, and the case came before the Ráná, who in Sambat 1907 decided that if Mauni deota was not allowed to be brought into Shamokhar, the inhabitants of Dakün, Rabog and Jadún (the worshippers of Düm) should pay a fine called chershí to Mauni deota.

Kôteshar deota (also called the deota Kotí), the State god who has a temple in Madholi village, was offended by the above decision, so he prohibited both the gods from coming to Shamokhar. As he was the State god, the Ráná was bound to obey his orders, so both the deotás were prevented from coming. When the worshippers of Mauni found that the decision went against them, they solicited the aid of a favourite kawás of the Ráná who was a daughter of Utemun, a Kanét of the Moreskha family and a worshipper of Mauni. Through her persuasion the Ráná gave permission to Mauni to come to Shamokhar. This partial judgment caused a quarrel between the rival factions, so both the gods were prevented from coming to Shamokhar in the future, but the chershí continued to be paid as usual to Mauni deota. During the chief's minority payment of the chershí to Mauni deota was not enforced, and his worshippers asked either that they might be allowed to hold their fair at Shamokhar, or that the chershí should be paid to them; but no decision was given, and the dispute was not settled. Subsequently the chershí was paid to Mauni, but later on the authorities thinking that the god's visits to the village were likely to cause disputes, stopped its payment and arranged for the payment of Rs. 30 in cash every third year as chershí to Mauni.

The deota Düm of Hemri has the same history as the Düm of Sharmalla. Shura and Párgi lived at Hemri, and it is said that when the Düm brothers were killed their images were brought to Hemri and thence taken to Sharmalla and Gathán. Some say that the Düm brothers were killed by māris even before the Thákurs of Rajána ruled the country. There is an image of Düm at Hemri temple where the people of Hemri, Kathrol and Guma worship him. This deota, when necessary, goes to Kángra on a pilgrimage (játrá). A mela is held at Hemri on the Shārōne (Salono) day in Bhádon. The Balti mela is held every third year. A Brahman is his gojári, but he is generally worshipped by the Kolás and Lohárs of Hemri.

Düm of Karel is worshipped at a temple in that village. He too is also an offshoot of the Düm brothers. People say that Düm first went from Hemri to Gathán, whence an image of him was brought to Karel, although Hemri and Karel are close together. The Karel people worship Düm in Gathán, but as a mark of respect they keep an idol of him in a temple in their own village. A Balti fair is held every third year and a Bhánda mela whenever the people wish, generally
after 10 or 15 years. Every house gives some goats to be killed, people inviting their kinsmen, especially their dhī-dhīans and sons-in-law and their children. The Bhaureth Brahman does pūja in the morning only.

Bhāt deota also resides with Dūm in the Kārel temple. Originally a Sārurth Brahman living at Moteor, a village just above Kumbhārsain itself. Bhāt was prosecuted by a Rānā of Kumbhārsain and ordered to be arrested, but he fled to the Kūli side pursued by the Kārel sepyo who had been sent to seize him. He was caught on the bank of the Sutlej, but asked the sepyo to allow him to bathe in the river before being taken back to Kumbhārsain, and then drowned himself. He became a demon and haunted the sepyo in his sleep until the latter made an image in his name and began to worship him at Kārel. The other people of Kārel out of respect for the image placed it in the temple besides that of Dūm.

The people of Jhangrolī in Chagnon pargana also brought an image of Dūm from Gathān and made him a temple. He is worshipped with dhāp dip every 5th day, but has no daily pūja. The people hold Gathān Dūm to be their family deota, but the temple is maintained in the village as a mark of respect.

Though the Dūm deotās have their chief temples at Gathān and Sharmalla, there are a number of Dūms with temples in Sarāj, as already noted. Dūm also came in Shadooch and there are four temples to Dūm in the following villages of pargana Chebishi:

1. Dūm of Pharaj.—It is not known when this Dūm was brought from Sharmalla. A man of this pargana lived in Sarāj, whence he brought an image and placed it in a temple at Pharaj with the express permission of Malendu deota, who is the family deota of the Chebishi people. This Dūm has no rath and his function is to protect cattle. If a cow does not give milk, he is asked to make her yield it in plenty and the yāti produced from the first few days' milk is given to him as dhāp. No khin is performed for him, but Kanets give him dhāp dip daily. He has no bhar.

2. Dūm of Kotla.—Kotla has always been held in jāgir by the Kanwars or Miāns of Kumbhārsain, and the Dūm temple there was founded by one of them.

3. Dūm of Kupī.—The people of Kupī village say that more than 700 years ago they came from Rewag, a village in Ubdesh pargana in Sarāj and settled at Kupī in the Chebishi pargana of Shadooch. Their ancestors brought with them Dūm, their family deota's image, and placed it in a temple. A field at Kupī was named Rewag after their original village. The people of this village do not regard Malendu as their family god. There are at present nine images of Dūm in the Kupī temple and a small yāti (bed) where it is believed a Bhagwati lives with him. The Kanets are his pujārīs and also his gwas. A Khin. mela is held every three or four years at night and goats are sacrificed.
The gods Mareechh.

(4) Dūm of Parojnusha.—Nearly 200 years ago, Kājī, a Shadhoch man who had lived in Saraj, returned to his village and brought with him an image of Dūm, which he presented to his fellow-villagers at Beshers, and made them also swear to worship him. This they did, presumably with Malendu's permission. More than 100 years ago one of the villagers killed a sadhu whose spirit would not allow the people to live at ease in their village, so they all left it and settled in Parojnusha. A Bhagwati is believed to live with him in the temple. The Kanses worship him but their family god is Malendu. He has no bhor.

THE FAMILY OF MARCHEEH.

The Mareechh family is represented by seven members.1 The deota called Dithu or Mareechh has his temple at Dholaasar, close to Kumhrāsain itself. The story goes that he came from the Mansarowar lake nearly 4000 years ago.2 On his way down he met Bhambu Rāi at a place now called Bhambu Rākā Tībbah, a peak between Bāghi and Kadrāla, where the ruins of his palace are said to still exist. Bhambu Rāo, who was a Rājput,3 Rājā like Kans, is looked upon as a malekosh or daivt (devil). His favourite meal was a woman's breast and he ate one every day. He used to go to bathe in the Sutlej, thence go to Hātkoti for worship, and return to dine at his palace every day, a daily round of about 100 miles which he accomplished in six hours. The people were grievously oppressed by him, and at last the deota of Shuli (its pargana Kanchin of Basbahr) killed him. But after his death his evil spirit (pdp) began to torment the Shuli deota, and in order to appease him Shanti built for it a resting place at Shuli in a separate temple. Every twelfth year Bhambu Rāo comes out seated in his rath, by night, never by day, and carried by the people rides and dances in it. Women and children shut themselves up in their houses while he is out at night. He was very powerful when Dithu deota was coming down from the Mansarowar lake, and near Kadrāla refused to let him pass, so a great fight was fought in which Bhambu Rāo was worsted. Dithu then halted on his way at Mārni in a ravine near Madhāwani in the valley north of Nārkandja in Kumhrāsain, hid himself in a cave and ate human flesh. He used also to accept human sacrifice. A long time after, when the deota Kot Ishwar held his mala at Chhachhuri, Dithu hearing the notes of the karudli and narsinga came out of his cave and joined in the fair. Both the deotas made friends, and Kot Ishwar invited Dithu to his temple at Koti. When Kot Ishwar and Bhura deota entered the temple two goats were, as usual, offered for sacrifice, but Kot Ishwar declined to accept them saying that he had with him a third deota as his guest, and that a third goat should be offered for him. So the people brought a third goat, but Dithu refused to accept it saying that he preferred human flesh, and that a virgin girl

1Of whom three are found in Kumhrāsain, two in Shāngri, one in Kotgarh and one in Kulī, thus:—(1) Dithu at Dholaasar, (2) Mareechh of Malendu at Malendu, (6) at Barchar in Kumhrāsain, (4) at Shāngri, (5) at Banur in Shāngri, (6) at Kirti in Kotgarh and (7) at Belna in Kulī.

2In the year 1000 of Yadthithir's era, or 4000 years ago.

3He is said to have come from the Bāngar Des, apparently, meaning the Kurukkhetra. He was called Rāo or Rāi.
should be sacrificed. Kot Ishwar was displeased at this and ordered Dithu's arrest, and he was not released until he had sworn never to taste human flesh again. This pleased Kot Ishwar and he made Dithu his ḍeva. He was given a place called Dholaser, where his temple still exists. Kot Ishwar also assigned him his favourite Kotāli, the mānavana, as his kāyād, and to this family was given Bāi, a village close to Dholaser. Dithu brought with him from Mārni a mohri tree, which, with some bālo trees, still stands near his temple. Rānā Kirti Singh, founder of the Kumhārā State, affected this ḍeva.

Dithu comes out of his temple when Kot Ishwar rides on his rath at a mela. A Balti melā is held every third year.

The Marechh brothers is also called Malendi, or 'he of Malendi'.

The people of Chebishi pargana, who are his devotees, say that the seven Marechh brothers came from the Mansarowar lake and fought with Bhamru Rāo when he barred their way. After his overthrow they came to Hātu, whence they scattered. Malendi went to Chhichhār forest and after a time flew to the top of the Dextu hill above Chebishi pargana. A Kāli or Kālika called Bhāgwaṭi, who lived on this peak, received him kindly, but after a while she desired him to acquire a territory where he could be worshipped, and recommended to him the Chebishi pargana, as it was subsequently named. So this ḍeva Marechh left the Kālika and came to Lanki forest. There he descended to the Nālā and reached Jaunjhat, a place where he found a brass bdolī with brass steps leading down to the water. But some say either that he did not reach the brass bdolī or that from the bdolī he went to Dheongli and sat under a ber tree. The story goes that this Marechh being anxious to make himself known to the people transformed himself into a serpent, and sucked milk from the cows that grazed near by. A cowgirl saw him and informed a Deogli Brahman. When he came the serpent resumed his original form—an ashtabhu image—and sat in his lap. The Brahman gave him dānā dip. At that time the mānavanas of Bāsherā and Pharal were powerful, so the Brahman carried the image to Bāsherā and the Bāsherā mānavana in consultation with him of Pharal informed ḍeva Kot Ishwar of the new arrival. Kot Ishwar treated Marechh kindly and gave him the present Chebishi pargana, but only on condition that he would not oppress the people, and that he should only be allowed goats and rams, khāda but not bher, to eat. He was given a jagir in four villages, as well as fields in several others. It was also agreed that Malendi should not go out for a ride on a rath unless Kot Ishwar gave him leave and his rath is never decorated until Kot Ishwar sends him a piece of māru cloth in token of his permission. Like Dithu he only comes out of his temple when Kot Ishwar does so. Malendi was further ordered to observe the following tekhārs or festivals (at each of which Kot Ishwar sends him a goat), viz. the Bishu, Behāli, Dewāli, Māghi and Sharuno. Lastly, the god was asked to select a place for his temple, and he chose Malendi, and there it was built by the Bāsherā and Pharal mānavanas. It is believed that this ḍeva is absent from his temple on the Māghi Shankrānt for seven days, during which period the temple is closed and all work stopped till his return. The popular belief is that the
deota goes to fight with the râkhânas and daityas at Bhonda Bil, somewhere in Basohli, and returns after bathing at Kidârnâth. On his return the temple is re-opened and his gur or dênya dances in a trance (châru) and through him the deota relates all his strife with the râkhânas. Strange to say, if the râkhânas have won, it is believed that a bumper harvest will result; but if the deota win, there is danger of famine. Yet, though there be good harvest, if the râkhânas win, there is a danger that pestilence may afflict men or cattle, and if the deota win, though there may be famine, they will avert pestilence. A deota never speaks of himself but only of the other deota who fought with him. If he says that a certain deota left his bell on the field, it is believed that his gur will soon die; if he says a musical instrument was left, that the deota’s Turi (musician) will die; or if a key was left, that the deota’s bhaudri or a kârdar will die. If Kot Ishwar throw dust towards a râkhâsa and retire from the field, there may be famine or some part of Kumhârsain will be smothered upon or given to another State. There is a pond at Bhonda Bil and a Brahman of Basohli puts up two hedges—one on the side believed to be the deota’s side and another on that believed to be the râkhânas’ side. If the hedge on the deota’s side falls down, they are believed to have suffered defeat, but if the râkhânas’ hedge falls, they are worsted. No one but Maon Nâg of Suket plunges into the pond, and by the flash of his plunge the other deota bathes in the water sprayed on its banks. If defeated, the deota says he is chut chipt (‘impura’) and then a Bali pâya is held on an auspicious day. On the Shankrânti days Brahmans do pûja, reciting mantra and offering dhûp dip. These mantra are not found in any Veda, but are eulogies of those concerned in the Mahâbhârata war. They are called karnaî. The bell is rung and dhûp dip is given in a dhurra or karaî.

Certain Brahmins are believed to know Sabar-bidâ or magic lore. Their books are written in a character something like Tânkri, but the language is different and very quaint. Sabar-bidâ is only known to a few Brahmins, and they do not readily disclose its secrets.

Malendu has no connection with any other deota save Kot Ishwar, and it is believed that at the time of pestilence or famine he comes out at night in the form of a torch or light and tours through his dominions. The image of this deota is of ashtâ-dhât (eight metals), and is seated on a pujri or small four-sided bed, but it has no ranghâsa. The deota has a jâgir, and one of his kârdâs, called makhâna, is appointed by the State. A makhâna is changed when necessary by the State. His gur is also called a ghamiâta and his kârdâs are commonly called makhâ.

Malendu has two bhors, Jhatak and Lata. Jhatak is of an uch or superior, while Lata is of a uch or low caste. Jhatak lived at Urshu, a place also called Jhaila; so he is also called Jhaila.
Some say that Koš Isvar gave Jhatak as wazir to Malendu. On one occasion Latia left Malendu and fled to Koš Isvar, but on Malendu’s complaint Koš Isvar restored him to his master who took him back to Malendu.

Banka is another ñāyar who lives at Shelag. Koli's generally worship him, and he drives away ghosts, etc. He was originally a devil in a forest, but was subdued by Malendu.

The Marekh delota of Bhareog is the family god of the Sheen pargana people, and a small jāgir is held by him of the State.

Paoci, a Brahman village, in pargana Chebishi, has a temple to Shavan Marekh. His image was brought from Shawan, a village in Shāngri, and set up here.

Concerning Marekh of Kirtī two traditions are current. One is that his image was brought by the villagers of Kirtī from a place known as Makir, situated on the borders of the Kumbhārsain and Kanchehi States, and that it was called Marīch after the name of that village. The other is that originally the worship of this delota consisted in burning the hair of the dead in ghi, whereas he was called Malichh or ‘dirty’, and that name has been corrupted into Marīchh.

THE CULT OF MUL PADOL

But beside these families there are several independent delotâs. Examples of these are Mul Padol, who has temples at several villages in the States of Bhājī, Shāngri and Kumbhārsain. He is one of the biggest delotâs in the Sundī Hills, and appeared from a cave called Chunjar Malāna near Muthiāna 1500 years ago. About that time a prince named Dewa Singh had come from Sirnār, as he had quarrelled with his brothers, and accompanied by a few of his kârdârs or officials took refuge in that cave. He also had with him his family god, now called Naroli. While he was dwelling in the cave, Padol, who was also called Mul, used to play musical instruments and then cry out, chātan, parun, ‘I shall fall, I shall fall’. One day the prince replied that if the god wished to fall, he could do so, and lo! the image called Mul fell down before him. Mul

1 He became Malendu’s wazir soon after he came to Malendu and his dwelling is a thank, a long log of wood which stands before the temple. The wazir’s function is to drive away evil spirits (bhāt, gret and ghati), if they possess anything or man. He also protects people under Malendu’s orders from visitations of any shai chādar, plague, famine, etc. Late was originally a Koli by caste who lived at Kalīn village. He died under the influence of some evil spirit and became a ghost. As he troubled the Kolis of Kalīn and Shelag, they complained to the delota, who accompanied by Jhatak visited the place and caught him. At first Late would not come to terms, but delota Malendu promised him his protection, and that he should be worshipped by the Kolis and a rot (leaf) be given him on the four arakrakat (Bishnu, Mahāl, Dowali and Mālā), and that he should be presented regularly with dāg dāg after he had himself received it, and that Koli should sacrifice every (höp) to him. Late accepted these terms and went to trouble the people no more, but he explained that he could not stir still, and so Malendu erected the wooden log in front of his temple, and in it Late is doubtless ever moving.

2 Dewa Singh was also the name of one of his descendants who held Košī State in Kāntha.
wished him to accept a kingdom, but he said that he was a vagrant prince who had no country to rule over. Thereupon a Bāri (mason) from Koṭi in Kandru pargana came and told the prince that he had led him to that cave, and he sought him to follow him to a State which had no chief. The prince replied that he could not accept its chiefship until the rest of its people came and acknowledged him as their Rājā. So the mason returned to Kandru and brought back with him the leading men of that tract and they led the prince to Koṭi. There he built a temple for the deota and a palace for himself. Tradition says that the palace had 18 gates and occupied more than 4 acres of land. Its remains are still to be seen near the temple. Some say that the Rājā placed the deota Narolia along with Mul Padoi in the temple, which stood in the middle of the palace. The deota Narolia never comes out in public except to appear before the Rānā of Kumhārsain, if he visits him, or before the descendants of the mason who led the prince to that country. The deota never comes out beyond the Koṭi bāsa (dwelling-house) to accept his dues (khares), which consist of a small quantity of grain. A few generations later it befell that a Thākur of Koṭi had four sons who quarrelled about the partition of the State. One son established himself first in Kulu and then at Kangal (now in Šāṅgri); the second went to Thāra in Bhaijī State, and the third settled at Malag, now in Bhaijī, while the Tūkka or eldest, as was his right, lived at Koṭi.

It is said that Rājā Mān Singh of Kulu took Kangal fort and also overran Koṭi, but others say that Kumhārsain took it. Koṭi appears, however, to have been reconstituted as a State soon after the disruption of Rājāna, and the latter State is only remembered in connection with Mul deota's story and the songs (bars) sung in his honour in Bhaijī.

On the other hand, some people say that in the Chunjar Malāna cave four images fell, while others think that there are four Muls in as many temples. Their names are Mul, Shīr, Sadrel and Thāthlū and their temples are at Koṭi, Padoi and Kangal in the Simla Hills and at Saran in Sukeś. But doubtless the devotees of Mul deota multiplied the Mul, carrying his images with them and building temples to him wherever they went. Wherever there is a temple to Mul he is now generally called Padoi. His principal temple is at Padoa in Bhaijī, on the east bank of the Sutlej, but Koṭi is his Jethu-Sthān or Senior Place. Šāṅgī and Rirkū are his bhārs or ministers.

Rirkū was a deota at Padoa who in the spirit came flying to Mul at Koṭi. He ate a loaf given him by Mul and accepted him as his master. He now drives away bhāt-pret when commanded by Mul. The same tale is told of Šāṅgī.

Thāthlū deota is the waisīr to the Mul of Koṭi, and when a rupee is presented to him 4 annas are given to Thāthlū. Thāthlū’s temple is at Thāthas in Kumhārsain and in it his image is kept, but people

1 The parent State appears to have been known as Rājāna. Its capital was at Koṭi, and it split up into four States—Koṭi, Kangal, Thāra and Malag. The inhabitants of Thāthlū’s village claim to be descendants from the Simār prince, though they have now sunk to Koṭi’s status. The Mélas of Ghūṭ and Karūṭ in pargana Šāṅgī are descendants of the old Thākur of Kangal.
believe that Thathlu is always with Mul, his elder spirit, and only comes back to his own temple when invoked or to take dhap dip. Thathlu calls Mul his addu (elder). Mul goes to Suni every year at the Dasahra, and his spirit also goes to Shuli to bath. Padso and Dhuregra in Bhajji have large temples to Mul, and there is a big temple at Parol in Shangri also. Mul Padso is very useful if his help is asked in hunting and shooting.

There are also two temples to Padso in Chebishi pargana at Shaila and Gheti.

When the Thakur of Kangal died or died his fort was burned by the Raj of Kulu, and his descendants came to Kumharsain. This happened in the time of Rana Ram Singh, who gave them Gheti village in jagir. The Koli fort was taken by them and they held it for about 20 generations. They had brought with them to Gheti silver and copper images of Mul, and these are kept in the Gheti temple to this day. Other descendants of the Thakur settled in village Kariot. The Gheti people too were carrying their family god to Kariot, but on the road they came to Shaila. Naga deota used to be the god of the Shaila people, but a leper in that village laid himself on the path and begged Padso to cure him. Padso said that if he cured him, he must disown the Naga deota who was living in the village. The leper promised to do so and was cured. The people thus convinced of Padso's superiority over the Naga sent the latter off to Dhuli village where the people still worship him, but his temple at Shaila was taken over by Padso and he lives there to this day.

Only a couple of years ago a devotee of Padso went to Theog and there built him a temple. It is said that with the prince from Sirmur came a Brahman, a Kanet named Gosnor and a Turi (musician) whose descendants are to be found in Kumharsain, Bhajji and Shangri.

**Some Minor Culs of the Simla Hills.**

**The cult of the deota Magnebhugar Mouni of Manun.**

At a village called Jalandhar in Kulu lived a Brahman whose wife gave birth to a girl when she was 13 years old. She, though a virgin, gave birth to twin serpents, but kept it secret and concealed her serpent sons in an earthen pot, and fed them on milk. One day when she went out for a stroll she asked her mother not to touch her dolls which were in the house, but unfortunately her mother, desiring to see her child's beloved dolls uncovered the pot and to her dismay the two serpents raised their hoods. Thinking the girl must be a witch she threw burning ashes on them and killed one of them, but the other escaped to a ghara or pot full of milk and though burnt turned into an image. Meanwhile the virgin mother returned and finding her loving sons so cruelly done by, she cut her throat and died on the spot. Her father came in to churn the milk and in doing so broke the ghara in which, to his surprise, he found the image which the living serpent had become. Distressed at his daughter's suicide he left his home taking the image, found in the milk, in his turban and roamed from land to land. At last he

*Another version says three.*
reached Sirmur whose Raja had no son. He treated the Brahman kindly and on his asking the Raja to give him his first-born son, if by the power of his image he had children, he accepted the condition, and by the grace of the image was blessed with two sons, the elder of whom was made over to the Brahman together with a jagir which consisted of the paraganas of Rajana, Mathiana, Shilli, Sheol and Chadara now in Phaglu tahsil in Keonthal. It was called Rajana and its old Thakurs have a history of their own. The family ruled for several generations. Hither the Brahman brought the Raja’s elder son and settled him at Rajana village, commonly called Mul Rajana, in Shilli paragan. The Brahman settled at Mann, a village to the north-west of Rajana where another deota was oppressing the people, until the Brahman revealed his miraculous image and people began to worship Magneshwar as a greater deota. He killed the oppressor and the people burned all his property, certain Mawis who resisted being cruelly put to death by the devotees of the new deota. Deori Dhur village was set on fire and the people burnt alive in it. Later on when the Gthr family of the Kumbharein chiefs has established themselves in the country the deota helped the Thakur of Kumbharein to gain a victory over the Sirmur Raja. The Kumbharein State gave a jagir now worth Rs. 166 to the Magneshwar deota of Mann. He has a large temple and the chief among his khandari is the khudadar who keeps the jagir accounts. Sadd barat (sima) are given to sadaks, faqirs and Brahmanes. He is worshipped daily morning and evening by his pajaria. A mela is held annually at Mann on the 17th or 18th Baisakh and another at the Diwali by night. Every third year another mela called the Shilaru Paja is held. A big paja mela is performed every 7th or 8th year and a still bigger one called Shant every 30 years. When a new Rana ascends the goddess the deota tours the country belonging to him. This is called rajaoli jatra. The Nangarkota or Dumar deota of Sharimala was on friendly terms with this deota, but they quarrelled while dancing at Shamokhar as related above on page 451.

The cult of the deota Molan or Chatur Mukh in Kotgarh.

This deota is believed to be one of the most powerful gods in these hills. He is the family god of the Kot Khani and Kanahtt chieftains and of the Thakur of Karangla. More than 3000 years ago when there were no Rajas or Ranas in the country (excepting perhaps Bansa in Banaur) the people obeyed the deotae as spiritual lords of the land, while mawans held parts of the country. Deota Kana was supreme in Kotgarh and the Kanahtt Shadhoch country. As he had only one eye he was called kane. He delighted in human sacrifice and every month on the sankrut day a man or woman was sacrificed to him as a bali. Each family supplied a victim in turn. Legend says that there was a woman who had five daughters, four of whom had in turn been

1Another account says: The Brahman gave him three grains of rice and told him that by the deota a son should be born to him. The Baja divided the rice among his three Rakas, and on his return after a year the Brahman found that three sons had been born to them. He demanded the eldest from the Raja as his reward, and brought the boy with him to Mann.
devoured by Kāna Deo and the turn of the fifth was fixed for the shankrānti. A contemporary god called Khacli Nāg dwelt in a forest called Jarol near a pond in Kanchehi below Sidhpur (on the Hindustan-Tibet road to Kotgarh). The mother went to him complaining that Kāna deota had devoured hundreds of human beings and that her four daughters had already been eaten and the fate of the fifth was sealed. She implored the Nāg to save her daughter and he having compassion on her said that when Kāna Deo's men came to take the girl for the haṭṭ she should look towards the Nāg and think of him. The woman returned home and when Kāna Deo's men came for the girl she did as she had been told. At that instant a black cloud appeared over the Jarol forest, and spread over Melan village and Kāna Deo's temple with lightning and thunder. There was heavy rain, the wind howled and a storm of iron hail destroyed both temple and village, but their remains are still to be seen on the spot. Large stones joined with iron nails are said to be found where the temple stood, and images of various shapes are also found in the Nāṭa. There now remained no other deota in this part of the country and people were wondering how they would live without the help of any god. They could hold no fair without a god riding in his rath, so they took counsel together and decided that Nāg deota of Khacli should be the only god of the country. They chose his abode in the forest and begged him to accept them as his subjects, promising that they would carry him to Melan and build him a new temple; that on melā days he should ride in a rath, be carried from place to place and worshipped as he pleased. But as Nāg deota was a pious spirit his ascetic habits forbade pomp and pageantry so he declined to be chosen god of the country, but said that he was a hermit who loved solitude, and that if the people were in earnest in wishing for a god they should seek one at Kharán (a village in pargana Baghi-Mastgarh, now in Bashahr) where three brother deotas had a single temple. He advised them to beg these deotas to agree to be their lords and promised that he would help them with his influence.

The Kharán deotas came in their rathā for a melā at Duddhalī (in pargana Jao, now in Kumbhārān) and the Shadheech people proceeded to obtain a deota as king over their country. While the three Kharán brothers were dancing in their rathās they prayed in their hearts that whichever chose to be their god might turn his rath as lightly as a flower, while the other rathās should become too heavy to move. They vowed that the one who accepted their offer should be treated like a king, that of silk should be his garments, of silver his musical instruments, that no sheep or she-goats should be given him but only he-goats, and that his domain should spread far and wide from Khaira near the Sutlej to Kupar above Jubbul. The custom is still that no sheep or she-goat is sacrificed before Chatur Mukh deota and no cotton cloth is used. Their prayer was accepted by the second brother who was called Chatur Mukh (four-faced). The name of the eldest brother is Jeshar and of the youngest Ishar. When Chatur Mukh caused his rath to be as light as a lotus flower, eighteen men volunteered to carry it away from the melā and dancing home on their shoulders. The Kharán and Jao people finding that Chatur
Mukh was stolen from them by the Shadhoch people; pursued them, shooting arrows and brandishing dangras. The brave eighteen halted on a plain behind Jao village where there was a fight, in which Kachli Nāg mysteriously helped them and Chatur Mukh by his miraculous power turned the pursuers' arrows against their own breasts and their dangras fowl to their own heads until hundreds of headless trunks lay on the plain while not one of the Shadhochas was killed. The Shadhoch people then carried the rath in triumph first to Shatila village (in Kotgarh) choosing a place in the centre of the country so that the god might not be forcibly carried off by the Kharān and Jao people. Thence the deota was taken to Sakundi village, in Kotgarh, but the deota did not choose to live there either and bade the people to build him a temple at Melan near a furlong from the ruined temple of Kāna Deo towards Kotgarh. This was gladly done by the people and Chatur Mukh began to reside there.

The people say that nearly 150 years ago Chatur Mukh went to Kidār Nāth on a jātra (pilgrimage) and when returning home he visited Mahāśā's deota at Nol, a village in Kiran (once in Sirmūr), as his guest. But one of Mahāśā's attendant deotās troubled Chatur Mukh in the temple at Nol and frightened his men so that they could not sleep all night. This displeased Chatur Mukh and he left the temple at daybreak much annoyed at his treatment. He had scarcely gone a few steps when he saw a man ploughing in a field and by a miracle made him turn towards the temple and ascend it with his plough and bullocks. Mahāśā deota asked Chatur Mukh why he manifested such a miracle and Chatur Mukh answered that it was a return for his last night's treatment; that he, as a guest, had halted at the temple to sleep, but he and his force (bāñār) had not been able to close their eyes the whole night. Chatur Mukh threatened that by his power the man, plough and bullocks should stick for ever to the walls of the temple. Mahāśā was dismayed and fell on his knees to beg for pardon. Chatur Mukh demanded the surrender of Mahāśā's devil attendant and he was compelled to hand him over. This devil's name is Shīrpāl.1 He was brought as a captive by Chatur Mukh to Melan and after a time, when he had assured his master that he would behave well, he was forgiven and made Chatur Mukh's wāxār, as he still is, at Melan. Shīrpāl ministers in the temple and all religious disputes are decided by him, e.g. if anyone is ousted or any other case of chaa arises, his decision is accepted and men are re-admitted into caste as he deems. Some other minor deotās are also subordinate to Chatur Mukh, the chief among them being:—(1) Benu, (2) Janeru, (3) Khoro, (4) Merelu and (5) Basāra.

These Deos are commonly called his bhajas (servants). The people cannot tell anything about their origin, but they are generally believed to be rākahānas who oppressed the people in this country until Chatur Mukh subdued them and made them his servants. These bhat Deos are his attendants and work as watchmen (chaukidāras) at the temple gate. Benu is said to have come from Bena in Kulu. He was at

1 Shīrpāl means stairs and pāl means watch; hence Shīrpāl means a servant at the gate.
first a devil. When it is believed that a ghost has appeared in any house or taken possession of anything or any one Deo Benu turns him out. Janur came from Paljara in Bashahr. He too is said to have been a devil but Chatur Mukh reformed him. His function is to protect women in pregnancy and child-birth, also cows etc. For this service he is given a loaf after a birth. Porhun appeared from Khorn Kiar in Kumharsain. He too was originally a devil and when Raja Mahi Prakash of Sirmuir held his court at Khorn and all the hill chiefs attended it this devil oppressed the people, until Chatur Mukh made him captive and appointed him his chaukidar at Melan temple. Mereli came out of a marghur (crematorium). He too is looked upon as a jumdu or rakhsha. He had frightened the people at Sainja in Kotgarh, but was captured and made a chaukidar at Melan. Basar Deo is said to have come from Bashahr State, and some say that he was a subordinate Deo of Basar deota at Gaero and troubled his master, so Basar handed him over to Chatur Mukh, but others say that Powari, wasir of Bashahr, invoked Chatur Mukh's aid as he was distressed by the devil Basara, and Shripal, Chatur Mukh's wasir, shut Basara up in a tokat. Thus shut up he was carried to Melan and there released and appointed a chaukidar. This Deo helps Benu Deo in turning out ghosts (bhul, pre; or chutel). To Basar Deo were given Mangals and Shawat villages where only Kolis worship him. The people of Kirti village in Kotgarh worship Mareechh Deota. Less than 100 years ago Deota Chatur Mukh came to dance in a kirtijabar and Mareechh deota opposed him, but Chatur Mukh prevailed and was about to kill him when Tiru, a Brahman of Kirti village, cut off his own arm and sprinkled the blood upon Chatur Mukh who retired to avoid the sin of brahm-kathia (murder of a Brahman). Chatur Mukh feeling himself polluted by a Brahman's blood gave Mareechh deota the villages of Bhanana, Kirti and Shawat and then went to bathe at Kidar Nath to get purified. Every 12th year Chatur Mukh tours in his dominions and every descendant of the 18 men who brought him from Dudhballi accompanies him. They are called the 9 Kuni and 9 Kushi. Kuni means originally people of respectable families and Kash means 'those who loved' as the 9 Kuni had taken with them 9 men who were to help them to carry Chatur Mukh from Dudhballi. When the deota returns from his tour these 18 families are each given a payri as a vaddigi or parting gift and all the people respect them. An annual mela is held at Dudhballi to which Chatur Mukh goes to meet his two Kharan brothers. A big Diwali mela is also held at Melan every 3rd year. Every year Chatur Mukh goes to the Dhadu mela in Kotgarh, and he goes to tour in the Shidhoch pargana of Kanchi in Sawan. The old pujaris of Kana deota were killed by lightning or drowned with him and when Chatur Mukh settled at Melan, the Kharan pujaris also settled there and they worship him daily, morning and evening. His favorite jatra is to Kidar Nath and this he performs every 50 or 60 years. He does not approve of the bhunda sacrifice, though every 12th year his brothers in Kharan hold one, at which a man is sent down a long rope off which he some-
times falls and is killed. Chatur Mukh however goes to see the bhuna at Kharan though he does not allow one at Melan. There is a Balti fair at Melan every 3rd year. The deota's image is of brass and silver. When he returns from Kidar Nath a dispan jar mela is held. People believe that Chatur Mukh is away from his temple in Magh every year for 15 days, and that he goes to bathe at Kidar Nath with his attendants. They say that the spirits fly to Kidar Nath and all work is stopped in those days. His bhandar (store-house) is also closed and his dewa or gur (through whom he speaks) does not appear in public or perform kirtanu. The people believe that Chatur Mukh returns on the 15th of Magh and then his temple is opened amid rejoicings. Some say that there is a place in Bashahr called Bhandi Bil where the hill râkshas and devils assemble every year early in Magh, and Chatur Mukh with other hill deotas goes to fight with them and returns after 15 days. People also say that Chatur Mukh has 18 treasures hidden in caves in forests, but only three of them are known. The treasures were removed from the temple when the Gurkhas invaded the country. One contains utensils, another musical instruments and the third gold and silver images. The remaining 15 are said to be in caves underground. Once was once robbed of some images. The deota holds a large jagir from the Bashahr, Kumharsain, Kot Khiti and Kanethi chiefs, as well as one from Government worth Rs 80. Kumharsain has given him a jagir of Rs 11 and Kanethi one of Rs 2. The three Kharan brothers once held certain parganahs in jagir, pargana Raik belonging to Jeshur, pargana Jao to Chatur Mukh, and pargana Samat to Ishwar, but they have been resumed. Nearly 150 years ago Melan temple was accidentally burnt down and when a Sirmur Rani of Bashahr, who was touring in her jagir, came to Melan the deota asked her to build him a new temple. She besought him to vouchsafe her a miracle, and it is said that his rath moved itself to her tent without human aid, so she then built the present temple at Melan, some 30 years before the Gurkha invasion. The devotees of other deotas just at Chatur Mukh's powers. Till some 7 generations ago the Ranas of Kot Khiti lived there and then transferred their residence to Kotgarh. When at Kotgarh the Tiks of one of the Ranas fell seriously ill and the people prayed Chatur Mukh to restore him. Chatur Mukh declared he would do so, but, even as the gur was saying that the Tika would soon recover, news of his death was received. Therupon one Jingri killed the gur with his danga, but the Rana was displeased with him and the family of the murderer is still refused admission to the palace. Some say that the blow of the danga was not fatal and that the gur was carried by a Koli of Batari to Kanethi where he recovered. Chatur Mukh has given jthe Kanethi man the privilege of carrying him in front when riding in his rath while the Kotgarh man hold it behind. Another mark of honour is that when Chatur Mukh sits his face is always kept towards Kanethi. He is placed in the same position at his temple. Chatur Mukh does not like ghosts to enter his dominion and when any complaint is made of such an entry he himself with his
there visits the place and captures the ghost. If the ghost enters any articles such as an utensil, etc., it is confiscated and brought to his temple. Chatur Mukh is a disciple of Khachhi Nāg, who has the dignity of being his *guru* or spiritual master. Deota Keput at Keput in Kotgarh is Mahādeo and Chatur Mukh considers him as his second *guru*. Dūm deota at Pamrai in Kotgarh, a derivative of Dūm of Gathān in Krouthāl, is considered subordinate to Chatur Mukh and has a separate temple at a distance. Marsāk deota of Kiri and Mahādeo of Keput can accept a cloth spread over the dead, but Chatur Mukh and Dūm cannot do so. What became of Kana deota after the deluge at Melān cannot be ascertained, but a story believed by some is that he took shelter in a small cistern in Sawārī Khān. A woman long after the deluge tried to measure the depth of the cistern with a stick and Kana Deo's image stuck to it, so she carried it to her house and when his presence was known Chatur Mukh shut him up in a house at Batari village. Some say that the woman kept the image of Kana in a box and when she opened the box she was surprised by snakes and wasps that came out of it. The box is buried for ever.

According to another account there are two traditions as to this name. According to one, Chatur Mukh means four or five mouths, the original idol having had, according to this story, four faces; this idol is kept in the temple treasury, and nobody is allowed to see it, a one-faced image, which can be seen and worshipped by the people being placed in the temple instead. The other tradition is that the deota is called Chhatar Mukh as being the mouth of the Rājā of Kot Khāl (*chhatar* meaning Rājā, i.e. one who has a *chhatar* (umbrella) over his head), and the name would thus signify that whatever is ordered by this deota is regarded as the Rājā’s own command.

**The cult of Jh Dānon (Mahūk State).**

Jh Bām, a Kanet of Sherī village, was as a child carried off by his brother’s wife to Dūn, a low-lying village which is surrounded by hills. When he grew bigger he was employed in grazing cattle, and was so simple that he believed his own village to be the whole world. Once some of his cattle went to Jutāon village while grazing, and on his returning them he saw, to his great surprise, a new world. On his return he told his brother’s wife and she scornfully replied: ‘You are merely a grazer of Dūn, and so foolish as not to know yet that the world is not limited to the two villages you have seen. On hearing this he left Dūn for Jutāon, telling her that she would have no butter, milk etc. until she worshipped him. He remained at Jutāon and worshipped God all his life. After his death he was worshipped by the people as a deota or ḍāona and since then he has been called Jh Dānon. Every man in the State offers him a goat and 1* forś* (*khān*) of *yāḥi* when his cattle calve, and it is believed that any one who does not make this offering will get little milk from his cattle.

**The cult of Deo Ghurku (Mahūk State).**

Ghurka, who fought bravely in the Mahābhārata war, was the
son of Bhūm (one of the Pándos) by a Rākhshāni, named Harimbhā. On his death a temple was built to him in Gharshē, a village on the Ghurka Dhār (hill). Another āhār opposite Ghurka āhār is called Harimbhā, after the name of Ghurka’s mother and a village of the same name.

**Baindra of Devri.**

A man named Baindra came to this place from Nālan in Sirmūr and at first he dwelt at a place in the Kālā Forest, called Chortha. One day a woman of the Kher tribe while grazing her cattle passed by the spot where Baindra was sleeping and awakened him by striking him with a stick. Baindra woke in a rage and cursed her, saying: ‘Be a ādār tree,’ whereupon she was at once transformed into a ādār, and this tree, which stands near the temple of Baindra at Chortha, is still worshipped. After Baindra’s death he was worshipped as a deota and temples built to him at Chortha and Devri.

**Chambi of Bareon.**

A man (whose name is not known) was born at a place called Chambi in the Balsan State. He displayed miracles, and in the last stage of his life moved from Chambi to Bareon. After his death an image of him was made, and it has been worshipped ever since. A temple was also constructed at Chambi, his birth place.

**Nandhrāri of Pujārī.**

The present site of Nandhrāri village was in old times a piece of waste land, called Nandhrāri, where a fish lived in a fountain. This fish vomited up an image of a goddess, which was named Nandhrāri after the place, and was brought to Pujārī, where a temple was built for it. Another temple was erected at the fountain in Nandhrāri.

**The deota Baneshwar of Pujārī.**

Pujārī is a village in the Ublesh gārāna of Kumhārśain and its deota is said to be very ancient. Some say that in the early times of the manavas three māwis lived to the south of Bagli, at Kero, Gahlo and Nali. The Kero māwi’s fort lay in the modern Kanganī and the Gahlo māwis in Kā Khā, while the Nali māwis had theirs at Mal, now in Kumhārśain, below Hath and close to Bagli. The māwis of Gahlo brought this deota from Bala Hat in Garhwāl and built him a temple at Cheła, a village in Kā Khā, as he was the family deota of all three māwis. But they were nearly all killed by Sirmūr and their houses burnt, so the surviving Gahlo māwis concealed the deota in a cave in the cliffs above Cheła. Thence his voice would be heard, with the sound

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1 The māwis were so wealthy that one used to spread his barley to dry on a carpet, another could cover a carpet with coins, and the third had a gold chain hung from his house to the temple. Two of the māwis appear to have been named Nali and Gahlo.

2 His family was called Molta, but only one house of it survives. The present Brahman of Pujārī hail from Tikargān in Sisahār. The pujārins of Pujārī appear to be called Kacheri (by govt. or family) and they founded Kacheri, a village near Kumhārśain.
Minor gods in the Simla Hills.

of bells and the scent of dhárp, so a Brahman of Pujárlí went to the cave and brought the deota to a temple at Pujárlí. He is regarded as their family deota by the people of Pujárlí, Nagun, Kárlí and Basal. As he is dídádáhári goats are not sacrificed to him. When the spirit of the deota enters (chhara) his yu'a the deota says through him:—Nátevo, Gahlíva! na yu' a chhara, so an chhara. 'Nahlo, Gahlí! You spared neither yourselves nor me!'—because the mauli had involved him in their own ruin.

The following are the principal deotas of the Koţí State. It will be noticed that though all are described as Deo, yet they are of very diverse origins:

1. Klainú Deo.—The name Klainú is from 'Kulú-ta-ánú', meaning 'brought from Kulu.' In Kulu the god is called Jammú from the Sanskrit Jamadagni. Apparently the deity was a saint called Dídádáhári, Sanskr., Dudádáhári, 'vegetarian.' Being a saint he never accepts animal sacrifice. His temple is near Klúr on a ridge called Deodhrá.

2. Síp Deo (probably from Shíva) came with the ancestors of the present Ráni of Koţí from Sidhápur in Kángra. His temple is on a small ridge near Mal Koţí. He is worshipped by the people of Stunahwall and Dharthí parganas in Koţí, but they believe that he is Nrisingha Vishnu or Nárshingh.

3. Sharáldi Deo is also called the Deo Junga because he was brought from Junga. He too is Dudádáhári. His temple in the Sharáld village in Koţí territory.

4. Gambhir Deo, the legend of whose origin goes thus:—Dhír Chand and Gambhir Chand were two sons of Thákur Jathí Chand of Koţí, the former by his Kumbhásain and the latter by his Kotgarh Ráni. They were born one day, the former in the morning and the latter in the evening. Though by different mothers, they were very fond of each other. Gambhir Chand was anxious to get Chaneri village just opposite Koţí, as his jadí, but as it was already held by Brahmans in return for service as State cooks and gate-keepers his wish could not be gratified. In his disappointment Gambhir Chand resolved to commit suicide, and so he rode his pony to a place about a furlong from the palace and there holding up his pigtail with his left hand, and taking a sharp sword in his right, he cut off his head with one blow. His head fell to the ground and rolled down the slope about 80 yards from the body. It is said that the suicide's spirit began to vex his elder brother Dhír Chand, and was only propitiated by the erection of a large temple at Chanéri to which local Brahmans were appointed pujáriste and díván. Two small temples were also built, one at the spot where the body fell, the other where the head fell, and every year during the Dasehra a sheep is sacrificed at each.

5. Klainú Deo, whose legend is thus described:—Thándi and Ganduli were two brothers. Kanès by caste, living in Pagog, a village in Koţí. Dándhí devoted much time to the worship of Klainú, so much so that he used to bring milk every day from Pagog to Deodhrá, a distance of about 6 miles. Klainú Deo was so pleased with him that
Minor gods in the Simla Hills.

he accepted him as a deity on his death. So Dhândi became a deity, and his temples are at Pagog and Kamthali in Koti. The potters of these villages became his supârs and dhâns, and are now looked upon as respected Kanets.

(6) Bhât Deo.—The legend goes thus:—There was a Brahman living with his wife in Badaihat village in Koti State. He earnestly besought a boon from villagers, but was refused. Thereupon both he and his wife committed suicide and, as ghosts, began to terrify the villagers who at last accepted the man as a deity. Thus Bhât, meaning a Brahman, has become the deity of Badaihat village.

(7) Korgan Deo.—The temple of this deity is at Chhabalri village in Koti State. The history is as follows:—There was a Rajput in Sirmur State, who fell ill in love with a woman. The samudâr forbade him to visit her, but he paid no heed. At last he was killed together with his groom, a man called Mashadi, and his spirit began to trouble the villagers. He was only propitiated when the villagers took him as their deity. It so happened that the Tikra of Koti went on a trip to Sirmur, and the deity was much pleased with him, and told him that he would accompany him to Koti. Thus he was brought to Koti and a temple was erected for him in the Chhabalri village.

(8) Naûl Deo.—This deity was brought by Kogi pargana people who are immigrants from Suket State. His temple is at Kogi village under Nâlder, and there is also a small temple at Nâlder, which means the temple of Naûl. It is said that this deity is not on good terms with Sip deity, so it never goes anywhere beyond the Kogi pargana.

(9) Dhanu Deo is a deity of the Keonthal State, and was brought with them by the people of Chhablog pargana, originally natives of Keonthal. His temple is at Chhablog village in Koti State as well as in Keonthal.

(10) Shyâm Deo.—His temple is at Kyâli village in Kalâthi pargana of Koti State. He is supposed to be a cook residing with all of the aforesaid nine deities.1

Bâghal State boasts three Deos, two of whom are Shiva, while a third is the spirit of a soulless man. They are:

1) Bâra Deo, who has a temple on the Bari dâd, a ridge running in a north-westerly direction from Bahadurpur fort in Bilaspur to the junction of the Gâmbhar and Jol streams. The temple is on the highest point of the ridge, 5,789 feet above the sea level. A fair is held on the Ist Asârh. The god is properly Shiva, but as is usual he is generally called by the name of his place of worship.

2) Har Sang dâd, whose home is at the highest point of the Har Sang dâd, which runs northwards to the Sutloj on the boundary of Bâghal and Bhajji States. This god's fair takes place on the 1st Sâwan. He too is Shiva.

1 Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Koti, pp. 8-9.
Minor gods in the Simla Hills.

(3) Madhor Deo.—His temple is at the village of Mangu, where a fair is held on 1st Baishakh. This deity was originally a soulless man, a class of person whose spirit the hillman often considers it advisable to conciliate by worship after death. Such a spirit sometimes, as in the present case, rises to the position of a god in course of time.

In the Lower Simla Hills Deo Sūr is a greater than Nārsingh Bīr—there the women's god as he is in Kāngra. Indeed Nārsingh Bīr is said to be his servant. He is universally accepted as the deity of the women of the lower hills. A large fair is held in his honour in the month of Jēth at Sairāl in Patāla on the Simla-Subāthu road, to which women gather from far and wide. The ritual performed consists of the women sitting in rows while a drum is beaten. During the drumming they sway their heads about from side to side, and when it stops they sit still. This is evidently a representation of the tremors caused by the entering into of the spirit of the god, such as takes place at the basthak of Nārsingh (see Kāngra Gazetteer). A similar fair on a larger scale, which lasts eight or nine days, is held at Joharji, also in Patāla, in November. It is supposed that any woman who has become a devotee of Sūr and fails to attend one of these fairs will be visited with misfortune. Lake Dawai Sīdh, Sūr is worshipped on the first Sunday of the month.

Another Biju, not to be confounded with Biju or Bajat, the lightning god, is a deota in Kutiar and its neighbourhood. Ajāl Pāt, a Rājā of Kotgnū, had a son named Bijāl Pāt who showed preternatural wisdom in infancy and power to interpret oracles. He succeeded to his father's kingdom but turned faqir, and one day reached Deothal on the Gambhar river, 4 miles from Subāthu. There he vanquished Shri Gul and took possession of his temple. Several smaller temples in his honour have been built of stones from Deothal at various villages.

An instance of deotas migrating is furnished by the following legend:—The Rājā 24th in descent from Rām Pāl of Kothiār in Kāngra had five sons and a daughter. His eldest son succeeded him, but the other four and his daughter crossed the Satlaj into Mal Bajji in the Nanti valley below Mahāśā. Chiru and Chand founded the dynasties of Bhajji and Koṭī, but the third son, Shogū, became a deota at Pāgu, while the daughter became the goddess, of Dharch in Keonthal.

But besides these local godlings, there are certain deities of the first rank which merit a fuller description than it has been found possible to obtain. These are the Lesser Kāli and the Younger Lonkā.

The difference between the Bari and the Chhoti Kāli is this that the former has 10 hands and the latter only 4.

The Bari Kāli haunts the hills. She is worshipped with sacrifices of goats, flowers, fruit, wheaten bread, and lamps.

* Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bāghal, p. 6.
* * * Bilaspur, p. 11, and Bāghal, p. 7.
* Kuthār, p. 5; Bāghal, p. 7.
* The fourth, Shogū, married a Kanet girl and begat the Pagāna Kaneta, etc., Koṭī, p. 6.
Yāma, the god of death, is supposed to live in rivers. He is propitiated by making an image of gold according to one's means. This is worshipped and then given to a Brahmān.

Besides the gods, spirits of various kinds are believed in and propitiated.

Such are the bhūtis or ghosts, pariśs, especially the jāl-parīs, or water-sprites, also called jāl-mātis, the ekhiḍras and mānāhrās.

The bhūt is the ghost of the cremating ground.

Pṛet is the term applied to the ghost for one year after the death of the deceased; rishet¹ is its name from the end of that year to the fourth. Jāl-parīs are conceived of as female forms, some benevolent, others malevolent. To propitiate the former a sacrifice is required.

The ekhiḍra is conceived of as a terrifying spirit which must be propitiated by incense of mustard seed.

The mānāhrās haunts old buildings, valleys and peaks. It is propitiated by sacrifices of goats, or, in some places, by offerings of dust or gravel.

In lieu of sacrifice a pūja, called kṣapān, is offered to Kālī and to pariś or mātri. A tract of hill or forest is set apart as the place of their worship, and even if the rest of the forest is cut down the part consecrated to the goddess or spirit is preserved for her worship, none of the trees in it being cut, or their boughs or even leaves removed.

Dāghs are the demons specially associated with fields. If the crop yields less than the estimated amount of produce it is believed that the difference has been taken by the dāgh.

Dūḍadhārī or mānāhrās haunts burning ghūtis, and is averted by wearing a silver picture round one's neck. If possessed by the former one should abstain from meat.

Ghaṭilī or Gāterī is a demon known in Bāumī. He is said to possess people, and is propitiated by the sacrifice of a khaḍhu (ram). He is embodied in a stone which is kept in the house and worshipped to protect the cattle from harm. He is said to have come from Bhaṭji State.

Neva is a spirit also, closely resembling the Pāp. When a man dies sonless and his brethren inherit they are frequently haunted by his ghost and so a Brahmān must be consulted. He directs an image of silver, copper or stone to be made and worshipped after the amāvas. Then one of the heirs hangs the image, if of metal, round his neck, and, if of stone, places it in a water-trough.² This image is called neva ocō, dīā or in Kānumar gurohāc. In some places a plot of land

¹Pār. rishet, a sage.

²Like brooks and springs, bhūtis or cisterns are supposed to be haunted by jāl-parīs (water-sprites) and mātris; Simla District Gazetteer, p. 42. The object probably is to confer fertility on the neva in the next life,
called pop is set apart in its name and never cultivated. A hut is also erected on the land and on it a wooden image placed and worshipped at each umdaw. Sometimes a nome, like a pop, attains to the position of a devo in course of time.1

Pop in the Simla Hills is the ghost when body has not been accorded due funeral rites. In order to prevent its haunting the family home and tormenting its survivors a shrine of four low walls and a small roof is built in the midst of a field and dedicated to it. This shrine is called dareot and flowers are often offered at it by the family which believes that the spirit has been safely lodged in it. 2

Otherwise the pop will cause disease, barrenness or other calamities, and a Brahman must be called in to divine the cause. In the Pandra San tract of Bashahr this belief is common, and the shrine is styled the pop ka chauk-d.3

The principal Hindu festivals of Northern India are observed in the Simla Hills, with the usual rites. Chet is the first month of the year and Turis go from village to village to entertain the people with songs and music throughout the month. Chet 1st is New Year's day.

The nine days from the 1st of the bright half of Asanj are called the navardras, or 9 nights on which a fast is kept and the goddess worshipped. Batri, from Sanskrit vrat, =a fast. In the upper hills they call the fast or the 9 days of it kardli also.

Sadj in Kulu is the 1st of any month (Dias, Kulushi Dialect, p. 87). In the Simla Hills, Chet sadj is the 1st of Asanj, sadj being the actual passage of the sun from one zodiacal sign to another: Tika Ram Joshi in J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 228. In Kulu the 1st of Chet is called linga.

The Chdr or spring festival in Chamba celebrates the defeat of winter. The latter, personified as an evil demon (kulinza) by a man wearing a mask, is pelted by the villagers with snowballs until he drops his mask and takes to flight, after which he joins in the dance with the gass and mesw or masks which represent a man and a woman, respectively, at Triloknath.4

Narath, navardri, are also defined to be the 9 days of Chet and Asanj in which Devi is worshipped.

These and other festivals some of which are peculiar to the Hills are given below in chronological order:

| Lingti. | Mrig Satāi. |
| Narath. | Leda. |
| Chitrāli. | Dasāni. |
| Naumī. | Gī. |
| Salhor. | Rakhpurpni. |

1 Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bashahr, p. 33.
2 Simla District Gazetteer, p. 42.
3 Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bashahr, p. 33.
4 Chamba Gazetteer, p. 45.
5 J. A. S. B., 19, pp. 185, 217, 218 and 226.
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Chār. | Parrewi.
Sgoh. | Bhādūjū.
Pārthivapūja. | Karma chauthi.
Nāg Ashtmi. | Deothan.
Janm Ashtmi. | Pandru.
Badranjo. | Magar.
Dagiai. | Tarain Saja.
Mālpunya. | Khairi.
Sāer Suji. | Bhartu.

The Chitrālī in Kulu are the nights in Chet when the women assemble and dance on the village green. The men look on but take no part in the dancing. The women dance to their own singing, each song or air having a dance peculiar to itself. The song of Runjke is sung by the women when formed in two lines, facing each other, one representing the lover, the other his mistress. As one line advances the other retreats and the sitting and rising alluded to in the song are acted by the singers. 1 Each woman in the line crosses her arms behind her back and then clasps the hands of the woman next to her.

Naumi, the 9ths of Chet and Asanji, on which Devi is generally worshipped. They are regarded as fast days.

On Jeth 1st an offering (sāthor) of flowers is made to deotās, and on 1st Baisākh the god's history is recited (tārtha) at most temples: Diack, op. cit., pp. 87 and 47. On the 1st Baisākh also utsas, an offering of flowers or grain, is hung up on the house-wall (ib., p. 88). This may be an oblation to the household god whose ark (kalkā) holds (or constitutes) him and is kept in the verandah or sometimes indoors (p. 70).

Mrig-satāi, the fortnight from 22nd Jeth to 8th Hār, during which sunshine is wanted for crops.

Ledaṛ, a feast held on 1st Hār.

Dasūni, Deūni, a festival observed on the 11th of the bright half of Hār.

Gft, the 16 days, including the last week in Hār and the first in Sāwan, believed to be auspicious for planting trees.

Rkhrunya, from rakhi, a thread, and punya, full moon, is a festival held on the full moon in Sāwan when the twice-born castes don a new sacred thread consecrated by Vedic hymns and a thread (rakṣā, rakṣi or rakhi) is tied by a Brahman round one's wrist to protect one for a year. Gifts are made to Brahmins and friends feasted.

Sgoh, the 16 days, including the last week of Sāwan and the first in Bhādōn, during which sunshine is undesirable.

Janmashṭmi, or 8th of dark half of Bhādōn.

The Badranjo in Kulu is a festival held in Bhādōn in honour of the plough cattle which are decked with flowers and not worked on that

1 Diack, Kulāh Dialect, p. 12: Runjke may be the Rānjha of the South-West Punjab.
Hindu festivals in the Hills.

day. After it the rope strung with leaves which has been tied round their necks is hung between two trees.

Nágpanchami is a festival observed throughout India. Women keep fast and worship Shil. It takes place on the 5th of the bright half of Bhádón, whence it is also called Bhadronji.

The Chawal or 1st Bhádón, at which gods (Shivas) are made of clay and worshipped, light being shown to the god (Shivling) every evening throughout the month. This is called Páthivapúja.

Dagáli, the chandas and amáwás of the dark half of Bhádón, on which date the days assemble.

Every year on the night of the 16th Bhádón all the deotás congregate at Dhár Kambogir in the Mandé State. The four jognis from the east, west, south and north also come and a battle rages between them and deotás, until one party defeats the other. If the deotás win, the land yields a good harvest that year, but the victory of the jognis is calculated to bring famine.

The following facts are given in proof of the above story:

(1) Buffaloes and other cattle graze day and night on the dhárs. On the night mentioned the owners of cattle bring their she-buffaloes down from the Dhar Kambogir lest the jognis kill them.

(2) On the night of the 16th Bhádón Hindus of the Hill States in the neighbourhood of Mandé distribute rapeseed in order to avert the influence of the jognis.

Málpunya, a festival held on the full moon in September, at which cows are worshipped and fed. At Kotí it is followed by the Bláj.

Sáer-sájí, 1st Asanj.

Bháí-dúj, a festival held on the 2nd of the bright half of Kátk, when a sister is visited, and food taken from her hands in return for a present.

The Karuwa Chauth is a Hindu festival that takes place on the 4th of the dark half of Kátk.

Deólán, a festival held on the 11th of the bright half of Kátk.

Pandru, a festival observed on the 15th Poh in Jubbal, Kotgarh and Kot Kháí, Simla Hills.

At Rámpur in Bashahr the Rája’s šikárfí throws a garland of musk-pods on his neck. In the upper hills the people observe it as a day for rejoicing, rich cakes being prepared and distributed among friends and relatives.

Magar, the fortnight including the last week in Poh and the first in Mágh, supposed to be a time of heavy snowfall.

1 Dicks, Káliá Bhoze, pp. 40 and 79 (r. v. Kánde).

LLL
Māgh 1st is the Tarain rája (Kulākhí Dialect, p. 94).

Khain, a festival observed in Māgh by Kanes. It resembles a jāgra, but instead of remaining for the night in his host's house the deota returns the same day to the temple.

The following are held on varying dates or occasions:—

Bláj, fr. S. Valirája, the king Vali, is a night fair.

Bishu, S. Vishava: (1) the moment of the sun's reaching Aries, and (2) a song sung by low-caste people in April. Twine, to which rhododendron flowers are attached, is hung on every house at the Baisákhi saukránt, called bishu.

Pánjag, the nákchhatra Dhanistha, Shathikha, Púrvábhárpadá, Uttarábhárpadá and Revati, S. panchakhi.

Paréwi, the first of the bright or dark half of a month.

Rhyáli, a fair held in the monsoon at which archery is practised in the Madhán, Theog, Balsan and Jubhal States, Simla Hills.

Perhaps the most characteristic festival of the Hills is the Sheri or Saer, held on Asan 1st, when barbers show what-to-do people their faces in a mirror, and every family makes an image of clay, puts flowers on it and places it before his house. Rich food is also prepared. In the evening lights are lit all around the image, and it is worshipped.

Jāgra, from Sanskrit jāgarana, vigil, is a rite offered to any village deity. Either he is invited to one's home or it is performed at his temple. The day of its performance is first fixed and then all the people of the pargana go to the temple or the house as the case may be. A great feast is given to all present, and if the chief is also invited he is paid Rs. 80 in cash.

Mr. G. C. L. Howell, C. S., has recorded two stories which illustrate the beliefs current in the ruling family of Kul:—In Rájá Jagat Singh's time (A. D. 1837-72) a large grant of rice land was conferred on his Ráj-gurd—or spiritual preceptor—as a reward for a spell which he had woven for the Rájá and contrary to custom the land was settled on the Ráj-gurd's sons and grandsons. What the spell was intended for we are not told, but it may have been for the destruction of some of his opponents. Of Jagat Singh it is related in the chronicles that a Brahman had a pot of pearls which the Rájá wanted to possess and which the owner refused to give up. After repeated refusals the Brahman told the Rájá that he would give up the pearls on the latter's return from Manikarn whither he was going. On his return, however, the Brahman set fire to his own house, consuming to ashes himself and his family, as well as the pearls which had excited the Rájá's avarice. On re-entering his palace at Mukrara, Jagat Singh ordered dinner, but when it was placed before him the rice all turned to worms. To have been indirectly the cause of a Brahman's death was a heinous sin, almost beyond the possibility of atonement. It was, however, at last atoned for by the Rájá having the image of Raghunáth brought from Ajodhia to whom he assigned his kingdom and ruled only as the god's visegardent. The
The divine child in Bashahr.

assignment to Raghumath under the name of Madho Rai in Mandi took
place about the same time. It may have been in connection with this
incident that the spell was sought by Jagat Singh.

The following paper by Mr. H. W. Emerson, C. S., records a
chapter in the history of Bashahr and various beliefs, one of which at
least opens up a new field of inquiry:

Tikral now forms part of the Bashahr State having been annexed
some three centuries ago. Previous to annexation it was under the
jurisdiction of a local Rajput thakur whose descendants give their place
of origin as Garhwal. While their invasion and conquest must be
placed at a comparatively early date, it is doubtful whether the inhabi-
tants of the remote portions of their thakurial were reduced to more than
a nominal allegiance. At any rate, the people of the district now in
question appear to have retained their own internal form of government,
in which the confederacy of the five gods played a leading part. A
survival of their theocratic rule exists in the appointment of a divine
representative known as the janas. The qualifications essential for the
office considerably restrict the field of selection. The incumbent must
be a male child of not less than two years of age and not more than ten
years and must belong to one of certain families of Pekha village that
alone enjoy the privilege of providing candidates. Both his parents
must be living and the ceremony of cutting the hair and of naming must
not have taken place. The appointment is made direct by the council of
the five gods who on the day fixed for election assemble in their palan-
quins at the temple of Nag of Pekha, a member of the paenchapat.
With them there come a crowd of worshippers; but no person of low
caste is allowed to be present nor yet a stranger, even though he be a
Kuran, who is not subject to the jurisdiction of the gods. Such
intruders, in the olden days, paid for their indiscretion with their lives
and even now are looted of all that they have with them at daybreak,
the heads of families possessed of eligible vows are placed in a line a
few paces apart, inside the temple courtyard. The gods are then carried
down the line by their appointed bearers who oscillate the palanquins as
a sign that the divine spirit has animad the image Jakh of Jungli,
the chairman of the council leads the way, followed by the others in
strict order of precedence. When Jakh reaches the father of the future
janas he bows his head in token of acceptance and the other four do like-
wise as they pass. The test is then repeated until the choice has fallen
three times in succession on the same family. If it contains more than
one male child eligible for election these are then produced, the same
method of selection being employed. The boy chosen is bathed in the five
products of the cow, dressed in a suit of new clothes and seated with honour
on a consecrated square. The gods next endow him with divine strength,
each diviner laying the standard of his deity, usually a sword or dagger,
on the head, hands and other parts of his body.

This completes the main part of the consecration ceremony and the
rest of the day is spent in feasting at the expense of the parents of the
boy. But the latter is taken to his house and, with exceptions to be
mentioned presently, remains there in strict seclusion until the period of
his office ends. His parents alone can tend him; but they must bathe him every few days, offer incense before him and burn lights in his honour. His chief food is rice and sweetened-milk: fish, and liquor are forbidden. He must not see a crow, a Koli or a stranger, nor must they see him, and hence before his mother takes him into the verandah of the house she must look carefully to see that none of these are about. Worshippers of the five gods can look at him but only from a distance unless they be persons specially privileged to approach him. In any case they must join the palms of their hands and put them to their foreheads in token of adoration. They make offerings in his name and this they often do. Should any woman give birth to a child, or a cow calve inside the house he must be carried to a temple a few miles away and remain there until the period of impurity had passed. The journey must be done at night so that he be safely hidden before a crow caws or a low caste fellow or a stranger comes along. Should these taboo he broken the gods dethrone him, and in any case his period of office ends with the death of either parent. The gods do not approve a representative who has reached years of discretion, as soon as the jana begins to reason for himself he is dismissed. This is the ordinary cause of removal for his parents take good care that he is not contaminated in any way, since both he and they are fed and clothed (for the full term of office) at the expense of the community, which under favourable circumstances may last for seven or eight years. Moreover, apart from its perquisites, the post is regarded as one of great honour.

As soon as the gods declare the office vacant the late incumbent returns to his ordinary mode of life. His hair, which has remained unshorn, is then cut and he is given a name in the usual way. His former clients no longer contribute to his maintenance nor does he appear to benefit in any way from his existence as a god.

Owing to the disensions of the gods an interregnum sometimes occurs, but this is rare, for while the incumbency is associated with good fortune a vacancy is supposed to bring calamity. Moreover, certain mystic rites connected with the worship of Chasrala cannot be celebrated without the presence of a jana. These take place at intervals of 3 or 5 years at Chasrala's cavern, a period of retirement in the wilderness preceding their observance. The jana is accompanied by the heads of the families who are alone permitted to share in the ceremonies. They leave the village at night, one of them going in front of the party, blowing a conch-shell to give warning to travellers or Kolis that the jana is abroad and must not be seen by them. They spend the first night on the road and the next two in a lonely cave where the main rites are performed, but of their nature one can learn little as the greatest reticence is observed, the celebrants being pledged to secrecy. A kid is sacrificed which must be roasted over a fire and not boiled in a cauldron, nor must it be eaten with salt. For the rest the singing of the song of Kali appears to be the most important duty. This song was sung by her when in human guise. She surprised a band of hunters, who had taken refuge for the night in the same cave. It can be sung only by the senior male of each branch of their descendants and a father who has learnt the words must teach them only to his eldest son, when the two are alone together grazing their flocks on the hillside. It can be
sung only in the cave, and should a person sing it elsewhere or at other than appointed time the goddess drives him mad. The jana learns the words when he takes part in these secret ceremonies, and this fact appears to give a clue to his title, which may be derived from gānd to sing. If this is so, the jana is, therefore, one privileged to sing the song of Kāli. Having performed the remaining rites, whatever they may be, the party journeys to a hamlet, where two nights are spent. The sixth night is passed on the road to Chasrālu's cave where the general body of worshippers awaits their coming. The jana's face is then screened from afar from the vulgar gaze, but the privileged persons may approach him. Chasrālu's diviner can alone enter the cave; the jana with his escort remains at some little distance while the remainder of the assembly look on from afar. The jana himself does not appear to take any part in the ceremonies nor are sacrifices offered him. But it is clear that the period of retirement is connected with his divine office since the people believe that for the next few days he is endowed with supernatural powers to an extraordinary degree, and his sayings are, therefore, regarded as peculiarly inspired.

Such then are the main facts relating to this curious institution as it now exists; and when I was first told them I regarded the jana merely as an embodiment of divinity, who, like an idol or other sacred emblem, has to be protected from pollution. But this first impression was materially changed when I was told later that the jana was formerly the Ḍājū of the tract, that he used to settle all disputes, and that his worshippers still refer to him to some extent, his decision being binding. Now one could understand a boy of 8 or 10 years of age giving a more or less intelligible answer to a question addressed to him, but how a child hardly able to talk could satisfy disputants passed my comprehension. The explanation given was a typical one. In such cases they said, the five gods having been brought into the presence of the child, charged and recharged him, as it were, with divine inspiration until he said something from which a meaning could be deduced, or at other times the parties each made a ball of earth in which a blade of grass was hidden. These were placed before the infant judge without his knowing which was which and the owner of the one on which he placed his hand was deemed to be the party in the right. That one of these procedures was actually adopted is the more probable because it is entirely in keeping with the characteristics of the hillman, his firm belief in divine possession and his intense distrust of human agents. For instance, I have known a man, who wished to call up the spirit of a deceased relative, identity and sex unknown, that had visited him under the painful guise of boils, insist on the officiating Brahman to employ as his medium a boy and girl, both of tender years, who would not daze him.

Similarly the condition that the jana should always be a child of little understanding was obviously imposed as a safeguard against fraud. As regards his jurisdiction in mundane matters it must be remembered that many Himalayan gods annually distribute the grazing grounds among their worshippers, decide the rotation of irrigation and are even consulted by prospective bridegrooms before they choose their brides. There is thus nothing improbable in the theory that the jana was the
Theocratic ruler of a group of Kaunts, appointed directly by the gods whose vice-regent he was, that his sayings were regarded as inspired and therefore binding, that he exercised temporal as well as spiritual authority, and that the confederacy of villages under his jurisdiction at one time acknowledged no other ruler. In support of a wide application of the same principle it may be observed that the jurisdiction of local gods corresponds closely to natural divisions, that they are known as kul be devata, gods of the family, and that the worship of a common deity is still of very strong bond of unity among his worshippers.

Again, the association of the jana with prosperity and good fortune connects him with the magical aspect of early kingship. This point is brought out more clearly in the neighbouring territory of Naran of Jabal, where the institution exists in a modified form. There a jana is appointed only when certain ceremonies are celebrated at intervals of 3 or 5 years. These last for about three weeks and when completed the tenure of office ends. The qualifications and the nature of the taboos are identical in many respects with those already described, but this jana is removed from the custody of his parents and his wants attended to by certain privileged persons. He is not kept in one house, but tours throughout his jurisdiction according to a fixed programme being lodged in each village in a building specially reserved for his use. Provided the taboos are not violated he is supposed to bring good fortune to every place he visits, and his tour is associated with the pronouncement of prophecies concerning the harvest of the coming year. If he cries in a village the omen is bad, but only for that particular place; hence no means are spared to keep him happy, and within lawful limits he is given whatever he may ask. In former times there is little doubt that human sacrifice was offered to him, and he now takes part in a ceremony in which a scapegoat, the acknowledged substitute for a man, is slaughtered before him. He is worshipped as a deity and the people are inclined to think the deity is Kali, but they are vague on this point. At any rate the celebrations are in her honour and the boy is dressed in girl's clothes and decked with female ornaments. The explanation given of this disguise is as follows:—The jana, they say, was originally a girl, but on one occasion many generations ago when she was being carried round the tour she died from cold and exposure on the road, the month being December when snow was laying on the ground. Her escort were in a state of consternation, for the festival could not be celebrated in the absence of a jana, and its abandonment would bring the anger of the gods upon their heads. At length the happy idea was conceived of stealing a boy from the nearest village, dressing him in girl's clothes and passing him off as the genuine jana. This was done, and the deception proved so successful that it has been continued ever since. As tradition is usually reliable in the hills, this version may perhaps be true. On the other hand, the custom of dressing boys in girl's clothes in order to avoid the evil eye is a common device, and taking the attendant circumstances into consideration it appears probable that in this instance the disguise is only one of many expedients employed with the object of conserving unimpaired the beneficial powers of the disguised.

As far as Bashahr is concerned the institution exists only in the two cases mentioned, and there is good reason to believe that the two are
closely connected, the one being merely a modification of the first. As
such it may be a connecting link between the permanent appointment of
a divine ruler and the casual worship of small girls as incarnations of
the goddess Devi. The latter custom is not found in Basahr, and my in-
formation with regard to it is incomplete. But I believe that it is widely
practised in Kāngra, more particularly during the Dasahr when the
worship of maidens as representatives of Bhagwati is considered essential.
There appear to be no taboos observed as with the āsana, but there is the
same condition that the girls should not have reached years of un-
derstanding. At times other than the Dasahr, a favourite method of
acquiring merit or removing trouble, is the worship of one or more
girls; and if there are more than a certain number a boy is joined with
them and regarded as Lāmekha, the bīr or minister of Kān. The worship
should be performed in the early morning; before its objects have tasted
food; but apparently this is the only restriction. The savages of the
girls are, or were, regarded as inspired, and there is one well-authenticated
case in which a āsana cut off a portion of his tongue at the bidding of
one of these incarnations of Bhagwati. In some respects, therefore, the
same attributes are ascribed to these youthful goddesses as to the āsana;
but there is not a direct appointment by the god, no regular system of
taboo and no continuous tenure of office. Any girl of suitable caste
can apparently be taken as Devi's deputy for the time being; but when
the ritual is finished she at once resumes her normal position. Never-
theless, the points of resemblance do suggest the remote possibility that
the custom of girl worship is a survival from a very early state of society
in which the recognised form of government was a theocracy, exercised
through a human agent, preferably a child. Why a girl should have
been chosen in some cases and a boy in others is not obvious. The
choice may have depended on the sex of the local deity, a boy being
selected as the representative of a god and a girl as that of a goddess.
Or, the practice of dressing the boy in girl's clothes as a protection
against the evil eye may have ultimately led to the substitution of
females when the origin of the disguise had been forgotten. But these
explanations are at best conjectural and would not be advanced if the
existence of the āsana in Basahr did not appear to open up a new field
of inquiry. It seems to be far more improbable that the institutions
I have described are local curiosities, than that they are survivals of
what was once a popular method of government.

So much for the general discussion of the subject. As regards the
nature of several of the taboos a few words may be said, as they are of
world-wide currency. There is, for instance, the respect shown for that
bird of ill-omen, the crow. I have found this particular form of super-
stition in connection with other mystic rites in the hills, and especially
in such as relate to the promotion of the fertility of the soil by burying
in it an image or sacred clod of earth. This rite must be performed
before sunrise, in secret and by the head of the family who must
complete his task before he hears a crow caw. If he does not, be must
start all over again on a more auspicious day. As to the reputation of
the crow family in general one cannot do better than quote from a
zoological study that appeared recently in the Times:
"In all times and countries," the author writes, "man has regarded crows with super-
stitions awe, knowing them for birds of ill-omen, the familiars of witches and evil spirits, and the confidants of deity whom they never failed to betray. Odin took them for his heralds and councillors, but could not trust them, and they blabbed the secrets of Valhalla. They were the scandal-mongers of Olympus, and to their evil tongues poor Coronis owed her death. Inura, in wrath at their tale bearing, hurled them, we are told, down through all the hundred stages of his heaven. No bird surely had nobler opportunities, none has been so highly honoured; and everywhere it proved itself unworthy of its trust.

All of which considered the Karáns are well advised to screen their jaua from the sight of such an evil bird. Again, it is a far cry from Tikrál to ancient Rome; but one condition imposed on the jaua associates him with an incident of the Roman priesthood. The Flamen Dialis was bound to vacate his office on the death of his wife; and as the reason for this rule is obscure it has been the subject of a controversy, the main points of which are given in Sir John Frazer's volume of the *Golden Bough* which deals with the worship of Attis, Adonis and Osiris. Dr. L. R. Farnell explains the provision on the supposition that death brought in its train the taint of ceremonial pollution, and so compelled the resignation of the priest. In support of his theory he cites instances of Greek ritual, which requires that certain sacred offices should be discharged only by a boy both of whose parents were alive. Sir John Frazer, on the other hand, contends that the priest had to resign because his wife was essential to the worship of the pair of divinities they served; and in the course of his argument he makes a theory of the fact that if Dr. Farnell's theory is correct then every orphan is ceremonially unclean for life, and therefore incapable of performing sacred duties. As this restriction is obviously too far-reaching for the affairs of practical life he rejects the pollution theory, and with the view of discovering a more reasonable explanation proceeds to examine all the cases known to him in which the children of living parents could alone take part in ritual.

The list is a long one, but naturally enough it does not contain the case of the jaua. And at first sight the jaua provides an excellent argument in support of the disqualification arising from the impurity of death. It will be remembered that not only have his parents to be alive at the time of appointment, but that the death of either of them *spas facto* brings about his dethronement. Moreover, the birth either of a cow or a calf in his house entails his hasty removal to another dwelling place; and in this case there is no doubt that fear of ceremonial contamination is the reason for his flight. It would therefore be natural to suppose that the inevitability of uncleanness in the case of death was the factor that terminated his office. But his clients were emphatic that this was not so. At the same time the only explanation they could give was that the five gods did not approve an orphan and by way of justification asked indignantly who would. Thus the analogy of the jaua supports Sir John Frazer's objection to the pollution of death theory, and it is interesting to consider whether his general conclusions apply to this case also. After reviewing the evidence he sums up as follows:—"The notion that a child of living parents is endowed with a higher degree of
vitality than an orphan, probably explains all the cases of the employment of such a child in ritual, whether the particular rite is designed to ensure the fertility of the ground or remove the curse of barrenness or to avert the danger of death and other calamities. Yet it would probably be a mistake to suppose that this notion is always clearly apprehended by the persons who practise the customs. In their minds the definite conception of super-abundant overflowing vitality may easily dissolve into a vague idea that the child of living parents is luckier than other folk.

When regard is had to the beneficent functions ascribed to the jasa it must be confessed that the vitality theory does supply a satisfactory motive for the condition of living parents. But the same cannot be said of the case already cited in which the soul of a departed relative spent its leisure moments in tormenting a man with emeralds. For there also the boy and girl employed as mediums were the children of living parents, and in this and similar cases the more vitality a child enjoys the less reality would be yield to the influence of an invading spirit. The employment of the children of living parents in such cases of Himalayan ritual as are known to me seems to be based not so much on their merits as on the demerits of orphans. This distinction is brought out very clearly in marriage ceremonies. In many parts of Bashahr it is considered essential that the parents of the sakilt sent to arrange a betrothal should both be alive; and in all parts it is regarded as desirable. But should an orphan be sent the outraged party does not ask why a person who would bring good luck was not employed; they abuse the culprits charging them with having sent a wretch who has already eaten his father or his mother as the case may be. Similarly a posthumous son is an object of general derision on the ground that he killed his father without even seeing him. An unfortunate orphan is thus regarded not as the passive victim of adverse circumstances, but as an active agent who has contributed to his own misfortune. He is possessed by an evil genius that brings about his own undoing as well as that of those connected with him. This conception may be peculiar to the Himalayas; but it is obviously a very primitive one, and is in strict conformity with animistic beliefs which underlie so many religious and temporal observances. That a person possessed of a spirit with homicidal tendencies would be a dangerous person to employ in sacred or profane rites is self-evident; and this attribute of orphans will probably explain the employment of children blooming on both sides in all known cases. Finally, it will be remembered that the jasa must be a boy who has not received a name and whose hair has therefore not been cut, since both ceremonies are performed at one and the same time. The non-cutting of the hair is here the important element, not the absence of a name; so that we are again brought into touch with a series of superstitions so well known as to make commentary almost superfluous.

Firstly, there is the belief that a man's strength resides in or is at least dependent on his hair. Secondly the hair is often worn long as a mark of dedication, and this is certainly the explanation of the veto on cutting often imposed by a hill god on his diviner during the interval between two jasas, which may be as long as twelve years. It may also explain the fact that carpenters, smiths and other labourers employed on
the erection or repair of a temple are allowed to cut neither their hair nor beards until the work is completed. But more probably the prohibition in this case is founded on the widespread belief that if a magician obtain possession of a man's hair or of the parings of his nails, he can work what will he likes. This is of course the reason why in Basahur the hair of the tonsure ceremony of a boy is either taken to the top of a pass where it is hidden in a cairn and dedicated to Káli; or thrown secretly into a stream or else placed in a sacred tree, the holy emanation from which is supposed to counteract baneful influences. The fear of magic is also the most reasonable explanation of the taboo placed on the jana. One more illustration of this superstition must suffice, and as it is appropriate that at least one reference should be made to historical records we will quote some of the duties (of a chamberlain of the palace under the Chand Rájá of Kumbhón) (as given in Atkinson's Himalayan Gazetteer):—

They were these:—He should see that the cook did his duties conscientiously and well. He should taste everything used for the Rájá's food, and never allow the cook to be out of his sight. He should constantly move about and threaten the servants, whether there was cause or not, so that no one might become careless. He should never speak of poison, opium and bhang, nor ever touch them. And finally he should never speak of spells, as they were only used for evil purposes; nor cut his nails nor shave within the limits of the palace. It was not sufficient that the chamberlain should be a man of proved integrity; there was always the danger that sorcerers would pervert his morals. The prohibition of shaving and nail cutting only within the precincts of the palace is curious, and can only be explained on the supposition that the Kumbhón Rájás believed the spirit of the place, as well as of their chamberlain, essential for the efficacy of magic spells. We can only hope that their confidence was not misplaced.

Traditions in Kamru.

Many centuries ago, so runs the first legend, the Baspa valley was invaded by an army from Tibet, before which the local ruler and his followers fled for refuge to the Kamru fort. The enemy pitched their camp upon the hill slopes which overlook the fortress, and from there sent emissaries in all directions to brie the neighbouring chieftains to fight against their overlord. One of these envoys found his way to Chini, then the capital of a semi-independent Dákur, whom the Rájá of Basahur had lately reduced to vassalage. Uncertain of his loyalty, the latter sent his warning that if he helped this country's enemies it would be a doreh and he would have to pay the penalty. The warning was a solemn one, for doreh was a form of oath the Rájá could impose upon his subjects, by which he lay a prohibition on any purpose of action. In its origin it was perhaps a kind of royal tabu, invested with semi-divine attributes of the personage from whom it issued; in its development it proved a source of power in the days when kings were glad for their own safety to fence themselves around with supernatural

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1This word reappears in South India. Rájá-doreh was the offence of injuring the interests of the king' and grond-doreh, one who injured the interests of the village. Mathai, Village Government in British India. London, 1916, p. 98, citing Madras Epigraphy, Ann. Rep., 1910-11, p. 75.
Commemoration of a traitor's fate.

safeguards. The oath is still employed both for official and private purposes. In its public aspect it is a useful method of insuring obedience to executive orders with a minimum of friction or delay, and as such is used by certain village officers invested with authority to impose it. To give a simple example. A headman of a village is called upon to supply a number of coolies, one of whom prefers to stay at home rather than carry loads. 'If you do not go,' the headman warns him, 'it will be dafa, a sin against your ruler.' In the vast majority of cases, the osly goes; but should he prove recalcitrant, a headman can bring him before a magistrate who imposes a trifling fine upon the culprit. But superstitions qualities rather than fear of civil punishment supply the sanctions by which the system works. Again, resort is often made to this expeditient in private disputes. Two neighbours had a quarrel about a piece of land, and one of them, anxious to plead possession, starts to plough the area in dispute. The other finds him with his plough and oxen on the land. 'If you turn the soil before the case is settled by the court,' he threatens, 'it will be dafa.' As a rule the intruder stops his ploughing.

But on the occasion now in question, it so happened that the Thakur of Chini chose to ignore the warning and joined his forces to the Tibetan horde. Another of the Raj's subjects, a low-bred tailor, living in a village close to the fort, also played the traitor and sold the enemy secret information relating to the structure of the citadel. He told them of the central beam, which if dislodged would bring the fort down with it in a mass of ruins, and for the remainder of the siege the Tibetans directed all their efforts towards its downfall. But each time the goddess Kali turned aside their missiles, so that at length disheartened by the supernatural forces ranged against them, or fearful of the coming winter, they raised the siege and left the Raj free to wreak his vengeance on his treacherous subjects. He again reduced the Chini Thakur to vassalage, and as a general warning to traitors ordered that a man of Chini should henceforth present himself at Kamru on every triennial celebration held there in honour of the goddess Kali. This festival is still observed, its national character being apparent both from the grants made from the State treasury and from the presence of Brahmins of the ruling family who bring with them small images of Bhuta Kali from Saranpur. Sacrifices are offered on a liberal scale, the sacred fire is burnt for several days and the peasants from the neighbouring villages assemble with their gods. Moreover, a representative from Chini, called the Chinchang, attends the festival, being accompanied by a man from an adjacent village, who by ancient right acts as his escort. During the eight days of the celebration, the Chinchang is freely plied with liquor, so that on the final day he is in a state of almost complete insensibility. Rusty armour is put upon his body and a helmet on his head, and thus attired he is made to dance first round the building and then inside the courtyard of the fort, a laughing stock to the assembly of villagers and village gods. Further he is accompanied in his dancing by a descendant of the tailor who sold the information to his country's enemies many centuries ago. Formerly, before the dance began, a priest poured holy water on their heads—a ceremony which left no doubt as to the nature of the punishment inflicted on their ancestors. For the sprinkling of water on a
creature's head is the means employed to produce the shaking by which a deity accepts the dedication of a sacrificial victim. Sometimes the victim's head is severed from the body first and water poured on immediately while the nerves are still sensitive to shock; but the general rule is for the sprinkling to precede the slaughter. A similar device was practised by the Greeks so that it is perhaps worth noting that in the Himalayas the tremor implies far more than the mere formal acceptance of the victims. The quivering, in the popular imagination, denotes the actual entry of the god into the body of the animal and it is the divine spirit—and not the water as one might suppose—which is responsible for the animation. The significance of the ritual is unique; and so, even if local tradition did not support the obvious interpretation, there could be little doubt that the triennial festivals at Kamru were formerly associated with human sacrifice. Even to this day there is little competition among the Chini villagers for the privilege of attending at the celebration. A superstition's belief prevails that the actor in the drama will die within the year, a belief, however, which has weakened since change was made in the ceremonial some 50 years ago. Up to that time, although the actual sacrifice had been abolished for several generations, the water was still poured on the Chinchang's head. The Chini villagers, from whom the representative is chosen by lots, objected to this dedication at the shrine of Kalí, formal though it were, and so their fears were partially allayed by a promise that for the future the water should be poured upon the hands and not upon the head. But even now, during the Chinchang's absence at Kamru, his family continue in a state of mourning, consoling only by the hope that the lamps they keep burning day and night inside the house will win the mercy of Narain, the village god.

The second story associated with Kamru is likewise concerned with human sacrifice and, here again, Kalí in her form of Párvati, the mountain goddess, plays a leading part. The only road to Kamru from the Satlaj valley lies along the Baspa river which for some 10 miles above its junction with the Satlaj rushes down a narrow gorge shut in on either side by precipices which block the view in front. The path then winds above the river, emerging on the shoulder of a ridge from which the so-called Kalí peaks are first visible in all their grandeur. To the Western traveller they convey mainly a sense of beauty and isolation, but to the hill-man they are invested with the supernatural dangers inseparable from the goddess of destruction. To him the topmost pinnacles of the line of jagged peaks are the favourite thrones of Kalí, from which she radiates her vital or destroying energy. And hence her worship predominant through the State reaches its zenith in the Baspa valley, where no means are left untried to win her favour or placate her wrath. The superstitions terrorised by the nearness of her presence were shared alike by prince and peasant, and so it happened that the visits of a Rája to his capital were attended by ceremonies of some significance.

During the first stages of his progress, continues Mr. Emerson's account, the Rája was borne in a palanquin, preceded by musicians and State officials, and escorted by his subjects. But on the last day when the procession drew near the ridge whence Kalí's home burst on the
vision, a halt was called. While still sheltered from her eyes and those of her sentinel the Raja descended from his palanquin, doffing robes, ornaments and head-dress, in which a Matas of Saphri, a village near by, attired himself, while the Raja donned inconspicuous garments of grey. A priest waved a vessel of holy water round his head and then poured its contents over the Matas' head. Then the latter was borne in the royal palanquin, and treated like the Raja, who himself walked in the crowd until the procession entered the fort. He then resumed his dignities, but the robes and ornaments worn by the Matas became his perquisite. Probably he himself was sacrificed in bygone days within the fort, and they fell to his heirs. He was called the Raja-hi-hali or king's sacrifice, and as in the case of the Chinehang the first sacrifice was a punishment for treachery.

On the last occasion—30 years ago—when the heir-apparent visited Kamru the old rites were all observed, but the water was poured on the Mahats' hands, instead of on his head; and the man who then took the part declares that he is the first of his family to survive the ordeal by a year. The people see in him a decoy on which Kali's envy may fall before it reaches the Raja. But Mr. Emerson points out that if the fact of sacrifice be one admitted to have occurred it is difficult to accept that theory.

As late as the middle of the last century no act of State was performed without the approval of Bihma Kali, who was regarded as the ruler of the land, she having granted the regency to the Raja's ancestor six score generations ago, just as she had conferred the hereditary priesthood to the senior branch of his family. In much the same way the sovereignty of Kunharsain vests in Kot Ishwar Mahadav, and it is he who instals each Rana on its throne. Jagat Singh, Raja of Kangra, carried the fiction further when he placed Thakur Raghumath's image on the throne, and proclaimed himself to be only chief minister of his temple. From that time the Raja was, in constitutional theory, only the god's chief priest, the god himself being ruler of Kangra.
Makaráha.

There has been much confusion regarding the site of this place which Mr. A. H. Francke was able to clear up. The Chronicle of Tinán in Láhul speaks of Báhadur Singh residing at 'Makarsang'—and this is the Bunán locativo of Makarsa—and means 'at Makarsa'. The name Makarsa in the Bunán dialect of Láhul means 'the place of Makar'. All tradition in Kulu supports the statement of the Chronicle of Tinán and the statement of Haridáit Singh that Báhadur Singh of Kulu rebuilt the ruined town of Makaráha. This lies on the plain on the left bank of the Beás near the débouchement of the Hurla Kháj, south of Nagar and easily accessible from Bajaur. As regards Moorcroft's identification of Nagar with Makarsa, he only casually looked at the place from the other side of the river, and might quite easily have failed to catch what was said to him or he was misinformed. Rájá Báhadur Singh and his descendants used to like to live at Makaráha, and imagine that they were descended from the great kings who built this town. Most unfortunately some British officials with unpardonable iconoclastism used most of the beautiful stone carvings of Makaráha to build the bridge over the Beás at Dilsání which was washed away, as well as some other bridges. But enough remains to show that the place was founded by some civilized dynasty which had attained to a very high order of art, for the stone work is really very beautiful. The founders were many degrees removed from the semi-savage Badasí, who never produced anything better than the crude wood carvings at Dhungri temple and whose attempts at imitating the stone work of ancient days were pitiable. It seems probable that one highly advanced civilization was responsible for the beautiful carvings of Makaráha, of those in its immediate neighbourhood near Bajaur, and of Nast near Jagat Sukh at the head of the valley. At any rate the connection between these different carvings is well worthy of the attention of archaeologists. The sites would probably repay excavation. As for Báhadur Singh, Makaráha was doubtless a convenient place of residence for him during the time that his generals were campaigning in Saraj. He never took the field himself apparently, and as long as the right bank of the Sánj Nálá was occupied by his troops he would be quite safe at Makaráha and in touch at once with Nagar and the army in the field.

This valuable account of Makarása, which seems to mean the land of alligators (nágar) or that of sea-monsters (mákär), is from the pen of

1 The Makarása referred to is nearly opposite Bajaur on the left bank of the Beás. It was an ancient place founded before the Christian era, but was soon abandoned and remained a ruin till the time of Báhadur Singh, 1533-59, who rebuilt it and virtually made it his capital. From his time Kulu was called Makarsa or Magarsa from the name of this town, the proper spelling of which is Makarára—the region of Makar—who was the founder of a primitive dynasty of Rájás in Kulu, before the Pal dynasty. It is pronounced as in many parts of the hills to this day, and in ancient times this pronunciation was universal. You will find it Makarára in some places, but the final r must be redundant. Harrisse has the correct spelling in his book. It seems probable that Nagar also was called Makarsa as late as the time of Moorcroft who calls it by this name. We have documents in Chamba in which Kulu is called Makarsa as late as A. D. 1539. The Kulu Rájás continued to reside at Makarára till the reign of Rájá Jagat Singh, A. D. 1537-72, who conquered the neighbouring state of Lag on the right bank of the Beás and then transferred the capital to Sultánpur and lived there. After this Makarára was again deserted and fell into ruins.

2 Platts, Hindustani Diktya, p. 1088.
Mr. G. C. L. Howell, I. C. S., as is that which follows. By a coincidence Dionysius Perihergetes gives the name Megaraus to the Sutlej. This may give a clue to the origin of the name and to the extent of Makarasas. It possibly originated as a description of the alligator-infested Sutlej, was transferred to a kingdom on that river and finally was applied to another hill kingdom in the upper reaches of the Beas. This is of course pure speculation. No evidence exists so far to connect the Makarasas on the upper Beas with Megaraus, the Sutlej or some section of that river. The Mrichi in Kulu do not appear to have been inhabitants of Makarasas as one is tempted to suggest. Philologically the derivation is untenable.

A NOTE ON ANCIENT TRADE ROUTES IN KULU.

Geography makes history all the world over, and nowhere is this more palpably true than in the Himalayas. Kulu history is based on evidences which are meagre, and, more especially in the case of the so-called chronicle of the old Rajas of Kulu, often unreliable. But from the legends of an untutored mountain race and the inerasable record inscribed on the face of the slowly decaying ranges, it is sometimes possible to reconstruct something of a picture of what life was like before the advent of the British.

The position of the valley, it has always seemed to me, is peculiar. Here is no backwater like the neighbouring State of Chamba, in which an ancient Rajput line has been sheltered and able to maintain an unbroken rule from a period preceding the dawn of civilization in Europe. Kulu and Lahul lie full in a channel, through which have ebbed and flowed for ages the tides of racial and religious antagonisms. The people have acknowledged many masters—Aryan and Mongolian; but through it all Indian markets have always demanded salt and wool and borax—to say nothing of the more precious merchandise of Central Asia—and while armies marched and fought, the hungry Tibetans would still risk much to get the wheat of the plains and the incomparable barley of Lahul. The trade therefore went on. It was quite by chance that I discovered the ancient trade route. One must remember that the Beas was nowhere bridged, and everywhere an impassable torrent; that there were no made roads; that every height was crowned with a fort, held by a garrison of marauders; that the Kulu farmer then as now regarded travelling sheep as 'fair game'; that there was a custom house below Ralla at the canon, still known as the 'customs-house' (Jagat-khana), where no doubt a foreigner's life was made a burden to him, and that there would be endless bickering and bargaining at every halt before a caravan of laden sheep could get any grazing. All this is plain to any one who can imagine the Kulu people set free from the restraints which the British Raj imposes.

So the trade avoided the Hamta Pass and the Rohtang and the comparatively broad paths which led to destruction in the valley.

1 Arch. E. B. II, p. 12. Cunningham suggested some connection between the Megarams and the Megh tribe, but the seat of the Megha is not on the Sutlej. It lies along the Jamna border, west of the Ravi for the most part: see Vol. III, p. 77, infra.
2 Vol. III, p. 150, infra.
Arrived at the summit of the Baralaacha Pass the Tibetans turned sharp to their left and followed down the left bank of the Chandra. Here was pasturage and to spare of the finest fattening grass in the world wherever they chose to halt. There were no torrents which were not easily fordable in the morning; and there was not the least fear of molestation in an uninhabited and to the Indian mind most undesirable region. Past the beautiful Chandra Lake the trade sheep marched to and grazed on the plain near Phati Rúni (split rock) still known as the ‘plain of the Kanauris’. Thence the middlemen from Kanaur in Bashahr and probably from Kothi Kanaur at the head of the Párbatí valley met them. The big 50-lb packs of salt and other merchandise were unpacked, the big Tibetan sheep were shorn and for a week or so the trading went on, and finally the little Bashahri sheep marched off, not laden so heavily as the Tibetan tíañsa or trade sheep, while the latter returned with their packs to Rudok and Leh.

But the Kanauris had no thought of moving through Kulu. They went up the valley, which is now blocked by the Shigri glacier; across the head of the Párbatí valley: along the old mountain sheep route, which is still known, though seldom used; always through uninhabited safety to the Sutlej valley at Rámpur. There they met, and let us hope were a match for, the wily trader of the plains.

In 1886, tradition says, the Shigri glacier bursting some obstruction on the hill top overwhelmed the Chandra valley, dammed the Chandra river till it rose within measurable distance of the Kunzam Pass into Spítí, and finally destroyed the old trade route. The Spítí people had pickets out at the summit of the pass to warn them in case the river headed up high enough to flood the pass and flow down to Losur. There are however some landmarks on the old road, which I suspect was abandoned much more gradually than tradition states.

The Kanauris, who speak a Tibeto-Burmese language closely allied to those of Lahul and Malána, have left their name on the ‘Kanauris’ Plain near the modern camping ground of Phati Rúni and the whole of the upper Párbatí valley is known to this day as Kothi Kanauri, while its inhabitants, though they have forgotten their language and are rapidly becoming assimilated to the Kulu people, are still regarded as foreigners and often show markedly Mongolian features. Probably they are the descendants of Kanauris who gave up trade for farming generations before the road was abandoned. But they still know the road from Phulga to Rámpur.
SECTION 5—ISLAM.

NOTES ON THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF ISLAM.

The history of Islam in the Punjab begins with the conquest of Multan by Muhammad ibn Qasim in 712 A.D., and the extreme southwest of the Province shared the fortunes of the Caliphs, Ommayad and Abbasid, until 871, when Sind became virtually independent of the Khalifat. Soon after, in or before 879, the kingdom of Multan was established, but Islam had made little or no progress in the rest of the Province.

In 900 Amir Ismail, the Samaani subdued ‘some part of Hind’, doubtless in the Indus Valley. Fifteen years later Mas‘udi visited that country, and in his Meadows of Gold describes the state of Islam therein. The Amir of Multan was an Arab of the noble tribe of the Quraish, and the kingdom had been hereditary in his family for a long period nearly—from the beginning of Islam. The khutba was, however, read in the name of the Caliph. The Amir’s dominions extended to the frontier of Khurasan, and the temple of the Sun at Multan, which was still an object of pilgrimage to the Hindus, yielded the greater part of his revenues. Sixty years later, in 976, Ibn Haukal found the Sun temple still flourishing. The Amir indeed resided outside the city which he held as a hostage, a threat to destroy the idol in the temple being always sufficient to avert any threat of a Hindu insurrection. Thus the Arab tenure of Multan, virtually independent as it was of the Caliphs, was weak in the extreme and Islam had found few converts among the Indians.

But in or about 985 events occurred which eventually changed the whole aspect of affairs. The Qarmatian heretics, recently expelled from Egypt and Irak, sought and found a refuge in the remote provinces of the Indus valley. By them the idol of the Sun was broken in pieces and the attendant priests massacred. Nevertheless the Qarmatians made or found many adherents in Multan.

Mahmud of Ghur was never far from finding in Multan a point d’appui for his inroads into the Punjab. Its ruler, Abu’l Fath, the Lawi, indeed, actually allied himself with Anandpal, and necessitated Mahmud’s third expedition into India in 1000.

That the Qarmatian heresy had taken deep root in Sindh is proved by the fact that the Samaras had been won over to it before 1032, in which year an epistle, preserved in the sacred books of the Druzes, was sent by Muktana Bahadur-Din, the chief apostle of Hamza and the principal compiler of the Druze scriptures, to the Unitarians of Multan and Hindustan in general, and to Shaikh Ibn Samaar Raja Bal in particular.

The assassination of Muhammad of Ghur in 1206 is ascribed to the Khokhars by some and to the Malahidah by earlier and better authorities. The Imam Fakhru’d-Din Razi was accused of having brought it.

1 Muballigh’s invasions of 684 A.D. may be mentioned. He came as far as Multan; his object was to explore the intermediate country. Al-Biladuri indeed says that he advanced as far as Panu and Lahore; E. H. L. L. p. 116.


3 E. H. L. L. p. 421.
about on account of his friendship with Sultán Muhammad, the Khwárazm Shah.\footnote{T. N., p. 485.}

571 H. In 1176 Muhammad of Ghur led his forces to Multán and delivered that place from the hands of the Qarmatians.

At this period Uch, now in the Baháwalpur State territory, was the great centre of Moslem learning and propaganda in the south-west Punjab. It possessed the Firúzí College to which in 1227 Minháj-i-Saraj, the historian, was appointed, and he also held the Qáziship of the forces of Ala-ud-Dín Bahrám Sháh, son of Násir-ud-Dín Qâbâla.\footnote{E. H. L., II, p. 298, cf. p. 575.}

624 H. In 1229 Altamsh received a diploma of investiture from the Abbási Khalífa of Bagdad, confirming him in the sovereignty of Hindustán.\footnote{Farsištá, Persian text, Pt. I, p. 60; Thomas, Chronicles, p. 47; Lane Poole, Muhammadan Dynasties, p. 260.}

743 H. Again in 1343 Muhammad ibn Tughlaq, holding that no king or prince could exercise regal power without confirmation by the Khalífa of the race of Abbáś, made diligent enquiries from many travellers about the Khalífas of that time, and learned that its representatives were the Khalífas of Egypt. Accordingly he sent despatches to Egypt, had his own name and title removed from his coins and those of the Khalífa substituted. In 1345 Háji Sa'íd Sarasí came to Delhi from Egypt bringing the Sultán honours and a robe from the Khalífa. He was received with great ceremony, the Sultán walking barefoot before him, and two years later a diploma was obtained from Egypt constituting the Sultán a deputy of the Khalífa.\footnote{He had probably solicited it in 1340: Duff, pp. 219, 226; E. H. L., III, pp. 249 and 250. But the date is not certain: cf. p. 566, note 1. For Delhi as Dár-ud-Kilífat under Quóth-ud-Dín Ishák: cf. T. N., p. 535.; Farsištá, Persian text, Pt. I, p. 140.}

767 H. The historian Zia-ud-Dín Barání indeed writes as if some previous Sultán had received such confirmation but not all.\footnote{E. H. L., III, pp. 387 and 342-3. Farsištá, p. 146; Táríkh-i-Firoz Sháh by Zia Badul, p. 298.}

651 H. In 1356 however Sultán Firoz III followed this precedent and was invested by the Khalífa with the title of Sayyid-us-Saláfí, robes being also sent at the same time to him and to his heir and principal minister.\footnote{T. N., pp. xxv-xxx. Harvery adds some interesting information regarding Minháj. He was a Súfi, a scholar and one of those who would become filled with religious ecstasies, on hearing the singing at sifr and fasíša, and when he became Qází of Hindustán that office assumed integrity and rectitude: ib., p. xxx.}

Meanwhile Delhi had replaced Uch as the centre of Moslem learning. In 1382 Altamsh made Minháj-i-Saraj, the historian, Qází, Kháthib and Imám of Gwálíor, and five years later he was made chief of the Násiriah College at Delhi, and Qází of the empire in 1422, but in the following year he resigned those appointments. In 1430 he was re-appointed to the college, and obtained the lecturership of the Jami‘ Masjid with the Qáziship of Gwálíor. In 1451 he again became Qází of the empire and the capital, but was deprived of the post in 1538.

630 H. He was however appointed Qází for a third time in 1556 and probably retained the office till his death.\footnote{He was a Súfi, a scholar and one of those who would become filled with religious ecstasies, on hearing the singing at sifr and fasíša, and when he became Qází of Hindustán that office assumed integrity and rectitude: ib., p. xxx.} His name does not however appear in the list of the Qází of the court of Altamsh, but that
office may have been separate from those he held. We read of three such Qāzis and a fourth was styled 'Qāzi of the army'.

In the beginning of Sultán Raziyyat's reign one Nūr, a Turk, excited an outbreak among the Qirāmīta and Mulāhida heretics. They collected at Delhi from Sind, the Jumna valley and many other parts, as well as from the immediate neighbourhood of the capital and pledging fidelity to one another in secret they conspired against Islām, the mob listening openly to the harangues of Nūr. He used to denounce the Ulama as Nāsībi (settlers-up) and Murjīs (procrastinators), especially those of the Hanafī and Shī'a sects. In 637 these sectaries made a desperate attack on the Muhammadans in the Muizzī College, which they had mistaken for the Jāmi' Masjīd, but they were suppressed not without much bloodshed.

Khwāja Qutb-ul-Dīn Bakhtīyar Kāki of Ush near Baghdād came to Multān, in the time of Nāsir-ul-Dīn Qabācha, and subsequently to Delhi, where Altamah offered him the office of Shaikh-ul-Islām which he refused. To his memory Altamah erected the great Qutb Minār at Old Delhi. He died in 638 H.

He was, it is said, the disciple of Qāzi Muhammad Hamīd-ul-Dīn Nāgaurī, and the following table of spiritual descent may be drawn up according to the Chishti tradition:


At Kūt Karor was born in 1170 Shaikh Bahā-ul-Dīn Zakaria, who subsequently became a pupil of Shaikh Shihāb-ul-Dīn Subzarwardī of Baghdād. Thence he returned to Multān and became the intimate friend of Shaikh Farīd-ul-Dīn Shakarganj. The latter, perhaps the most famous Muhammadan saint of the Punjab, flourished in the 13th century.

Nizām-ul-Dīn Aulia taught at Delhi during the latter half of the 13th century and the early part of the 14th. One of his pupils was the poet Amir Khusrau.

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1. Who consider good works unnecessary and believe that faith alone suffices for a Moslem's salvation, hall, being reserved for idiots only. See, Koran, pp. 122, and 130-1.
3. Slemman says that Qutb-ul-Dīn was a disciple of Mofa-ul-Dīn of Ajmer, the greatest of all their saints. Rambler's and Recollections, II., p. 165.
5. Born in 1172, he died in 1235 at the advanced age of 65, &c., p. 129. 636 H.-664 H.
6. He was born at Balkh in 1239 and died in Delhi in 1295, age 83. 634 H.-72.
The Shaikh Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Bustānī, was the first to hold the office of Shaikh-ul-Islām at Delhi and on his death, according to Raverty, Altansh wished the Khwāja Qutb-ud-Dīn Kākī to accept the office. This is, however, very doubtful for the latter saint died in 1235 and the former in 1239. However this may be, the Shaikh-ul-Islām took part in politics at a very early period, for it was on secret instructions received from Shaikh Jamāl-ud-Dīn, the Sayyid Qutb-ud-Dīn and the Qāzī Shams-ud-Dīn Bharāchi that the rebels under Ulugh Khān attacked Delhi in 1257.1 Jamāl Dīn then must have lived till after 1257 and on his death two years later could not have been succeeded by the Khwāja.

Jalāl-ud-Dīn Firoz Shāh II was remarkable for his clemency, but his only act of capital punishment led in popular belief to the downfall of his dynasty. In his reign one Sīdī Maula, a dārweṣh from the upper country,2 who had come to Delhi in Balban’s time, acquired a position of extraordinary influence in that city. He offered prayers, but never in mosques. He received no offerings, yet he distributed vast doles to travellers, and others. Upon a magnificent khānqāh he expended thousands. He visited Shaikh Farid at Ajodhan, but disregarded that saint’s advice to abstain from meddling with politics and made a disciple of the Sultān’s eldest son who called himself the Sīdī’s son. Other Muhammadans of position eventually conspired with him to waylay the emperor on his way to the mosque on the Sabbath and assassinate him, which done the Sīdī was to be proclaimed khāffya and marry a daughter of Sultān Nāsir-ud-Dīn. Information of this conspiracy was, however, soon brought to the Sultān, but the conspirators strenuously denied their guilt and no evidence could be obtained against them. Nevertheless Sīdī Maula, despite the failure of the legal process against him, was destined to suffer death. The Sultān bade the dārweṣhes avenge him of the maula and one of them attacked him with a razor and an elephant was made to trample him to death. Forthwith, says the chronicler, a black storm arose which made the world dark and trouble arose in the State. Famine prevailed throughout Siwālik in that same year. This event must have occurred about 1295. Yet when a thousand tāhgs were captured he refused to execute any one of them and sent them in boats towards Lakhnauti where they were set free.3

The year 1296 was marked by a remarkable assassination. The saint Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliya,4 whose shrine is at Delhi, had roused the jealousy

1 T. N., pp. 718, 822 and 707. According to D. B. Macdonald (Muslim Theology, p. 118) the dignity of Shaikh-ul-Islām was not created in Turkey till 1453.
2 Wildgul-i-mulk-i-baid.
3 It was not, says the Tadikhi-i-Firoz Shāhī, the custom in those days to exact confession by beating. A large fire was, however, kindled and orders given to place the accused in it, but the lawyers urged that the ordeal by fire was against the law, and the evidence of one man insufficient to convict of treason. So the ordeal was countermanded and the leader of the conspiracy Qāzī Jalāl Kashânī actually sent as Qāzī to Bustān, the remainder being banished.
5 70, 141.
of the emperor Jalāl-ud-Dīn Firuz Shāh Khilji by his influence and display, and he had threatened to humble the proud priest on his return to Delhi from the Deccan. The sainthood’s friends urged him to quit the city and seek safety elsewhere, but his invariably reply to their entreaties was *Hamoz Delhi dūr ast,* ‘Delhi is yet afar’, a saying which has passed into a proverb. His courage or confidence was justified by the event, for Firuz Shāh was treacherously murdered at Karra on the Ganges by his nephew—son-in-law Alā-ud-Dīn and never reached the capital. With reference to this event Sleeman writes as follows:—

“One is tempted to ask why Nizām-ud-Dīn Aulīa countenanced Firuz Shāh II’s murder if he was a *fāna* of great note, seeing that the Sultan had been, as we have seen, extremely, not to say absurdly, lenient towards that fraternity,” and Mr. Muhammad Hamid adds:—“The phrase ‘Delhi is far off yet’ is said to have been uttered by Shāh Nizām-ud-Dīn, Mahbūb-ī-Ilāhī, of Delhi—wrongly supposed by some European scholars to be the *Āf* of thieves and robbers—when he was pressed under threats of death to repay several lacs of rupees which he had received as alms from Nisār-ud-Dīn Khusrav Khān. Though Tughlaq Shāh had already reached Kilokherj, about two miles from Delhi, the saint persisted in repeating the phrase and it is said that that very day the king died a sudden death—the roof of the wooden palace falling in upon him.” Sleeman clearly did not believe the tradition that Nizām-ud-Dīn was the patron saint of thieves. The origin of the tradition will be discussed later.

Alā-ud-Dīn’s reign was also marked by an outbreak of religious fanaticism at Delhi itself. In 1300, one Hāji, a *manū*, i.e. a slave or rather client of a *kotwal*, seized his opportunity while the Sultan Alā-ud-Dīn was besieging Reotambhor to raise a revolt in the city. He placed on the throne a descendant of Ali, who was also a grandson of Altamsh on his mother’s side. The revolt was however suppressed with little difficulty, and great severity.

In 1303 occurred one of the then frequent Mughal raids into the Punjab. Their army under Turgi invaded Delhi, where Alā-ud-Dīn was unable to meet them in the open field and entrenched his camp. Their retreat after two months’ siege was attributed to the power of the famous saint Nizām-ud-Dīn Aulīa.

The saints were revered and feared even by the governing bodies who are represented as always befriending them. Their anger was apt to bring the most unexpected disasters on the offending party, as, for example, the *Sura-i-Arijā* and the *Farsīh-i-Suliya-i-Sulah* mention the sudden death of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh in 1325 owing to a curse uttered by the great Shāh Rukn-i-Ālam of Multān, who fell insulted at some remarks made by that sovereign.

He was believed to possess the dast-i-gharb or invisible hand because his expenditure was even more lavish than the emperor’s own, though he had no substantial source of income.

2 Equivalent to ‘there’s many a slip ’twixt the cup and the lip’.


* Sleeman says it is very likely that he did strike this army with a panic by getting some of their leaders assassinated in one night.” There appears to be no historical evidence whatever to support this conjecture.
Firoz Shāh III owed his elevation to the throne of Delhi in 1351 in large measure to the support of the šahābād.1

Firoz Shāh built a large number of cities, forts, baads, mosques and tombs. His cities were Hisār Firozah, Fatehābād, Firozābād, Firozābād Harni Khāra, Tughlaqpur Khosā, Tughlaqpur Malāk-i-Makūt and Jaunpur, and everywhere he erected strong places for halts in travelling. His pānas were also numerous and he erected several baads, including the Band-i- Fateh Khān, Band-i-Malja (to which he supplied Ab-i-Zanjān), Band-i-Māhpālpur, Band-i-Shukr Khān, Band-i-Sāhūr, Band-i-Sāhpanah, and Band-i-Wazirābād. He also built monasteries and inns for travellers. It is recorded that he erected 120 monasteries in Delhi and Firozābād so that travellers from all parts might be received as guests in each of them for three days, and so might remain for 360 days in all. Superintendents of the Sunni faith were appointed to them and funds for their up-keep provided from the treasury. Malīk Ghāzi Shahnā was his chief architect, and held the gold staff of office while Abdul Ḥaq (Jāhir-ī-Sundhār) had a golden axe. A capable šahābād (superintendent) was appointed over each class of artisans. Firoz Shāh repaired the tombs of former kings and restored the lands and villages formerly assigned to them. He also repaired the graves of saints and learned men of the faith. In the tombs of kings and saints he placed takhtās (sofas or beds) of sandal wood.2 At the close of his life Firoz Shāh took special pains to repair mosques, and appointed to each of them a muazzin and an imām. He also provided for light and carpets.3

Firoz Shāh showed much respect for saints and whenever he rode abroad he visited all those of Delhi. Towards the end of his reign he himself became maula, by having his head shaved like a qalānādār.4

Firoz Shāh suppressed all practices forbidden by religious law, such as the painting of portraits, directing that garden scenes should be painted instead. He forbade the making of images and abjured the use of silver and gold vessels. He also abolished imposts which were against the law such as the dāngha, an impost levied on dānih per tankā; muhaftālāl or ground rent, also called birā-zamān; jazari, an impost on butchers at 12 jital4 for every ox killed; duri or rasā, one levied on traders who brought grain, salt, etc., into Delhi on bullocks. Once they had to carry the bricks from the old cities of Delhi to Firozābād on bullocks. Firoz Shāh levied jazari from the Brahmans who had been exempt in former reigns. They protested but finally agreed to pay it at the lowest rate, i.e. 10 tankās and 50 jitals per head.5

Firoz Shāh visited the tombs of the saints of Bhakkar, and renewed the former grants of the people of that place. Thence he

2 Zanām is the well at Mecca held sacred by Mahommedans.
3 Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī by Shams Shāh Aft, Persian text, pp. 329-33. Takht here is explained to mean the Hindī chabardān—a bed with a canopy. What the king actually presented were canopies supported on a sandal-wood frame and pillars.
4 Is. p. 61. 
6 A jīlāt = ird of cu. anna.
7 Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, pp. 273-70.
8 Is., pp. 323-4.
want to Uch where he rebuilt the monastery of Shaikh Jamāl ud-Dīn of Uch, and restored villages and gardens to his sons and bestowed fresh pensions and presents on them and other people of Uch.\(^1\) He also repaired the monastery of Shaikh Farīd ud-Dīn\(^2\) at Ajūdhan, and granted robes of honor to his descendants and confirmed them in possession of their villages and lands.\(^3\)

Sultān Firoz has left an interesting account\(^4\) of the heretical movements of his reign—and of his methods of dealing with them. He suppressed the Rawāfiz, a Shi’a sect, by burning their writings and punishing them in various ways, but apparently without bloodshed. Another sect of heretical sectarians, mulkīd abdallāhīs, used to meet by night to drink wine and indulge, he writes, in promiscuous intercourse. He beheaded its leaders and banned or imprisoned other members of it. Another sect he describes as atheistical and at the same time as worshippers of one Ahmad Bahārī who was regarded as God. Its members were imprisoned and banished. Another self-styled prophet, Rukan ud-Dīn, asserted himself to be the Imām 30th of quddus, claimed omniscience and a special knowledge of the science of letters which he said had been revealed to him. He was torn to pieces by the people of Delhi. Sultān Firoz based his fiscal system on the letter of the law at a considerable sacrifice of revenue,\(^5\) and in return for the tax of toleration (zari-zamāni) exacted the abolition of new idol temples and put down proselytising innovations with great severity.\(^6\) But he appears to have respected existing Hindu institutions. The reign of Sultān Firoz, however, was chiefly remarkable for his educational policy and his re-organization of existing institutions. To enable us to realise what he achieved an excursion on Moslem education in the Middle Ages and subsequent times down to the close of the Mughal period will now be useful.

Moslem education in Medieval and later times.

The Muhammadans established several educational institutions in the Punjab. Of these the earliest was probably the Muirzā college at Delhi, doubtless founded by Muhammad of Ghur or one of his successors in the Muizzīa dynasty which he founded and which was called after his name of Muirz ud-Dīn.\(^7\) Next in point of time came the Firuz College at Uch\(^8\) (c. 1227). Jālandhar probably possessed another ancient college,\(^9\) but the origin of the famous Saints of Jālandhar dates

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\(^{1}\) Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī by Zain ud-Dīn, Persian text, pp. 328-9.
\(^{2}\) This Sultān’s orthodoxy is highly commended by his historian. He showed great respect to the Shaikh-ul-Islām Ahūd-Dīn and his successor Farīd ud-Dīn of Ajūdhan. Towards the close of his reign he himself took the temtur and became a waḥīdī. A less pleasing feature of his reign was the levy of the jāta from Brahmans. E. H. L., III, pp. 382-3 and 390.
\(^{3}\) Ib., p. 542.
\(^{5}\) Ib., p. 364.
\(^{6}\) Ib., p. 380.
\(^{7}\) It is only alluded to in T. N., p. 646. It was not among the buildings repaired by Sultān Firoz K. H. L., III, p. 348.
\(^{8}\) Raverty’s Tabaqat-i-Mustafī, London, 1881, p. 541 ; it was probably founded by the Mughl Firuz ud-Dīn, Allahkoh, the Safir prince of Khwājā, 44, p. 525, a noble of the Sultān Allāmāh.
\(^{9}\) Ib., p. 570.
Later educational institutions.

from a much later period, probably not earlier than the close of the 13th century. These saints were of Afghān or kindred origin and among the earliest was the Imām Nāsir-ud-Dīn Shīrāzī. Another was an ancestor of the saint, influential in the Afghān hills, known as the Pir Roshan, the founder of the Roshanīa schism. But Delhi was the principal centre of religious instruction. The Nāsirīah college was founded there, probably by Alāmah who appointed the Persian historian Minhāj-ud-Dīn, formerly principal of the college at Uch, to this foundation in 1287 A. D.

The later and more orthodox Muhammadans generally had their educational institutions or madrasas attached to mosques or tombs. It is believed by them to be a religious act, conferring the blessing of God on the soul of the deceased buried in the tomb or on that of the founder of the mosque. Sometimes, however, they were founded independently, but such cases were not very many. This system is to be met with practically in the whole Muhammadan world, and still prevails.

(i) After the Muizzī and Nāsirīah colleges at Delhi comes Alā-ud-Dīn's college, which was attached to his tomb near the Quib Minār, within its enclosure. It was repaired by Fīroz Shāh. The building is totally ruined but has recently been cleared from débris.

(ii) Fīroz Shāh, who was very fond of buildings and erected as well as repaired a large number of them, constructed two madrasas. One of them was built at the Alāī tank and known by the name of Mādrasa-i-Fīroz Shāhī. Zīā-i-Barnī, a contemporary historian, has lavished much praise on this building and says that Maulānā Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī, a scholar of great repute, was appointed to teach tafsīr (commentaries on the Qurān), hadīth (tradition), fiqh (Muhammadan law) in the madrasa.

(iii) The second madrasa, built by Fīroz Shāh was at Siri. It also has been greatly praised by Zīā-i-Barnī who records that Najm-ud-Dīn of Samarkand, a great scholar of the time, gave religious instruction in that madrasa.

(iv) There was also a third madrasa, built by Fīroz Shāh in connection with his son Fath Khān's tomb known as Qadam Sharīf.

(v) In the year 1561 Mahām Angāh, the wet nurse of Akbar, built a madrasa attached to the mosque known as Khāir-ull Manāzilī near the old Fort.

(vi) There was a college or madrasa on the roof of the tomb of Humāyūn. It was at one time an institution of some importance and men of learning such as Maulānā Nūr-ud-Dīn Tarkhān were appointed to the charge of the place.
Later educational institutions. 497

(vii) Gházi-ud-Din Khán built a madrasa in connection with his mausoleum, which he erected in his own lifetime. It is still used as such, being occupied by the Anglo-Arabic High School.

(viii) The madrasa of Raushán-ud-Daula associated with a mosque in Dariba Bazar, Sháhjábáníábád, Delhi, was built by Nawáb Sharf-ud-Daula in 1135 H. (1722-3 A. D.) during the reign of Muhammad Sháh. The madrasa no longer exists, but it is referred to in the inscription on the central arch of the mosque.

(ix) The tomb of Safdar Jang is locally known as madrasa but no reference to it is to be found in any book. It is possible that the rooms in the enclosure may have been used for the purpose which has given it the name of madrasa.

In Lahore, Dáí Ládó, wet nurse of Jahángír, founded a school which continued to flourish till the collapse of the Mughal power.

During the reign of Bahol Khán Lodi in 1473 A.D Batála in Gurd sousp was founded by Rai Rám Déo, a Bhaṭṭi, to whom the tract between the Sutlej and Chumáb had been farmed by Táṭár Khán, viceroy of Lahore. Rám Déo was converted by Shaikh Muhammad Qádir of Lahore. In later times Batála enjoyed a great reputation for learning and the saints Sháh-bád-ud-Din Bukhári, Sháh Ismá'íl Sháh Nisamatulla and Shaikh Alláh Dád lived there. The tomb of the first-named still exists in the quarter occupied by his descendents, the Bukhári sayyids and that of his still more distinguished kinsman Manj Dárya stands at Khán Fátch, five miles to the west of the town. But the last-named may be really buried at Lahore.

Agha Bádi-ud-Din Sháhíd, 11th in descent from Sayyid Aḥmad Qádir Jiláni, migrated to India in the time of Humáyún, and 6th in descent from him was Khán Bábádur Qázi Inávatulla whose eldest son Sayyid Muhammad Akram was gázi in Montgomery. Another son, Muhammad Fazl Dín, settled in Batála about 800 years ago. He founded its Madrasa Qádiria in Aurangzéb's reign, and in that of Farrukhsíar about 100 villages were granted him in gázi. On his death S. Ghulám Qádir Sháh, whose books on tasmínát were well-known in the Punjab, became sajjidá-nashí and obtained villages worth Rs. 12,000 a year from Ahmad Sháh Abdáli. His gázi is still held by his descendents, one of whom, S. Ahmad Sháh, assisted Lt. W. M. Murray in his historical works.

Muhammad Fazl's college attracted many students, but it was destroyed by Banda and the town soon lost its title of Sharif. Banda indeed set fire to the whole town and pillaged it, beginning with the Qázi's mahalla, then its wealthiest quarter.

Mulláh Aḥmad Hákím and Sádulláh 'Allami, afterwards the grand wazír of Sháh Jahán, were class-fellows and studied together in the

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1. Curr Stephen, Delhi, pp. 263 et seq.
3. Hist. of Lahore, p. 289.
4. Qázi at Sialkot, in Montgomery, Káshmir and Kábul from time to time, and founder of Chak Qázi in Gurdousp, where he died.
5. Gurkaspur Gazetteer, 1914, p. 28.
mulkab at the Kashmiri mosque near the Imám Sáhib's mausoleum. Both were poor and Mulláh Abdul Hákim's parents were weavers. The most famous of his teachers was Mulláh Kámal Akhánd of Kashmir. Abdul Hákim distinguished himself in logic and philosophy, but his renown did not spread abroad until his introduction to the court of Sháh Jahan which occurred in this way: Sádullah 'Allami, when he rose to the dignity of wazir, remembered his class-fellow as they had been great friends in early days. He mentioned the name of Abdul Hákim to the emperor and praised him so much that the emperor ordered him to be sent for. He came to Delhi where some time after his arrival a discussion on the existence of God took place. Mulláh Abdul Hákim was required by the emperor to join in the discussion and he brought forward so many convincing arguments that all admitted his intellectual superiority. The emperor himself was greatly pleased and requested the mulkab to arrange those arguments in the form of a pamphlet which is still extant. In its introduction the author relates the above story and says that he wrote at the express desire of the emperor. The mulkab lived for a long time at court, but finally came back to Sialkot and buried himself in imparting knowledge to all. He opened a madrasa in a mosque in Rangpura where men from all parts of the world came to hear his discourses, even from Basra, Egypt, Bagdad, Kufah, Kashmir, Turkistan and Persia. He used to dictate explanatory notes on difficult books of logic and his pupils used to take them down in class. His elucidations of difficult works of old philosophy are still printed and in recent years a book published in Egypt under the name of 'The Reflections of the Sialkot' is still used and appreciated by students of philosophy. It is a text-book in the Colleges there. Besides this his 'elucidations' or hikmat of books on philosophy are still printed in Arabia and Egypt which shows that they have not lost their hold on the public mind and have not become stale with the lapse of time and the introduction of new theories about philosophical doctrines has not impaired them.

Sháh Jahan was so pleased with the mulkab that when he came back from Delhi to Sialkot he granted him land and had a tank dug for his ablution. This tank still exists near the American Mission School. The emperor also had a canal dug for his special use, the traces of which are still found at some places near the tank. The reason for the digging of the canal was that Mulláh Abdul Hákim professed the Shafi'i doctrine of Islam, according to which ablutions are only lawful if performed in running water.

He had an extensive library in which valuable books were collected. After his death his descendants did not inherit his intellectual powers and in the last years of the 19th century, one of them Míhán Ghansa disposed of all his valuable manuscripts out of sheer poverty. Míhán Ghansa died recently and now nothing remains of the old philosopher but a confused heap of stones to mark the last resting place of one who once ruled the intellectual world of India. He is buried at Sialkot near the tank and his mausoleum was once imposing, but owing to the vandalism of the Sikhs, who used it as a magazine, they say, it is now in ruins.
To resume the notes on the religious history of Islām:—

Religious history of the Mughal period.

Akbar's policy was one of toleration and in fact he incurred the charge of heterodoxy by his attempts to bring all religions into one comprehensive fold. His historian Abul Fazl's account of his measures must be read with caution as that writer's own father had been accused of Shi'a tendencies and sympathy with heresy. He was a Sāfi, but disapproved the excesses of music and dance affected by that sect; and also eschewed silk, though he changed his views in this respect.

Akbar's measures were far-reaching. He abolished the poll-tax on infidels in the 9th year of his reign and also the tax called karmi levied apparently on Hindu pilgrims to sacred shrines. This led to a rebellion, the emperor's innovations being objected to in so far as they led to the withdrawal of grants of rent-free land. But Akbar does not appear to have acted in this matter without some justification. The department of the Sadr-i-Jahān had been very great before the time of the Mughals and even during Akbar's reign he ranked as the fourth officer of the empire. His edict legalised the jālūs or accession of a new king. But the department had become most corrupt and especially so in the administration of the sayārgīhāl or grants. Akbar's Sādars were:

1. Shaikh Gaddāl, until 968 H.  
2. Khwāja Muḥammad Sāhil, until 971 H.  
3. Shaikh Abdunābi, until 986 H.  

*See the guarded account in the Ahsa-i-Akbāri, Blochmann's Trans., III, p. 420 f.
* Blochmann, op. cit., p. 440.
* E. H. L., VI, pp. 29-30, and Afn, I, 189.
* Afn, I, p. 370.

To the vitriolic pen of Al-Badānī we owe many details regarding these Sādars Akbar's efforts to revise the lists of religious grants seem to have given grave offence to Al-Badānī. Possibly his own portfolio had been affected.

Shaikh Gaddāl, Kambūb, the son of Jamāl, Kambūb, a poet of Delhi, who after the second defeat during the 'ādir at Unjak had come to the Khān Khānān. Through his influence he was appointed Sādar in 965 H. The Khān Khānān and even the emperor himself attended singing parties at his house, which Al-Badānī describes in severe terms. Shaikh Gaddāl drew the pen of obloquy through the grants and pensions of old servants of the Crown, but to any one who disgraced himself by attending his feats he gave a sayārgīhāl. He died in 970 H.; Maṣṭakhat-al-Taṣdīrīk, translation W. H. Lowe, II, pp. 32 and 124; Maṣūr-al-Umar, II, pp. 58-91.

* In 969 H. Khvāja Muḥammad Sāhil of Hirāt, grandson of Khwāja Abūl Fazl, a well-known wazir, was appointed Sādar, but without full absolute powers of granting waqīf, and substance (waṭf waḥd), as they were subject to administrative control; Maṣṭakhat-al-Taṣdīrīk, Lowe, II, pp. 48-9.

* In 972 or 971 H. Akbar sent for Shaikh Abdun-Nābī, the traditionalist, grandson of Shaikh Abd-al-Qanād of Gargūb, one of the greatest Shaikhs of Hind, and made him chief Sādar, so that with the Muṣafir Khān, he might pay the pensions. He soon acquired a saline power over the grants of allowances, lands and pensions, but by degrees matters reverted to their old position. About 985 H. when Shaikh Abdun-Nābī was rising to power, the emperor used to go to his house to hear lectures on the traditions of the Prophet, and make Jālāngīr attend his school to learn the 44 ahādīs of the renowned master; Maṣūr-al-Umar, Abūl Rahmān Jami. Once or twice the emperor placed the Shaikh's slippers before his feet. In this year Akbar gave orders that no waṭf in the empire should be recognised by the ṣarārī (revenue officer) of a pargana, unless the fendā by which the
Sultan Khwaja, until his death in 993 H.

5. Amir Fatullah Shihzai, till 997.

Grant had been made was produced before the Sadir for verification. This brought numbers of worthy people from the east of India and as far west as Bushier to Court. If any of them had a patron in one of the Amirs, or a friend of His Majesty, he could get his affairs settled, but such as lacked recommendations had to bribe Sayyid Abdur Razzak, the Shahi's headman, or his chamberlain, doorkeepers and valets. Many of the 'enemies' died without asserting their object from the heat caused by the crowds. The Shahk would for example allow a teacher of the Hadith and other books 100 bighas mere or less; and though such a man might have held long possession of a greater area, the Shahk would take it away. But to men of no repute, even to Hindus, he would grant lands. Thus learning and learned men fell daily in estimation. Even in the hall of audience the shahk used to insult great Amirs and even courtiers, who endured it in order to help poor suppliants. Never by any emperor had such absolute power been given to any Sadir. Once Shakh Abd-un-Nabi told Akbar that a certain Musafir had nine wives, but on another occasion when the emperor asked him how many wives a man could marry, he gave a different answer and so annoyed the emperor that he never forgot it. In 997 H. Shahk Abd-un-Nabi and the Makhdum-ul-Mulk tempted mankind by suggesting that the Qura's was a forgery, by casting doubts on the authority of the prophets and unmasking the existence of demons, angels, all mysteries, signs and miracles. The strength of the sect was the envy of the Makhdum-ul-Mulk and others, he lost the emperor's favour. But perhaps the chief reason of his fall was the execution of a Brahman. In 998 H. Shahk Abd-un-Nabi and his army the Makhdum-ul-Mulk were banished to Mecca. This was the post of Sadir being conferred on Sultan Khwaja. In 999 H. they returned to Gujrat, where the Makhdum-ul-Mulk died at Ahmadshah. Shahk Abd-un-Nabi went to Fathpur and tried to regain his former position but he used such rude language that the emperor struck him in the face. He had apparently been given Rs. 7000 before he went to Mecca and seems to have been unable to account for it on his return, so he was handed over to Rajput Nadar Mal and imprisoned like a defaulting tax-gatherer and the historian adds that one night a mob strangled him. This took place in 991 H. (op. cit., Lahore, II. p. 70, Persian text, II, pp. 294, Lahore, pp. 297-8, 231, 281, Fars. Text, II, pp. 276, 611 and 83.

6. In 994 H. Sultan Khwaja (Abdul Aziz, son of Khwaja Khawand Mahmond) was appointed Mir Haji and given six 'jaddas' of revenue to distribute among the deserving poor of Mecca and Medina and build a 'khalq' in the sacred precincts. He returned in 996 H. bringing back Arab horses, Abyssinian slaves, and other presents for the emperor, who made him Sadir of all Hindustan with the rank of 1900. A disciple of the emperor, he died in 993 H. and was buried in Fathpur: fort. Akbar bestowed his daughter in marriage on his son the prince. Daulat: Musulakat-ul-Nadsil, Lahore, II, pp. 247 and 270, and Nastsir-ul-Durrani, II, pp. 279-81.

7. In 990 H. Mir Fatullah of Shiraz who in theology, mathematics, physics and all sciences, both logical and traditional, and in Talbees, incantations and discovering treason was unrivalled in that age, in obedience to a fatwaa, left Agra Khan to the Dowlah and came to Fathpur. The Khan Khanan and Hukam Abdul Pathi by imperial command met him, and brought him to the presence. He was made Sadir, but his only duty was to confiscate the lands of the poor. When the emperor learnt that he had been a pupil of Mir Ghulam-1 'All, Master of Shiraz, who was now too strict in religion, he fancied that he would gladly accept his schemes, but Faithullah was so stanch to the extent that even in the hall of State he said the Shah's prayers with perfect composure, a thing so one does would have dared to do. His Majesty, therefore, dismissed him as a bigot, banished him at his request, and married his daughter to Musaffar Khan, associating him in the guardianship with Rajput Toder Mal. Mir Fatullah also taught the Amir's children. He also accompanied the emperor in the chase. In 993 H. Akbar gave Shah (afterwards Mir) Fatullah the title of Azad-ul-dinlat and a present of Rs. 5000, appointing him sadir-in-chief of Hindustan, but posted him to the Deccan. He was accompanied by Ramali Shiraz, remained at the capital, and to bring to court the backland 'ajamdees', some of whom were still left, scattered here and there. Under him the sadarato reached its zenith, but by degrees things came to such a pass that Shah Fatullah, for all his pomp, could not grant 3 bighas of land. Nay, after the withdrawal of the grants the very soil became the haunt of wild beasts instead of 'ajamdees' and husbandmen. In 995 H. Akbar sent Azad-ul-Dinlat from the Court to Malwa, in 997 H. he was sent to govern Barmer and in 998 H. he received Basawar in pajirat, with all his charity lands. In 997 H. Asuf-ul-Sabah Khan, a hill near a city of that province: Musulakat-ul-Nadsil, Lahore, II, pp. 292-3, 614, 372, 279, and 881.
6. Sadr Jahān, whose name coincided with his title. He had been Musti-i-mawlāh-i-mahrus and continued to serve under Jahāngir.

Another Sadr was Manīnān Abdul Bāqi, of unknown date. Shaikh Ghadālī began the resumption of the endowments, but Abdunnabi was invested with wide discretionary powers and made grants lavishly though, if his detractors are to be believed, capriciously until his downfall. Under Sultān Khwāja who had adopted the Divine Faith of Akbar, matters took a very different course, the lands were steadily withdrawn and as the emperor inquired personally into all of them the power of the Sadr was completely broken and many Muhammadan families were utterly ruined.

In 939 H. Akbar again entrusted the Punjab to Said Khan, Bājā Bhagwān Dās, and Mān Singh. To investigate the management of grants in the province, he appointed a Sadr to each Doab, viz. Mullās Ḥašdād of Amroha, Sāeri the poet, Ḥašdād Nabāwī of Sultānpur, and Shah Muhammad of Shāhābād. The first two were remarkable for their goodness and the last two for their badness. He also appointed Shaikh Faizi Sadr of a Doab (probably that between the Satlej and Beas). But Hakim Humām and Hakim Abdul Fath, the Saders of the capital, he sent beyond the Ganges.

Akbar presumably conducted ecclesiastical business in much the same way as his successors, for instance Shah Jahān, of whom it is recorded that after the emperor had disposed of purely administrative business the chief Sadr reported to him any important point in the despatches received from the provincial Saders. He also brought to his notice cases of needy scholars, Sāyids, Shaikhs and holy men and obtained grants of money for them.

Nevertheless Akbar’s toleration of other creeds and his measures against the holders of religious grants did not alienate all Muhammadan sympathy from him. On the contrary several of the highest ecclesiastical officials in the empire in 937 H. signed a document declaring the superiority of the Imām-i-ādil or just leader over the mujtahid.

Besides those there were provincial Sadr-i-jus in each Sābah under the (direct?) orders of the Sadr-i-Jahān, Sadr-i-Kul or Sadr-i-Sadār as he was also called. The Sadr-i-Jahān often wielded great power, e.g. Abdunnabi had two sons put to death for heresy; ib., III, 271.

Sadr Jahān, mufī of the imperial dominions, who had been appointed to a commandery of 1000, joined the Divine Faith, as did also his two faithful sons in 904 H.: Manṣūhab-ut-Tawārīkh, 11, p. 413.

* Ibid., III, pp. 273-4 and 270. These grants were designated ’āqas, and the holders ’āqādār. The former word is still found as a place-name in the Punjab, e.g. in Hoshiār.


* Sarkar, Aneesahs of Aurangzeb, p. 169. Abd Khan was Sadr of Aurangzeb’s reign: ib., p. 90.

* Manṣūhab-ut-Tawārīkh, 11, pp. 165-6. This document was signed, not without much debate and many mental reservations, by Qadi Jalāl-ad-Din of Mullān, Qadi-n-qazāt, Abdunnabi, Sadr Jahān as mufī of the empire and others.
This document made Akbar supreme head of the faith and was soon followed by the attempt of Haji Ibrahim of Sirhind, who is said to have translated the Atharva Veda, to adduce proofs that the emperor was the Sâni-b-i-Zamân, or ‘Man of the Age’, a title frequently given to the Imam Mahdi, who was to reconcile the 72 sects of Islam, and in 988 H. this movement received some support from the learned. Among Muslim doctors who are mentioned as having influenced Akbar’s conduct is Shaikh Tâj-ud-Dîn of Delhi, son of Shaikh Zakariya of Ajodhan and a disciple of Shaikh Zamân of Pûntîpat. Tâj-ud-Dîn was styled Tâj-ul-Arifîn, or crown of the Sûfis, and the emperor listened whole nights to his ‘Sûfî trîdes’ according to Al-Budâni.

Muhammad Akram was appointed Qâzi of the imperial court in 1698 and died in 1709.

But tolerant as Akbar was of religious convictions he persecuted doubtless in self-defence and in the interests of toleration itself, many learned men and lawyers. The ulama as a class appear to have come in for very severe treatment and many Shaikhs and the aqîf were sent to Qandahâr and elsewhere to be exchanged for horses. The sect of the Ilahis met with similar treatment.

The story of Dârâ Shikoh may now be read in J. N. Sarkar’s History of Aurangzeb and his place in literature in Pandit Sheo Narain’s paper. In the Saif-ul-Aulîa he calls himself a Hâfîz and his poetical name was Qâdiri, but it is not certain that he belonged to that or any other particular sect or order. His views were exceedingly broad and liberal and though he seems to have been initiated into the Qâdiri order by Muhammad Shah Tisân-ullah in 1049 H., he may have been influenced by political motives to adopt a vague Sûfism which would win him support from the Hindus without alienating the more moderate Muhammadans. However this may be, many folktales recall his Hindu leanings, and his dialogues with Bâba Lâl show that

1 Mushakkhat-ul-Tadristh, pp. 189 and 193.

9 ib. p. 100. The Mushakkhat-ul-Tadristh, Lowe, II, p. 295 (Persian text, pp. 296-7) ascribes this incident to 990 H. and adds that Khâji Muhammad, the Pardis, ‘the heretic of Jâfrâni’, brought a pamphlet by some of the shari’as of Mecca, which quoted a tradition that the earth would exist for 7000 years, and that period was now over the promised Mahdi would soon appear. ‘Many others also produced such pamphlets and all this made the emperor the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else (of God)’.

10 ib., p. 181. Shaikh Zamân was in Sûfism and pantheism second only to Shaikh Imâ-Allah. He was the author of one commentary on the Zawi’ and of another comprehensive one on the Mushka-ul-Asrâh.

11 Sarkar, op. cit., p. 142. The kind of question that was referred to the aamîs is illustrated by an incident of Aurangzeb’s reign. Some Hindus were taken prisoners at the siege of Farûkhabad and the emperor directed the Court Qâzi, Muhammad Akram, to investigate the question with the help of the aamîs. He reported that under the canon ‘he they could be released if they accepted Islam—but that the Muslims taken should be imprisoned for 3 years; 45, p. 141. But he soon reviewed his decision in the light of the Fath-e-Ahmî and the prisoners were impartially executed. The function of aamîs was to examine the law and assist the Qâzi by supplying him with fatwa or decisions: p. 142.


13 Two vols., Calcutta, 1912.

they are founded on fact. Though specially fond of Lahore, his influence was felt farther afield, and the shrine of Jati Abdal or the chaste Abdal at Rumpur in Kâbrwâlâ tahsil, Multân, was founded by one of his servants. No woman is admitted into this shrine.\footnote{\textit{Munt-\textit{u} Gazetteer}, p. 22.}

The austere orthodoxy of Aurangzeb found no nobler field for its activity than the reformation of abuses within the fold of Islâm itself. He showed much self-restraint in the exercise of his despotic powers, but his firmness in carrying out the measures, which he considered necessary, was beyond all praise. He endowed learned men and professors but was apparently enabled to prevent the abuses rife under Akbar. While he observed the Shaflan benets\footnote{E. H. I., VII, p. 158.} he recognised in legal matters the authority of the Hanâfi School and caused a digest of the conflicting rulings of the \\textit{qâdis} and \textit{muftis}, which had been delivered without any authority, to be drawn up by a commission under Shâhâk Nizâm. As its members were well paid, this commission cost about two \textit{lakhs} of rupees.\footnote{\textit{Ib.}, pp. 159-60.}

The \textit{Fatâwa-i-Ahmâr}, which is known at Mecca as a \textit{Fatwa-i-Hind}, was composed of extracts in Arabic from several collections of \textit{fatâwas} of older date and also from other legal treatises of a more abstract character by writers of the Hanâfi School. It was commenced in the 11th year of Aurangzeb’s reign (1670 A.D.) and was completed before his death.\footnote{\textit{Ib.}, op. cit., p. 101. Does this account for the existence of a Chela sect among the Siakhs, Vol. III, p. 410.} Sarkâr describes it as a mere compilation though it cost nearly two \textit{lakhs} of rupees.\footnote{\textit{Ib.}, op. cit., p. 101. Does this account for the existence of a Chela sect among the Siakhs, Vol. III, p. 410.}

That writer adds that in the same year the four degrees of devotion to His Majesty were defined. They consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the emperor property, life, honour and religion. Whosoever sacrificed one of these four won a degree. The courtiers put down their names as faithful disciples of the throne.\footnote{\textit{Ib.}, op. cit., p. 101. Does this account for the existence of a Chela sect among the Siakhs, Vol. III, p. 410.}

Aurangzeb changed the title of the imperial slaves from \textit{ghulâm} to \textit{chela} because he considered it an act of impious presumption for one man to call another \textit{ghulâm}, men being slaves of God alone.\footnote{\textit{Muntakhab-al-Tawdikh}, Loree, II, p. 289. Persian text. II, p. 291.}

In 1680 the emperor re-imposed the \textit{jizya}, a measure which led to a commotion at Delhi. The \textit{Muntakhab-al-Lubâb} implies that it was imposed to curb the infidels, \textit{viz.} the Satnâmâs, who had broken out just before. But the \textit{Mu\'âdir} places that outbreak five years before the re-imposition.\footnote{\textit{Ib.}, p. 479.}

It was again abolished in the brief reign of Abul Barakât (1719).\footnote{\textit{Ib.}}
Muhammadan Theology.

No trace seems to exist in the Punjab of the kisba jurisdiction, though Sarkar cites an order of Aurangzeb reprobating the Prince Muhammad Azam Shâh for taking upon himself the functions of the mukhtasib or 'censor of morals.' The mukhtasib exercised quasi-judicial functions of a very delicate and important kind.

Sirhind was a considerable centre of Muhammadan learning during the Mughal period. It must have possessed a college, for Shaikh Abdulla, surnamed Miân, taught there, one of his pupils being Shaikh Muhammad Bakâ, author of the Mirâd-i-Âlam and a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad of Sirhind.

Sirhind was a wealthy town, learned and religious men in great numbers residing there when it was sacked by the Sikhs under Banda in 1708.

Sialkot also held some position in the learned world, for Chulp Chief Abdul, son of the celebrated Maulâna Abdul Hakim of Sialkot, was employed to translate the Fateh-i-Alamgîr into Persian.

Notwithstanding the recent sack of Sirhind by the Sikhs Lahore was in 1121 H. the scene of a riot caused by an imperial order that the word 'heir' should be inserted among the attributes of All in the kisba. Against this innovation Jân Muhammad and Háji Yâr Muhammad, two of the most eminent scholars in the city, protested and after other more violent protests had been ignored the khasib of the mosque was stabbed by a Tûrâni Mughal and finished off by the mob in the forecourt of the mosque. Apparently the imperial order implied a claim by the emperor to be styled or regarded as the Khalifa. Háji Yâr Muhammad stoutly opposed the innovation in an audience at Delhi also and though the form used in the reign of Aurangzeb was eventually restored the Háji and two other learned men were sent to a fortress.

Islamic Theology.

In order to understand the present position of Islam in the Punjab, the condition of its institutions, and its aspirations, a sketch, however brief of its theological history is indispensable. The constitutional history of Islam has been that of a conflict between two principles, the authority of the Qurân and the various influences which sought to modify it. The contribution made by the Prophet to Islam was legislation pure and simple. Since his death there has been no legislation properly so-called, but only interpretation of the Qurân. This is the more momentous in that the sphere of law is much wider in Islam than it has ever been with western nations. Passing over the various sources,

Sarkar, op. cit. p. 70. Under Aurangzeb, at any rate, beside the qadi or judges of canon law, adil or judges of common law were also appointed, but the emperor himself was the fountain of justice and the highest court of appeal. He took the law from the alim or canon-lawyers.

2 B. H. I., VII, p. 158.
3 Ib., VII, p. 415.
4 Ib., p. 160.
5 Ib., VII, p. 431.
7 Throughout this sub-section D. B. Macdonald's Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory (London, 1908) has been drawn upon freely.
such as the ḥadīth or tradition, which were drawn up to interpret, amplify and modify the Qur'ān we find four great legal schools developing in succession. Of these the first was that of Abu Hanifa, the first teacher to leave behind him a systematic body of teaching and a missionary school of pupils. A Persian by race he does not seem to have held office as a judge or to have practised law, but to have been a philosophical jurist. Finding that the law of the desert not only failed to apply to town and agricultural life but was even directly mischievous, he reduced to a definite principle the consideration of local conditions under the formula of istilahā or 'holding for better.' Although his system was never reduced to a code and was vehemently attacked by his opponents it was perfected by his pupils and their successors and has withstood all attacks. It is the leading one of the four existing schools and prevails over all northern India. Abu Hanifa died in 782 A.D., and 29 years later died Mālik ibn Anas who had given form to the historical school of Madīna. While Mālik relied more upon tradition and took refuge less frequently in opinion, he accepted the principle of istilāh or 'public advantage' with clearness. The result was that it is not easy to make much practical distinction between his school and that of Abu Hanifa, and it had little influence in the east.

We next pass from simple development to development through conflict. Hitherto dissenison had only covered points of detail. Now it touched a vital question of principle. The traditionists said that law should be based solely on the Qur'ān and tradition. The modernists contended that it was better to work out a legal system by logic and the necessities of the case. Between these extremists Ash-Shaftī (died 819 A.D.) struck out a middle course. An absolutely authentic tradition he regarded as of equally divine authority with the Qur'ān, but he recognised also as inevitable the maintenance of usages which had grown up in individual life, in the constitution of the State, and in the rules and decisions of the courts. To prevent the overthrow of this established order of things Ash-Shaftī erected the theory of ẓamān or agreement, already adumbrated by Mālik, into a principle, and taught that whatever the community of Islam has agreed upon is of God. But he also accepted qiyās (analogy) as a guide and thus gave elasticity to his system. Ash-Shaftī is one of the greatest figures in the history of law and with him closes the great development of Muhammadan jurisprudence. But he has had little influence over the development of law in the Punjab. His doctrines are only professed by a few depressed tribes like the Kharias as an excuse for eating the flesh of unclean animals.

Against Ash-Shaftī's teaching the principal revolt was headed by his own pupil Dādūd-az-Zāhiri, 'David the literalist', and he founded a school which lasted for centuries and had important historical and theological consequences, though it was never acknowledged as a regular school of Moslem law. The dignity of the fourth school was reserved for that of Ahmad ibn Hanbal, a theologian of the first rank, but not a lawyer, who minimised agreement, rejected analogy and favoured literal interpretation. His school was not progressive and has had little influence, if any, on the Punjab, unless we except the All-i-hadis of

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\* Lit. 'approving, praising'... or 'considering as a favour'; Catafago.
modern times. Ahmad bin Hanbal died in 855 A. D.

The present position then throughout the Moslem world is that besides the codices of Canon or theoretical law there is an accepted and authoritative body of statutes (qasas) promulgated by secular authority. How far this system ever applied to India it is difficult to say.

The above account omits any mention of Shi'ite and Ibadite laws. The latter has had no influence on the Punjab as far as can be seen. The Shi'a legal system is based on the authority of the Hidden Imam. They utterly reject the idea of co-ordinate schools of law, and to the doctrine of istihlah or 'variability' under local conditions they oppose his authority. They still have mustahids, divines and legists, who have a right to form opinions of their own, can expound the original sources at first hand and claim the unquestioning assent of their disciples. But in these provinces, even among so strictly Shi'a a tribe as the Turis, the office of mustahid is either in abeyance or not disclosed.

So far we have dealt with law as a branch of theology, a perfectly legitimate method in an account of Moslem religious development. Its purely theological history can only be dealt with here cursorily. The two earliest schools of theological thought were the Murtujites and Qadarites. The former postponed judgment until it is pronounced by God on the Day of Judgment. Their principal contribution to theology is the doctrine that faith and faith alone saved, and as a party their doctrine that the good of the Moslem community required obedience to the rule of the time, even though his personal unworthiness were plain, must have had important consequences throughout Islam. The sect with which we are more nearly concerned is that of the Qadarites. Deriving its name from the tenet that a man possessed qadhr or 'power' over his actions, it disappeared as a sect much earlier, it would seem, than the Murtujites, but its teaching was destined to have far-reaching results. The story of its founding connects with the outstanding figure of Al-Hasan-al-Basri, though he was not its originator, and its principal exponents were a disciple of his called Wasil ibn-i-Atas and his disciple in the second generation Abu-Husain Muhammad-ul-Ahla. These founded the sect of the Mu'tazilis or Secessionists, from an expression used by Al-Hasan-al-Basri himself. Wasil accepted the doctrines of qadhr and of faith as sufficient for salvation, but he taught that if a believer (maw'is) died unrepentant of great sin he went to hell but after a time would be permitted to enter heaven. Abu Husain further developed the doctrine of qadhr. Holding that in this world man was endowed with free-will, he taught that in the next all changes were predestined. Further he rejected the evidence of tradition for things connected with alghab, the unseen world, and taught that it

1 MacDonald, op. cit., p. 125, says: 'Practically only the Wahhabites in Central Arabia are Hanbalites', but as literalists the Ahl-i-Hadis wherever they may be found must accept or be influenced by Hanbalite doctrine.

2 Died 131 H. Others say that Amr-bin-Ubaid was the pupil of Al-Basri who ascended from his teachings. He died in 144 H. For a sketch of Basri's life and teachings see Cluny Field, Mystics and Saints of Islam, p. 32ff.

3 The place given to dreams in Moslem works on and means of spiritual reunion with God has puzzled some writers; e.g. Major J. Stophan in his translation of the Hadith.

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was not to be accepted unless among the witnesses to them there were one at least of the People of Paradise or Friends of God, some of whom, he taught, were always in the world. These are the *aiwâd whose existence in the Punjab is still an important article of faith and who will be described later.

This period and the one which followed it was one of extremely acute theological speculation. How far it was due to contact with Greek thought it is impossible to gauge, but the times were the golden age of Muslim science and of broad-minded toleration. But the Mutazilite ascendancy if great was destined to be short-lived. Its chief opponent was the jurist Ahmad ibn Hanbal, who staunchly maintained the authority of tradition (ṣaḥīḥ) in theology as against reason (qiyās) as he had done in law. Its decline was followed by a period of scholasticism which in turn declined, even in the writings of the devout and versatile Al-Fârâbî into encyclopedism.

We now come to what Macdonald calls the great mystery of Muslim history, the Fatimid movement, which certainly appears to have been one which favoured progress and enlightenment. From the earliest times the family of the Prophet had unquestionably fostered science. Obscure though the historical material may be it is amply sufficient to prove that the movement appealed largely to the educated and enlightened elements in Islam. Closely allied with the movement and with Al-Fârâbî was the semi-secret society of the Ikhwan-as-safâ which flourished for a brief period at Basra in the middle of the 4th century of the Hijra. Its methods resembled closely those of the Ismailians or Assassins. Its leaders raised difficulties and suggested serious questionings, and it is possible that its elevated eclecticism was the real doctrine of the Fatimids, the Ismailians, the Qarmatians and the Druses. Another eclecetic sect, but based on very different principles, was that of the Qarmatites, of which Mahmûd of Ghazni was an adherent. Murjiîtes in that they held faith to be only acknowledged with the tongue, the Qarmites took the *Qur'an al-Hâdiqat of Hakîm Ablî 'Ltdab Madjid Sannâ of Ghazna' says: "A portion of the book (pp. 51-6) is, curiously, devoted to the interpretation of dreams; after which the author treats of the incomparability of the two worlds, again of the abandonment of earth and self, and of the attainment of the utmost degree of self-satisfaction (pp. 56-8)"—see p. 243 of the Introduction. Sannâ's chain of thought is perfectly logical as dreams are revelations or communications from the 'invisible world'. Ibn Khaldûn writes on the 'Science of the interpretation of dreams' after his description of Sufism (De Stane, Les Prodigues d'Ibn Khaldûn, III, pp. 114 ff., Paris, 1862). Both writers treat the interpretation of visions as a science complete in itself. A cook means great riches, just as a butcher means that one's affairs are ruined. A physician is pain and sickness, especially to one who is wretched and needy. The tailor is the man in virtue of whose troubles and afflictions are all changed to good fortunes ; and so on with every thing and person that may be dreamt of. The unseen world has its pir and the *dashâq-shâ is a feature in countless legends of saints.

1 Op. cit., p. 185. On p. 106 he points out that Al-Ma'mûn had combined the establishment of a great university at Baghîf with a favouring of the Abûs and the Fatimids in Cairo used all their influence for the advancement of learning. The obscurity and paucity of the historical data are doubtless due to the fact that most of it perished with the downfall of the Fatimids and their kindred dynasties.

2 Founded by Abu Abdullah ibn Karran, an ascetic of Seistan, who died in 256 H. 969 A. D.
in its most literal sense.\(^1\)

By this time the doctrine of \textit{ka\textashright f}, ‘revelation’, the unveiling of the mysteries which supplemented tradition and reason—\textit{na\textashright g}l and \textit{\textashright a\textashright q}l—had been greatly expanded and developed on two sides, an ascetic and a speculative. As regards the Punjab the former was destined to be the more important. Although there is no monkery in \textit{I\textashright s\textashright l\textashright a\textashright m}, it was influenced from the earliest times by the \textit{ka\textashright f}i\textashright s, or reclusees of pre-Muhammadan Arabia and the \textit{\textashright a\textashright f\textashright a\textashright h\textashright a\textashright s}, or ‘wanderers’ and \textit{\textashright a\textashright h\textashright a\textashright b\textashright a\textashright s} or monks of Christianity and other creeds. Their Muslim imitators were called Sufi\textashright s, \textit{\textashright a\textashright h\textashright a\textashright b\textashright a\textashright s} (ascetics), \textit{\textashright a\textashright h\textashright a\textashright b\textashright i\textashright s} (devotees) and \textit{\textashright a\textashright h\textashright a\textashright b\textashright i\textashright s} or saints, but these terms had also special significance as will be seen later. With the accession of the Abbasside in 750 A.D. came a development of asceticism. The old believers found an outlet in the contemplative life, withdrew from the world and would have nothing to do with its rulers.\(^8\) This spirit has unfortunately survived to the present day and lends some of the finest characters in \textit{I\textashright s\textashright l\textashright a\textashright m} to stand rigidly aloof from civil life. The mystics of \textit{I\textashright s\textashright l\textashright a\textashright m} are numerous and only a few of their names can be barely mentioned here. One of the earliest was Ibr\textashright a\textashright h ibn Adham, a wanderer of royal blood who drifted from Balkh to Basra and Mecca.\(^2\) Another, Al Fad\textashright d\textashright i\textashright l ibn Iy\textashright a\textashright z, was a native of Khor\textashright a\textashright s\textashright n.\(^4\) These earlier ascetics were contemplative quietists. But ecstatic mysticism soon displaced quietism. The famous Ma\textashright r\textashright u\textashright f al Karkh\textashright i adopted similes from human love and earthly wine and his greater disciple Sari-as-Saqati\(^5\) followed him. The latter is also credited with the first use of the term \textit{tas\textashright h\textashright i\textashright d} to denote union of the soul with God.

But perhaps the greatest name in early Sufism is that of Al-Junaid,\(^7\) on whom no shadow of heresy ever fell. Ash-Shibi\textashright s was one of his disciples and in his verses the vocabulary of amorous intercourse with God is fully developed. The last of this group was Abu Talib al-Makki.\(^9\) The earlier Sufi\textashright s had fled into the wilderness from the wrath to come, and wandering singly or in companies was the special sign of the true Sufi. But they soon began to gather in little circles of disciples around a venerated Shaikh or prior, and fraternities began to form under masters like al-Junaid or as-Saqati. Monasteries were formed later, but as early as 200 H. traces of such an institution are found in Khor\textashright a\textashright s\textashright n. The organization of these institutions followed later.

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1 Macdonald (op. cit., p. 171) speaks of the Karanites movement as a frank recall to the crudest anthropomorphism, but it must not be forgotten that under the Ghazavides Ghar\textashright i\textashright s was a brilliant centre of learning and culture.

2 Macdonald, pp. 174-5.

3 Died in 161 H. A long poem current in the Jumna valley describes Adham \textit{fag\textashright i\textashright s} and his marriage with a king’s daughter. It doubtless preserves a tradition of this mystic. For a sketch of his teaching see Field, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 36 ff. His story recalls the renunciation of Buddhis, and he may have been influenced by Gnostic doctrines; Nicholson, \textit{The Mystics of Islam}, pp. 14 and 15.

4 Died in 357 H. For a sketch of his teaching see Field, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 46 ff.

5 Died in 300 H. Karkh is a suburb of Baghdad.

6 Died in 297 H.

7 Died in 294 H.

8 Died in 284 H.

9 Nicholson gives many details concerning him; \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 34-5.

10 Died in 286 H.
The Sufis provoked orthodox criticism less by their theological speculations, of which Islam has generally been remarkably tolerant, than by their mode of life. Their introspective practices seem to have evoked little condemnation. But their prayer-meetings or sikhs were fiercely attacked by the orthodox as opposed to recognised public worship. The Sufi principle of takabbat or dependence upon God was also reprobated, and even the more sober Sufis approved the principle of kash or industry, citing the example of the husbandman who first casts his seed into the ground and then trusts in God.

Meanwhile the speculative, theological side of Sufism had also made headway and when it gained the upper hand siddiq (ascetic) and Sufi were no longer convertible terms. This movement roused more bitter hostility than the other in cases where its exponent was suspected of political leanings towards the house of Ali. Abu Yazid al-Bistāmī in spite of his pantheistic leanings died unpersecuted in 361 H., but al-Hallāj, the cotton-carder, a disciple of al-Junaid, was put to death with great cruelty in 390 H. What his real views and aims were it is impossible to say. In spite of his assertion: 'I am the Truth,' he was defended by the great doctor al-Ghazzâli who upheld his orthodoxy, while lamenting some incautious phrases used by him.

To the Sufis he is a patron saint and martyr who represents the spirit of revolt against formalism and dogmatic scholasticism.

The Islamic hierarchy.

The office of Qāzi-al-quizāt or head of the Qāzīs (judges), also known as Sadr-d-Jahām, appears to have been one of considerable antiquity. It was an established office under the latter style at Ghazni, and at Firuzkoh under the Ghorian Sultāns. Known also as Dehli, as the

There is a striking resemblance between the Sufis, seeking by patient introspection to see the actual light of God's presence in their hearts, and the Greek monks in Athens, sitting solitary in their cells and seeking the divine.

For Abu Yazid al-Bistāmī (Bayazid Bustamī) see ibrā, p. 540. See also Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 17 and passim.

For a sketch of (Husain ibn) Mansur Hallāj see Field, op. cit., pp. 48 ff. His teaching was from the Mevlevi standpoint a heresy of the most heinous, for he preached a doctrine of personal dellusion, said to Have, 'I am God.' He held that as the humanity (nada', God comprised the whole bodily and spiritual nature of man, God's habitation, divinity' could not unite with that nature except by means of an incarnation or an infusion (khālid) of the divine spirit. The Huṭūs, who believe in incarnation, are repudiated by the Sufis in general quite as vehemently as by orthodox Moslems: Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 150-1. The sofe of Hallāj was seen running behind him in the shape of a dog (ib., p. 40), but such an idea was not peculiar to him. His apologists have denied that his words have the meanings attributed to him.

For a sketch of al-Ghazzâli see Field, op. cit., pp. 106 ff. He was a great exponent of "mysticism and anticipated Jalâl-ud-dīn Rūmî's teaching that this is the best of all possible worlds; evil being a part of the divine order and harmony; Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 54, 45 and 96.

T. N., p. 3, § 9. At Cairo the dignity of grand-master of the lodge, al-î-šaš, was frequently combined with that of qāzi-al-quizāt or chief justiciar. Von Hammer gives the following classification of the degrees of the Assassins:

Shāhḥaḳ, grand-master.
Dāi-al-khalī, grand prior, or the dāi-al-kirbat, three in number who ruled the three provinces of the Assassins.
Dāi, master, or prior, and fully initiated.
Kashāḳ, fellow, in process of initiation, who were clothed in white with red insignia.
Fīdat, ṭāt, agent or devoted one, or the young men employed to carry out secret murders who were intoxicated with hashish.
Jasāk, lay brother or aspirant. History of the Assassins, pp. 79 and 80. But dāi appears to have been synonymous with dāshāf and ṭāt (Gaṭe) : p. 108.
The two classes of priests.

Sadr-al-Islám, it was the principal court of justice and lawyers and learned men, whether inhabitants of the country or foreigners, were under its inspection. The Shaikh-ul-Islám, corresponding to the western Shaikh-nesh-Shuyukh, had similar jurisdiction over all faqirs, native or foreign.¹

The name of the earliest holder of the office of chief Qázi is not known.

At the time of the accession of Altamah, it was held by Waṣīth-ud-Din Kásání who, with the lawyers, first took the oath of allegiance to him.² A later holder of the office was the chief Qázi of Hind and Sind, Kamál-ud-Din Muhammad, son of Búrhan-ud-Din, of Ghazní, who occupied it under Muhammad Tughlaq.³

In Peshawar, if anywhere, one would expect to find the Muhammad priesthood organised on regular lines. Bearing in mind that the people of this district are nearly all Sunnis and the Afghánis generally of the Hanafi sect it is not surprising to find the clergy fairly well organised. The mulūkhs or priests, as distinguished from the ʿstādāddr or holders of a place (ṣādān) who may or may not be devoted to religion, are the active clergy and are divided into four classes, viz., the ʿindān, the mulūkh proper, the ʿshāikh and the tābil-ud-ilām. The ʿindān is merely the leader of the congregation (jāmêdat) of a mosque in prayer, but he can hardly be described as the head official attached to it.⁴ Several mulūkhs are generally attached to each mosque and one of them generally succeeds to the office of ʿindān. They also act as his deputy when absent and call the ʿṣādān, but they are mostly occupied in teaching the village children. The Shaikh is one who having renounced worldly pleasures has become the disciple (murtid) of a bâzurg or saint, while the tâbil-ud-ilām is in theory a seeker after knowledge.

Alongside the regular clergy and independent of their organization is the hierarchy whose members are collectively styled ʿstādāddr, a term which implies that its holder had an ancestor who acquired the title of shurb or bâzurg by holiness or miracles in life and at death left a shrine, mosque or sacred spot as a memorial or at least a reputation for sanctity. His shrine is an ʿṣādān or ʿṣādāt. Any Mussalman may

The ʿṣāt was also called ʿṣāfī, but while the ʿṣāt corresponded to the station associated with the ʿṣāfī it corresponded to space; Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 595.

The people ranked below these degrees or formed the lowest of them.

Another series of Islamían grades was:

The Imam.

The ʿṣāfī or proof, designated by the Imam and also called ʿṣāt, or ʿṣāt. He corresponded to the grand master.

The ʿṣāsāna, corresponding to the grand prior.

The ʿṣāt, missioners.

The ʿṣāsāna or friends, corresponding to the râfik.

The muṣābbât, or deglute, corresponding to the káz-bashân.

The muṣābbât, believers, or pupils; ibid, p. 58.

¹ E. H. I, 111, pp. 275-79. According to Macdonald, op. cit., p. 118, the dignity of Shaikh-ul-Islám was first created by Sultan Muhammad II in 1453. His court stands at the head of the judges of the canon law, who have jurisdiction over marriage, divorce, inheritance, and all private and family affairs. Other courts administer the custom, wâf or ṣülûq, of the country, and the will of the ruler of the country, often expressed in statutes, qadâmas.

² P. 311.

³ P. 394.

⁴ Peshawar Gazetaller, 1897-8, p. 110.

⁵ P. 112.
become the founder of such a family of astānādār, but the Afghāns recognize four classes among them whose precedence is based on descent. First come the Sayyids, always addressed as 'Shāh' and claiming sacred descent. Next come the pirs, descendants of Afghans, addressed as hadsah and endowed with many privileges including the entry to the women's apartments. Third come the midas whose ancestors were not Afghans but samadys, enjoying similar privileges except the right of entry specified. Last come the sahibzaddas, of a somewhat lower sanctity and less numerous though more wealthy than the pirs and misāns. Practically synonymous with sahibzadda is the term khudūzadda. These terms do not denote the sect of the holder. For instance, the pir Abdul Wahab was an ahl-i-hadis by sect and was called the Manki mullah from his residence at Manki in Naushahra tahsil.6

The famous akhānad of Swat Abdul Ghafor was a Gujar who earned that title by his learning and his descendants are styled Akhānadīs or collectively Akhānad Khel. The latter term is applied to many Awais and Gujars who have little claim to the title, but who very often pretend to be Sayyids. They cannot be correctly classed as mullahs as they perform no priestly functions but cultivate land or graze cattle like Pathans. In Hazzara, however, any one who has studied the religious books of Islam appears to be styled mullah or among the Afghans tribes akhānadīs.4

Less than half a century after the Hijra the first Moslem anchorite appeared in southern Arabia. This was Avis or Uways bin Umr, called al-Karnai, from Karn his birthplace in Yemen. By command of the archangel Gabriel whom he saw in a dream Uways abandoned the world and led in the desert a life of contemplation and penitence — 639-59 H. His followers became the Awaisia or Uvaisi order, and in memory of the two teeth lost by the Prophet at the battle of Ohod Uways had all his removed and imposed on them the same sacrifice.3 In the pedigrees of the Pathans the name of a Sultan Wais or Uvais appears and this may signify their spiritual descent from this hermit.

But the mystic teachers of Islam form two great schools, according to the two-fold system of purification which they inculcate. The interiorists or Batinia, themselves sub-divided into two classes, form one school and the Zahiris or 'exteriorists' the other. The first sub-class of the former starts with the consciousness of man that he is constantly seen and observed by God. In consequence the ascetic watches his heart lest it be invaded by worldly thoughts. Thus the divine majesty displays itself to him in all its splendour and the ecstasy which its sight produces leads the mystic to the very sight of his shaikh. For the more advanced a shorter method is indicated, but it does not differ from the former in principle or results. In the second sub-class the contemplative method is more physiological and less abstract, but the object in view is the same, viz. absorption in God. To attain it the aspirant must engrave on his mind the image of his shaikh and regard it as his right shoulder. Then he must trace a line to his heart, destined to give passage to his shaikh's spirit, so that he may come and take possession.

1 Peshawar Gazetteer, pp. 145-5.
2 Hazzara Gazetteer, 1890-4, p. 59.
of that organ. By repetition the religious chief invoked absorbs the aspirant in the fulness of his being. The Zabírías instead of aiming at absorption in the Divine by quiescent aspiration to attain it by voiced prayers designed to drown the spirit in the ocean of the divine being. The most efficacious of their formulas is of course the ۱۴۴۴۴. To obtain the desired result by its recital the eyes must be closed, the lips shut; the tongue folded back against the palate and the hands held against the thighs—in the ordinary attitude of prayer. The formula is repeated while the breath is held and the head turned alternately to the left and right. All the Islamic orders have adopted one or the other of these two methods, so that all are in some degree either interiorists or exteriorists; but the NaqshbandíS allow both of them simultaneously.¹

The Shi'a tenets.—The usufl or fundamental tenets of the Shi'as or followers ² of Ali are five:—(1) the unity of God, (2) his justness, (3) the divine mission of all the prophets, of whom Muhammad is the chief, (4) to consider Ali the Khálifa and his descendants from Hasan to 'Al-Mahdí, the 12 Imáms, and (5) the resurrection. Of these the fourth has led to the greatest dissensions in Islam. It is based on the doctrine of appointment (alá'tí li bilaانس) held by the alí-Imáms as adherents of Ali and the holy children of Fátima as contrasted with the šahab al-thakír) or doctrine of election held by the khawárij Murjía, some of the MutazalíS, and a section of the ZaidíS. The Shi'a doctrines thus rest generally speaking on the absolute sanctity of the descendants of Ali to whom in consequence almost divine honours are paid: the Sunnis, while respecting the house of Ali, accord them no authority, and thus the tenets of the two great sects are irreconcilable.

Yet so deeply rooted is this belief in inherited sanctity that the Sunnis hold in theory that the Khálifa must be of the Qurísh tribe, though in practice the rule has never been observed. This doctrine of inherited sanctity is dependent on, or at least closely connected with, the belief in the metempsychosis, and has rendered it possible for the Shi'a sect to admit of many developments, so that from the cardinal tenet of the unity of God was eventually evolved a system of pantheism. This was due, probably, to the introduction of the Súfí doctrines, which occurred in the second century of the Hijra, and had been preceded even then by an earlier mysticism. The initial inspiration (hilám) is gained by repeating in absolute seclusion the name of Allah, until the utterance becomes mechanical, and then divine enlightenment ensues, as in the yóga. The esoteric teaching of the Súfís compares sensuality to ecstasy, and in this too has analogies in the Shákta practices. As an organization Súfism recognizes two grades, persons of admitted piety and acknowledged sanctity, being divided into two classes, viz.:—(1) the můjaž, or those who are authorized to establish bál'at, ³ or spiritual discipleship, and (2) the ghair-můjaž or those not

¹ Petit, op. cit., pp. 35-37.
² For a sketch of the philosophy of the Muta'ásíS see Amín All, op. cit., p. 385ff.
³ The term QadaríS was applied by their opponents to the extreme MutáásíS who held the doctrine of infatá or absolute liberty (free-will).
⁴ For a note on bál'at or self-surrender see end of this section. Latter-day Shi'ism is essentially quietist and the Núm or Khálíf Shi'as are hardly to be distinguished from the Sunnis: Muñús Gastínór, p. 119.
so authorized, who are engaged only in the medication of nafs or self. The Qur'an is valued as a divine revelation, but in practice the voice of the pir or spiritual director is substituted for it, and the murid or disciple has no further responsibility. Here again we find a resemblance to the Guru-sikh system of spiritual relationship in Sikhism.

The Shi'a sects.—The doctrine of the Imamate contained within it the germs of schism. The Imamate being a light (nur) which passes (by natural descent) from one to the other, the Imams are prophets and divine, and this heritage is inalienable. Thus the second Imam, Hasan, the eldest son of Ali, could resign his title of Khalifa, but not his Imamat which had descended to him and on his death passed by his inheritance to Hussain. Its subsequent devolution followed the natural line of descent, thus:

Ali (the 1st Imam),
  | Hasan (the 2nd Imam),
  |       | Husain (3rd) w daughter,
  | Muhammad Basir (5th).
  |    | Zaid.
  |    | Yathrib.
  | Ja'fr-ud-Sadaq (6th).
  |     | Muhammad-ibn-Abdulla, al-Nafis-as-zakia, 'the pure soul'.
  | Isma'il.
  |     | Muhammad-ul-Maktam.
  |      | Mutas Karmim (7th).
  |      | Ali-un-Riza (3rd).
  |      | Muhammad Taqi (8th).
  |      | Ali IV (9th).
  |      | Hasan Askari (11th).
  | Isma'il Qadim, or Isma'il Mahdi (12th).

In the time of Ali II, the fourth Imam, the Imamites, as we may term the Shi'as, formed themselves into a secret order, with a series of seven degrees, into each of which its votaries were formally initiated. This movement transformed the Shi'a sect or faction into a secret society, or group of societies, and had far-reaching results, though at first it appears to have been merely a measure of self-defence against the oppression of the Sunni sect. It was soon followed by the great Shi'a schism, which arose out of a dispute as to the succession to the Imamate. Ja'fr, the sixth Imam, nominated Isma'il, his eldest son, but on the latter's premature death he declared that Musa was his heir, to the exclusion of Isma'il's children. The succession to the Imamate was thus governed by the usual rules of inheritance, the uncertainty of which has so often led to fratricide and civil war in eastern empires. The claims of Isma'il were supported by one party among the Shi'as, despite the declaration of Ja'fr, and thus was founded the Ismailia sect. The other party, the Imamites, supported the claims of Musa, and this sect of the Shi'as believes that the twelfth Imam, Muhammad, is still alive, that he wanders over the earth, and is
The Isma'ilians.

The Isma'ilians.—The history of the Isma'ilians is of great interest not only in itself but also in that the tenets of the sect are still a living force in the Muhammadanism of this part of India. The sect was also called Sabi'ūn because it acknowledged seven Imāms, ending with Ja'far-μ-s-Sādiq and Ismai'); and yet it held that the Imamate descended to Ismai')s son, etc. History does not tell us what became of the children of Ismai), but their sacred character lent itself to the foundation of one of the most remarkable and important organizations known to history. The Isma'ilians were first organised by Abdullah, a native of the Persian province of Khuzistān, who retained or revived the organization of the sect into orders which had been introduced in the time of the fourth Imam. His successors however gave an entirely new character to the sect. The descendant—probably a spiritual not a natural descendant—of Abdullah the Isma'ili proclaimed himself the legitimate descendant of Ali and Fātila, and assuming the title of Al-Mahdi, usually given to the last Imam, founded the Fatimite dynasty in Egypt. His descendant Muhammad-ibn-Ismai')l indeed went a step further and accepted the doctrine that the Khalīfa was an incarnation of the invisible Imām and as such a god on earth, abandoning apparently the pretence of actual descent from Ali. To this teaching the sect of the Druses owes, in some obscure way, its origin, and the idea that the Mahdi need not necessarily be re-incarnated in a descendant of Ali was fruitful in its results, for to it may be traced the claims of various Imāms to that title. In India Shaikh Alai of Agra claimed to be Al-Mahdi and as among his disciples was Shaikh Muhārīk, the father of Abdul Faiz, the wāsir of Akbar, it is probable that that emperor was greatly influenced by Mahdīi ideas. To the same teaching may be ascribed the origin of the Bābī sect in modern Persia, whose doctrines appear not to have penetrated to India, and various other movements in the Muhammadan world.

When the fortunes of the Western or Egyptian Isma'ilians were on the wane, the sect was revived, in Syria, by Hasan Ibn Sabi'),1 who was like Umar Khayyām a companion and protege of Nizām-al-Mulk, wāsir of Alp Arslan, Seljuk. Hasan reorganized the order, which he divided into four grades, the fiāl, or 'consecrated,' rafik, dai, and

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1 His full name was Mi'māl-Dīn, Hasan, son of Ali, son of Muhammad, son of Ja'far, son of Hassain, son of Muhammad, who claimed descent from 'Abd-al-Hamād ibn Mūsā. For the first see Table of Authors, p. 11, p. 1183.

2 Other authorities say seven but Amir Ali says that the Eastern Isma'ilians (Asnamāzies or Mulhadās of Khuzistān) had four degrees. He ascribes the foundation of the Eastern Isma'ilians to Abdullah ibn Mahjūn, a Magian according to his enemies, a descendant of Ali according to his followers. Amir Ali traces his sect to the Manicheans through the Pantheists. It branched off into subsects.—(1) The Egyptian Fatimites held that Ismai')l was not the last Imam, the Imam having reappeared in Oh udziałāl-Mahdi, Abu Muhammad Abdullah, the son of Muhammad al-Habib, the last revealed Imām. (4) The Qaraqitās (Qarmatians), founded by Hamādān; pp. 303-7.
Dissenters from Shi'a tenets.

a fourth, and which became popularly known as the Hashishi, or hemp-eaters, a term soon corrupted into Assassin in the European languages. Of this order Hasan was the first Shaikh, or chief, a title somewhat unfortunately translated Grand Master, seeing that the Shaikh claimed to be—at least in the person of Muhammad Khan, the third Shaikh—an incarnation of the concealed Imam, wielding supernatural powers, and not merely the head of a militant religious order.

From their stronghold at Alamut in the Elburz the Shaikhs dominated Muhammadan Asia, by a perfectly organized system of assassination during a century and a half, until towards the close of the thirteenth century, the last Shaikh was overthrown by Hulaku Khan, the descendant of Zenghis Khan. The sect however was not exterminated, and, though it had lost its power, continued to exist, but rather as a sub-sect of the Ismailians than as an independent organization, in Iraq and the anti-Libanus. Its present head, a lineal descendant of the fourth Shaikh, is His Highness the Aga Khan of Bombay, who has a considerable following in the Punjab and the regions of the Hindu Kush.

Shi'a Dissent.

The Shi'as have however themselves suffered from dissent and dissenters from their dissent are called rauzafiz, who are also styled Zaidis. The Imamate passed, according to one branch of the Zaidis, from Ibrahim to Idris, the founder of the Idriside dynasty of Mauritania.

Other dissenting Shi'as are the ghiair-mukallalad or Rafi-ul-din, and the mukallalat. The former make movements while praying etc., and after praise of God repeat the amin aloud. These two sects do not pray together and indeed the ghiair-mukallalad, whose head-quarters are at Delhi under Nizir Husain, have a separate mosque at Bhivandi.

Lastly the Jibriyas had a preacher at Hansi in Sarai-ul-Haq—a descendant of the four Quaths. He was known by both Shi'as and Sunnis, and his followers reason away the Qur'an and the hadith and believe that they will go to Heaven however sinful they may have been.

1 Elburz, the Sasakrit Harait, would seem to have been famous for its hemp (Soma) in Vedic times: Oldenberg, Religions der Vedic, p. 178: Elburz means 'eagle's nest,' in Turk. Amr Ali describes it as 'near Kaswin in Upper Persia.'

2 The fourth Grand Master was the Abu-Zakariya-as-Salim, 'Zikr-as-Salim,' and from him the Aga Khan is descended: Sir Amr All, The Spirit of Islam, p. 313. Some authorities say he was descended from the fifth Imam.


4 Further the Zaidis split into four sub-sects:

(4) Jirdis, who deny the succession of Isa, maintaining the claims of Muhammad Na'if-as-Sakiya.

(5) Subashis, who preach a secular Imamate.

(4) Taharian, who accept as rightful the Kuldésat of Abu Bakr and Umar,

(6) Salishes, but not that of Qasa'id of Islam, pp. 294-5.

5 At one time they stretch their hands outwards, at another they fold them down, keeping the fingers straight in the direction of the Kaaba.

6 The Jabarites are a very ancient sect in Islam. They were rigid adherents of the doctrine of predestination: Amr All, ap. cit., pp. 341-2. They had three sects, and at least two off-shoots, the Sifatian, 'attributions,' and the Muslabahabas.
A priest, one Isā Qāzī, a follower of this sect in Toshām, was dismissed from his post as being unorthodox.

**The Sects and Orders in Islam.**

"It is a fairly safe rule," writes Lukach, "to measure the unorthodoxy of a Moslem sect by the extent to which it exalts Ali," but in Moslem dissent there are many varieties of belief. The Shi'as who prefer the term Imám to that of Khalīfa include many sects of which the Imāmīs may be regarded as orthodox Shi'as. They believe in a succession of 12 Imāms of whom Ali, his sons Hasan and Husain were the first and the last named's direct descendant Muhammad Abūl-Qāsim the last. But he is believed to be not dead and is destined to reappear in the last days to rule the world, for seven years with the title of Imām-ul-Mahdi or the Imám or 'Director'.

The Shi'a proper are Asna-ā-sharīas, 'duo-decennians,' as they believe in the twelve Imāms, but they are now called Shī'a or Imāmīs par excellence. At an early period they were divided into two main sects or schools, the wāli-guided by principles, and the akhīrī or traditionists. Other Shi'a sects were the Kāshānīs and Hashimīs (now extinct), the Guflīs or Ghullāt-extravagantists, really descendants of the Gnostics—and the Nusairīs who believed in the divinity of Ali while the Ishākīs, Numanīs and Khiṭābīs were anthropomorphists, believers in incarnations and the metempsychosis.

According to von Noer Mukhtār ibn-Abaid's heretical hordes followed a decorated chair said to be Ali's, and so too Umer Roshanī had Bāyazīd's bones placed in an ark and borne before him in battle etc. II, p. 169. Amir Ali saith the Roshanīs were the exact counterpart of the Illuminati of Christendom and that Bāyazīd, an Afghan of Arab extraction, acquired a taint of Manicheism from the Isma'ilīs who still flourished in the hills of Khorāsān. His later teaching was that all existing objects are but forms of the Deity, that the piyīr represented Him and that the ordinances of the law have a mystical meaning: perfection being attained through the piyīr's instructions and religious exercises, its exterior ordinances cease to be binding: numbers of Isma'ilīs are to be found in Gilgit and Hunza: op. cit., pages 314-15.

It is often said that Islam has 72 sects, but each sect asserts that all of them have gone astray and that the only true order is itself the 73rd, the fīrqa-i-najīb or party of salvation. This accords with Muhammad's prophecy that his followers would separate into 72 sects and that of these all but one, the Nājīa or 'Saved Ones', would go to hell.  

1 Lukach, *Fringes of the East*, pp. 200, 211.
3 *Ib.* p. 314. Some popular Shi'a beliefs seem to be based on their theological doctrines, e.g.—

A Shi'a if offered bread divided into four parts will not eat it, possibly because he suspects the giver of wishing to make a Sumī of him, as Sumīns believe in four Khalīfas while Shī'a's only acknowledge one: P. N. Q., I, § 238.  

Shī'a's do not eat the hare because it was originally born of a woman and they say that by washing its flesh all runs away in the water, leaving only the bones: *Ib.* II, § 239—see 1, § 136.  

*Fringes of the East*, p. 151.
The Sufis.

SUFISM.

In the belief of the orthodox Sunni sect itself the instruction imparted by the Prophet was of two kinds:—
1. Iml-i-ṣāḥir or knowledge of the rules and regulations of religion by books. Those learned in this knowledge are called mullaḥs and muḥāfiz.
2. Iml-i-bāḥis or the concentration of the mind on God by worship. Those who apply their minds in this concentration call themselves Sūfis.

The best Sūfis of one class can impart instruction according to the methods of another class also, but ordinary people should adopt the tenets of one class only.

Another definition is that:—"Those Muhammadans who follow tasawwuf, the theology of the Sūfis or contemplation, are called Sūfis."

They have four pirs as follow:
1. Imām Hasan.
2. Imām Husain.
3. Imām Hasan Basri.
4. Qumail, son of Zyād.

The principal obstacles to a clear description of the Sūfi doctrines are the fact that the term is applied generically to a number of orders and sects which differ widely in their practices and tenets, and the failure of writers on Sufism to distinguish between those bodies when describing them.

The term Sūfi is derived from ṣūf, 'wool', but this is not inconsistent with a theory that it was originally an adaptation of the Greek sophos. The term appears to have been first applied to wandering monks who wore woollen garments in imitation of the Christian rūḥis or the Arabian hādīs, a theory open to the obvious objection that wool is not proved to have been worn by either of those classes in climates where it would be a pittance to wear it, and where its use cannot have been very common.

With a vague tradition that the original order was the Sabātīa, the ancient Sabians, the Sūfis were early divided into two orders, or schools, the Hulūlīa or inspired which hold that the divine spirit enters into all who are devout, and the Ḥālijīa, or unionists who hold that the soul by union with God becomes God.5

From these two schools sprang five sub-orders, viz.—

The Wāsūlīa, 'joined' to God.
'Ashāqīsa, 'lovers' of God.
Talqānīna, 'instructed'.
Zākīna, 'penetrated'.
Wāḥidīna, 'solitary'.

"MacDonald, Hindu Theology, p. 130. E. R. Havell has called attention to the fact that the word wādān, which in Buddhist (and other) images symbolised the divine eye, literally meant 'wool'. But his explanation that the Divine Light was conceived as converging towards the centre of Buddha's forehead and so suggested a tuft of wool seems far-fetched:
The Ideals of Indian Art, pp. 50-1.

9 God is joined with every sentient being. He is as flame and the soul as charcoal.
Brown (The Dervishes, p. 55) gives all these seven orders, but calls the Wāsūlīa 'Wassulia', the Zakīa 'Zarkha', and the Wāḥidīa 'Wadhitta'."
The term Batinia, ‘esoteric’, is applied to several Sufi sects, and, according to Wilberforce Clark, to the order of the Assassins. No general doctrine corresponds to this name, each sect having tenets of its own, but some of the ideas belonging to it recall the system of Avicenna. All that proceeds from truth will be united in the universal soul, and all that partakes of the nature of evil will return to Satan, i.e. to nothingness. This is what sectarians call the Resurrection.

The Sufis acknowledge four stages, material or outward observance—pardakht jismânîs—

tarîqat, the path,
mîrîtât, divine knowledge or intuition,
hâqiqat, truth, and
wašt, union.

The organization of religious institutions in Islam dates from a very early period. Although in Islam is no monachism, in the 2nd year of the Hijra (i.e. 623 A.D.) 45 men of Mecca and as many of Medina joined themselves together, took an oath of fidelity to the doctrines of the Prophet, and formed a fraternity to establish community of property and to perform daily pénances. They are said to have taken the name of sah, but it is also said that that term was first employed by Abu Hâshîm, a Syrian râhid who died in 786 A.D. However this may be, during Muhammad’s lifetime Abu Bakr, afterwards the first Khilifâ, and Ali had established jumâât, ‘assemblies’, wherein vows were made and exercises practised; and in 657 A.D. Uvais-i-Karânî had established the first religious order of the greatest austerity, Abu Hâshîm appears to have built the first takhwîd, ‘convent’.

The institution of the khânjâh, a term also translated convent, is of unknown origin; but its constitution is recorded. The men of it form two parties, the travellers and the dwellers. After a stay of three days the former must seek service in the khânjâh, unless their time be spent in devotion. The dwellers are again divided into three groups, the akhlî-khidmat or servants, the akhlî-subhât or associates and the akhlî-khîlânî or recluses. The first-named are novices who do service in order to become acceptable to the men of deeds and of stages, i.e. to those who are engaged in practices and have advanced some stages on the path or way. By service they acquire fitness for ‘kinship’, i.e. admission to the next degree in the order, and thus become a slipper out of the garment of alienation and of farness, i.e. put off the garment of separation from the Divine. Abu Yâkûb, Sâsî, commend retreat (khîlânî) to the old and subhât to the young. Some convents at any rate insisted on fitness for service by outward resemblance and inward and pure desire—whereby the candidate acquired kinship with râfîa. Exclusion was inflicted as a punishment, but the seeker of the pardon

1 It was also applied to sects outside Islam, such as the Mandalites, a Manichæan sect. In Iraq the Batinists were called Qarmatians and Mandalites, in Khurasân. Th’Timâtes and Mandalîs: Encyclopædia of Islam, p. 679.
could be re-admitted on payment of a fine (gharîmat) which took the form of victuals.

Khângâhs were sometimes endowed, and sometimes not. If endowed it was the testator's wish that the income of the convent should be spent on the purposes of the lords of desire, i.e. those who have mastered their passions, and on travellers by the path (tariqat) it was unlawful to expend it on the habituated, i.e. on professional beggars, or the crowd that from bodily sin or attachment to the world had not attained to the stages of the heart, advanced, that is, along the path of spirituality. These provisions were clearly intended to secure the proper administration of waqf or trust properties and guard against abuses like those which fostered the sturdy mendicancy of the Middle Ages in Europe.

Khângâhs without an endowment were ruled by the head or if the brotherhood had no head (shaikh) it had a discretion, like a head who could direct the brethren to abandon kash and, putting them on tarâkhi, bid them rely on alms for their subsistence. To brotherhoods, not under a shaikh's headship, whose members were "of the crowd of strong and of travellers," who formed, that is to say, a body of able-bodied wandering faqirs, the latter course is commended, but weaker brotherhoods could choose either kash or mendicancy.

It is curious to observe the transformation in meaning which the term khângâh has undergone. It now means ordinarily a tomb, especially that of a pir or faqir, a saint or holy man, not necessarily one of the regular clergy. Such khângâhs become surrounded by trees as no one dare cut one down or even remove fallen wood from a faqir's grave. They also tend to become sanctuaries for property as no one will venture to steal in the vicinity of a faqir's tomb. The tomb may be merely a grave of earth, but is more often a pile of stones or bricks, with a wall to enclose the grave. As it is usual to make vows (summat) to such tombs, branches of the trees above them are often full of rags (terak) tied to the twigs; or if a specific prayer has been answered appropriate offerings are hung up, such as a cradle for a child bestowed, a halter for a stolen bullock recovered and so on. A khângâh too may itself cure disease. Thus one at Isha in Shâhpur is famous for the cure of toothache and ague. The sufferer throws cowries down at the grave and his pain does not recur for as many years as he presents cowries.

But a shrine is not necessarily a tomb and must be distinguished from it. Thus above Kathwâli in the Salt Range is a shrine to Gorra, ancestor of all the local Awâns. As he passes it an Awân vows to put up a stone there if successful in his journey and so the trees around are full of such stones.3

The adoption of the kharqa or darvish's mantle is not prescribed by the summat but only by the halâls or tradition of Umm-i-Khâlid. The kharqa is of two kinds, that of desire and that of blessing. When

1 W. Clarke translates kash by "acquisition," but it clearly means "industry" in this context; see Cattafaghi's Arabic Dict., p. 935. Industry was permissible just as it was and is to certain religious orders in Christendom. Macdonald translates kash by "gaining of daily bread by labour." 2 op. cit., p. 170.

Shahpur Gaz., 1897, p. 86.
the shaikh is convinced of the murid's desire for God he invests him with the former. The latter is bestowed upon him who with the shaikh hath a good repute. To these two some add a third, the khirga of holiness, which is bestowed when the shaikh wishes to appoint a murid his own khalifa. Thus the khirga is a mark of initiation into an order and may also be given to designate the right of its recipient to succeed the shaikh in his office.

The rules as to the colours of the khirga are elastic. The form and colour of the murid's garment depend on the shaikh's intuition. If he sees him inclined to fine raiment he makes him don the coarse khirga of grass, but if he finds him disposed to hypocrisy and ostentation he clothes him in soft silk. He forbids him any fashion or colour which he would affect. The white garment prescribed by the sufi is only for shaikhs that have gained freedom from base, the lusts of the flesh. The coloured garment is chosen for others as less time is required for its cleansing than would be taken up by white raiment, and blue is the choice of the Sufis, though black is better against defilement, because that colour is fit only for him who is sunk in the darkness of lust. In the flame of the candle one part is pure light and the other pure darkness. The place of their union appears blue and that colour is suitable to the hār of 'mystic state' of the Sufi.

Each order has moreover its distinctive khirga. Thus in Egypt the Rafis wore a black turban with a red edging at one end. The patched khirga or maraqqa'at is the outward sign that the mystic has emerged from discipline of the Path and is advancing with uncertain steps towards the Light, as when a toil-worn traveller having gained the summit of a deep gorge suddenly catches a glimpse of the sun and covers his eyes. But the traditional and more probable explanation of the patched garment ascribes it to the Prophet's mihrāj on ascension, when the angel Gabriel showed him a coffer full of garments of many colours. The Prophet took these robes and divided them among his companions who transmitted them to their heirs, thus giving rise to the Islamic practice of bestowing garments or patches of them to consecrate the bonds which unite the master to his disciples. The rending of the khirga also has a mystical significance.

Zikr is the repeating of the name of the God, the profession of His unity etc. in chorus, accompanied by certain motions of the head, hands, or whole body. It is performed near a saint's tomb, in a sepulchral maqṣid or in a private chamber, and generally on the occasion of a nativity (ma'nūd).

Most of the orders distinguish between the daily zikr or zikr-ul-aqṣīt and the solemn zikr-ul-jallūd. The former is recited silently, after each of the five daily prayers. The latter is used at ceremonies of the cult, especially at those observed on Friday. The Khalidis, a Turkish branch of the Naqshbandis, has adopted almost exclusively the zikr-ul-khās or mental and silent zikr. But the Naqshbandis

1 Petit, op. cit., p. 44.
2 Nieboer, The Mystics of Islam, p. 49.
3 Petit, op. cit., p. 44.
generally belong to the Zâhirî school and so they especially affect a deep-tuned sikr. 1

The adhâra sit cross-legged, in a circle, within which are four candles. At one end of it are the mushtidis (verse-reciters) and the player on the flute (sair). The shakih of the adhâra exclaims al Fâtiha and all recite that, the opening chapter of the Qurâan. Then begins the sikr proper. 'There is no God but God,' is chanted to different measures, first sitting then standing. Before the end of the majlis, as the whole performance is called, the adhâra ejaculate the words rapidly, turning their heads violently, shaking the whole body, and leaping.

The recitation of the whole of the Qurâan is called khatm and is performed by teâzâs. When performed after a death its merit is transferred to the soul of the deceased.

Peregrination (salâ) is commended as spiritually beneficial and the Sufis are in sympathy with Issâ (Christ) because throughout His life He was in salâ. Twelve rules are laid down for the guidance of pilgrims.

The men of this path, the path of the Sûfis, are of three grades, the mutaâduliyân or beginners, whose will is surrendered to the shakih and to whom no calamity, goods or aught else is lawful save by his desire: the mutâwassitan or middle ones, who have surrendered their will to God and who submit, as occasion demands: and the muntâduliyân or perfected who, by God's will, are absolute, what they choose being His will.

Observing retreat (kâhilwât) in the way of the Sûfis is another innovation on the sunnât, although Muhammad himself used to practise it in the caves of Hara, passing nights there in sikr and devotion. Retreat, for 40 days lifts every day a veil which keeps one separated from the hidden world. It should be observed once a year and consists in a collection of practices hostile to nafs and in austerities (riyâzât) such as eating and speaking little, shunning companionship, perseverance in sikr, denying thoughts and steadfast averted contemplation. But in the opinion of the Sûfis kâhilwât is not restricted to 40 days. The practice of kâhilwât translates into action, so to speak the renunciation of the world (âsâlát ân wântsâ), the vigil, as-sikr, and abstinence, as-sâd. Naturally it has endless variations among the different orders. 2

To a beginner it is prescribed that he should confine himself to divine precepts, the sunnât of prayer and, at other times, sikr. For a middle one assiduity in reciting the Qurâan after the performance of divine precepts is best.

The sunnât in Sûfi parlance means something whereby they may attain oneness. Hâût alludes to it in the story of Shâikh Sanû'î, a Qalandar who in the paths of wandering or apostacy held mention of the rosary of the King, in the girdle of the sunnât. Being in love with a Christian damsel he left Islâm and took to music, wine and sunshine-bathing but he put on the religious cord, 3 strove to be even

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1 Petri, op. cit., p. 53.
2 Hâût, op. cit., pp. 36-9.
3 The passage in the Dîwan (I, p. 170) is obscure. Apparently the religious girdle of a Christian order is alluded to. Shâikh Sanû'î however never abandoned the Muslim rosary of 33 beads (p. 109). Elsewhere Hâût calls the patched garment the sunnât of the way' (tareqât) II, p. 807.
as the beloved (Christian) and within the religious cord mentioned: his love (of God?). He had been influenced by the evil prayer of Ghansul-Sazam, but was brought to Islam by an invisible hand and with his beloved made a pilgrimage to Mecca.

The institution known as pir murshid in the Punjab is typical of Sufism, though it cannot be said with certainty to be confined to it. The pir is also known as murshid and corresponds to the sheikh of the Sufi. Next in order to a prophet ranks the shaykh, a term which signifies being a khalifa, a deputy or vicar whose duty it is to call men by the path of Muhammad to God. His condition is called shuyukhijyat and 15 admirable rules are laid down for his guidance in relation to his murid. He must show no greed for his property or services.

The murshid is also called, mystically, the sage or cup-bearer, the mattrib or minstrel.

The perfect murshid is termed the vintner, khammar.

The murshid of love who calleth the disciples to the path of God is called the mulla, sailor.

Jibril, Muhammad's murshid, has his mansion in Sidra, the tree of Paradise which is sometimes identified with the Taha or lotus tree (Zizyphus Lotus), but more generally with the tree of Paradise. Samiri, a sorcer of Samara, cast dust from Jibril's path into a calf of silver and gold, whereby it became alive and spoke: I. p. 311: cf. Exodus VI, 1-8.

Thus in Muzaffargah every Muhammadan has a pir, but he need not be learned or even of known piety—not indeed many are notoriously immoral. But he should have a reputation for being able to secure the objects of his murid's vows. The pir is commonly chosen by lot. The murid secures his pir's intercession by an annual offering called bukhār which is collected by the pir himself or his deputies in the most shameless way, even force being resorted to.

**Sūfī LITERATURE.**

There are hundreds of books on Sufism, in Arabic, Persian and Urdu. The most important and generally recognized are:—the Faisāl-ul-Hikam, Tafsir-ul-Qur'ān and Fatāh-ul-Makki, in Arabic, by Shāhī Shukr-ud-dīn, ibn-'Arabī; the Uṣūl, Lumaṭuha and Ruhā'īya (in Persian) by Abūl Rahmān Jāmī; the Kāshf-ul-Mahjūb by Shāhī 'Alī Hajwīrī; the Mathnawī (in Persian) by Mawlānī Rūmī; the 'Aṣwafi-ul-Malā'ūsī (in Persian) by Khwājā Shabab-ud-Dīn, Sahwārdī; the Tazkīyat-ul-Anwār, Ilāhi Nāma, Bāban Nāma, Sambhar-ul-Falā, Montaq-ul-Gilār and others (in Persian) by Shāhī Farīd-ud-Dīn Attār; the Dīwān-ul-Walā (in Arabic) by Imam Muhammad Ghazālī; the Faith-ul-Rahbāni and Fatāh-ul-Qadr (in Arabic) by Shāhī 'Abdu'l Qādir Jilānī. The Nishāqat of Hakim Samālī is also worth mentioning.

*Muzaffargah Gazetteer, 1888-9, p. 82: cf. p. 86 also. Wilberforce Clarke mentions an extreme development of the institution. An order of the Sufis called the Murtaza Shāhī make an image in clay of the murshid. This the murid keeps to prevent him from wandering and to bring him into identity with the murshid: op. cit., p. 10.
Some of those by authors who lived or live in the Punjab are given below, but it should be understood that the list is not at all exhaustive:

The *Khazinat-ul-Aṣfyād* by M. Ghulām Sarwar of Lahore, the *Qānin-i-Islāq*, the commentary on the *kāfis* of Hazrat Balla Shāh of Kasur, the *Mujawwad-i-Qānin-i-tauhid*, the *Qānin-i-Inā',* the *Qānin-i-ma'rufat,* and a lecture on Muhammadan Sufi Philosophy by H. Anwar Ali of Rohtak, the Tuhfat-ul-Asghaf, the *Gulzār-e-FAREED* and the *Kashaf-ul-mahjub.*

A monthly journal issued at Lahore is devoted specially to the subject of Sufism. Its name is the *Asmar-us-Sufiyah* and an association called the Anjuman Khuddam-us-Sul̄îyā, whose president is Sayyid Hāji Jamā'at Alf Shāh of Allpur Sayyidān in Pasrūr Tahālī, Siāhāt, also exists.


A modern historical work is the *Saur-ul-Ārifīn* by Maulāvī Ghulām Ahmad of Samhālī.

The special books of the Ḍādirī teaching are the *Guldasta-i- Karimāt* of Hazrat Shāh-i-Jilān Gha nth-i-‘Azam Mīrān Muhāy-ud-Dīn (Pir Khālib Baghīlādī): the *Manqabat* of Hazrat Mahbub-i-Subhānī the Pir Dastgīr who has about 99 names, the *Manqabat* of Hazrat Shāh-Kaungh which is greatly revered in Kashmīr, Kāshīghar and other places.

As to the Chishtīs, the only book known in Hazārā is the *Ma'juzat-i-Chishti.*

Muhammadans in general and especially the Sūfis hold that the whole world is divided into circles (wildgāt) each in charge of a living mālī or saint, called sāhib-i-wildgāt, who controls all temporal affairs therein. For instance this belief is expressly stated to prevail in the Ambala District.

The doctrine of the *sālîbah* appears to owe its origin to Abu Huzail Muhammad al-Allafti who taught that there were at all times in the world three 'Friends of God' who were protected against all greater sins and could not lie. Their words are the basis of belief and the tradition is merely a statement of what they said. The Sūfis recognized salās or women salās, but none appear to be known in the modern Punjab. The last of the Muwahidee or his disciples extended the doctrine and held the salā to be higher than the prophet, salā or rasāli. Later Islam regarded all members of a religious order as darwesh, but only those gifted by God with miraculous powers as salās. But Ash-Sha'raṇī

1 He died 266 H., and was a disciple in the second generation from Wāṣil ibn Mas'ud al-Bakrī, *Mas'udīs Chrestomathy,* p. 139.
2 *Ib.,* p. 170.
3 *Ib.,* p. 263.
4 *Ib.,* p. 268.
5 *Ib.,* pp. 273 and 281–5. He was a Calicene and died in 973 H.
developed the doctrine at length, teaching that the *waλl*i possess a certain illumination (*išrām*) which differs however from the inspiration of the prophets, so that they never reach their grade but must always walk according to the law of a prophet. They are all guided by God, whatever their role or *tařīqa* may be, but that of al-Junnād is the best. Their *kāridmāt* are true miracles and are a reward of their devout toil, but the order of nature will not be broken for any one who has not achieved more than is usual in religious knowledge and exercises. All *waλl*i stand under a regular hierarchy headed by the Qubh, yet above him in holiness stand the Companions of the Prophet. This teaching marks a re-action from that of many Sūfis who had held that the *waλl*i stood higher than even the prophets themselves. The Wahābiyya rejected the intercession of the *waλl*i with God, but for the body of the people the *waλl*i abounding in tales of their miraculous achievements still command credence.

The doctrine of the *waλl*i was however extended by various Sūfi writers on lines already familiar to us from the accounts above given of the spiritual degrees among the ISmailians. Hujwiri, the great exponent of this teaching, tells us that the saints form an invisible hierarchy at whose head is the Qubh (axis), the most eminent Sūfi of his age. He presides at their spiritual and miraculously convened parliaments. Below him stand the following grades in ascending order:

Lowest of all are the 300 *akhyār* or *good,* and the 40 *ahdāl* (substitutes) and then come the seven *a♭rār* *pious*; then four *a♭dād* (supporters) and the three *a♭qabār* or overseers. The members of this celestial hierarchy can only act by mutual consent, but it is the special task of the *a♭dād* to go round the whole world every night and if on any place their eyes do not fail, some flaw appears in it next day and they must then inform the Qubh so that by his blessing the defect may be repaired.

This is Nicholson’s account,1 but other authors give variants of it. Thus Petit describes the belief that there are always a fixed number of saints on earth, 4000 according to some, only 356 according to others. Divided into seven classes, corresponding to their degrees of holiness, these privileged beings have, after this life, access to heaven and formed by their union Ghans-ul-Alam2 or ‘refuge of the world’. At the head of the hierarchy is the Ghans-ul-Azam or ‘great refuge’, the saviour whose merits can stone for the sins of others without compromising his own salvation. No one knows him, nor does he know himself. Next to him comes his *wadif*, the Qubh, the most influential saint of his generation, the pole round which humanity revolves unceasingly. More precisely he is called the Qubh-ul-Waqt, or ‘Pole of the Age’, or Qubh-ul-Aqtūb, ‘the Pole of Poles’. Below him come the *a♭dād* or ‘pickets’, one for each of the cardinal points, with Mecca for centre. Contrasted with the *a♭dād* are the *khdīr* or ‘elect’, only seven in number but ever on their proselytizing journeys to spread the light of Islam. Petit


2 Ghans is a title of Muslim saints whose limbs in the order of their devotion fall annulled. Its literal meaning is said to be ‘redress’. Ghans-ul-Azam was a title of Abdul Qādir Ḥāmid.
translates ṣīdīl by 'changing,' because their cadre is always fixed, and as soon as one dies another takes his place. But authorities differ as to their number, some fixing it at 70, others at 40, and some at only 7. While they live chiefly in Syria the nāṣīb or 'excellent,' 70 in number, prefer Egypt, while the 800 nāṣīb or heads of groups protect the rest of Africa. Wall is a title only borne by dead saints, so that it results from a kind of popular canonization. 6

Somewhat analogous to but not apparently connected with this system of wāli is the belief in the Pir Ghāīb, regarding whom Mr. Muhammad Hamid writes:—'The Pir Ghāīb or Ghāīb Pir appears to be a name given to a class of saints whose names are not known or whose miracle it was to hide themselves from the people at some particular period of their life, or it might be that the body of the saint disappeared after his death. With the concealed Imām (Imām Mahdi), however, the Ghāīb Pir do not seem to have any connection. I know of a shrine of a Ghāīb Pir at Jāliā (Allīgarh District), whose name is not otherwise known and it is this ignorance of his name that has probably given him the epithet of Ghāīb Pir. Pir Ghāīb is the name of a place at Jullundur regarding which a remarkable legend is current. Imām Nāṣīr-ud-Dīn was a native of Nākshīb. 6 He lived from 866-945 A.D. and came to Jullundur where he miraculously restored to a widow her son, who had been buried alive beneath the walls of Jullundur as the sole means of keeping what had been built during the day from falling down at night. He afterwards converted the Jogi who had been guilty of this nefarious sacrifice. It is most meritorious to work the well near this saint's tomb during his fair and there is much rivalry among the owners of bullocks for the privilege of doing so.

The significance of this legend seems obvious. The Imām converted a people, it says, who believed in sacrificing human beings in order to supply guardian spirits to the walls of a town, saving youths from such a fate, and supplying a more efficient guardian in the Pir Ghāīb. The Imām Nāṣīr-ud-Dīn appears in the Saints of Jālāndhar as Nāṣīr-ud-Dīn Shīrāzī. To make room for the mosque erected in his memory the shrine of the Jogi Jālāndhar Nāth is said to have been pulled down—a highly probable tradition, though it is difficult to think that he was not earlier than Nāṣīr-ud-Dīn Awadhī, the preceptor of Nizām-ud-Dīn Aulīā, as Temple has suggested. 6

SūFİ ORDERS.

The Sūfis are divided into 14 orders—9 of which are Qādiria and 5 Chishtīa. In the former are included the Suhrwardi. These three, with the Naqshbandi and Naushāhi orders or sects, are spread all over India. This classification differs somewhat from that given in Volume III, p. 431, and many differences of opinion exist as to the history of the various orders, as will be noted below. But the following pedigree

2 A place said to be in Persia, but perhaps the same as Karshi in Bokhara; Purser Jullundur S., E., § 17, p. 58. But Nākshīb is the place where the veiled prophet of Khorassan performed his miracle of making moonshine.
3 Legends of the Punjab, III, pp. 165, 190.
able which traces the foundation of all the orders to natural or spiritual descendants of Ali or Abū Bakr is of some interest:

**MUHAMMAD.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Contribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abū Bakr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abu Bakar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ābdūn Wahib</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ābdūn Fardh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ābdūn Hasán</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ābdūn Qaisim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahū Bakr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ābdūn Qaisim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ābdūn Asim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ābdūn Ali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ābdūn Yusuf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ābdūn Khalīq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ābdūn Arif</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ābdūn Mahmūd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ābdūn Āli</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Kamil.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Contribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imām Ḥasan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh. Ḥasan Basri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh. Basīb Ajmi</td>
<td>(Founder of the Ajmī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh. Tafīr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh. Dādū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh. Marīf Ḥakīm</td>
<td>(Founder of the Ḥakīmī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh. Sīrī Sīqīf</td>
<td>(Founder of the Sīqīfī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Jannād</td>
<td>(Founder of the Jannādī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ḥasan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Amīr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ẓa�-al-Dīn</td>
<td>(Founder of the Subwardī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ṣājdī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ābdūn Shāfī</td>
<td>(Founder of the Ābdūnī)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sh. Ābdūn al-Gafrī.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Contribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S. Ḥasan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Amīr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Ẓaī-al-Dīn</td>
<td>(Founder of the Ẓaī-al-Dīnī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Ābdūn Qaḍīr</td>
<td>(Founder of the Qaḍīrī)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the four principal spiritual orders, descended from the Prophet, the Naqībandi descends through the Caliph Ābdūn Bakr, the Subwardī through the Caliph Ẓaī-al-Dīn, and the Ābdūnī and Qaḍīrī through the Caliph Āli. Below is given the genealogical table of the Subwardī subdiv-ision of the Ābdūnī. The names are given as spiritually descended, and are not the only ones. For example, Caliph Āli had many disciples besides the Imām Ḥasan Basri, but they have their own lines of descent and that is the case with other notables also.

**N. B.** That this table is not confined to natural descent but includes spiritual affiliation.
Sufi spiritual descent.

THE PROPHET, from whom was spiritually descended:—

Hazrat Ali (son-in-law of Prophet).

Imám Hasan Baṙr (of Baṙr).

Khwája Abdul Wáḥid.

Khwája Fuzáli bin Ayaḍa.

Sultán Ibráhím bin Alláum of Balkh (the king who abdicated his throne).

Khwája Hazifa-al-Manshi.

Khwája Hubera-al-Baṙr (of Baṙr).

Khwája Ali Mámahat.

Khwája Bu-al-Jahār Shaḵti (of cyria).

Khwája Abu Ahmad Abilī, the first Chishti (of Chishti).

Khwája Muḥammad Záhib Maqbul Chishti (of Chishti).

Khwája Yarīf Násir-ud-Dīn Chishti (of Chishti).

Khwája Qutb-ud-Dīn Muntāzī Chishti (of Chishti).

Khwája Hādī Shurīf Zindī.

Khwája Ummu Hurrāni.

Khwája Moin-ud-Dīn Chishti (of Chishti), the saint of Ajmer.

Khwája Qutb-ud-Dīn of Delhi, the Qātib Šāhīb.

Shākh Farid-ud-Dīn; Shakarganj, the famous Bāga Farid of Pākpatan.

[Diagram with the lineage of spiritual descendants showing Hazrat Makhdūm Allāh-ud-Dīn Allāh Abūnād, Sāhib of Pirān Kaler (near Kurki). His spiritual descendants are called Šāhīfs.]

Sh. Shams-ud-Dīn, Turāk of Pāñipat.

Shāh-i-Walāyat Sh. Jalāl-ud-Dīn of Pāñipat.

Sh. Abdūl Haq of Radāuli (U. P.).

Sh. Arif Šāhīb.

Sh. Muḥammad Šāhīb.

Sh. Abdūl Qaḥīs Šāhīb Qutb of Gangob (U. P.).

Sh. Jalāl-ud-Dīn of Thāmsar.

Sh. Nisām-ud-Dīn of Balkh.

Sh. Abū Sādī of Gangob.

Sh. Muḥammad Sādūq of Gangob.

Sh. Dādī Šāhīb of Gangob.

Sh. Abū Mīlānī,

Hazrat Mīrān Suṇād Shāhīb Bīhīb, the famous Mirān Šāhīb, whose tomb is at Ghurām, in Pātiāla States and so on.
In the mystic language of the Sufis these four sects, the Naqshbandi, Qadiri, Suharwardi and Chishti, are called khanaqas (houses) and are subdivided into minor sects known after the leading members of the parent sects.

In the Punjab disciples of the Chishti, Qadiri, Suharwardi and Naqshbandia orders are found but adherents of the others are very few in number. They profess Islam and are religious orders, not castes though they tend to become tribes. A Muhammadan of any caste or tribe can adopt the teaching of any Sufi order and retain his caste. Celibacy is not strictly observed by these orders, but it is preferred by their leaders. These orders differ in their practices and religious doctrines.

**The Chishtia Order.**

In contradiction to the generally accepted account1 the foundation of the Chishtia order is by some ascribed to Khwája Ahmad 'Abdáli2 of Chisht, where he was enshrined in 355 H. He was the disciple of Abú Iskáj Shámi who was buried at Akka in Sháam (Syria) and not in Chisht, as often stated. The order claims to originate from Ali the fourth Caliph himself through Hasan Baari and thus appears to be the youngest though it is the most popular of the four great Sufi sects.

Chishtia methods and practices.

At initiation a disciple first recites two rakáts of namáz or prayer and is then given certain instructions, which he is directed to observe without demur, such as the precepts:—(1) that a faqir takes food in the name of God, (2) that he spends his life in remembrance of God (qidd-i-Iláhi), (3) that he sleeps with death, and (4) arises with the kalima. He is exhorted in these words:—"O disciple thou hast become a faqir and shouldst follow these precepts: and as the word faqir contains 4 letters fe, qaf, ye and re, the fe which expresses faqah or fasting, the qaf, qism or contentment, the ye, yadd-i-Iláhi or remembrance of God and the re, riya'at or penance, so shouldst thou possess these four qualities": vide the Bayh-o-Bahár of Mir Umman.

After this he is bidden to concentrate attention on his muraqab or spiritual leader in a certain way every day, then some ism or sacred name is disclosed to him and he is directed to go to a shrine, to fast there for 40 days called chidâ kashî and to keep on repeating the sacred name. Lastly the spiritual pedigree of the order is declared to him. By degrees he makes spiritual progress and sees visions of all things and places up 'arsh or heaven. In this state when the two stars, Nasira and Mahmúd,

2 See art. on Abdáli in Vol. II, p. 1. The Abdáli, known in Turkey as Turkáli, are there described as wearing no clothing. They lived entirely on herbs and held women in horror, yet achieved such an evil reputation that early in the 19th century they were almost exterminated. Yet even of recent years they were frequently seen on high-roads and in provincial towns and held in respect and even awe by the populace, who term them Abdisia; W. S. Monroe, *Turkey and the Turks*, London, 1908, pp. 280-1. The Abdáli are undoubtedly supposed to be living representatives of the 70 muttél who succeeded to the 40 rija'il-ghabal: Brown, *The Dervishes*, pp. 82-3. See also supra, p. 524.
become one he attains the condition of *suhma* or spiritual waking consciousness, and thus he reaches the *lokh-mahfuz* or protected plank. Past, present and future things manifest themselves to his sight, that is to say he gets a vision of all the worlds and thus when he repeats his meditation from his very heart, a condition of *tayyaba* or deep trance supervenes and he learns or perceives the all-pervading spirit and meets the mystery of *nas* and *sayyid*; *nas* orders but *sayyid* is silent, and the great mystery of *ism-i-din* or 'name of self' reveals itself to him.

The five Chishti sub-orders.

1. Zaidi, from Khwaja Abdul Ahad,\(^1\) son of Zaid, whose shrine is at Baor.

2. Ayazi, from Khwaja Fuzail, son of 'Ayaz, whose shrine is at Kufta.\(^2\)

3. Adhami, from Khwaja Sultan Ibrahim, son of Adham, whose shrine is at Baghdad.\(^3\)

4. Chishti, from Khwaja Abu Ishaq Shami Chishti, whose shrine is at Chisht, a town near Herat in Afghanistán.

5. Hubairi, from Khwaja Hubairat-al-Basri.\(^4\)

The Zaidi, 'Ayazi, Adhami and Hubairi sub-orders have long since ceased to be recognized as distinct and the only descriptions of them in almost all the Sufi books are to be found under the Chishti order.

Formerly the Chishti order was one, but now it is split into two sub-orders: (1) Nizamia from Nizam-ul-Din of Delhi, (2) Sahiria from Khwaja Ala-ul-Din Ahmad Sahir, nephew and son-in-law of Khwaja Fariduldin Shakarganj.

The Sahir Chishtis have an important shrine at Thaska Miranj in Karnal. It is called Rozai Shah Bhik and a fair is held there on the 10th Shabban. It was founded by Nawab Roshan-ul-Daula, minister of Muhammad Shah, at a cost of some ten lakhs of rupees, the minister of Muhammad Fazl, successor of Shah Bhik from whom it takes its name and was begun in 1131 H. It is administered by Mian Imam Shaha 7th in succession to Shah Bhik who is celibate like most of his predecessors and the *fayr* of the sect, the succession being governed by spiritual relationship.

Drugs such as *bhung*, *charkh*, tobacco and liquors are strictly forbidden to be brought or used in the shrine or its precincts.

\(^1\) In the account of the Zaidi in Vol. III, p. 516, Abdul Ahad is incorrect, it should be Abdul Wahir. A sect called Zaidi is dominant in Central Yemen, where it was established by the Imam al-Hadi Yakha in 631 A.D. and through him the present Imam of Yemen claims descent from Ali and Fatima. Unlike other shahs the Zaidi regard All as the first rightsholder by personal fitness and not by selection. They pilgrimage to Mecca and regard one made to Karbala as a work of superexemption: G. Wyman Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, pp. 88, 32.4. A Sayyid family in Multan is sometimes called Zaidi as descended from Zaid Shahidi, grandson of the Imam Husain in Multan Gazetteer, 1914-16, p. 154.


\(^3\) The name of Khwaja Ibrahim Adham is wrongly given as Ibrahim Adham Khan (ibid, p. 250). His shrine is not in Baghdad. It is in Shah.

\(^4\) The shrine of Habers Basri is not in Marrab but in Baor (vide *Mabbed-ul-Afzan*).
Tomb of Sháh Bihk's disciples form the seven or eight minor shrines subordinate to this. They are at Talakam in Jagadhri tahsil, at Handi Khera in Nataingarh tahsil, at Gangheri and Thaska Ali in Thánesar tahsil, at Ramna in Karnál tahsil and at Kukrám in Patiala. Although the saint died on the 5th Ramzán his maz is not kept on that date as it falls in a month of fasts and his disciples decided to hold it a little earlier; so the maz is held on the 10th of Shábán and lasts till the 18th. It is the occasion of a big fair.

The name Sábir is thus explained:—One day Bábá Faríd Sháh Ali Ahmad's spiritual director and maternal uncle bade him give food and alms on his behalf to the poor. This he did and though stationed at the langarkhán (refectory) night and day he did not quit it to take his food at his own house. As he got weaker day by day, his mother asked the reason and he replied that he had taken no food for several days as his leader's orders were to distribute it to others but did not authorise him to take any for himself and also that as he was required to be present at the poor house, he could not leave it. For this he received the name of Sábir the 'patient' or 'contented'.

The following is a list of some of the best known Chishti shrines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Hijri year of death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The shrine of Quṭb Sáhib at</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>14th Rabi-ul-awal 633,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mihrauli near Delhi.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This saint forbade a building to be erected over his tomb.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That of Khwája Nizám-ud-dín Aulia, Sultán-ul-Mashaikh, commonly called Sul-tánjí Chishti, at Arab Sarái near Delhi.</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The shrine of Bu Ali Qalandar Chishti known as the Qalandar Sáhib, at Budha Khera in Karnál.</td>
<td>Karnál</td>
<td>724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwája Shams-ud-dín Chishti Sábír called Sháh Wiláyat, at Pánipat. He was a spiritual descendant of Ali Ahmad Sábír.</td>
<td>Panipat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Jalá-ud-dín Káhir-ul-Aulia Sábír called the Makhdúm Sáhib, at Pánipat. He was a Turk, and descended from the foregoing.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sháh Lákhi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sháh Bihk Míránjí or Mírán Sáhib</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Míránjí</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Faríd-ud-Dín</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Sharif-ud-Dín</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 Ali Ahmad's shrine is at Pír-n-i-Kálíar near Roopkar. His life is given in the Galápir Sábír. The Prophet gave him the name of Ali-ud-Dín before his birth and his parents that of Ali Ahmad.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Hijri year of death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kh. Amir Khanro</td>
<td>Near Delhi</td>
<td>725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sháh Nasir-ud-Din, Roshan</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Sh. Abdul Khalik</td>
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<td>Sh. Faiz Bakhsh</td>
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Some Chishti Saints.

The full name of Bu Ali Qalandar was Shuilkh Sharif-ud-Din Bu Ali Qalandar. Born at Pámípat, it is not certain as to whose disciple he was, some holding that he was the khalifa of Khrája Kuth-ud-Din, others that he was a disciple of Nizám-ud-Din Auliya. He wrote many works on Sufism and in one of them, the Ḥikmat-Náma, he gives a short autobiography. Among his numerous disciples were Sultan Alá- ud-Din Khalji and Jalál-ud-Din Khalji. In the Ḥikmat-náma he says that at the age of 40 he left Pámípat for Delhi where he was entrusted with the office of muftí and teaching Islamí law for 20 years. When his abstraction increased he gave up teaching and his office and spent the rest of his life as a Qalandar. He accepted no presents from disciples. He performed many miracles and died on the 13th Ramzán 724 H. (11th January 1324 A.D.). His tombs are at Pámípat and Karrád. 1

At the náfrūq of Bu Ali Sháh Qalandar the masjid is held from 9th to 12th Ramzán, during which days the place is illuminated and

1 Many important saints are omitted from this list, to wit: Maulána Pakhar-ud-Din of Delhi, Sháh Kálfamála Hakánábád, etc., while minor saints like Sulámai of Tasña etc. are mentioned.

* Hatán-ut-Áthfa, pp. 328-33; Asha-e-Áhwar, pp. 100-1; Miftáh-ut-Tawdríkh

Persian text, by Beale, p. 78.
Qawâls (singers) sing ghazals or hymns etc. Another fair, called the Badakharah, is held on every Thursday in Jeth and Har. Once it is said the Shâh was sitting on a wall of the building when a faqir riding on a lion drew near. The Shâh ordered the wall to pay its respects to him, whereupon it moved up and down in token of respect. So the people founded the fair in honour of the Shâh. The shrine has been in existence for 600 years. It contains the Shâh’s tomb, made of marble, on which flowers are carved. The administration is carried on by a Shâikh majdwar.

Another saint of great celebrity is Baâli Qalandara, contemporary of Bâba Farid. He used to ride about on a wall, but eventually settled at Pânipat. The Jumma then flowed under the town; and he prayed so continuously that he found it convenient to stand in the river and wash his hands without moving. After seven years of this he got stiff, and the fishes ate his legs; so he asked the river to step back seven paces and let him dry. In her hurry to oblige the saint she retreated seven miles; and there she is now. He gave the people of Pânipat a charm which drove away all flies from the city. But they grumbled, and said they rather liked flies, so he brought them back a thousandfold. The people have since repented. There was a good deal of trouble about his funeral. He died near Karnâl, and there they buried him. But the Pânipat people claimed his body and came and opened his grave, on which he sat up and looked at them till they felt ashamed. They then took some bricks from his grave with which to found a shrine; but when they got to Pânipat and opened the box they found his body in it, so now he lies buried both at Pânipat and at Karnâl. His history is given in the Ain-i-Akhbar. He died in 724 H. (1324 A. D.).

The following Chishti saints have shrines in Jind:—

Sayyid Jamâl-ud-Dîn or Shâh Walâyat has his shrine at Jind town. He belonged to the Chishti order and accompanied Shahâb ud-Dîn of Ghoir in his campaign against Bâl Pithora. He was killed in battle at Jind, where his shrine was built. A fair and uras are held here in Muharram every year. His sister’s son also has a tomb there and so has Shâikh Wali Muhammad. Both belonged to the Chishti order.

Shâh Sondha’s shrine is at Safidon town. He belonged to the Chishti and Qâdiria orders.

Hidâyatullah or Mubâriz Khân has his shrine at Kallâna in the Dâtâ district. Mubâriz Khân was made commander-in-chief by Alâf Khân, son of Tughlaq, King of Delhi, and was deputed in 736 H. to fight against Râja Kallâna, ruler of Kallâna and the country thereabouts. He was killed and his shrine was built. A full account is given in the Jind State Gazetteer.

Shâikh Mahmûd has his shrine at Dâtâ town. He belonged to the Chishti order.

Dâta Ganj Bakhsh, *the saint, the bestower of treasure*, was really named Ali Makhâlam Hujwiri* and a son of Usman, son of Ali

* Thakkar’s States Gazetteer, Jind, pp. 262 and 335.
* Hujwir was a suburb of Ghazi; History of Lahore, p. 176
Jalāl' of Ghaznī. He was a disciple of Shaikh Abul Fazīl, son of Hasan Khwābī. He followed the armies of Mas'ūd, son of Mahmūd, to Lahore where he settled in 1089 A.D. The authorship of the Kafṣ of al-Mahjūb or 'Revelation of the Unseen' is ascribed to him. He was a preserver of the Chishtis, for Khwāja Mūnī-ul-Dīn of Ajmer is said to have spent 40 days at his tomb.

Chishtī shrines are not numerous at Lahore but that of Shāh Rahmatullah Shāh (d. 1708 A.D.), who was the spiritual guide of Adbus-Samad, victor at Lahore, merits notice. The saint is now known as Pir Sāmponwālā or 'saint having command of snakes' owing to an incident which occurred near his tomb in Ranjit Singh's reign.¹

In Bahāwalpur the Chishtis are important though only one shrine, that at Chishtānā, is held by them. Shaikh Tāj-ul-Dīn, a grandson of Bāwā Fārid-ul-Dīn, converted various Rājpūt tribes in Bikaner and this brought him into collision with the unconverted clans. They attacked him and the women of his household were swallowed up by the earth. A tower which marks the spot is visited by women who make vows there. Various stories associate Khwāja Nūr Muhammad Mahārī and Bābā Nānak with the shrine of this saint, at which the Lakhwernas and other Jōyā septs make vows for sons, while Muhammadans in general offer the ṭisqā or prayer for rain sacrifice goats &c. and Hindus offer a chintz cover to the tomb for restoration to health and distribute sugar and boiled grain as a thank-offering for rain.²

Khwāja Nūr Muhammad was a Kharral Panwār Rājpūt. Born in 1740 in the Shihr Fārid sīlāq of Bahāwalpur, he obtained the khalāfī of Maulāns Fakhār-ul-Dīn Mustāfī at Delhi and the name of Nūr Muhammad from his disciples as he was the perfect 'light' (of God). Better known as the Qibla-i-Alam, he performed countless miracles and could send his invisible body (wajūd-i-zilā) where he liked. He appeared after death to read the jādas at the funeral of a marīd. He had 4 khālifān, Nūr Muhammad II of Hājīpur, Qāzī Muhammad Aqīq of Mithankot, Hāfiz Muhammad Jamāl of Multān, and Khwāja Muhammad Sulaimān Khān of Sanghar. Their deputies in turn founded gaddās in Bahāwalpur, Sindh and the Punjab, among them those of Muhammad Akbar at Rānī in Hissār, Makhduām Sayyid Mahmūd of Sītāpur and Muhbī-ul-Jahānīn at Shahr Sultān, and others. This saint, who must be classed as a Chishti, has thus exercised a profound influence over the whole of the south-western Punjab.³


¹ History of Lahore, p. 127.
² Bahāwalpur Gazetteer, pp. 174-5.
his younger son Sháh Mohkam was elected to succeed him. Bahá'-ul-Haqq or Baháwál Shér left Budán and settled on the bank of the Sutlej in a small village inhabited by Dhid Játx. By the miraculous use of his staff the saint crossed the river, then divided into several streams, to flow in a single channel. Once he rode to Pakštán and tore off the tapestries from the tomb of Sháikh Farid Bálír ud-Dín Shákhgáranj, by which apparent saerilege he enabled that saint to attain the highest heaven, into which his entry had hitherto been impeded. Apparently this saint supported the cause of Humáyún against the house of Shér Sháh Sur, for in his restoration he entertained the emperor at a banquet for which a valuable horse presented to the saint by Akbar had been slaughtered. As late as the reign of Ranjit Singh, however, the partizans of the shrine seem to have carried on a religious war with those of Sháikh Farid. This legend may give a clue to the significance of the shrines which have no roofs. In the Punjab Historical Society's Journal, 1914, pp 144-5, the present writer gave instances of hypostidal shrines in the Punjab. To that list may be added the shrine of Khváyá Báqi-bílláh Naqshbandi at Delhi, and the Chishti Qutb's at Mír Khání: the roofless tomb of Pir Ánil Ghóri near Bahádurpur in Multán and that left incomplete in honour of Gujari, a satí in Nábha; and doubtless many other examples could be cited. These shrines are all Muhámmadan—with the possible exception of the satí's in Gurgán—but they do not appear to be confined to any particular sect. Muhammad Latíf says that hujra in Persian means 'building, mosque or mausoleum without roof,' but all roofless shrines are not styled hujra in the Punjab.

Jawáya Sháh whose tabía is at Basti Kambóánwáli in Ferozepur was a Máchhi and a faqír of the Chishti school. Born in Ferozepur city, he went to live in the Basti when it was founded, and was buried there. No fair is held.

West of the town of Hánsí are the tombs of the four Qutbs, Qutb Jamál-ud-dín and his three descendants. Tradition makes 'Sultán' Jamál-ud-Dín a son of the Ghaznivides who accompanied Málíd or else Muhammad of Ghor in his invasions. The tomb of Ali Tajjár, 'a disciple of Qutb-ud-Dín,' stands in the enclosure. Ali Tajjár was his chief purveyor. The 2nd Qutb was his son Burhán-ud-Dín, the 3rd Múnawwar-ud-Dín, and the 4th Núr-ud-Dín, Núr-i-Jáhán. In another enclosure are the graves of the four Díváns or successors of the Qutbs whose descendants are still sajáda-náshás and known as the Díván Sáhibs. Shaky as the traditions are as to chronology the 1st Qutb is described as a disciple of Bába Farid Shákhgáranj and the second as also a companion of H. Nizám-ud-Dín of Delhi. Hence the institution must be classed as a Chishti one, though it is possibly older in origin than the time of Bába Farid.

1 A tribe otherwise unknown.
2 P. N. Q., III, §§ 622, 643 and 782.
3 Malíán Ganjetten, 1901-02, p. 123.
5 Hist. of Lahore, p. 165.
6 See the Himar Ganjetten, 1914, p. 319.
Another tomb at Hanoi is that of Sayyid Niaomat Ullah Shahid killed in Muhammad-ibn-Sam's attack on the place, in 588 H. probably. Tradition adds that he was present at the battle of Thanesar and killed Khande Rao, brother of Prithvi Raj. However this may be, the fair held in Chot at his tomb is called the mela-i-naza or fête of lances. His comrades who fell were buried at the Ganj Shahidán 3 kos from Hanoi.

An interesting Chishti shrine at Gula in Hissar is that of Miran Nau Bahar—the name signifies eternal prosperity—a disciple of Baba Farid of Shakarganj. On his return to Gula he was given some bricks, blessed by the curses of evil spirits, which he put into a māri. Whoever is affected by evil spirits or hysterical fits has only to put his head in the māri to be rid of them. The date of the erection of the māri is that of the annual fair.

It is generally believed that the khānqāh was built about 750 years ago. Its administration is carried on by Miran’s descendants who are Tirmizi Sayyids, while the keeping of it clean rests with an old family of khalıms.

The fair begins on the pāranmāshi of Jeth suddi and lasts 2 days longer. People affected as above are cured thus:—They are made to eat nim leaves wetted in the oil of a burning lamp and then made to put their head into the māri. The evil spirit appears, talks, says why he troubled the man, prescribes a remedy and then departs.

The khānqāh of Shāh Karim ud-Din is attached to this shrine. It is about 500 yards from it. He was some relation of Miran Nau Bahar’s father.

The shrine of Datta Sher Bahlol.—This saint’s shrine lies a mile east of Hisar. His name was Abdul Razzaq, Datta Sher Bahlol being his ḥaqq. In 1340 (757 H.) he lived where his shrine now stands in a wilderness which was the hunting ground of Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, son of Sālār Rājīb, a cousin of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq. In 1340 when Firoz Tughlaq came here to hunt he was astonished to see Sher Bahlol living without water etc. and had a wall built round what is now the town of Hisar and a canal brought from the Jumna to it. A mela is held on the 6th of Muharram. On Thursdays and Sunday the Muhammadans and Hindus of Hisar gather there for sūrāt.

The shrine of Shāh Junaid.—This shrine stands 300 yards south of the Nagauri gate of the town. It comprises a small qumād, a mosque, a well in the compound and some other tombs of the saint’s relatives. Junaid, son of Chandan and grandson of Malmūd, was a native of Ajadhan (now Pākpaṭṭan) and a descendant of Bāba Farid Shakarganj. An inscription in Arabic on the shrine runs—'Built on the first of Rabi-ul-Awal 927 H. (1510 A. D.) here lies Junaid bin Chandan'. Every year a mela is held on 27th Ramzan.

The shrine of Ismail Shāh.—This shrine stands close to the western side of the town. Ismail Shāh settled here in 1500 A. D., and by his high character achieved such popularity that many became his

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*Epigraphia Indo-Musulmica*, p. 10.
his younger son Sháh Móbánum was elected to succeed him. Bahá’-ul-
Haq or Baháwál Sher left Budáun and settled on the bank of the Sutlej
in a small village inhabited by Dhid Ját. ¹ By the miraculous use of
his staff the saint caused the river, then divided into several streams, to
flow in a single channel. Once he rode to Pákpatán and tore off the
tapestries from the tomb of Sháikh Faríd Badí’-ud-Dín Shákarganj, by
which apparent sacrilege he enabled that saint to attain the highest
heaven, into which his entry had hitherto been impeded. Apparently
this saint supported the cause of Humáyrún against the house of Sher
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described as a disciple of Bábá Faríd Shákarganj and the second as also
a companion of H. Nizám-ud-Dín of Delhi. Hence the institution must
be classed as a Chishti one, though it is possibly older in origin than the
time of Báwá Faríd.

¹ A tribe otherwise unknown.
² P. N. Q., III, §§ 693, 643 and 722.
³ Multán Gazetteer, 1901-02, p. 125.
⁵ Hist. of Lahore, p. 185.
⁶ So the Ilamn Gazetteer, 1904, p. 819.
Another tomb at Hānai is that of Sayyid Niāmat Ullah Shāhīd killed in Muhammad-ibn-Sām’s attack on the place, in 788 H., probably. Tradition adds that he was present at the battle of Thānesar and killed Khando Rāo, brother of Prithi Rāj. However, this may be, the fair held in Chet at his tomb is called the mela-i-neta or fête of lances. His comrades who fell were buried at the Ganj Shāhidān 3 kos from Hānai.

An interesting Chishti shrine at Gula in Hisār is that of Mírān Nau Bahār— the name signifies eternal prosperity—a disciple of Bába Fard of Shakarganj. On his return to Gula he was given some bricks, blessed by the curses of evil spirits, which he put into a mārī. Whoever is affected by evil spirits or hysterical fits has only to put his head in the mārī to be rid of them. The date of the erection of the mārī is that of the annual fair.

It is generally believed that the khāngāh was built about 750 years ago. Its administration is carried on by Mírān’s descendants who are Tirmizī Sayyids, while the keeping of its clean rests with an old family of khādīms.

The fair begins on the pāramāshi of Jeth sudi and lasts 2 days longer. People affected as above are cured thus:—They are made to eat nān leaves wetted in the oil of a burning lamp and then made to put their head into the mārī. The evil spirit appears, talks, says why he troubled the man, prescribes a remedy and then departs.

The khāngāh of Shāh Karim ud-Dīn is attached to this shrine. It is about 500 yards from it. He was some relation of Mírān Nau Bahār’s father.

The shrine of Dāta Sher Bahlol.—This saint’s shrine lies a mile east of Hisār. His name was Abdul Razzāq, Dāta Sher Bahlol being his laqab. In 340 (757 H.) he lived where his shrine now stands in a wilderness which was the hunting ground of Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, son of Sālār Rajjāb, a cousin of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq. In 1340 when Firoz Tughlaq came here to hunt he was astonished to see Sher Bahlol living without water etc., and had a wall built round what is now the town of Hisār and a canal brought from the Jumna to it. A mela is held on the 6th of Muharram. On Thursdays and Sunday the Muhammadans and Hindus of Hisār gather there for sidrat.

The shrine of Shāh Junāīd.—This shrine stands 300 yards south of the Nagauri gate of the town. It comprises a small gumbad, a mosque, a well in the compound and some other tombs of the saint’s relatives. Junāīd, son of Chandan and grandson of Mahμūd, was a native of Ajadhan (now Pākpaṭṭan) and a descendant of Bába Fard Shākarganj. An inscription in Arabic on the shrine runs—Built on the first of Rabi-ul-Awal 927 H. (1510 A.D.):—here lies Junaid bin Chandan*. Every year a mela is held on 27th Ramzān.

The shrine of Ismā’il Shāh.—This shrine stands close to the western side of the town. Ismā’il Shāh settled here in 1800 A.D., and by his high character achieved such popularity that many became his

1 Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, p. 19.
disciples, many villages in Bikaner were assigned to him and other states also gave him a yearly income.

The shrines of the Chhâl Häfta. —This shrine is called that of the forty reciters of the Qurán who were 40 wandering darwesh of Baghdad. Arriving here in 1340 A.D. in the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlaq they settled at the place where the shrine now stands to enjoy the society of Dâta Sher Bahlol. All 40, it is said, were buried in one and the same tomb after they had been put to the sword by the Dogars of Agroha.

Two shrines exist in Sirsa—one called Abu Shakur Silmi and the other Shaikh Allah Dâd Sahib. The former, a native of Salam in Arabia, came here in the time of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi. A very learned daruress, he belonged to the Ibrâhîm sect founded by Ibrâhîm of Bâlkh who abandoned his kingdom and used to live in solitude in the hills. He wrote a work, called the Tanakhîd, on purity of mind. The 14th Shabân is the date for the melâ at the shrine. The four cupolas on each side of the shrine are called the four chhâlás:—of Bâbâ Farid Shakarganj, Baha-ul Haqq-wâl-Dîn Zakarîa Multânî, Sayyid Jalâlî and Bâbâ Nânak—since these four came here at different times and spent some time in meditation on Abu Shakur Silmi.

A yearly fair is held at Palla in tahsil Nuh, in the khânqâh of Khwâja Musâ Chishti on the 27th and 28th of Jamâdi-ul-Awwal. The khânqâh was built by Khwâja Abdul Samad, a descendant of Kh. Musâ in 1142 H.; and the buildings attached to it by Nawâm Shams-ud-Dîn Khan of Ferosepur-Jhirka. The grave is of white marble enclosed on all sides by marble palisade, but open on the top. Surrounding the masâr are some houses in which people can put up. There are two gates, one to the east, the other to the south. The management vests in the Quraishi Shaikhs of Palla, the descendants of Shaikh Musâ. In the fair each person offers a piece to the masâr and also resî or badâshas with one piece. The following offerings are also made:

Cloth from 5 to 100 yards to cover the grave, a phâdra (broom) which is deemed to possess the virtue of removing pimples from the skin, matâda (bread mixed with ghi and sugar) and milk and card. No other shrine is connected with this.

At the tomb of Shaikh Chokha1 or Sayyid Akbar Ali a fair is held every chand-râh of the Muhammadan month of Jamâdi-ul-Awwal, ending on the 8th of that month, in this wise:—When the new moon is seen a drum is beaten and the tomb is lit up. Every subsequent evening and morning a gathering for jamâh-khâmâni takes place and sometimes

1 The tomb of the Meos, see Vol. III, p. 34, Safwa. A still more curious Chishti shrine is described below:

The khânqâh of Dâda Tim Shâh at Lakhnaû in Ferozepore has a fair on the 4th Hâj every year. The story is that Dâda Tum Shâh was a Chishti juggler. He came from Ajmer and settled in Charan in Lucknow some 120 years ago. Thence he was brought to Lakhnaû by Kali and Lakhna, Dogars. He had a disciple named Sayyid Lakhsh Shâh Bakhârî. On the day of the foundation of Lakhnaû, Dâda Tum Shâh breathed his last. The fair is attended by some 200 men and women or singers are invited to it. Some of the visitors go into a trance by waving their heads violently. Faghs are fed free with bread, rice and meat. Fâqir Bakhâr Shâh Ghireshh, is its majâhîr. Succession is governed by natural relationship, but in the absence of a son the inheritance would pass to a daughter. Lamps are lit every Thursday night, when people offer cash or sweets. The khânqâh of Lakhnaû Shâh is connected with this.
verses are also sung. The drum is beaten five times each day. "Faqrū'
and shopkeepers encamp on plots of ground from 1st to 3rd of Jamadi-
ul-awal, and shops are opened on the 4th. The "fatīha-khwadnā" is finished
on the 5th, and the fair ends on the 8th. Forty or even fifty thousand
people of every sect visit this fair.

Sayyid Akbar Ali was a Charakālot Meo. Chokha means 'good',
and probably the saint was so called on account of his miracles. The
tomb is said to have been built in the reign of Akbar, but its khudīm
states that the Persian phrase sannī-ruhāk expresses the year of its founda-
tion which would thus be 930 H., but the words are meaningless.
The tomb is enclosed by walls on all four sides, the outer walls being
about 100 yards long, and 5 or 6 yards high, with two gates, one in the
northern, the other in the southern wall. The "sambat" or drums are kept
at these gates. In both these walls are smaller doors for the convenience
of the public. Inside all the four walls are hujrās and dālays in which
visitors to the fair put up. Between the outer and inner walls are many
small tombs in which shop-keepers set up booths during the fair. In
the north-western corner is a small mosque without a dome. The inner
circuit has two gates, one in the southern, the other in the western wall.
Inside it are two dālays known as the hāra-dāri. Under one is a
"taḥ-ṭābān" and there are five or six small graves in the courtyard. At
the north-eastern corner is a small roofless mosque in the form of an
"īdghā. North of the tomb stands a large mosque in which the Qurān
is read. Behind this mosque is a three-doored room built of red sand-
stone, which seems to be new for the middle door has an inscription in
Hindi. In the inner circuit is a large stone tomb. Above it is a large
egg-shaped dome surmounted by a golden kalān. This tomb has two
doors, one to the south, the other to the east. Inside this building is
the grave of Shāh Chokha covered with a green cloth kept in position
by a few stones (misfāreb). Inside the building on the northern wall
hang a stick, a wooden bow, a stone haukha, two wooden swords (one of
them a khandā), 6 small glass beads, and an iron bead known as 'the
simurgh's egg'. By the grave are two Qurānā, two iron candelabra
and an iron faṭīha.

The administration of the temple rests in the villagers who style
themselves descendants of Shāh Chokha. All the khudīms are Chishtis.
Every Thursday at the "fatīha-khwadnā" the cloth or incense is burnt. The
tomb of the pir or religious teacher of Shāh Chokha is said to be at
Nārmaul in Patīlā.

All that can be ascertained of Shāh Ahmad Chishti is that he
was the son of Shah Isma'il. His father came to reside at Sajwāri
from Dauna in the Balandshahar District. After his death Shah
Ahmad Chishti took his gaddī. His fame rests upon a tradition that
once a Banjāra bringing valuable goods from abroad met him. Shāh
Ahmad asked him what they were. The Banjāra named some inferior
goods. Shāh Ahmad said: 'Yes. It must be what you say'. When the
Banjāra reached his destination and opened the goods he found
that they had been transformed into what he had misrepresented
them to be to the Shaikh. He came back to him and begged for
Gurgān.
pardon, which was granted and the goods were restored to their original condition. So the Ranjára had this shrine raised to the Sháikh’s memory. It is much worshipped by people of the surrounding villages some of whom have assigned lands to it. Nuráb Murtaza Khan assigned 4 or 5 hundred bighás. The peopele of Mahalla Gáundóyán in Paullal generally have their children shaved at this place. The annual festival takes place on 12th Rabi-ul-awwal.

The influence of the Chiahtú has penetrated into parts of the hills. Thus at the khádaqón of Bàra Bháí is the shrine of Adbús-Salám, a Chiahtú, founded by a Rája of Nasrota. Its fair is held on a Thursday in the light half of Jeth.

**The Qádiria Order.**

Abdul Qádir Jiláni was born at Gilán or Jilán in Persia in 1078 A. D. His titles were Pirán-i-Pir, Ghaus-ul-Azim, Ghaus-us-Samádání, Mahbúl-i-Subbání, Mirán Muhay-ud-Dún, Sayyid Abdul Qádir Jiláni, Hasan-ul-Russání. Abdul Qádir Jiláni’s nephew (sháh-ája) was Sayyid Ahmad Kábir (not Qábir) Ráfí, the founder of the Ráfí or Guramár Sufíra.

Abdul Qádir is said to have left his tooth-brush at Ludhiana. It has grown into a nísh tree at his shrine which stands in an open space near the fort. His fair is called Roshani and begins on the 11th of Rabi-us-sámi. Hindu as well as Muhammadan villages light lamps at his shrine and women desirous of offerings make offerings at it. Játis also bring cattle to it and make them jump for luck. The fair lasts 3 or 4 days and songs of all sorts are sung by the ever-moving crowds both night and day. Prostitutes frequent it.

But the following local account of the fair makes no mention of Abdul Qádir or of the nísh tree and assigns a very different origin to the shrine:

The Roshani Fair is the most famous in Ludhiana. It is held in that town at the khádaqón of the ‘Pir Sáhib’ and people of all classes, mostly Muhammadans with some Hindus, attend it. Beginning on the 10th of Rabi II it should end on the 12th but it generally goes on for a week, more people visiting it at night than by day. Visitors present cash, sweetmeats, goats, milk, cowries &c., as they think fit. Every Thursday too there is a small gathering at the khádaqón, especially of Muhammadans. This Pir was Sayyid Muhammad, progenitor of the Sáfí Sayyids of Ludhiana. At the site of the khádaqón he practised

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1 See Vol. III, p. 431.
2 Harkhot’s Qusun-é-Islam, p. 155.
3 D, pp. 157 and 193. Abdul Qadir Gilani was the son of Ali Sálih and a disciple of Sháikh Abu Saíd. Born on the 1st Ramzán 470 H., at the age of 13 he left Gilán for Baghdad where he began his studies, and in 521 H., he began to preach. More than 70,000 people are said to have attended his lectures. He could talk with the Invisible (Rijaál-ión), as well as with Khizas; and performed many unique miracles. Many saints who had lived before him had prophesied concerning him. He died on 9th Rabi II, 591 H., at the age of 20 and was buried at Baghdad: Khánínul-Áfín, I, pp. 94-9; Safínul-Álání, pp. 43-48. For a hymn to Abdul-ul-Qádir Jiláni see Temple’s Legends of the Punjab, II, p. 152. The tale of the miraculous rescue of the drowning bridegroom by the saint may be purely allegorical. The saint’s chief fête is celebrated on the yárbi-11th (yádreb) of Rabi, II: 1d. p. 154, citing Harkhot’s Qusun-é-Islam, p. 155 ff.
chila for 40 days shut up in a hut. At its close his disciples came to
revere him and thus the Roshani fair was instituted. Sayyid
Muhammad was a khalifa of Hazrat Hujjat-ul-Aulia Shaikh Da’ud
Gangú. From the Hadith Dádvâ it appears that he was contemporary
with Alamgir and probably the khalifa was founded in his reign.
Its maintenance vests in the descendants of Sayyid Muhammad, and
for its service one or two mujtâds or faqirs are employed.

In imitation of this fair, another Roshani fair is held at Râipur in
Ludhiana tahsil on the same date, but it only lasts a day and a night.
It is held at Pir Daulat Shah’s khanqâh, and his disciples (murtâds)
gather there.

Brown gives various details regarding the Qâdiris. According
to him Abdul Qâdir’s title was Sultân-ul-Aulia or sovereign of the
sâlihs (saints). The insignia of the Qâdiris is the rose, because once
the Shaikh-ul-Sa’îd Abdul Qâdir Gilânî2 was directed by Khûzr to
go to Baghdâd and on his arrival the Shaikh (apparently the chief of
the town) sent him a cup full of water to signify that as the town was
already full of holy men it had no room for him. But the saint put
a rose in the cup, although it was the winter season, to signify that
Baghdâd could find a place for him. He was then admitted to the
city. Abdul-Qâdir represents the atwâr-sâb’â or seven paths.3 The
initiatory rites nuhdâyâ at of a murtâd include the ba’’al or giving of the
right hand clasped in the Shaikh’s right hand with the two thumbs
raised up against each other.4

The Qâdiris have three grades of dînešh, the murtâd, khalîfa and
shaikh. The khalîfa is the shaikh’s vicar, e.g. Shaikh Ismail or Rûmî,
originally a Khalwatti, became the khalîfa of Abdul Qâdir. Sir Richard
Burton was initiated into this order, first as a shaikh, then as a mursîd,
or one allowed to admit mursîds or apprentices.5

The Qâdiris methods and practices.

In the Qâdiria method of contemplation the disciple is instructed to
attain union with God or reach to Him by the practices of yah-
zarbi, da-zarbi, sah-zarbi and shahâr-zarbi, four methods of repeating
the name of Allah, and he must recite His name in a voice so pitched
as not to arouse sleeping people. In yah-zarbi he repeats the word
Allah with a certain pitch and length of voice from the heart and throat
with emphasis once and then stops until his breathing is regulated and

1 Brown, The Derwish, p. 86.
2 Ib., p. 89, apparently Abdul-ul-Qâdir himself or one of his successors.
3 There are 7 names of Allah, used in sîka, each having its peculiar light, prayer and
number of times which it must be repeated:
1. La-llah-ill-llah, blue, 100,000 times.
2. Allah the ùrûf ùfûd, or benevolent name, yellow, 78,588 times.
3. Israil, red, 44,660.
4. Israil, white, 20,682.
5. Wâlî, green, 99,429.
6. Ùs, black, 74,644.
7. Wadîd, no light, 30,303.
These numbers total 447,574, but their mystical significance is not stated. It is
used to be necessary to recite the number of the above number of times in order to qualify for the
degree of Shaikh.
4, p. 96.
then he recites the word Allah and so on. In *sikr dâ-zerbi* he sits in
the posture of *nâmas* (prayer) and recites the name of Allah once turn-
ing his head to the right and again in the heart. In *sikr akh-zarbi* he
sits cross-legged and recites *Allâh* first to the right, next to the left
and thirdly in the heart with a loud voice. In *sikr châhâr-zarbi* he
sits cross-legged and recites Allah first on the right side, then on the
left, thirdly in the heart and fourthly in front with a loud voice. They
are also taught to pronounce the words *la-Illah-Illilâ* in a certain
way sitting with eyes closed.

The nine Qâdîrî orders are the:
1. Habîbî, from Khwâja Habîb of Ajmî.
2. Tafîrî, from Khwâja Bayazîd of Bustâm.
5. Junâdî, from Khwâja Junâdî of Baghîlâ.
7. Tûsî, from Khwâja Abû'l-Farâh Târîfî.

Like the Chishtîa the Qâdîrî order is divided into two sub-orders,
the Râzaqîa from Shahzâda Abdul Râzaq and the Wâhîbi from Shah-
zâda Abdul Wâhâb.

The following is a list of Qâdîrî shrines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Hijri year of birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maulâna Ghaus Ali Sâhib</td>
<td>Pânîpât in Kârnâl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shâh Qumâlis or Qumes</td>
<td>Sâdhuâra in Ambâlâ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir Sayyid Shâh Firoz</td>
<td>Lahore (Dandi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gardan</td>
<td>933</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This and the Junâdî are not always given as Sûd orders. But as given in the
*Tarîkh-ul-Mubârâk and the Amârî-ul-Murîf* the 14 Sûd orders are:
1. Zâdî,                         8. Karkhî
2. Ayyâdî,                      9. Siqîti
3. Adhâmî,                      10. Junâdî
5. Chishtî,                      12. Tûsî
6. Habîbî,                      13. Suharwardî
7. Tafîrî,                      14. Firdâsî

Bustâm is a village near Wâdî, a city in Persia. Bayazîd, founder of the Tafîrî,
Tafîrî or Tafîrî order, was an interesting personality. His full name was Tafîrî bin Ies
or Abû Yazîd and his Sultan made him a true pious. Whatever attains to God, he held,
becomes God and his sanctity was such that he wrought miracles and sounds inflicted on his
person when in a state of ecstacy appeared on the bodies of those who inflicted them. His
townsmen feared his supernatural powers and cast him out of their city seven times, only to
receive him back again. A tale he incited was that loving-kindness should be shown
not only to men but to animals and the story goes that once he and his friend Qâsim
carried an ant away from its home unscathed in their belongings. At Qâsim's request Bayazîd set
out to restore it to its home whenupon a halo encircled his hand and the inhabitants of
Shahrûf and Bustâm fought for possession of his person. Qâsim was killed in the fray and
when Bayazîd on his return learnt of his death he rebuked his townsmen so vehemently,
that they vowed him to death. Both he and Qâsim are buried at Bustâm; William
Jackson, *From Cush to Abyssinia in the Home of Omar Khayyam*, pp. 200-1. For a sketch
of Bayazîd Bustâm's life and teaching see Claud Valad, *Mythes and Saints of Islam*,
pp. 52 ff; and for Habîb Ajamî, pp. 70 ff.

* The Siqîti and Karkhî orders have long ceased to be so called, and their followers
find a place under the Qâdîrî order in all books on Sûd history written in Persian or Urdu.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Year of Birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Abdul Qadir II</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Muhammad Hazuri</td>
<td>Near Miân Mir road</td>
<td>942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirân Sayyid Mubârik</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shâh Latif Barri</td>
<td>Nurpur in Rawalpindi</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Baha-ud-dîn</td>
<td>Hujra</td>
<td>973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Hamid Ganj Bahsh</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Daud</td>
<td>Shergarh</td>
<td>982</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Bahlol</td>
<td>Chiniot</td>
<td>983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abu Ishâq</td>
<td>Mozang (Lahore)</td>
<td>985</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sayyid Muhammad Nûr</td>
<td>Châtîfân in Lahore</td>
<td>988</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sayyid Mûsa</td>
<td>Multân</td>
<td>1001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Hussain (Lâl Hussain)</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shâh Shame-ud-Dîn</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shâh Khair-ud-Dîn</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Tâhir</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Mir (Miân Mir)</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Shah Bilâwal</td>
<td>Outside Lahore</td>
<td>1046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Madhuri</td>
<td>Near Lahore</td>
<td>1158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwâja Bihârî</td>
<td>Near Miân Mir’s shrine</td>
<td>1060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shâh Suleyman</td>
<td>Bhilnowal</td>
<td>1065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Jân Muhammad</td>
<td>Near Gâphi town</td>
<td>1065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Abdul Razzaq</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Shâh Muhammad (Mulla Shâh)</td>
<td>Outside Miân Mîr’s tomb</td>
<td>1069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Hâji Muhammad</td>
<td>Chhanî Sahnapal in Gujranwâla</td>
<td>1105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Hasan</td>
<td>Peshâwar</td>
<td>1015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shâh Raza</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inâît Shâh</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1141</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Fazal</td>
<td>Batâla</td>
<td>1151</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shâh Pir Muhammad</td>
<td>Nauâshahr in Gujranwâl</td>
<td>1152</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shâh Muhammad Gaus</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1152</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdul Rahmán</td>
<td>Birth in Gujranwâla</td>
<td>1153</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sayyid Babli Shâh</td>
<td>Kasur</td>
<td>1171</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdulla Shâh</td>
<td>Mozang in Lahore</td>
<td>1312</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Ghulâm Hussain</td>
<td>Waynâwal in Gujranwâla</td>
<td>1250</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Qaisar Shâh</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>1283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Labê Shâh</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1253</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Hazuri family of Lahore is so called because its disciples are. It is believed, quickly admitted into the presence of the Prophet. Originally of Ghur, it settled at Uch but migrated to Lahore under Shâh Jahân. Their tomb has two domes and in it are buried Muhammad Hazuri and his son Shâh Nûr-ud-Dîn, and Jân Muhammad and his son Sawai Din: Jân Muhammad, who died in 1708, was a man of profound learning. Hist. of Lahore, p. 171.

Shaiikh Tâhir Bandagi, who is buried at Lahore, his native place, was a disciple of this Shaiikh Ahmad.
The pedigree of the saint Sháh Qámí makes him a descendant of Abdur-Qádir Jilání through a son of his named Abd-ul-Razzaq who is otherwise not known. Sháh Qámí most probably flourished in the 16th century as tradition connects him with Akbar and with Humáyún's wars against Sikandar Sháh Sur, though even so his birth cannot be carried back to 1425 as in the genealogy. His cult is said to be connected with Bibhár and three large fairs are held, one in that Province, one at Ludhiana and a third at Sádhaurna itself.

Sháh Biláwal, son of S'aíd Usámán, son of S'aíd Isa, who came from Herát to India with Humáyún when he reconquered India with Persian aid, was a disciple of Sh. Shams-ud-Dín Qádirí and a tutor of Maulavi 'Abúl Fáteh. He died in 1638 A.D. and was first buried beneath a great dome on the banks of the Rávi, but on account of that river's encroachments Faqir Añiz-ud-Dín 200 years later exhume his body and re-buried it a kós east of Lahore. The coffin was suspended to the roof by an iron hook and the body in perfect preservation. The fort of Shaikhápara with its environs was held in jÁdír by this Sayyid.

Sháh Shams-ud-Dín who predicted Sháh Jahán's accession was also a Qádirí and offerings are made to his shrine in fulfillment of vows (maññat). He died in 1613 A.D. and Sháh Jahán constructed his tomb.

The tomb of Sháh Raza, described as belonging to the Shattarí Qádirí family, is on a platform in an open courtyard. Sáfí assemble at the annual fair held at this kúliqáh, to sing hymns when in the ecstatic state. Sháh Raza died in 1706 A.D. and disciple Sháh Ináятullá had as his disciple the famous poet Khúlla Sháh.

Sháh Jamál described as a Qádirí Sahwardí who died in 1650 A.D. has a tomb at Ichhra near Lahore. It is on a mound, in the form of a battery and so is called the Damdama Sháh Jamál. His brother Sháh Kamál is buried in the adjoining village of Vona. When Jamál used to sit on this damdama the ladies of the royal household could be seen bathing in Jahángrí's tank close by, so they objected, but the jádír in a curse predicted that neither palaces nor tank should remain. Nevertheless in a fit of wajíd or ecstasy he danced so hard that 5 storeys of the building sank below the ground, and so reduced the height of the damdama that people could not see the ladies bathing from it and only the present two storeys of his shrine remained.

The Pir Dastgír.

Sháh Muhammád Ghana, whose shrine is at Lahore, is held in great esteem from Delhi to Peshawar. He died in 1730. His father, Sáid

1 Given in Temple's Legánde, II, pp. 92-3, where a full account of the saint's miracles and history will be found.
2 Hist of Lahore, p. 159. He was noted for his charities and established an alms-house; p. 59.
3 Ib., pp. 201-2.
5 Ib., pp. 200-1.
The Pir Dastgir.

Hasan, whose tomb at Pesháwar is also much respected, was a lineal descendant of the Pir Dastgir. 1

The descendants of the Pir Dastgir include some patron saints of industrial castes or at least of local guilds. Thus at Lahore Firoz Sháh Giliáni, a disciple of Sháh Alam, became the saint of the Dandígars or kheráds (turners). He died in 1537 A. D. and was succeeded by Shaikh Abdulla. Similar saints are known in other parts of the Moslem world. Thus Abu Zulaima is the patron saint of the seafs about the Gulf of Suez. He watches over the safety of mariners, sipping coffee, brought raw from Mecca by green birds and prepared by angels: Burton, _Al-Madinah_, I, p. 199.

But other patron saints do not appear to be so regarded. Thus Hassu Teli, a saint contemporary with Lál Husain, is essentially the saint of the oilmen and his tomb is the scene of an annual fair. His shop, at which he sold corn, is still respected and a lamp is lit daily at his residence. He was a disciple of Sháh Jamal Qádirí whose tomb is at Ichhra, and he died in 1593 A. D. 2 Shaikh Músá was an añoor or ironsmith and his tomb is revered by people of that occupation. Once it is said, a Hindu woman brought him a spindle to straighten. Smitten by her beauty he forgot it and when she taunted him he replied that in looking at her he was only contemplating the maker's skill and taking the spindle he passed it over his eyes which remained unhurt while it turned into pure gold. The woman embraced Isláam and her tomb is close to his. He died in 1519 A. D. 3

The dyers of Lahore similarly affect the tomb of Ali Rangrez which is also that of his brothers Wali and Bahu. 4

Pir Hádi, the 'shower of the way', is much revered by the Khojas of Lahore. 5 His pedigree is:

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S. Shams-ul-Din Tabriz

S. Abdul Qádir

Pir Hádi Báhnuma, Móhsin Sháh, Abdulla Sháh.
Sháh Chirágh (Abdul Razzaq), a descendant of the Pir Dastgir, has a lofty tomb at Lahore, erected by Anárungzib. It is the scene of an annual fair. 6
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The Qalándárs, 7 according to Brown, are not an order. One of the darveshs of the Qadíris was named Sháhábáz-i-Qalándári and another

1 _Hist. of Lahore_, pp. 168-69.
2 _Ib., pp. 203-203.
3 _Ib., pp. 204-203.
5 _Ib., p. 76.
6 _Ib., p. 193.
7 Described in Vol. III, p. 237 _Ib._. The Sháh Bás settled on the Pesháwar border may be this Sháhábáz, the Qalándári. The shrine of Sháh Chokha, as already stated, is held by Cháhti Shádím.
of the Maulavis was called Shams-ud-Din Tabrizi Qalandari. But the Qalandars also appear to be connected with the Bektashis some of whom wear the cap called Sháh-báz-i-Qalandari which is said to have been assumed by the Shaikh, Adham, of Bahk and which is therefore called Adhami.\(^3\)

**The Suharwardi Order.**

The account given of this order in Vol III, p. 432, is almost certainly incorrect. It was founded either by Shaikh Shahbáž-ud-Din Suharwardi who died in 632 H. and is entombed at Bagh-dád (and not in the fort of Multán, as erroneously stated in that art.) or by Shaikh Záfír-ud-Din.\(^4\) Shaikh Shahbáž-ud-Din's disciple Bahá-ud-Din Zakáriá is buried in the fort at Multán and hence is sometimes called Bahá-ud-Din Zakáriá Multání.\(^5\) Suharwardi comes from Suharward, a village in the Oxus valley.

At initiation into the Suharwardi order the marāj-i spiritual guide first bids the disciple repeat his sins, great and small. He is then directed to recite five ḥaṭımās and to attain to full conviction of the true faith, to recite the namáz regularly and to observe the fasts (raza). This is called marāj-i hāri, to become disciple.' Jaláli-ud-Din, Maulána Rúm, author of the Ḥassawá, belonged to this order. He was born at Bahk about 1207 A.D.\(^6\) His parents claimed descent from Abú Bál.

\(^3\) The Devotions, p. 84. Brown however also gives the tradition that the Qalandars were founded in Spain and says the title means 'pure gold!' p. 241.

\(^4\) NW, p. 378. Sh. Shaháb-ud-Din did not come to India. It was Sh. Baháwul Din who came to Multán: see Kastoria-al-Ashá, Vol. II, p. 19. The nigmons of Shahzadá was the disciple of Sh. Shahhd: see Nahás, p. 441. Shahíd-ud-Din was a son of Nájib Suharwardi, uncle of Shaikh Shahbáž-ud-Din Suharwardi. Shaháb-ud-Din's tomb is in Bagh-dád. Ghází-ud-Din Khán Êīrau Jan Baháshá, father of the first Názím of Hakhrásháb, was a grandson of Alam Shaikh, a saint and scholar of Samarqand who claimed descent from Sh. Baháwul Din Sháh. See ibid., op. cit., p. 93.

\(^5\) The learned Shaikh Bahá-ud-Din Zikáriá Multání, son of Wájr-ud-Din, was one of the greatest saints of his time. A disciple of Shaikh Shahbáž-ud-Din Ummar Suharwardi of Bagh-dád, he received the garment of succession from him. The mildness of his nature earned him the title of Bahá-ud-Din, the 'angel.' His miracles were numerous and Bábá Fúrık and Sháh Sháh Sháh Fúrık addressed him as the Shaikh-ul-Jalám. When Sultán Shams-ud-Din Altánám became king, Sháh Násir-ud-Din Qásbá, governor of Multán, Ush and Sín plamed a rebellion against him. Learning this Bahá-ud-Din Qásbá and Qátil Sháh-ud-Din wrote to inform Altánám of his intentions but their letters were intercepted by Qásbá. In revenge he sent for the writers and questioning the letters before them asked if they were theirs. Qásbá Sháh-ud-Din admitted their authorship and was straightforward falsehood, but Bahá-ud-Din declared that he had written them by a divine command, and they contained nothing but the truth. Overawed by his words Qásbá begged his forgiveness and let him go. He died on Thursday the 7th Safar - 638 H.: Saffatul Asas, pp. 114-5; Aṣkár-ali, pp. 59-61; Fardán, Persian text, pp. 404-9; Aṣkár-ali, II, pp. 10-20, and Belc, Nafát-al-Tafvíd, Persian text, p. 52.

\(^6\) Described as 'the greatest pathetic writer of all ages.' Jaláli-ud-Din died in 1272 A.D. 7 years after Dante's birth, and did not live to finish the Musawwir. His teaching is summed up in his charge to his disciples: 'I bid you fear God openly, and in secret; guard against excess in eating, drinking and speech; keep aloof from evil companionship; be diligent in fasting and self-communion and bear wrongs patiently. The best man is he who helps his fellow-men, and the best speech is a brief one which leads to knowledge. Praise be to God alone!' He made man choose a pet to represent for him the Umme God. His praise of the red flute has made it one of the principal instruments in the melancholy music which accompanies the dancing of the Maulavi darwés. 'It is a picture of the Sufi or enlightened man, whose life is, or ought to be, one long lament over his separation from the Godhead, for which he yearns till his purified spirit is re-absorbed into the Supreme Unity. We are here reminded of the words of Novalis: 'Philosophy's, I probably speaking home sickness; the wish to be everywhere at home.' Youth, op. cit., p. 148 f.
father-in-law and successor of Muhammad. He had a mysterious friend in Shams-ud-Din of Tabriz. Jalāl characterised Shams-ud-Din as a great alchemist and as a scholar in every science known to man, who had renounced them all to devote himself to the study and contemplation of the mysteries of Divine love. It would seem that under his influence Jalāl instituted religious dancing or ḥāl khelān amongst his disciples and on this account they earned the name of dancing darwishes. Shams met his death, it is said, during such a religious entertainment.

According to Petit the Suharwardīs cover themselves with many pieces of different stuffs to remind them that ‘man is ever naked and observed by God’. But he also observes that their many-coloured costume represents the infinite variety of the creatures placed by God at man’s service.

Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Tabrizi, whose real name was Muhammad, was the son of Ali, son of Malik Dāda. Some say he was the disciple of Shaikh Abdākī Silla-Bāf Tabrizi; others that Kamāl Khujandi or Shaikh Bukan-ud-Din Sanjāsi was his father. Born to sainthood he fasted for 40 days without a break even when a mere boy. Maulāna Jalāl-ud-Din Rūmī had great faith in him. Once, it is said, Shaikh Shams-ud-Din reached Baqunia and found Jalāl-ud-Din sitting by a tank with some books busy teaching. After exchanging a few words with the Maulāna the Shaikh threw the books into the tank. The Maulāna was grieved to lose the books and said that some of them were rare and had belonged to his father, so the Shaikh put his hand into the water and took out all the books which were quite dry. The Maulāna thus became his disciple. One night the Shaikh was talking to the Maulāna in a private room, when a man came to the door and called him out. The Shaikh at once stood up and bidding farewell to the Maulāna said that men had come to kill him. As soon as the Shaikh went out seven men attacked him with daggers, but when he uttered a cry they all fell unconscious on the ground. On recovering they saw nothing but a few drops of blood, but no trace of the Shaikh could be found. It is not known where he was buried as his tomb is stated to be at two or three different places. His death occurred in 645 H.

The wāzir of Qomia had built a college and himself took part in the dancing at the opening ceremony, but he discourteously collided with Shams-ud-Din during the performance. Confusion resulting the police of the Sultān were called in and they led Shams-ud-Din away and put him to death without further inquiry. Jalāl-ud-Din wrote this strange sentence on the door of Shams-ud-Din’s lodging—‘This is the abode of the loved one of Elias, on whom be peace.’ Jalāl-ud-Din’s disciples followed their leader’s example and practised dancing as a spiritual exercise but equally naturally strong objection was raised against it as being only worthy of mad men, the objectors going so far as to take legal advice which declared dancing, music and singing unlawful. Some of his chief disciples aver that his reason for instituting musical services in his order was that God had a great regard for the Roman people. Many objections were raised against dancing and religious ecstasies but

Les Confessions Maâlîmane, pp. 44 (citing Senoumi in Rûmî, p. 210) and 45.
Suhrwardi shrines.

The Chishti order now declares that *‘Allah’s* is lawful, though the other orders declare those practices unlawful.

Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Tabrizi, whose tomb is at Multan, is a different saint. He was a Musavi Sayyid and his descendants who profess Shi’a tenets are known as Shamsi Sayyids; *Khazinat-ul-Afsiya*, II, pp. 288-70; *Sofinaat-ul-Afsiya*, p. 179.

This order is closely connected with Multan. It is the home of an important Shi’a family who call themselves descendants of a saint of Multan named Shams Tabriz to whom in 1787 A.D. a large tomb was built. The name Shams, ‘Sun’, is peculiarly appropriate to the saint of a place like Multan, one of the hottest in India, and the story goes that the sun broiled a fish for him there when he was dined food by the citizens. Moreover the legend of the celebrated Shams-ud-Din Tabrizi, who was killed at Qonia in 1247 A.D., was flayed alive and wandered about for four days afterwards with his skin on his back, is also told of this Shams-ud-Din of Multan, though his principal attribute is that he brought the sun nearer to the world at that place than any where else on earth. The Shi’a guardians of the shrine indeed declare that the name Shams Tabrez is an error and that his real name is Shams-taprez or ‘heat-giving’.

The following is a list of shrines of the Suhrwardia order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Died in Hijra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Baha-ud-Din</td>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Sadr-ud-Din</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ahmad</td>
<td>Multan</td>
<td>733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Rukn-ud-Din</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Hamid-ud-Din</td>
<td>Mau, a town in Multan</td>
<td>735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayad Jalal-ud-Din</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Sadr-ud-Din</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayad Nasir-ud-Din</td>
<td><em>Do.</em></td>
<td>847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdul Jalil</td>
<td>Lahore (Old Qila)</td>
<td>910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Usmán</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Musa</td>
<td>Lahore (Gumbaz Sabz)</td>
<td>925</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Temple: *Legends of the Punjab*, III, p. 87.


Possibly a similar origin may be ascribed to the Shamsi Talab or Sun Tank at Mubarakpura near Delhi. On its banks stands the Jahan Mahal, a curious building which bears no resemblance to a ship, as its name would imply, though it is popularly ascribed to such a likeness or to its proximity to water. This Talab is famous in Muhammadan folklore: Annual Progress Report of Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle (Allahabad), 1914, p. 41. It was known to Timur as the Haz-e-Shams-ul Afsana of Shams-ud-Din Mubarak, the first Turk emperor of Delhi.

3 Shaikh Abdul Jalal or Shaikh Ghubar married a daughter of Sikandar Lodi and died in 1584 leaving a son, Abdul Fath. His miracles are recorded in the *Tasavvaar Qadiri* and his descendants who live in Ratta Piran, in Siakh, are still much respected: *Hist. of Lahore*, p. 305.
The Naqshbandi Order.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Died in Hijra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Sayyad Haji Abdul Wahab</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyad Jamal-ud-Din</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>943</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyad Jhulun Shakh</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Hasan Ganjadar</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miran Muhammad Shah</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shah Jamil</td>
<td>Near Ichchra in Lahore</td>
<td>1049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shah Daulah Daryai</td>
<td>Gujrat</td>
<td>1075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Jan Muhammad</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhd. Ismael</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Jan Muhd. II</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh. Ayub</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1055</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shaikh Hamid ud-Din Abulgaiz, entitled Shaikh Hákím, 16th in descent from Zaíd-ud-Din Hárâs Muhammad Aqghar, and 17th from Ali himself, was a governor of Kich Mekrán in 1398. The warning of a female slave whom he had caused to be flogged induced him to renounce the world. He came to his mother’s father Sayyid Ahmad Tokhta at Lahore and also received instruction from Shaikh Shahab-ud-Din himself, Baha-ud-Din Zakaria, and Shaikh Rukan-ud-Din Abul Fath, who appointed him his Khalifa with a mission to preach Islam between Neh and Sakkar. At Mau a Jogi was converted by him and took the name of Zain-ud-Din. His descendants are the present mujahirs. Shaikh Hákím corrected the faulty orientation of the great mosque built by Altamsh at Delhi, but his request for the hand of that ruler’s daughter led to his imprisonment. But eventually his miracles compelled the king to bestow on him the hand of his daughter the patrâsi Aisha, and a great jagir between Multân and Bhakhar. That lady’s tomb is at Lahore close to that of S. Ahmad Tokhta, but Shaikh Hákím’s body was buried at Mau Mubârik. He died in 1368 at the age of 223, an age not attained by any other Suharwardi saint. Vows are made and vigil kept at his shrine. An interesting feature of his career was his emancipation of his Hindu slaves who in gratitude embraced Islam. The māliv among their descendants were originally his door-keepers and their real tribe was Pargâr or Pathâr.

Sháh Dujan has a shrine at Jind town, and a full account of it is given in the Jind Gazetteer.* Sháh Dujan was a disciple of Shaikh Sadar-ud-Din Maleri and was appointed by him as Sháh or spiritual governor of Jind. He died in 964 A.H. There were two tombs, one of the Sháh himself and the other of his wife.

THE NAQSHBANDI ORDER.

Khwája Baha-ud-Din ofTurkestan, founder of this order, who died in 792 H. and was buried near Bakhâra, was not to be confounded with Baha-ud-Din Multâni. Khwája Ahmad Naqshband, who died in 1034 H. 

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* Bâbâwalpur Gazetteer, pp. 107-8.
* Clearly Prathâra or chamberlain, i.e., the Scotch Durward.
* In Phulkâsin States Gazetteer, 1904, Jind, p. 201.
and is buried at Sirhind in Patiala, was the disciple of Khwaja Baqī whose shrine is at Delhi where he too was buried in 1012 H.

Khwaja Baha-ud-Din Naqshband had four important disciples, one of whom Khwaja Yaqtub Charkhi is buried at Mahafko in Hisar.

The method of tasawwuf in the Naqshbandia order is as follows:

The disciple is first directed to put aside all external and internal anxieties and to sit in solitude, having no thought of enmity or anger, to be moderate in eating and to bring death before his mind, and to ask pardon of his sins from God. Then he must close his eyes and lips and draw breath into his heart or stomach or in other words stop breathing. This is called habr-i-dam. After this he must utter the word la from his heart and prolong it from his naf, namely, to his right side up to his shoulder and then repeat the word Allah, and then the words ilah-Allah.

According to Punjab traditions the following is the line of the Naqshbandi Furs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The Prophet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Abu Bakr as Saddiq the 2nd Caliph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Imam Qasim bin Muhammad, son of Abu Bakr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Imam Jafar Sadiq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>&quot;Abul Qasim Gargasli or Kerklani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Muhammad Arif Reengari or Reochari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>&quot;(Arizar) Ali Bamiundi or Bamiandi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>&quot;Muhammad Hadi Sammani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>&quot;Baha-ud-Din Naqshbandi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Yaqtub Charkhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Mumtana Darvash Muhammad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Khwaja Muhammad Baqi Billa Berang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Sh. Saffuddin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>M. Hafiz Muhammad Muhir Dihlawi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Sayyid Na'ir Muhammad Badamuni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Shahb-ud-Din Habibullah Mashar Shahid Mirza Janjani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Shahn Abu Sald Ahmadli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Shah Ahmad Sald Ahmadli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Haiji Dost Muhammad Qandhari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>&quot;Muhammad Usmun (shrine at Kulachi in Dera Ismail Khan).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*He is considered the reformer of the second thousand years after the Prophet.*
This agrees fairly well with Brown’s account. He, however, traces the spiritual pedigree of the order from Ali, through the Imám’s Hasain Zain-al-Abidin, Muhammad Baqir and Jā’far Sádiq, to Sh. Báyazid Bustámi and adds:— Báyazid Bustámi was born after the decease of the Imám Jā’far Sádiq, but by the force of the will of the latter received spiritual instruction from him. Imám Jā’far also spiritualised Gásim, grandson of Abu Bákira. From Báyazid he brings the line down with one or two additions to Ałai-ul-Din Attár, but after him he gives a different succession of the Naqshbandi pirs. The Panjab line appears to begin with a Khwája Baqi-billa who is buried at Delhi.

The members of the order are styled Khwájagán or teachers, and the khalífas and disciples of Obaidulla were wałís whose shrines are scattered over the countries of Sind, Bukhára, Persia and their confines. Various members of it enunciated different opinions, one declaring that the soul returns to earth in a new body. Others taught the necessity of khalwat or meditation so profound and continued as to completely absorb the mind, so that even in a crowd the meditator can hear no sound. Every word spoken by others will then appear to him sikr, and so will his own words also when spoken on other topics. The practice of sikr is highly elaborated, according to Brown, and by it, by khalwat, tawassuf, muráwaba, tasarruf and tawassuf the fervent dārūmesh attains peculiar spiritual powers called quwát-i-yahut báṭini or inward spiritual power and in a sháikh or pír the exercise of these powers is called quwát irádat or will-power. It extends to the ability to cause death even at a distance.

Petit regards the Naqshbandis as one of the convulsionary orders, to a certain extent. Armed with long sticks and with hair streaming in the wind they utter loud cries and trample on sharp stones until they fall insensible from pain. These exercises are chiefly practised in Persia. Petit also speaks of their ideal which is to be absorbed in God by developing the quwát-al-irádat or strength of will. Familiarised thereby with the various phenomena of mental suggestion they are regarded by the people as having a discretionary power over nature. Their lesser attributes consist in foretelling the future, settling events in advance, healing at a distance, and smiting their enemies from afar. When in their contemplations ecstasy is slow to supervene, they are said to use opium and its preparations.

According to the Rashidát the Khoja Ahmad Tasawwí aided Sultan Abu Sa’īd against Bábār and saved Samarkand when he attacked that place. That saint claimed to be able to affect the minds of sovereigns by joscíkh or the subduing faculty. Brown’s account of the tarks varies. He describes the Naqshbandis as wearing caps of 18 tarks.

1. The Rashidát ‘Ahsan-ul-Haqiat or ‘Drop from the Fountain of Life’ describes the order to Obaidulla, and makes Bánha-ul-lum merely a learned exponent of its principles; Brown, The Dowatabde, p. 127.
3. All this appears to be based on the Rashidát.
6. Ib., p. 33.
Nagshbandi shrines.

or only 4.

The cap, generally white, is always embroidered and used to contain a verse of the Qurán. The order performs *ikhlas* or prayers seated, each member reciting one *ikhlas* until 1001 have been said. The number is checked by the use of pebbles as tallies.

The Nurabahais are evidently an offshoot of the Naqshbandis, but Brown, who gives their spiritual descent, says nothing about their practices.

Naqshbandi shrines are found as below—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khwája Baqi-billa Naqshbandi</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No building over his grave exists.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáín Tawakkal Sháh Naqshbandi</td>
<td>Ambála</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quth Sáhib</td>
<td>Thánessy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mujaddid Sáhib</td>
<td>Sirhind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sháikh Ahmad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ahmad Said</td>
<td>Sirhind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Masum</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Saif-ud-Din</td>
<td>Mozang, Lahore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh. Khawaníd Mahmúd</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Sadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayad Nór Muhammad</td>
<td>Sirhind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdul Ahd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Abíd</td>
<td>Sirhind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sháh Abdullah</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sháh Abu Said</td>
<td>Tonk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazrat Ghulam Mohíy-ud-Din</td>
<td>Kasur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayad Imám Ali Sháh</td>
<td>Ratá Chhatr in Gurdáspur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Mahmúd Sháh</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Háji Muhammad Sa'id</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ján Muhammad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Naushahi and Qaisarshahi Orders.

These are two recent offshoots or sub-orders of the Qádria. The founder of the Naushahi is also said to have been named Sháikh Háji Muhammad whose tomb is at Chháni Sahnpal, on the Chenab.

1 Brown, *The Bervishis*, p. 57.
4 Near Dera Nánán. Láke Maksáiná near Bátílí this is a seat of Sayyid *piyá*. Both possess Muhammadan buildings of some interest: *Gurdáspur Gazetteer*, 1914, p. 31.
5 *Vol. III*, p. 106.
opposite Rámnagar in the Wazirábád tahsíl. The Qissarsháhí derive their name from Qisár Sháh, whose shrine is at Wayínwálí in the same tahsíl. Many followers of these two sub-orders are to be found in the Gujránwála District.

Like the Chishtí the Nausháhí are deeply attached to spiritual and moral hymns and in ecstasy forget themselves and everything under the sun. Other Súfí orders do not bind themselves to any such observances and lay great stress on the simplicity observed in the time of the Prophet and his four companions.

The rites observed by each Súfí order after prayers differ slightly, but the spirit of them all is the same and leads to a common goal, viz. the annihilation and absorption of self and everything else in the unity of God.

A Nausháhí shrine at Lahore is that of Fadl Sháh, a native of Saídpur in Zafárwál tahsíl, Sialkot. First the muáltā of a mosque, then a maker of spectacles, he became a disciple of Rahmán Sháh Nausháhí and a maktúf qádir who squandered the money given him by hisfollower Rájá Dína Náth and in his fits used to abuse and pelt him with stones. He died in 1834 and was buried in the tomb which the Rájá had made for him in his life-time.1 He appears to have given its name to the Mastí gate of the city.

Pir Sháh, whose taká stands at the Zira gate of Ferozepur city, belonged to the Nausháhí. One of his followers is in charge of the tomb. A fair is held here in Bhadon when alms are distributed.

At a small gathering held at Cháwa in Bhara tahsíl during the Muharram Nausháhí fáqirs have hymns sung which cast some of the hearers into ecstasy. The patient becomes unconscious or raving and is then suspended by his heels from a tree till he recovers. But such practices are reprobated by the learned.2

The Madári Order.

To the account given in Vol. III, pp. 43-4, some additions may be made. According to the legends current in Patiála, the Madári owe their origin to Badí’-ud-Din, Madár, a son of Abu Isháq, the Shámi, and their mir dirdr or chief shrine in Patiála is the taká of Murád Ali Sháh at Bánúr. They have other dirdr in that tahsíl, but the most interesting feature in their cult is their connection with the shrine of Háji Ratan near Bhatinda, which is held by Madári mujáwars descended from a Madári with the Hindu name of Sháh Chand who came from Makanpur in Oudh. Tradition makes Háji Ratan himself a Hindu, by name Ratan Pál, who assumed the title of Háji Ratan on conversion.

Ratan Pál or Chan Kaun—the latter name could hardly be borne by a man—was díns to a Hindu Rája of Bhatinda but he betrayed that fortress to the Moslems.

1 Hist. of Lahore, p. 123.
2 Sháhpur Gántáth, p. 88.
3 Bhoor Pál or Vasa Pál.
Born a Chauhan Rajput, like Guggra, his knowledge of astrology told him that a prophet called Muhammad would be born in Arabia who would spread the religion of Islam. In order to be able to see the Prophet he practised restraining his breath, and after the prophet had performed the miracle of splitting the moon into two he set out to Mecca in order to meet him. There he embraced Islam and lived with him 30 years, so that he was numbered among the ashab or companions of the Prophet. After that period he returned to India by order of the Prophet and stayed at the place where his shrine is now and where he continued the practice of restraining his breath. When Shahab-ud-Din Ghorii proceeded to Bhatinda to fight Pirghi Rai he went to pay a visit to the Hajji who miraculously supplied his whole army with water from a single jug. The invader asked him to pray for the conquest of the fort of Bhatinda, whereupon the saint replied that it would be conquered by the help of two Sayyids of his army. The sign by which he could recognise them would be that while a storm would blow down all the other tents of the camp their tent would not be hurt and they would be found in it reading the Qur'an. When the king had found out the two Sayyids, they declared themselves ready to undertake the task in which however they foretold they would lose their lives. The fort was conquered, the two Sayyids fell as martyrs and their tombs are now to the north of the shrine of Baba Ratan. The Baba himself died shortly after the conquest of the fort at the age of 200 years.

This is the legend as told at Bhatinda. But Baba Ratan was destined to find a much wider field of fame. Several Muhammadan writers of the 7th and 8th centuries of the Hijra mention having seen Ratan and one of them, Daaf Ilm Asad of Assisifut in Egypt, calls him Ratan the son of Medan, the son of Mundi, the Indian money-changer. The story which he heard from him was to the effect that after having gone to Syria where he found Christianity to be the ruling religion he turned Christian, but later on in Modina he became a convert to Islam. According to Daaf the Hajji's death took place in 608 H. (1277 A.D.). Another account gives some particulars of his appearance. His teeth were small like those of a snake, his beard was like thorns, his hair white, his eyebrows had grown so long that they reached down to his cheeks and had always to be turned up with the help of hooks. He was known in Mesopotamia. A Ratan Shah is known to Kashmir legends and in the 11th century a traveller informs us that Baba Ratan was considered by the gardeners of Constantinople to be their patron saint. This poet however he owes probably to some of the Sufic orders which we know exercised in all Muhammadan countries a great influence on the guilds of the various trades and their organisation. Among the patrons of the various guilds we very rarely find saints that were not exceptionally long-lived and it is probably chiefly as a mu'ammar or long-lived person that Baba Ratan has attained this rank.

The Jallali Order.

This order described in Vol. II, p. 380, as one of the regular Muhammadan orders is perhaps an off-shoot of the Shabarwandi and in Patiala its Fakirs are said to be distinguished by their glass bracelets which

\* See also Journal, Punjab Hist. Society, II, p. 97 ff.
recommends the sect which wears women's clothes in Sind. When epidemic
disease breaks out among goats people offer them goats to stop the evil.
They repeat the words 'Panjara' and 'Dam Maola'. They have a 'darsa'
at Ghansaur in Patiala. Brown ascribes the foundation of the order to
Sayyid-i-Jalal who gives him a cap worn by the Bektash which has seven 'tarks'.

The 'dalis' in charge of the Musalis' 'takia' in Ferozepur also belongs
to the Jalalis. His predecessor became its incumbent in the time of
Rana Lachhman Kaur. The well, 'takia' and mosque belonged to the
Musalis and they settled him (Inayat Shakh) here.

Hasan Ali was a Bukhari Sayyid of Bhaor who belonged to the
Jalali order. His tomb lies in the 'tabia', known as that of Gulab
Shakh or Ghore Shakh on the road from the Ferozepur Municipal Board
School to the Sadr. Prayers are said and alms distributed here in
Muhammad at the Chihilam or 40th day.

The Bektashi order is ascribed to Haji Bektash Wali, but the
accounts of him are quite legendory. They say he belonged to Nishapur,
was a pupil of Ahmad Yesevi and died in 1337, but the figure 788 H.
is merely arrived at by calculating the letters in the word 'Bektashia'.
The tradition that Bektash blessed the Janissaries under Orkhan appears
to be based on their later connection with the order. Its existence
under this name can only be proved for the 16th century, but the move-ment
organized by it in western Turkey is older and moreover after the
order was founded that movement spread far beyond its limits. In
Albania the Bektashis are a sect rather than an order. The Qizilbash
and Ali-Jalals agree in the main Bektashi doctrines. In those doctrines
Sufi ideas about the equality of all religions and the worthlessness
of external ceremonies play an important part. Professing to the
Sunnis for the most part they are extreme Shi'/as, recognizing the twelve
Imams, and especially Ja'far-as-Sadiq, with the fourteen Ma'sam-i-pak
or 'pure children', who are mostly Alid martyrs. Prayers offered at the
graves of saints may take the place of ritual worship, and Bektashis
have often settled at old and famous places of pilgrimage and made
them their own. They have the doctrine of the Trinity, Ali taking the
place of Jesus (Allah, Muhammad and Ali), and celebrate a communion
of wine, bread and cheese at meetings in the 'madina oday', or hall of
assembly in the monastery ('tabia'). They deny that they have 'zikr'.
They also confess to their 'bidat' and receive absolution. Wine is not
forbidden, owing to the importance of the vine in their cult, nor do
their women wear veils. One sect still lives in celibacy—which was

1 Panikhar State Gazetteer, Patiala, p. 80.
2 Brown, The Dervishes, p. 150.
3 For a song about Jalali the blacksmith's daughter see Temple, Legenda, II, p. 183.

This tale seems partly mystical. Jalali was carried off by a local king and rescued by
Bede Shah, the 'shah' or 'Vizier', as called Jalali. Legend says he came from
Moesa and converts him with Qadri-Qulah Jhali. He has a shrine vaguely described as
near Lahore on the Turbat road. His great feast was making the 'dalis' come from
India and east for ever, so he is clearly a survival of nature-worship merged in the Jalali
tombs.

4 Similarly, the Qizilbash in Eastern Anatolia who must be regarded as a branch of
the Shi'as, 'combine the Idea of Ali and Our Lord, of Ali's sons Husain and
Shahbuddin; Peter and Paul, of the twelve Imams and the twelve Apostles'; Inkhach, City of
Dancing Dervishes, p. 127.
probably the original rule for the whole order. They have adopted the mystic doctrine of numbers, particularly that of four, and also believe in the metamorphosis. The head of a monastery is called bādā, and all celibates have since the middle of the 16th century a head of their own, the mujarrad bahāy. The ordinary darvash is called a murīd and a layman attached to a tabba, muntakah. The dress of the order is a white cloak and cap (sikhe) made of 12 (usually) or several triangular bits of cloth, corresponding to the twelve Imāms. Round the cap the bābās wear the green turban. An amulet of stone (tasālim lasheh) is generally worn round the neck. The double axe and long staff complete the full dress, celibates also wear earrings as a distinguishing mark. The Bektāshis were chaplains to the Janissaries and overwhelmed in their ruin in 1826, but they have recovered much ground.

Members of the order are affiliated with French masonic lodges. Its headquarters are at Rumili Hisar. But the mother-monastery (pir-e) is at Hāji Bektāsh between Kirshahr and Kaisariye, and there its Grand Master or Chalabi resides.

The cult of the vine was a feature of the old pre-Zoroastrian cult of Armenia. The double axe is peculiarly interesting in view of its associations with an early Greek or Mycenaean divinity.

The 'howling' darvash also carry an axe, but it is not double.

Brown's account of the Bektāsh is full and worth quoting at some length, not only as an instructive example of a Muslim order and its developments but also because it casts much light on the kindred orders, the Qalandars and Naqshbandis. According to one of his informants Hāji Bektāsh, Jān Nūsi, Shāh-bās-i-Qalandari, Jalāl-i-Bukhāri and Luqmān Qalandari were all disciples of Ahmad-al-Yassavi and originally Naqshbandis. But each founded a separate order and the tombs of Jalāl and Shāh-bās are at Simna near Kurdistān while that of Jān Nūsi

1 Or 'stone of submission': regarding which various interpretations are current. One is that it is worn to commemorate the Prophet's gift of Fātimah to Ali: Brown, The Darvâshes, p. 151. Another is that it is the darvash-darvâsh or miraculous stone with 12 holes worn by Moses: 48, p. 140.

2 W. S. Monroe, Turkey and the Turks, p. 231.

3 All the foregoing is taken from the Diwān, of Ḩāji, pp. 691-2. For the Bektāshī in Ameleia, see p. 432.

4 Ikhchich records that the Chelebi Eftendji derives his title from Ar. sâlih, 'amritia': The City of Dancing Dervishes, p. 22.

5 Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, i. p. 794.

6 A. J. Rücker, The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult, 1901, pp. 3 f.

7 See illustration at p. 231 in Turkey and the Turks. This or some other modern work illustrates a Turkish darvâsh with a dagger thrust through both cheeks. As showing how religious symbolism and practises tend to reproduce themselves Bishop Whitehead, The Village Gods of South India, p. 79, may be cited. The devotees of Durga paste his cheeks together with a long safety-pin to ensure concentration of mind: when drawing nigh her shrine. In both cases the origin of the practice may be similar.

8 But Brown also predates two Bektāshīs, one Bektāshī Kāli, the 'servant' of God, author of the Bektāsh-i-Kāli or Garden of Reflection; the other Hāji Bektāsh who lived in Asia Minor under Saltān Murâd I and blessed the Janissaries. Brown reproduces a curious note on the origin of the Bektāshīs which says that the darâs or Ḥāmis are divided into four classes, the ghânis or heroes, aḥetermin or brothers, shotlā or scribes, and the hâmis or sisters. Hāji Bektāsh chose the Ḥāmān-ī Ḥāmis among the Balars (whomever they may be) and made over his principles of spiritual power to the Khātim Amâdir (a lady of the latter name) and then died: op. cit., p. 142.
is in Khorásán. All except Jalál wore the costume of the order of Háji Bektaš, but while Ján Núsh had 12 tarkhs in his cap, Sháhábáz had only 7 and Laqmán 4, while the dissenting Jalál had only one. The spiritual descent of Háji Bektaš is traced up to Ali through the same or almost the same steps as that of the Naqshbandis. But the Bektáši have a characteristic legend regarding the preaching of their spiritual doctrines. As the angel Gabriel had invested (with a cloak and so on) Adam, Abraham and the Prophet, so the last named invested Ali, he Salmán-i-Pársi and Umr Ummu Bilál Habeshi, and these did the same for 12 others, including Zu-n-Nún Misri who was sent to Egypt, Suhaili who went to Rūm, Dádá Yamani to the Yemen and Salmán to Baghda dém.

The rites of the Bektáši are numerous and elaborate and with them religious symbolism has reached a high development. At initiation the murid is deprived of nearly all clothing, his breast being bared, and anything metallic or mineral on his person is taken from him, to symbolise that he sacrifices the world and all its wealth. His initiation is preceded by the sacrifice of a sheep, as among the Rafaís, and with a rope made of its wool he is led into the hall of the takis by two tarjandús or interpreters. This hall is square and in its octagonal centre is one stone called the maitán tash on which stands a lighted candle, while around it are 12 seats of white sheepskin, post or postaki. At an initiation the candle on the maitán tash is replaced by one placed in front of each post. The murid or shaikh is seated on one post and 11 members of the order on the others. The murid is led to the central stone on which he stands with crossed arms, his hands resting on his shoulders, his whole body leaning towards the shaikh in a prescribed attitude. The litany of initiation is simple, but it is accompanied or ratified by the murids' kneeling before the shaikh, their knees touching, while each holds the other's right hand, the two thumbs raised in the form of the letter alif. Every incident in the ritual has its meaning, the maitán tash represents the altar on which Abraham was about to offer up his son, or the stone of contentment which is also worn in the girdle of this order. The 12 Imáms are represented by the 12 members seated on the posts. The Bektášis are credited, as usual in the case of such orders, with secret pantheistical or even atheistical doctrines and it is said that the murid is required to admit that there is no God, meaning that all nature is God, but this is not proved. The shaikh is said to represent Ali, but the murid makes his vows to the pir or founder of the order, not to the shaikh. Before his initiation he is tested for a full year during which he is styled a maháb or catechumen, being entrusted with false secrets to test his powers of guarding the real mysteries of the order. He is guided to the takis by two vahpars who remain outside it armed with the tabbar, a halberd of

1 Abu Bakr was Sa'diq, 1st Caliph, and Ali both taught Salmán Pársi and he taught Muhammad Sa'diq (son of Abu Bakr) who passed on the tradition to his son Ja'far, he to Abu Yazid (sic) Dusami, he to Abul Hasam Harakiani, he to Abul-Hasim Karkhani, he to Ali Ali-ni Farmadi, he to Yusuf Hamadání and he to Ahmad Yassavi.

2 Salmán's name seems to occur in two capacities. Zu-n-Nún, the Egyptian Sultan, is said to have been the first to formulate the doctrine of occult states (adi, and mawlawi). His orthodoxy was not above suspicion. He died in 246 H.: Macdonald, op. cit., p. 176.

3 He is only stripped if he intends to take the vow of celibacy (máfarad ingerde)
peculiar shape. But as these rahpars are two in number and do not enter the takia it can hardly be said that the rahpar represents Muhammad and the idea that the Prophet is thus placed lower than the Caliph appears to be unfounded. The sirk or vow is comprehensive and concludes with the murid's acceptance of Muhammad as his rahpar and Ali as his murshid. The dress of the Bektashi consists of a sleeveless vest (hoidri) with a streak supposed to be the word Ali, and 12 lines symbolizing the Imams: a khirqa with a similar streak; a girdle of white wool; a cord (kambor) of goat's hair to which is attached a crystal called sajj; earings (maqosh) like those of the Bifás; and a cap. This cap is called tāj and in the case of a shāikh has 12 tark which are of 4 doors, but in the case of a lower degree it is simply made of white felt in four parts, signifying shari'at, tarīqat, haqīqat and ma'rūf. The tāj is however the subject of much mystic symbolism and as already noted the number of the tark is not fixed. Passing over the significance of such ritual paraphernalia as the dolah or legging, the lwaık or long robe and the alīf which (the two latter garments were worn by the Prophet when he declared his light and Ali's to be one), the kashqal or beggar's bowl, the fiqui or pilgrim's staff, the chick or rod, used in punishment, and the lusser or horn, this account of the order may be closed with references to two points of general interest. The Bektashis appear to lay peculiar stress on the doctrine of the mājil or spiritual counterpart of the body, which is its spiritual pir. It dies 40 days before the temporal self and so forewarns the body to which it belongs of impending events, God, it is held, does not make saints of the ignorant. He has them first taught by the mājil and then makes them alīa. It is regrettable that our knowledge of this doctrine is not fuller. Another doctrine of the Bektashis finds a curious parallel in the eastern Punjab. As the shāikh in the assembled takia represents Ali, so the next post is that of the cook, or Sain Ali Bakh, a khalifa of the order; the 3rd that of the breadmaker, Bahim Sultân: the 4th that of the na'il or deputy shāikh after Gai Gusas: the 5th, that of the mājil is occupied by the Superintendent of the takia, representing Sari Ismāil; the 6th that of its steward, called after Kūli Ashik Hájim Sultân: the 7th of the coffee-maker, after Shazali Sultân: the 8th, of the bag-bearer, after Kara Daulat Jān Baba; the 9th, of the sacrifice, after Ibrahim Khali'ullāh (Abraham): the 10th, of the ordinary attendant of the services, after Abul Musa: the 11th, of the groom, after Kamber, Ali's groom: and the 12th, of the mājil or entertainer of guests, after Khīz. 1

1 Ali's horse, Dūdald, had a groom Kambar, who used to tie its rope round its waist. It had 3 knots, al-baygh (hand-tie), al-baygh (long-tie) and al-baygh (wind-tie). The kambor thus reminds its wearer that he must not steal, lie or commit fornication.

3 Apparently, the same as the stone of outcastment.

5 The mājil takia is shaped like a new moon and commemorates the horse-ace of All.

6 Brown describes this as kept in the takia (p. 158) and as, like the fūqar and sahr, carried when on a long journey (p. 159). The jamāsa is a skin thrown over the shoulder when travelling.

9 In Brown, op. cit., p. 158. Khīz seems to be specially affected by the Bektashis. With 15 other prophets he wore their girdle which was first worn by Adam. He is called the chief of all the ahdīr: ch. p. 145.
A curious parallel to this list is afforded by the Sayyids of Karnál.

Mr. J. R. Drummond, C. S., first called attention to the fact that the Sayyids of certain villages in Karnál, who are of the Bāra-Sa'ādāt, had a curious system of clan names, and subsequently the following account of them was obtained by Sayyid Íltāf Husain, Honorary Magistrate at Karnál:

The Bāra-Sa'ādāt have a curious system by which the inhabitants of each hamlet or basti are known by certain nick-names. These Sayyids are descended from Sayyid Abdūl-Farsh Wāsiti, son of Sayyid Dāūd or Sayyid Husain. A list of the bastis and nicknames is appended:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Basti</th>
<th>Nickname</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sankhiharana</td>
<td>Kaftandozi, or sewer of shrouds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mojhara</td>
<td>Confectioner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mīrānpur</td>
<td>Sheep-butcher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kethora</td>
<td>Butcher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tandhera</td>
<td>Bhūtāni, she-ghost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khojera</td>
<td>Ghost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakroli</td>
<td>Dog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behra</td>
<td>Chumār, scavenger or leather-worker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mornā</td>
<td>Camel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jatwāra</td>
<td>Pig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naghs</td>
<td>Barber.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jansathā</td>
<td>Chirīmār, bird-catcher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitora</td>
<td>Mimic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawal</td>
<td>Jariya, one who sets glass or stone in ornament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jauli</td>
<td>Teli, or oilman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasang</td>
<td>Dūm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salarpur</td>
<td>Chūtiya, fool.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghalibpur</td>
<td>He-ass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedipur</td>
<td>She-ass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelaundāli</td>
<td>Kunjā, green-grocer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahāri</td>
<td>Goldsmith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahādurpur</td>
<td>Kungar, rustic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilāspur</td>
<td>Khumrā, a cutter of mill stones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palri</td>
<td>Kamāngar, a bowman or bow-maker.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Rafδī'

Name of Bxati. Nickname.
Sa'dhawati ... Dār-ul-Himaqat, house of foolishness.
Pimbor ... Sarāī, baker.
Charriyala ... Manihār, bangle-maker.
Tassar ... Sweeper.
Sakera ... Owl.
Musaffarnagar ... Eunuch.

At first sight some of these names look like totems, and one is tempted to see in them traces of Arabian totem-clans, which would be in accord with the claim to be descended from the tribe of Quresh. This, however, does not appear to be the true explanation of the names, which, it should be noted, are called puimal, or 'counter-signs' by the Sayyids themselves. Moreover, the Bāra-Sa'ādāt are all Shi'as, except those who live in Latheri village, and even they intermarry with the Shi'as.

The nicknames given above appear to be in reality relics of a system of initiation into the degrees of a secret order, and are paralleled in Turkey in the order of the Mauvais, in which the novice is called the so-called, and so on. The Shi'as have always tended to become organized into orders, secret societies, and the Assassins of the Elburz formed in the Middle Ages the most powerful and famous of these associations. They also had a system of degrees into which their adherents were successively initiated. The Turis of the Kurram Valley, who are or claim to be Shi'as, also have signs by which they ascertain if a man is straight, i.e. a Shi'a, or crooked, i.e. a non-Shi'a.

The Rafδī'

The Rafδī', briefly described in the article on Gurzmar in Vol. II, p. 321, is one of the most interesting of the Islamic orders. MacDonald ascribes its foundation to Ahmad al-Rifa'a in 576 H. and is of opinion that the Aulā'ul-Iwan or sons of Sayyid Ilwan who is said to have founded the first monastic order as early as 49 H. are a sect of the Rafδī'tes. But Brown says its founder's name was Ahmad Sa'id Rafδi whose claim to have his foot over the necks of all the saints of Allah is admitted by his followers. The Rafδī's are chiefly distinguished by their riddli khirqa, which must have a green edge;

1 The Bāra Sa'ādāt were also settled in the Panjab, e.g. at Sirkind: see Temple, Legends, III, p. 327. The tale is that Sayyid Amin, son of Sayyid Akbar Shah, governor of Sirkind, was killed at Shah Jahan's court. Probably it is historically incorrect, but recalls some events of religious importance. Bāra or Bāra Bānw near Sirkind may still exist.

It is characteristic of the Qādirīs in Arabia, also that the celebrated saint Shahīk Ḥamīd, founder of a long line of holy men at Madura, bore the title of al-sammān, 'the seller of clarified butter'; Burton Al-Madina, p. 103.

2 The Derawas, pp. 297-8. The Mādāqū of Mīr Shāhīr in Pentswar with which no fair is connected has the following history: Shāhīr was a faghir possessing miraculous powers and the Mādāqū, which contains his tomb, was in existence before the village was founded in 1699. It contains a grave enclosed by a wall. Its management is in the hands of Mīr Mūr Shāhīr faghir, a Gurzmar. He sweeps the floor daily, bends a drum every Thursday, and keeps a green cover over the tomb. Worshippers may offer new green covers to the tomb. The Mādāqū himself keeps charge of the fire (for wakkāh) and lives on alms collected from the villages.

3 Op. cit., p. 113, where the origin of this is explained by a legend.
and their tāj or cap. The tāj is white and has 8 or 12 tarkhs each signifying a cardinal sin abandoned. The turban is black and the shaikh generally wear black or green garments with a black shawl. They practise ri'a or abandonment, which is the principal of four forms of that practice, and their shaikh wears a tāj of 12 tarkhs, signifying the 12 Imāms, and of these 4 are called *doors* to represent the forms of ri'a.1 At initiation the murid provides a sheep or lamb for a sacrifice which is offered at the threshold of the takia, the flesh being eaten by all its members and the wool made into a tahaind or belt for the murid. The initiated also wear earrings, being called Hasani is only one ear if drilled and Hussaini if both. At initiation the shape of the cap is also changed, apparently to represent progress in grace and the abandonment of sins. The Turkish Rafā’is do not seem to have much in common with the Gurzmārs though they wear a kam’at tāghi of one to four stones in the girdle to appease hunger, in the belief that before it is necessary to compress the stomach by four stones Providence will have supplied food. The Rafā’is of Egypt are however very like the Indian Gurzmārs and surpass them in self-torture.2 Its founder is there styled Sa’id Ahmad Rifa’a al-Kabir and is regarded as one of the four Quṭbhs.

1 Brown, op. cit., p. 113.
2 Ib., pp. 245, 349, 352, 354, citing Lane’s Modern Egyptians.
Moslem cosmogony.

Moslem cosmogony and belief in spirits.

According to the Qurān (ii, 20 and lxxviii, 6) the earth was spread out as a bed or as a carpet, and the belief is that there are 7 heavens one above the other and seven earths one beneath the other. An angel supports the earth on his shoulders, and beneath his feet is a rock of ruby with 9000 perforations, from each of which pours a sea. The rock stands on the bull, Kuyūtā, with 4000 eyes and other features, and below the bull Batamūt (Behemoth), the giant fish which rests in water and that in darkness. A general belief is that below the darkness lies hell with its seven stages.1

In Moslem cosmogony each of the seven planets has had its age of 7000 years and we are now in the last, the daur-i-qamar or age of the moon, the end of time.

The first planet, Utārid (Mercury), is the qāsid and dabīr of the sky. His mansion is in Janza (Gemini), and with Janza he keeps his quiver. The hair of Janza's face is called arrows. From Utārid come the world's disasters. Heaven hath 9 or 7 steps or degrees: (1) the welkin, the circes of the (2) sun, (3) moon and (4-8) five planets; and (9) the empyrean, which is God's abode. From Zuhra in the third heaven come song and singing. From Murikh (Mars) in the fifth comes tyranny. The conjunctions of Venus with Jupiter and with moon, and of the moon with Jupiter, are exceedingly auspicious.

When the Shaitāns attempt to overhear words from the lowest heaven they are struck down by shooting stars, some being consumed while others fall into the waters and become crocodiles. Others alighting on land become gūl which is properly female, the male being qutrūb. The gūl appears to men in the desert in various forms and lures them to sin. These beings and the gherū or gharar are the offspring of Iblīs and a wife created for him out of the fire of the Simūm. The gūl takes any form, human or animal, and also haunts burial-grounds.

The account of the Creation in the Qurān (xli 8 ff) was supplemented by the traditions which declared that 'the angels were created from a bright gem and the jīsān from fire without smoke, and Adam from clay.'

The jīsān consist of five orders:

(1) The jāmāt or metamorphosed jīsān—just as an ape or swine may be a transformed man—created from smokeless fire—the fire of the Simūm:

(2) the parī or dēw, renowned for beauty, but

(3) the shaitān, any evil jīsān, created from fire just as the angels were created from light and Adam of earth.

(4) Ifrīt, a powerful jīsān, and

(5) Marīd, a most powerful jīsān.

Aljāmān also signifies Iblīs (= Shaitān), a serpent, a jīsān and the father of all the jīsān.

2 T., p. 174.
Among the Jat and Baloch tribes of Dera Ismail Khan and Mianwali it is very difficult to get people to talk about jinnas. The more intelligent profess a disbelief which they do not really feel; while the poorer and more ignorant will not say much, either from fear of ridicule or to avoid being questioned. The latter consider the jinnas helpful people who should be propitiated; but the former consider them harmful. The favourite haunts of the jinnas are ruined wells, old khads and graveyards as well as the many lonely tracts in these districts. The dust pillar is a jinn. There is a very strong belief in the jinnas who inhabit desolate tracts and in a woman's voice calling back by name. Two men have told me that this has happened to them. Safety lies in going on without turning round. I heard a curious story—much like that of the death of Pan and other European variants of the same idea;—a man was riding after nightfall near the village of Tibbi. A jinn called to him and bid him ride to the ravine near the village and cry, 'The mother of Barbo is dead.' He did so. He could see nothing in the ravine, but the bushes stirred and there was a sound of many women wailing. The jinn takes an active and mischievous interest in agricultural operations. Every heap of grain has the biemilah written by the village mullah stuck on it in a slit stick. The idrri or sickle and wooden fork are also left sticking in the heap, points upwards, to keep off the jinnas, who would otherwise fetch away the grain. Cattle sickness is usually caused by jinnas. Either the cattle are driven at evening into the village under a Qur-an held aloft by two men or the jinnas are driven away by guns fired into the air. The Akhundzada Jaghut, at Paroa in Dera Ismail Khan, writes a verse of the Qur-an on paper, washes off the ink into water and sprinkles the cattle with it. In the notorious village of Muri, close to Dera Ismail Khan town, lives a saastari's daughter who charms a stick by reading certain passages of the Qur-an over it. This too is efficacious when passed over the cattle. To cure maka khutri a lamp made from the hoof of a dead horse is used. Sickness disappears from the area illuminated by its light.

Cases of women and men who are supposed to be possessed by evil spirits are common. Only the lineal descendants of Lal Isan and Pir Muhammad Raja (whose two shrines are both in Mianwali) can exercise them. These spirits are known by name. They are Ata Muhammad, Naur Muhammad, Fateh Muhammad and Zulf Jamil. They have a sister known as Mai or Bibi Kundali. Those possessed will say which spirit troubles them. A man possessed by Bibi Kundali assumes parai and always covers his face. The sick are taken on camels to the fairs of Kot Isan and Pir Raja. Usually the patient dismounts on seeing the shrine and runs madly towards it. Exorcism usually consists, I believe, in anointing with oil, reading particular verses of the Qur-an, reciting the mighty names and attributes of God and, I have heard, of whipping on the back. Offerings are usually given yearly to prevent a return of the spirit. There are also two Hindu jinnas of this class, named Pana Diwara and Ram Rikki. They do not attack Muhammadans. The sarids of Taunsa Sharif are supposed to be immune. The same belief and customs prevail in Multan.
Khwája Khizr, or the god of water, writes Ibbetson, is an extraordinary instance of a Musalmán name being given to a Hindu deity. Khwája Khizr is properly that one of the great Muhammadan saints to whom the care of travellers is confided. But throughout the Eastern Punjab at any rate, he is the Hindu god of water, and is worshipped by burning lamps and feeding Brahmins at the well, and by setting afloat on the village pond a little raft of sacred grass with a lighted lamp upon it. His original name is said to have been Ablia, the son of Mulkaú, 6th in descent from Noah. He wears a long white beard and one of his thumbs has no bone in it. As he is always dressed in green he is called Khizr and it is believed that wherever he sits or prays the soil becomes green with verdure.

According to the Sikandarnáma Khwája Khizr presided over the well of immortality and directed Alexander the Great, though in vain, as to where he should find it. As giver of the waters of immortality he is called the Jinda or Zinda Pír, a title which is however more commonly used of Gugga. The Khwája in this tradition appears as the brother of Mihtar IIás, who is Lord of Land as the Khwája is Lord of Water, and both are attendants of Alexander. When the latter set forth to discover the waters of life they accompanied him but when they came to where two roads met, the king with a few attendants took one and the two brothers the other. At a wayside fountain they all roasted fish and flung a bone into the water in which it came to life again as a fish. Both then drank of it and returned to tell the king of their discovery. He went back with them and finding the birds at the fountain featherless asked them the cause. They replied that as they had drank of the living water, they would not die till the Judgment Day, but having eaten and drank all that they were destined to consume they were doomed to live on in that condition. Alexander abetained from drinking of the fountain lest the same fate should befall him. But the two brothers who had drank of its water prayed for such dignities as would enable them to live in comfort till the last day. In response God bestowed upon the Khwája the control over water and upon IIás power over the daily changes in the market rates for grain and the guidance of lost travellers.

The Moslems usually confound Khizr with Phineas, Elias and St. George, saying that by metempsychosis his soul passed through all three. Others say he was Balya ibn Malekán, a contemporary of Parfodón, B. C. 800, and that he lived in the time of Músát. Others again that he was a general of Alexander and a nephew of Abraham, who guided Moses and Israel in their passage of the Red Sea, and led Alexander to the Water of Life in the Zulmát or Darkness. Khizr is believed to be

1 P. N. Q. II, § 3.
2 A Zinda Pír is also one who is recognized as a saint even in his lifetime. Thus the Shaikh, Sadr-al-Dúá, the founder of the Múša family, was so accounted.
3 Crooke gives a version of this legend current in Sindh and points out its resemblance to the tale of the coming of the devil and of secret judgmsents of God in the Gesta Romanorum, ii, the origin of Parnell's Hermit, N. 1. N. Q. IV., § 330.
4 For the meaning of the phrase khawar-e-Dámas or 'green of vegetation', see Witherford Clarke, Ïdáá-e-Sááh, I, p. 149. They include the world, alchemy, a beautiful woman of unworthy origin, one possessed of unusual power of miracles, unlawful wealth &c. Cf. also pp. 195-6 and 211.
concealed like Muhammad Báqir who is still alive and a wanderer over the earth. A section of the Syrian Ismailites is called Khizari, owing to its extraordinary veneration for the prophet Elias.

In Jacobpur Jatán in Gujrat a script called Khizri is well known. The writers say that Khwaja Khizir taught their forefathers the art of writing.

The Khizri gate of Lahore city is so named because it was the river-gate when the Ravi flowed under the fort.

Khwaja Khizir surpassed even Moses in learning. Once when the latter went to see him the Khwaja took a plank out of a boat and disabled it. Then he killed a handsome boy and a third time he, with Moses’ assistance, repaired a ruined house-wall without being asked by any one to do so. He accounted to Moses for his deeds by pointing out that the boat belonged to an orphan and was about to be seized by an oppressive governor, that the boy whom he had killed was of bad character, and that under the ruined wall lay a buried treasure which belonged to some poor boys, and that its fall would have obliterated the marks which indicated its place of concealment.

Another story about his patronage of learning says that Hazrat Imam Ghazâli was devoted to learning but being very poor could not devote his whole time to it. Once Khwaja Khizir appeared in a dream and bade him open his mouth so that the Khwaja might put salvation in it and so enable him to imbibe all the sciences at once. But Imam Ghazâli said that knowledge so won would be useless because it would have cost him nothing and so he would not appreciate it. Khwaja Khizir then gave him some casks of oil to enable him to prosecute his studies.

Khwaja Khizir1 has various names, such as Khwaja Khâs Durminda, Dumindo, Jinda Pir,2 and, in Chamba, Bir Batál.

As Dumindo he appears to be confused, or identical, with Shaikh Dûndu, an effigy of cloth stuffed with straw which is used as a charm against rain.3

Khwaja Khizir is often identified with Mihtar Ilyâs (Elias), but the latter is the patriarch who presides over jungles to guide travellers who lose their way, while the Khwaja is the tutelary saint of sailors and boatmen.4

In popular lithographs Khwaja Khizir appears as an old man standing on a fish, and he is named indifferently Khwaja Sahib, Pir or Guru. He is reverenced by all classes, both Hindu and Muhammadan, but more especially by the Jhnwars, Mallâs and all whose occupation is connected with water in any form.5 Persons travelling by river

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1 The Muhâakhi-l-dîth of the Persians.
2 P. N. Q., I, § 883.
3 Jb., I, § 983.
5 Even apparently dyers and dâobîs, as in the United Provinces.
Khizir's functions.

or sea, and those descending into a well will propitiate him. Parched gram is distributed and lights placed in wells in his honour. On Thursdays the low castes place ekwaaha lamps on his shrines.

Not only is Khizir worshipped when a boat is about to sail, but he is propitiated when a river is low or threatens to wash away land. Thus in Montgomery's vow (astra) and sacrifices are made to rivers, but in his name by Muhammadians who offer wheat porridge mixed with pur, while Hindus offer chhurma, part of which is thrown into the river. They eat what remains themselves, but Muhammadians give what remains of their offering to the poor. When a village is in danger from a river the headman offers it a rupee and coconut. He stands in the water and if it rise higher enough to take the water out of his hand it is believed the river will recede. Sometimes 2 handfuls of boiled wheat and sugar are thrown into the stream or a male buffalo, ram or horse (with its saddle) is cast in with its right ear bored.

Ladhar Bâba is said to be or have been a sâdhu in Jhang whose followers affect Khwaja Khizir.

In order to procure sons Hindus will place lamps made of dough on the platform of a well and light them every night. They also clean the platform in the early morning. This is all done to please the Khwaja, who is a lord of fertility.

Khwaja's relish being the fish, Hindus regard a pair of fish, male and female, painted, facing each other, over a doorway as a good omen.

Khwaja Khizir is invoked, with Shâh Maddrî, in a charm for headache.

Lastly he haunt the bazaars early in the morning and fixes the prices for the day. In his matutinal wanderings he also blesses white articles of food and obviates the effects of the evil-eye, to which they are peculiarly subject. This, however, is a purely Muhammadan view as Hindus think that such articles, when so affected, cannot be digested.

One of the tînd on a Persian-wheel is called Khwaja Khizir's ghora (Khir Khwaja-da-ghora) and when a new mohtli is put on, it is fed with grass. It follows the râ, or thick cross-piece which keeps the two wheels apart. The tînd and ghora are tied on the next râs by the string. This is done by both Hindus and Muhammadians. The belief is that so long as the Khwaja's steed is with the rope it will move, just as a carriage is drawn by a horse. When a person is standing at or near a well he is sometimes adjured thus:—Has tâs Khîzr Khwaja de nite khalote ho, huss huch bolna. "Now you are standing on Khwaja Khizir, now speak the truth."

Khwaja Khizir is also said by Muhammadians to have found and drunk of the fountain of eternal life.

1 Montgomery S. R. p. 65.
2 N. T. N. Q. IV, § 22.
3 I. N. Q. IV, § 277.
4 Shâ's Muhammadians often have a similar design painted over the doorway, but it does not appear to refer to Khwaja Khizir: I. N. Q. IV, § 275.
5 I. N. Q. IV, § 113.
7 The râ, as the rim, joined by cross-pieces (râs, diminutive rât), to the second rim between which the wheel works.
Worship of Khizr.

By Hindus the Khwaja is no doubt reverenced, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that he is equated to Varuna. As such he is specially affected in Asan and Katar (September-October) by Hindu ladies who light lamps on tanks, wells and streams every morning and evening.

Hindu water-carriers sacrifice a goat or sheep to Khizr every 2nd or 3rd year in the rainy season, and cook its flesh at home, roasting the liver, and wrapping up its four feet and head in the skin, go to the river with some kinsmen beating drums. Having made a small boat of reed ornaments, they put in it a lamp of wheat flour with four wicks, a roll of betel leaf and a wreath of jasmine. Those present then bow down, drop pieces one by one in the boat, and let it float away, but not before they have taken out all the pice save two. Then they make for home, after flinging the feet, head and skin of the goat into the river. When the boat has floated away, they feast their relatives, /aqirs and the conjurers called Malanga, and distribute sweetmeats, bought with the pice taken out of the boat. This is called a goat sacrifice to Khizr. 1

When Hindu water-carriers sink a well, they also sacrifice a goat to Khizr, and give a feast of its cooked meat to relatives and /aqirs with gems and jewels to the mound of the well.

Water-carriers, both Hindu and Musalmün, at every harvest, cook 5½ sers of porridge and go to a well, throw small portions of it thrice into the water and distribute the rest among children, Hindus on a Sunday and Musalmüns on a Thursday.

The first day that a farmer uses his well, he also gives 5½ sers of porridge, but now-a-days most Musalmüns do not do this, and those who do, cast some of it into the well in three lots, giving the rest to small children—like the water-carriers. Most Musalmüns on the first Thursday of the new moon cook 5½ sers of porridge and distribute it as described above.

When a boat is caught in a storm its passengers vow to offer porridge to Khwaja Khizr, if they reach the shore.

Among Musalmüns who do not observe the /pardah system, when a child is one month and ten days old, its mother bathes, puts on new clothes and putting on her head a couple of pots filled with boiled wheat or maize goes to a well and performs the ceremony mentioned above. She then fills the pots with water and returns home.

If a water-carrier gets praise he offers porridge to Khizr. Oarsmen also sacrifice a goat, or offer cooked porridge to him, and Hindu water-carriers regard him as a living prophet.

When a Persian wheel at work utters a shriek (264) unusually loud, it is considered an evil omen and to avert disaster the owner will sacrifice a sheep or goat and smear the blood on the pivots of the gear.

1 This rite is said to be observed in Derā Ghāzi Khán, especially on Thursday evenings Bhādron. The feast of boats is held in honour of Khizr.
The generous saint.

THE CULT OF SAKHI SARWAR SULTÁN.

Sir Edward Maclagan, whose description of the Sultáns or followers of Sakhi Sarwar, has been reproduced in Vol. III, pp. 465-7, appears to have accepted the theory that Sakhi Sarwar was a historical personage, and the cult of Sakhi Sarwar is thus described by him:

First and foremost is the following of the great saint Sultán Sakhi Sarwar. No one knows exactly when Sultán lived. Sir Içnuzl Ibbsóon places him in the 18th century and Major Temple in the 13th; while there are accounts in the Sákhs of the Sikhs which represent him as a contemporary of Gúrú Nánák, and as having presented a watermelon to him. Whatever the exact time of his birth and death, Sultán was practically one of the class of Múslám saints, such as Bahá-ud-Dín and Sháma Tábríz who settled down and practised austerities in the country round Multán. Sakhi Sarwar Sultán, also known as Takhádá or the Giver of Láhí, Lálégwátá, or He of the Rubies, and Roháiywátá or He of the Hills, was the son of one Zaimulábídín, and his real name was Sàyyid Ahmad. Of his life there is little to tell but a mass of legends.

"Hazarat Zaimulábídín", it is said, "had two sons, one was Saydi Ahmad, afterwards known as Sakhi Sarwar, the other was Khán-Dodá, who died at Baghdad, and was not famous. There is a shrine to him between Dera Ghází Khán and Sakhi Sarwar, at a place called Vádor. Saydi Ahmad studied at Lahor, and from there went to Dhaunikal, near Wazirábád, in Gujráiwátá. Whilst at Dhaunikal he saw a mare, the property of a carpenter, and asked the carpenter for it. The carpenter denied having a mare, whereupon Saydi Ahmad called to the mare, and it came up to him of its own accord clearing the Sulaimános by leaping through the range. Saydi Ahmad then told the carpenter to sink a well, which he did, and the descendants of the carpenter are the guardians of the well, at which a fair is held every year in June to Sakhi Sarwar's honour. After this Saydi Ahmad, by his father's order, went to reside at the foot of the Sulaimán range, and settled at the place now called after him. Shortly after retiring into the desert, Saydi Ahmad performed another miracle. A camel belonging to a caravan, which was going from Khorassán to Delhi, broke its leg. The leader of the caravan applied to Saydi Ahmad, who told him to return to where he had left the camel, and he would find it sound. The merchant did as he was directed and was rewarded by finding his camel recovered. On arriving at Delhi, the merchant published the miracle, and the emperor heard of it. The emperor, anxious to enquire into the miracle, sent for the camel and had it killed.

3 The Sultáns return themselves at the Cenáma under such terms as the following: Sarwar: Sultán Sáidú wa lúf; Saydi Sádú; Sandhán Dhan Haró Sarwar; Sakhi Saydi; Hindu Súltání; Sádálaí Sultání; Níghálí; Súltán-pirás; Darwázi; Saydi Sádú; Sarwar Súltání; Súltán Dádá; Súltán Ráma Í; Súltán Súltání; Súltán; Ráma Í; Súltání; Gúrú Súltání; Níghálí Pir; Dhaunikal Saydi; Khwái; Sarwar; Lágwátá, and so on.

4 Dhuha or Dhuhá, Calcutta Review, LXXIII, 1891, p. 271, or S. C. B., VII, p. 308.

5 The local legends at Dhaunikal is that the well is due to Sakhi Sarwar having struck his staff on the ground when thirsty. Its waters are said to be good for lepers, and the village is much haunted by lepers. The offerings at the Dhaunikal shrine are shared by the owners of the twenty-one wells, and the transfer of a well carries with it a transfer of a share in the offerings. Sakhi Sarwar ordered a bull to be milked at Soda, in Gujráiwátá.
The leg was examined and found to have been mended with rivets. The emperor convinced of the miracle sent four mule-loads of money to Saidi Ahmad, and told him to build himself a house. Sakhi Sarwar's shrine was built with this money. One Gamu, of Multan, now gave his daughter in marriage to Saidi Ahmad, who had miraculously caused two sons to be born to him. Gamu endowed his daughter with all his property and it was for the generosity in distributing this property to the poor that Saidi Ahmad obtained the name of Sakhi Sarwar, or the beneficent lord or chief. Sakhi Sarwar now visited Baghdad. On his return he was accompanied by three disciples, whose tombs are shown on a low hill near Sakhi Sarwar.  

A local account says that the shrine was built by the king of Delhi and the footsteps by Diwan Lakhpat Rāi and Jaspal Rāi of Lahore. Temple identifies the former with the Diwan killed by the famous Sikh leader Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in 1743: *Calcutta Review*, lxiii, 1881, p 254. Another account of the saint, supplied to Major Temple by a muski from Lahore, runs as follows:—

"The father of Sayyid Ahmad, surnamed Sakhi Sarwar, was one Sayyid Zainulahidin who migrated to India from Baghdad in 1290 A. H., or 1190 A. D., and settled at Shabqot, in the Jhang District, where he married 'Aesha, the daughter of a village headman, named Pir, a Khokhar. By 'Aesha he had a son, Sayyid Ahmad, afterwards the great saint known as Sakhi Sarwar. Sayyid Ahmad was much ill-treated by his own people in his youth, and on the death of his father left India in 555 A. H. or 1150 A. D., and went to Baghdad, where he obtained the gift of prophecy (ta'wīd al) from the saints Ghausul-'Azam, Shāh Shāhāb-ud-Dīn Saharwardi and Khwāja Maundūd Chishti. (Ghausul-'Azam is Abdul Qadir Jhanī, who flourished at Baghdad in 1078-1166 A. D. Shāh Shāhāb-ud-Dīn Saharwardi flourished at Baghdad in 1145-1234 A.D. Khwāja Maundūd Chishti died in 1150 A.D. This tradition is therefore fairly correct as to chronology.) After dwelling at Baghdad for some time, Sakhi Sarwar returned to his native land and dwelt at Dhaunkal, in the Gajjuwala District, for some time. He then went to Multan, the governor of which gave him his daughter Bāī in marriage. Here he also married another woman, the daughter of one Sayyid 'Abdur Razzāq. He next visited Lahore, where he obtained proficiency in secular knowledge under Sayyid Ishaq (this is an anachronism, as Mānav Sayyid Ishaq was born at Ueh, in the Bahawalpur State, and studied under his uncle Sayyid Sādru'dīn Rājī Kattāl at Sahānpur, where he died in 1460 A. D.). Finally he returned to Shāhīkot, where he settled. Here he became famous as a worker of miracles, and obtained many followers, which excited the envy of his relatives, who determined to put him to death. But the saint, having heard of their intention, fled into the desert and settled at Nigāhā, in the Dera Ghazi Khan District, in company with Sayyid 'Abdul Ghani, his brother, Bāī, his wife, and Sayyid Saraj ud-Dīn, his son. His family, however, followed him, and falling upon him in large numbers, slew him and his companions at Nigāhā, in 570 A. H. or 1172 A. D. The saint was buried on the spot, and there his shrine stands to this day.""
The shrine of Sakhi Sarwar.—The above may be taken as representing roughly the outlines of a legendary life round which numberless additional tales have gradually collected. Those who would know, for instance, how he raised a boy from the dead for Dāni Jattī, how he used Bhairon as his messenger, how Isā Bānis in the time of Aurangzeb built him a temple, and so on, will find all they want in the interesting *Legends of the Punjab* published by Major Temple. There is little enough of history in all this, and the main fact we can determine is that for some reason or other the saint fixed on Nigāhā, in the Dera Ghāzi Khān District, at the edge of the Sulaimān mountains, as his residence, 'the last place', it has been said, 'that any one with the least regard for his personal comfort would choose as an abode'. The present shrine at Nigāhā is built on the high banks of a hill stream, and a handsome flight of steps made at the expense of two merchants from Lahor leads up from the bed of the stream to the shrine. The buildings of the shrine consist of Sakhi Sarwar's tomb on the west and a shrine to Bābā Nānak on the north-west. On the east is an apartment containing the stool and spinning wheel of Mālī Ashtān, Sakhi Sarwar's mother. Near this is a *fikarkhāna*, and in another apartment is an image of Bhairon who appears in the legends as the saint's messenger. There is clearly some close connection between the worship of Bhairon and this cult, even Bhāl Phuru (whose wife was Devī), the *anāshos* in the small whirl-winds so common in the Punjab, is represented as a disciple of Sultan Sarwar. The shrine is approached by a defile, at whose entrance is a cliff some 80 feet high, called the robber's leap (chori-tap), because a thief when pursued threw himself over it, vowing if he survived to sacrifice a sable heifer to the saint. He escaped unscathed. To the west of the out-houses and within the shrine enclosure are two dead trees (a jāl and a kauđa) said to have sprung from the pegs which were used for the head and heel ropes of Kakki, the saint's mare. Behind the shrine are the dwellings of his son Rau'ddīn and his brother Dhodha. To the west near the shrine, but away from it, are the tombs of Nur and Isāhāq, two of his companions; and similarly to the east are two more tombs to his comrades, Ali and Usūmān. The tomb presents a peculiar mixture of Muhammadan and Hindu architecture. In 1833 it was destroyed by fire, and two rubies presented by Nadir Shah and some valuable jewels presented by Sultan Zamān Shah were consumed or lost. Since then the shrine has been rebuilt.

"The present guardians of the Sakhi Sarwar shrine," according to the *Gazetteer*, are the descendants of the three servants of Gann who attached themselves to Sakhi Sarwar. They were Kūlāngh, Kāhin and Shekh. Sakhi Sarwar limited the number of the descendants of

1. Here we have a legend which reminds us of the Bhairava Jhamp, the cult at Kūlāmān in Kānaṇā whence pilgrims used to precipitate themselves as an offering to Siva, and of the somewhat similar Bhūmī rites in the Suthaj at which men of the low castes or 'sheep' caste are lowered on ropes down a precipice in honour of Mahādev.

2. But he was also called Rāma and the sacred grove of plum-trees (herū) near a spring in the neighbourhood of Nigāhā is said to have been planted by him; *Calcutta Rev.,* 1881, p. 271, or S. C. R. VII, p. 308.

3. See Dera Ghāzi Khān *Gazetteer,* p. 40; and *Punjab Notes and Queries,* 1, § 209, III, § 52.
these three men to 1650, which number has been strictly observed ever since. The number is thus distributed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Descendants of Kallang</th>
<th>750</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Descendants of Kebri</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descendants of Shaikh</td>
<td>300</td>
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</tbody>
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"All the offerings made at the shrine are divided into 1650 shares and it is said to be a fact that there are never more nor less than 1650 mufadwaar or descendants of the three original keepers of the shrine. This number includes women and children. It is not, however, a fact that there are not more nor less than 1650 mufadwaar as was ascertained when the village pedigree title deed was prepared. The mufadwaar are all equal, and an infant gets the same share of the proceeds of the shrine as an adult. The mufadwaar, after the annual fair which is held in April, almost all disperse over the Punjab as pilgrim hunters. It is only at the great annual fair that the treasure box of the shrine is opened and its contents distributed. Throughout the year the shrine is the resort of mendicants and devotees, but the mendicants usually receive nothing more substantial from the shrine than an order upon some worshipper of the saint given under the seal of the shrine. This order, when presented, is paid or not according to the respect in which the shrine is held by the presentee. When Mr. Bull, the Assistant Secretary to the Lahore Municipalities, was attacked by a fanatic, an order from the Saabhi Sarwar mufadwaar was found upon his assailant. This at first gave rise to a suspicion that the guardians of the shrine were in some way implicated in the murder. The order had however been granted merely in the ordinary course."

Pilgrimages to Saakhi Sarwar—The pilgrimages to the shrine from the centre of the province are a special feature of the cult of Sultan, which are worth mentioning, and in the early months of the year there are continual streams of pilgrims of all creeds—Hindu, Sikh, and Musalmán—pouring towards Nigálín. I cannot do better than quote Mr. Purser’s account of the pilgrimages made from the Jullundur District:

"The company of pilgrims," he writes, "is called sang and their encampment dáshi. The main route is through the following villages:—Háseron, Muhrandpur, Kulela or Barajínd, Bopára (Philipaur), Rurka Kalán, Bandúla, Jandjí, Bopárá (Nakdár), Khánpur, and thence to Sultánpur. Along this route the sang, which is originally formed by pilgrims from Garhshankar, in the Hoshiárpur District, is joined by detachments from the districts to the south of the Sutlej and from the lower half of the Jullundur District. It is known by the special name of Kálkamáf, because so many of the pilgrims have black blankets to

3 Also his account says that after the burial of Saakhi Sarwar three persons, Gobha, a leper, Húrsh Nigálín, a blind man, and Ahmad Khán, Afghan, an impotent man, came to the shrine and were cured of their respective infirmities. From these are descended the present mufadwaar, who are divided into three classes—Kalang, Manhan and Shaikh. The number of descendants is said to be 1350 and by a miracle of the saint never to alter; but this is not true, as all the mufadwaar claim an equal share in the annual profits and their number can be ascertained at any time. See Punjab Notes and Queries, III. p. 163.

4 Black is the colour of Shiva; H. A. B.
protect them from the cold. Another route is by Adampur, Jullundur, Kapurthala and Wairawal, which is taken by pilgrims from the north of the Dothi. Those from about Kartarpur assemble there and proceed to Kapurthala. On the road these people sleep on the ground, and do not wash their heads or clothes till the pilgrimage is accomplished, and the more devout remain unwashed till their return home. The pilgrims are personally conducted by the Bharais, and call each other \textit{pfir bhad or pfir devon} (brother in the saint or sister in the saint). It is probably from this latter circumstance the Bharais derive their name (Pfir Bhra or 'Saint Brothers'). People who cannot undertake the pilgrimage usually go to one of the \textit{chaksfs}, or, if they cannot manage that, to any other village, for a night. If they cannot go anywhere, they sleep at home at least one night on the ground, as a substitute for the complete pilgrimage. A pilgrimage to Nigah is commonly made with the object of obtaining some desired blessing from the saint, or in fulfilment of a vow. The pilgrims have a local self-government of their own on the road. Leaders from Chakehela and Kangehela (Kang Kalan) in the Nakodar tahsil attach themselves to the southern band, and hold an assembly called \textit{ahud} every evening in which they administer justice, and are assisted by assessors from Billa, Janjila, Barapind, and other villages. There is much rivalry between the Kangehela, and Chakehela leaders, but the latter hold the supremacy.

There are other shrines of this saint, and in fact almost every village in the Central Punjab contains one. But the most celebrated are those connected with the annual fair at Dhankal in Gujranwala, the Jhanda \textit{mela} at Peshawar, and the Kadmon-kha-mela in Anarkali at Lahore. At Dhankal, Sultán had taken up his abode and procured a miraculous stream of water. His house was in the time of Shah Jahan turned into a mosque and the well was much improved and beautified. The fair here, which lasts for a month in June and July, is attended by some 200,000 people, who drink the sacred water and take away fans and springs of \textit{mehndi} as mementos of their visit. The Jhanda \textit{mela} in Peshawar is of less importance; it takes place in the first or second Monday in Maggar, and the festival is put off if there is rain. The \textit{mela} is in commemoration of the death of Sakhi Sarwar, and has its name from the flags exhibited there by the \textit{fagirs}. The Kadmon-kha-mela, in Anarkali, is held at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar near the Police \textit{thana}, on the first Monday after the new moon in February. Offerings are made on the tomb, and a certain class of musicians, called \textit{holloka}, take young children who are presented at the tomb and dance about with them.

A typical shrine of Sakhi Sarwar is that at Moga. It is called Nagóha Pfr, and was founded in 1869 S. by a Padihā man. It contains no image but has a \textit{chabutra} or platform. The \textit{pujári} is a Khatri and succession follows natural relationship. Fairs are held on the 8 Thursdays

\textsuperscript{1} At Māler Kośa the Nigaha fair is held on the first Thursday of Poh. It is a copy of that held at Maltān. The Dīdnī fair is held on the first two Tuesdays of Poh. The Bharais light a fire at a place to which both Hindus and Muḥammādans go and offer bread and grain. Next day they start for Māli where the shrine of Guga Pfr is situated.
Sakhí Sarwar in the Hills. 571

of Chet and Asonj, when offerings of cash and chāri are made to the shrine. Another shrine of Sakhí Sarwar is at Nāghā, where a fair is held on the light Thursday of Phāgan. It contains a place which is worshipped. It was founded some 200 years ago by the Sirídar of Mānsa. When subjected to severe trials they were hidden in a vision to go to Moga and there build a temple. So they constructed this shrine and all Hindus and Muhammadans in this part are its votaries, offering it grain at each harvest. It also has a chābiš where the poor travellers drink water. At the fair visitors are fed free. A Brahman is employed as pujiārī.

The Bhālīa fair in Ludhiana is held at the khāngān of Sakhí Sarwar at that village on the 1st Thursday of the light half of Jeth. Inside it is a cenotaph of Sakhí Sarwar. People attending the fair cook a huge rof, which, after presentation to the khāngān, they divide with the poor. The management of the khāngān vests in the Ghanman Jāts and Bhumās of the place and they divide the offerings in equal shares.

The cult of Lakhidā or the Bountiful is found in Chamba, in which state it is recognised as the same as that of Sakhí Sarwar Sultān. His shrines in the hills are resorted to by both Hindus and Muhammadans. In most cases the incumbents of his temples, asthān or mandāra, are Muhammadans (muṣārwan), but at Bari in pargana Ghanja the pujiāra is a Bilu Brahman, and at Phurla in Himālu the pujiāra or muṣārwan is a Bāthi and the šeļa a Muhammadan. These offices appear to be always hereditary. Wrestling matches—called chhāy and associated with the Lakhidā cult—are held yearly in every pargana of Churah and in some parganas of the Sadr wādān, as well as in the Bhāttiyāt. No satisfactory explanation of this association is forthcoming.

There is a khāngān to Sakhí Sarwar at Náhan, and his cult is spread beyond the Punjab. In Sahāranpur he is worshipped by a sect of Jogi called Far Yai (sic), who are initiated by their clansmen at the age of 10 or 12. The ceremony of initiation is said to be simple, for the parents of the boy merely place some sweets before the Jogi who is their religious guide, and the latter offers them to the saint, after which they are eaten by the Jogi present. The boy then learns the song which describes the attempt to convert a bride to Sikhism and its consequences, for Sakhí Sarwar commanded Bhairon to punish the evildoers, who at once became lepers and blind, but they were cured again at the bride's intercession. Yet there is no real hostility at present between Sikhism and this sect, and a case has been known of a gift of land being made by a Sikh Jāt to the shrine at Nigāhā.

In the east of the Punjab, at least, the cult of Sakhí Sarwar is peculiarly favoured by women, which is consistent with its connection with Bhaiṛa, the earth being the emblem of fertility, and this—again

1 North India Notes and Queries, IV, p. 69.
2 The orthodoxy of his Sikhism may be debatable; Temple, Calcut. Gazeteer, 1831, p. 355, or S. O. R., VII, p. 292, speaks of Dānī as a Sikh, but she is merely, called a Jattī, not a Sikh. In the poem of Sakhí Sarwar and Dānī Jaffī Legends, I, p. 68 f. Posthī the Hāndāli sect of the Sikhs was more in sympathy with the Sultāns, and Temple identifies the 'city of the ārd' in the poem with Jandhīa the head-quarters of that sect, but by city of the ārd 'Nigāhā itself may conceivably be meant'.

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is in accord with the somewhat Paphian rites observed at the shrine itself. Further the theory that the worship is really one of the earth-god would account for its being essentially the cult of the Jāt peasantry. In the legend of Dāni the Jātī the saint bestows a son on her after 12 years of childless marriage in response to a vow. She breaks her vow but the boy is restored to life by the saint. At Multān his followers eat all the kids of the flock, but he takes the bones and skins, puts them in a heap and restores them to life by prayer. He makes the wild oak (gūh) fruit in the midst of winter at the request of Kākli, his mare, for the support of the followers in the jungle.

The cauldrons of Sakhi Sarwar recall those mentioned in the account of Sikhism below and in the legends of Dānī above.

One is called  māz , the other  langār .—The former holds 8 māz of gur (molasses), 5 of gīh, 20 of dūliā (boiled wheat) and one of fruit etc.;  langār holds 8 māz of molasses, 2 of gīh, 8 of boiled wheat and 20 ears of fruit etc. Once a year, in May or June, both are filled and the cooked food distributed to the public.

Qāsim Shāh, father of Naurang Shāh, whose shrine is in Dera Ghāzi Khān, came there from Sindh. Naurang Shāh remained a devotee of Sakhi Sarwar for 12 years and became famous for his miracles. His descendants connect his pedigree with Hazrat 'Ali.

The Five Pirās.—In some parts of the country the Hindus are fond of representing themselves as followers of the Panj Pir or Five Saints. Who these five saints are is a matter which each worshipper decides according to his taste. Sometimes they are the five Pāṇḍavas; sometimes they are the five holy personages of Shī'aism, viz. Muhammad, Fāṭima, Ali, Hasan and Husain; sometimes they are a selection of Musalman saints, as Khwāja Qutb-ud-Dīn, Khwāja Mu'āin-ud-Dīn Chishti, Shaikh Nizām-ud-Dīn Aulia, Nasir-ud-Dīn Abū'l Kinār, and Sūltān Nasir-ud-Dīn Māhmūd or as Khwāja Khizar, Sāīd Jālāl, Zakāria, Lāl Shāh-bāz and Farīd Shākharganj. The Bhaṭṭīs of the Gujranwāla District will tell you that the five saints are: Shaikh Sama'in, Shāh Daulāt, Shaikh Fathī Ali, Pir Fathī Khān and Shāh Murād, all patrons of the Bhaṭṭī race; and each tribe will have its own selection. In the centre and west of the province, however, we meet with queer admixtures of Hindu and Musalman objects of worship. The same list will contain Sūltān, Dāvī, the Gūrā, Khwāja and Gūgā Pir, or (as in Lādhiānā) Khwāja Khizar, Durgā Dāvī, Vishnu, Sakhi Sarwar and Gūrū Gobind Singh, or (as in Simla) Gūgā Pir, Bālānāth, Thākur, Sakhi Sarwar and Shīv. The five saints are in fact any five personages the worshipper likes to mention; and the fact that a man describes himself as a Panjpirā implies generally that he is indifferent as to the saints whom he worships and is probably a man of the lower orders. Panjpirās are found all over the province from Muzaffargarh to Delhi, and there is a place in the Shāhpur District, 10 miles south of Sāhīwāl, where a large fair is held every year in honour of the Panjpir. Some persons, wishing to be more specific, declare themselves to be followers of the Chahār Pir or Four Saints; by

2. Isb., p. 373, or S. C. R., VII, p. 310.
this is generally implied the four friends of the Prophet, whose admirers are found both among Musalmans and Hindus.

The khānqāh of the Panj Pir at Abūhar is not covered with a roof. The fair is held annually on the 15th Hār. Few people attend it, mostly Mādārī, Naubāhī etc. Tradition says that nearly 900 years ago Abūhar was ruled by Rājā Aya Chand who had an only daughter. On his deathbed he expressed deep regret that he had no son, to go to the Panj Piran at Uch in Bahawalpur and mount the horses there. His daughter courageously assured him that she would go and fetch the horses from Uch. So accompanied by a small band she went there and carried off the horses of the Panj Pir. They came after her and begged her to return them, but she refused and so they had to wait in patience for their return. The Pir’s wives being tired of waiting followed their husbands to Abūhar where with their beloved spouses they breathed their last, cursing the lady and the place. Before long their prophecy was fulfilled and the place became a desert. The five Pirs were interred at a place in the village and near them the remains of their wives. The shrine contains the tombs of the 5 Pirs and those of their 5 wives, which are surrounded by a brick wall, but have no roof. The administration of the khānqāh is carried on by two Musalmān faqīrs, caste Lād. They keep it clean and light a lamp in the evening.

See Temple’s Legends of the Panjab, II, p. 373. See also an exhaustive account of the Panj Pir of the United Provinces in North Indian Notes and Queries, II, §10, and subsequent numbers.
RELIGION OF THE DOMINANT TRIBES OF KURRAM, E.G. THE TURI, ZAIMUSHT AND BANGASH.

The Turis are all Shi'as. The Bangash of Lower Kurram are all Sunnis, but those of Upper Kurram, with the exception of the Bushera and Dandar Bangash, are also Shi'as. Taking the numbers of the Bangash of Lower and Upper Kurram into consideration the proportion of Shi'as to Sunnis among the Bangash may be put at 3 to 1. The manual classes of course accept the religion of their patrons. Even some of the Ja'jis, who cross the border and become hamsâyas of the Turis, adopt Shi'aism. The Zaimusht however are all Sunnis.

Imâms are regarded as without sin, and it is believed that those who follow them will be saved in the world to come. The Imâms, it is believed, will, on the day of resurrection, intercede for those who believed in them and have followed their directions. The Imâm Jâfar Sadiq is supposed to be the most learned of the Imâms, and his teaching in religious matters is commonly observed. The Sunni Bangash and Zaimusht are all followers of Imâm Numan who is called Abu Hanîfâ. There is no difference in belief between the Turi and Shi'a Bangash, but one point is worth noticing. The Bakar Khel branch of the Shalozân Bangash do not believe in murs as they do not regard the Sayyids and Qâzas of Kurram as competent to impart religious instruction. This is presumably because they are in the habit of constantly going to Kadhâ, and have to pass through Persia where they meet educated people; doubtless other people from Kurram also go to Kadhâ, but they are in most cases altogether illiterate, and hence cannot easily grasp what they hear from educated people. The majority of the Shalozân Bangash can read and write, and hence they do not believe in murs and do not follow them like the other Turis.

Almost every village in Kurram has a mudhâ. The children of the village go to him, and he gives them some religious teaching. The first duty of the mudhâ is to teach them the Qur'ân in the orthodox way, with all the prayers that are recited in namâz. If any one wishes to go further with his spiritual education he reads other religious books in which the praises of Hazrat Ali, Hasan, Hussain and other Imâms are recorded.

The Sunni Bangash and Zaimusht keep mudhâs in their mosques. Their duty is to teach children the prayers that are used in the namâz. Children whose parents place a higher value on education are taught the Qur'ân as well, and after finishing it some Persian and Arabic books also. Among the Sunnis, i.e. the Zaimusht and Bangash, the mudhâs preach to the people when they get an opportunity, particularly on Fridays. They get no fixed remuneration, but each gets something at harvest from every one in the village. Among the Shi'as there is no preaching, but some of the Sayyids and other educated persons read books containing mawâls and other eulogies of Ali, Hasan and Hussain to the people. A number of Turis go to Tehrân for religious instruction.

Amongst the Sunnis the subject of these teachings is usually the praise of God and his Prophet Muhammad. Sometimes books containing eulogies of saints, or on the laws and morals of Islâm, are also read.

1 Also called the Imâm-i-Asam.
These preachings often take place in mosques and when a man dies the *wulâth* of the village, if he be educated, reads to the people.

Amongst the Turifs and other Shi'as in Kurram there is nothing so important as the *sadâm* or 'mourning,' for the sons of Ali. To it the month of Muharram is devoted as a whole, but the first 10 days of Muharram, called Ashûra by the Turifs, are observed as days of special mourning. Almost all the Turifs fast during these days, the more orthodox extending the period to 40 days. *Muhâfîz* or meetings are also held for the sake of lamentation, and they are attended both by men and women. At them Persian *mawîdâs* or dirges are recited in a plaintive tone, while the bare-headed audience shed tears of sorrow. Breast-beating is not uncommon and sometimes the people go so far as to flagellate themselves with iron chains in a most cruel manner. Clothes are not changed during these 10 days and no rejoicings of any kind take place. Even laughing is prohibited. Clothes dyed almost black in indigo are worn for 10 days at least. *Sârîrât* made of sugar or *gur* is distributed among the poor and alms given in the name of Hussain. Volleys of curses are hurled at Yazid, his counsellors and companions, and their faults and shortcomings are painted as black as possible. The 10th of Muharram is the climax as on that day Hussain is said to have been decapitated by Yazid. This is called the Shahâdat Waroz or yaum-i-Shahâdat (day of martyrdom), and on it a *rauza* (something like an effigy) made of coloured paper is taken to the cemetery, followed by a mourning crowd composed of men, women and children who beat their breasts and faces. A pit is then dug in the cemetery and the *rauza* formally interred in it with all the ceremonies attending a funeral.

On certain days of the other months, the Sayyids and other educated people among the Shi'as read books containing *mawîsât* and eulogies of the Imâms and the *Chara'dâh Musâm*. These books are usually read in the *mâlâmâd* and sometimes in the mosques.

According to the teaching of the Sunnis, i.e. the Zainubâd and some of the Bangahis, there are four *fârs* for every one, whether male or female, to observe, viz. *nâ'mâz*, fasting, *haj* and *sâkât*. *Nâ'mâz* is offered five times in the 24 hours of the night and day. Moreover, on certain days of the months some other prayers called *wâful* are offered. There are four kinds of these prayers or *nâ'mâz*, viz. *fârâ* or *sâkât*, *wâjîb* and *mustâhâb*. *Fârâ* and *wâjîb* are supposed to have been prescribed by God and the *sâkât* by the Prophet. The *mustâhâb* were not prescribed, but are prayers offered without regard to time. The *mustâhâb* are also called *wâful*.

The month of Ramzan is generally observed as a fast, but the Dervandis observe it with great strictness, while the Mâmûríd observe the Ashûra (in Muharram) as a fast more rigidly. Besides this, fasts are kept in other months but they are not *fârs*. *Haj* means to go to Mecca in the month of Zul-haj. *Zakât* means the paying of a 1/4th or 1/8th of one's property to poor people not possessed of property worth more than Rs. 51.

In fact there are different rates for different articles—cattle, grain, money, ornaments &c. &c. *Zakât* is not paid to Sayyids.
The above four fars are all observed by the Shi'as, and in addition to this they have a 4th of their income to poor Sayyids exclusively. This is called khamas (a fifth). The Shi'as, moreover, consider a pilgrimage to Karbala an important thing. They do not regard it as fars, but consider it to be a very urgent duty.

Sunnis offer prayers in a mosque, usually with an Imam if they can manage to do so easily, whereas Shi'as offer their prayers alone. They say the presence of a learned man is highly desirable for prayers with an Imam, but as they cannot find one they offer their prayers alone. Almost every Shia keeps a piece of khâk-i-Karbâ/'a upon which they place their foreheads when they offer their prayers.

Amongst the Sunnis there are only two festivals, viz. the 'Id-al-Fitr and the 'Id-ud-Duha. The 'Id-ul-Fitr is held in commemoration of the pleasure enjoyed after the month of Ramzan and the 'Id-ud-Duha in commemoration of the reconstruction of the building at Mecca for which Ibrâhim sacrificed his son Israil.

The following are the days on which the Sunnis observe mourning: the Muharram, the Bâra-wafát and the Shab-i-Qadr. In the Hâshân they do not weep like the Shi'as, but abstain from pleasure and enjoyment. It is useless to relate here how the mabâra in the month of Muharram came to be observed. There was a dispute and afterwards a battle between Hussain, son of Ali, and Yazid, son of Muawiah, about the leadership of the Muslims at the time, and in that battle Hussain, with his relatives, was killed.

The Bâra-wafát is observed by Shi'as on account of the Prophet's illness. It is held on the 27th of the month of Safar. The Sunnis hold that on the 23rd Ramzan (Shab-i-Qadr) the Qarâ'a descended to earth. The Shi'as observe the Shab-i-Qadr as the day on which Ibrâhim was thrown into the furnace by the idolatrous king Nimrod for refusing to worship his idols, and was saved by God.

All these festivals and mournings are observed by the Shi'as, but besides this they observe other festivals and mournings too. The 'Id-ul-Ghadir is held on the 18th of Zul-haj in commemoration of Hazrat Ali's election to the leadership of the Muslims. There is another 'Id called the 'Id-ul-Umar, which is held on the 3rd day before the Bâra-wafát in Safar. The 'Id-ul-Umar is observed in commemoration of the killing of Umar, son of Kaftâb, by Abu Lolo. Umar was the enemy of Ali. Hence it is a day of rejoicing to the Shi'as and of mourning to the Sunnis.

The 20th of Safar is supposed to be the 40th day after Hussain's death, and hence it is regarded as a day of mourning. The 23rd of Ramzan is regarded as the day on which Ali died and hence is also considered a day of mourning.

The Turks of Kurrum, as Shi'as, are great admirers of Ali and his descendants, and have a large number of Sayyid shrines (madras) which are really of three kinds—

1. A madras proper, where the saint lies buried or is reported to be buried.
2. A magâva, where a saint rested in his lifetime or where his body was temporarily interred before removal to Karbala.
3. A khâk, where visions of the Imams and Saints have appeared to holy persons.

The ceremony of students or pilgrims at the Prophet's tomb in Medina is fully described by Burton. Zâjs or visitors are conducted by marabouts. The haj is quite distinct, the observances differing in every respect: Burton, Al-Madina, I, pp. 305-6, 307, 309.
are held in profound veneration and periodically visited. Boys are shaved at these șidârîs for the first time and vows are made. The principal are the following:

At Peiwar—

(1) Ali Mangulâ șidârat, visited by the Peiwaris on the two 'Ids.
(2) Sayyid Mahmûd șidârat, visited by the Turis of Peiwar on the 10th of Muharram.
(3) Shâh Mardân; where a vision of Ali appeared—see note 2 on page 579 infra.
(4) Sîkâ Râm șidârat on the summit of Sîkâ Râm, the peak of the Sufed Koh or 'White Mountain' about 15,000 feet above sea level. It is held in high repute both by Hindus and Muhammadans, and is believed to be the resting place of a Sayyid recluse, by name Sâïd Kâram, who is said to have lived there for a long time and tended his flocks on the summit, which came to be known after him as the Sâïd Kâram (corrupted into Sîkâ Râm) peak. Sâïd Kâram had two brothers, Mander and Khush Kâram, who lived and prayed on two other peaks called after them the Mander and Khush Kurram peaks, respectively. The Mander peak is on the Afgân side of the border opposite Burki village and its shrine is visited by Jogis. The Khush Kurram (corruption of Khush Kâram) peak being on the British side of the border in the south of the Kurram Valley above the Mukhil encampment of Ghazgarhi is visited by the Turis of Kurram. Both these peaks are studded with lofty șooltâr trees and ever-green shrubs which the people ascribe to the numerous virtues of the holy men.

At Shalozân—

(1) Imâm șidârat.
(2) Sayyid Husân.
(3) Mir ʻIbrâhîm or Mir Bâm șidârat; see below.
(4) Shâh Mir Sayyid Ahmad șidârat.
(5) Bâbâ Shâh Gil șidârat.

Mangulâ = band-mark (of All on a stone).

But another Muhammadan legend makes the name Sîkâ Râm a corruption of Khwaţa Wâsî Kurram who is said to have been a saint in the days of the Muhammadan kings of the valley. He is said to have gone to the top of the mountain to avoid the notice of the people. It is said that ʻIbbî ʻAbîûn was his sister and a woman of pure morals. Khwaţa Khurram (sib) is said to be the brother of Khwaţa Wâsî Kurram. He was also a saint. The Hindu version, however, is that an Indian hermit of the name of Sâkî Râm or Sîkâ Râm used to frequent the peak and pray in solitude to his șiddat, and that the place was called Sîkâ Râm after him.

According to the Hindu legends Sîkâ Râm went to the top of the Sufed Koh, and by a stamp of his feet produced a tank called the Sîkâ Râm Sar which they say exists. The Radûn Sar is similarly named after ʻIbbî ʻAbîûn and the Khush Kurram Sar after Khwaţa Kurram. It has been suggested that Sîkâ Râm is a corruption of Sîkâ Râm, a Hindu Râjâ whose coins are found everywhere in the hills of Afgânstân. They are called Sîkâ Râm. Both Turis and Hindûs admit that Sîkâ Râm was a Hindu, and had nothing to do with the Musalmân, though some of the latter lay claim to him.

As far as can be ascertained no manuscript histories of any of these shrines exist. The legends are said to have been handed down orally to the present day.

XXX
At Malána—
Sháh Talab *sidrat*.

At Zerán—
(1) Sháh Sayyid Rúmi *sidrat*.
(2) Mír Kásim or Mást Mír Kásim *sidrat* is annually resorted to by the Mall Khel, Hamza Khel and Mástu Khel *kshó* (nomad) Turis, in the month of Safar and a regular fair is held.1 Sheep and goats are also slaughtered as offerings to the shrine. All the people visiting the *sidrat* are fed by the Zerán Sayyids, who are said to have been ordered by the saint to do so.

At Karmán—
(1) Sháh Sayyid Fakhr-i-Alam *sidrat*: see below.
(2) Mír Kásim *sidrat*.

At Sadara—
Abbás *sidrat*, visited by Turi women.
Children are shaved here and vows are made for sons.

At Kharláchí—
(1) Burqa-posh *sidrat*: see below.
(2) Lála Gul *sidrat*.

At Násti Kót—
Dwálas (twelve) Imáms’ *sidrat*, said to be the resting-place of the 12 Imáms of the Shi’as.

At Almádzái—
(1) The *sidrat* of Mírak Sháh, a descendant of the 7th Imám Mússá Kazim. Mírak Sháh was the grandfather of the present Sayyid Haníf Ján of Ahmedzái.
(2) Arab Shah *sidrat*.

At Samir (Hássan Ali Gilla)—
Hazrat Abbás *sidrat*, visited by the Ghundi Khel on both the ‘Ids and at the Muharram. Hazrat Abbás is buried at Karbala.

At Alízáí—
Sháh Isháq *sidrat*, visited by Alízáí, Bagazaís, Hamza Khel and Mástu Khel of Chárdiwár.

At Bálýamín—
Mír Humzá *sidrat*, visited by Mástu Khel and Hamza Khel *kshó* Turis and the Ghilzás of Afgánistán on their way to India.

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1 It is said in connection with this fair, which is held annually in the end of May or beginning of June, that the parents of Mír Kásim suggested that he should marry. He replied that rather than marry he would prefer to excavate a water-course from a spring above Zerák and lead it to the *sidrat*. Accordingly the chief feature of this fair is the periodical excavation of this water-course when men and women mix freely just as they do at Chintúpúrī near Bhawáin, in Hoshiárpúr.
Shrines in Kurram.

At Shakardara—
The *sidrat* of Mir Mfr. Akbar, who died in 1912.

In the Darwâzgâi Pass—

The Diwâna Malangâ or Laila Majnûn *sidrat*, in the Darwâzgâi Pass, is annually visited by the Mall Khel, Hanza Khel, Mstn Khel and Duperzai kuchh Turis. A fowl is killed as an offering for every male member of the family. An iron nail is then driven into the trunk of a tree close to the shrine. There is a legend that if a man can climb up the tree at one bound, he is sure to get a horse after a year. A huge black stone lying near the shrine is said to have been split in two in obedience to Laila's command.

At Tongai—

Hazâr Pir *sidrat* visited and venerated both by Shi'as and Sunnis.

At Bagrai—

Shâh Ibrâhîm *sidrat*, visited by the Turis of Bagrai and Châr-dîwâr. A visit to it is said to be a specific for small-pox.

At Shabak—

The Zarantua Buzurg *sidrat*, near Shabak, is also visited by the Turis. The Turis belief is that a gun will not go off at this shrine.

Of all the shrines of the Kurram Valley, the following five are the most important. They all belong to Sayyids and are called the 6 *khanwads* (families). The Sayyides of the Kurram Valley are descended from these five *khanwads*. An account of each is given below:—

1. **Shâh Sayyid Rûmî**, grandson of Imam Ali, the 4th Imam whose shrine is at Zerân, is the patron saint of Zerân. His descendants, who are called Rûmî Khel, Mashadi or Imam Râzî Sayyides, are

The Mîn Murid state that when the Malangs bear the praises of Hassan, Hussain and Ali with music they lose their senses and become altogether distraught. Their flesh and blood become solid like iron, and they can then jump into fire without being burned. They can even put fire into their mouths and devour it or catch a fowl or chicken and eat it without killing it in the proper way. This they call *jaâhâ*. They believe that their salvation is absolutely dependent on their Imam's intervention for them on the day of the resurrection.

* Hazâr Pir is in fact not a shrine. It is only said that the Amir-ul Mominîn, i.e. Ali, was seen by somebody in a vision there.

The same story is told with regard to the shrines of Abbâs All at Hassan All, and Shâh Mardâm at Zerân. The exact dates of these visions are not known.

Mir Jamâl is reported to be a descendant of Sayyid Aâshîq, grandfather of the Mâbur Sayyide.

3. Charms of different kinds, given by the five Sayyid families or *khanwads*, are considered potent enough to cure various sorts of ailments. Those or cure by blowing is also practised by the jewellers and Sayyides. The blind, it is said, are cured by going to the Hazâr Pir. Abbâs All, Shâh Mardâm, Fakhri-ul-Allam and Lala Gul, or to Sayyid Mir Ibrâhîm, Mir Jamâl and Sayyid Aâshîq. Various other miracles are ascribed to these saints,
confined to Zerán and Shal Kháná, and are much revered by the Turís. The charms of the Rûmí Khel Sayyids are considered potent for the cure of many ailments. Many legends are told about this miracle-working saint:—(1) On one occasion he is said to have presented the building at Mecca to certain Sayyids of the Fakhr-i-Alam Kaol. A stone bearing the names of Allah, the Prophet, Ali and his family is preserved at Zerán as a testimony to this miracle. (2) He is said to have once hung a club from Zerán to Shanái, a distance of about 6 miles, and as a reward he was given the land between those two places by the Bangash, and his descendants still enjoy it. (3) A woman who is said to have taken refuge with him from her enemies was miraculously transformed into a stone. The outline of her ornaments and features are still seen on the stone.

Numerous other miracles are said to have been wrought by this saint, whose ancestral home is traced to Rûm or Turkey.

II. Mîr Ibâhîn or Mîr Bîn, a descendant of the 7th Imám Músâ Kazîm, whose shrine is at Shalozán, highly revered by the Turís of Kurram. He is the patron saint of Shalozân and his descendants, who are called Ibahîn Khel or Imám Músâ Kazîmî Sayyids, are found in Shalozân, Nurkái, Ahmadzai and Nâšî Kot and are much respected. The shrine is visited both by Sunnis and Shi'ás. Children are shaved, animals and sweetmeats offered, flags hung and vows made for success against enemies. Two miracles are ascribed to this saint:—

(a) At the request of the Shalozânîs he is said to have increased the water of spring which had hardly been sufficient for their requirements.

(b) A dry olive tree is said to have become green when touched by him.

Mîr Ibahîn, great-grandfather of the Ahmadzai and Nurkî Sayyids, is said to have come from Surkhâb in the Amîr's territory, and with the Turís. He occupied the spot where the present village of Shalozân lies. At that time Zable was Khán of the Shalozân Bangash. One day Mîr Ibahîn's camels were grazing in the Khan's fields and a villager reported to him that a stranger's camels were grazing on his crops, so he ordered the trespasser to be brought to him, and asked him why he had grazed his camels on his crops. The Mîr replied that his camels had done no damage. This the Khán could not believe so he went to see for himself, and on arriving at the spot found that the camels were not touching his crops. The Khán thought that the Mîr must be a saint, and asked him how much land he would accept. The Mîr replied that he would throw his staff and that as far as it flew the land should be his. To this the Khán agreed, and Mîr Ibahîn then cast his staff as far as Ahmadzai. But the Khán was unwilling to give him all that land; though assured he was a saint. Some lands at Ahmadzai and Shalozân were then given him and his descendants hold them to this day.

III. Sayyîd Fakhr Alâm, whose shrine is at Karmán, is held in high repute not only by his disciples there, but also by those of Shalozán.
and other places. His descendants are known as Husaini Sayyids, and are found at Karmán, Shalozáu, Darawi, Ali Sheri and even in Tirah. Regular fairs are held annually at this shrine at both the 'Ids and on the Mulkaram days. People from distant villages attend them. Almost all the visitors are Shi'as, Sunnis being very seldom seen. Sheep and goats are slaughtered and distributed among the guardians (waj'dama) of the shrine, and the people attending the fairs. Prayers are offered to the soul of the saint. The story of a miracle wrought by this saint is as follows:

It is said that Hujaj, a tyrannical king, was a great persecutor of the Sayyids, whom he could recognise by a peculiar fragrance which came from their mouths. The Sayyids thereupon rallied round Fakhri Alam and begged him to request the Prophet to remove the fragrance which was so dangerous to them. Fakhri Alam accordingly went to Medina, bowed before the mausoleum of the Prophet and made the request. He then went to sleep, and in a dream saw the Prophet who told him that his request had been granted. Fakhri Alam then came back to Kurrum. While passing through the outskirts of Karmán, he prayed that the stones and pebbles, which had proved so gentle to his bare feet, might be changed into fine white sand. The prayer was heard and the sand is still seen in its vicinity. He also blessed the fields of Karmán, which have since begun to yield abundant harvests.

The following is another version of this legend which is current among the saint's descendants:

Hujaj Abi-i-Yusuf, ruler of Turkey, was hostile to the Sayyids. He had put numbers of them to death and was hunting out the rest when one night in a vision he was directed to give his daughter's hand to a Sayyid of pure descent. On rising next morning he ordered his wazirs and amirs to have search made for a Sayyid of pure blood, and so they sent messengers all over the kingdom to spread the news of the king's clemency. This proclamation produced the desired effect. Within a week over a thousand Sayyids were present in the king's darbär, every one declaring himself to be of the purest descent. The king then told the story of his vision to his officials who advised that all Sayyids who claimed to be of noble birth should be sent under escort to the Prophet's tomb at Medina there to prove themselves pure Sayyids by the following test:

"Each should walk by himself round the Prophet's tomb and ask the Prophet to call him. If the Prophet replied to him the Sayyid would be deemed of pure blood and could receive the hand of the King's daughter on his return. When this proposal was disclosed to the Sayyids they all, with the exception of Shah Abul Hasan and Sayyid Jalal (the great-grandfather of Pahlewan Shah of Mahura), left the King's darbär and disappeared. These two, however, went to Medina and walked round the Prophet's tomb. Sayyid Jalal, they say, failed to produce the desired reply from the tomb, but when Sayyid Shah Abul Hasan asked the Prophet whether he was his descendant of pure blood or not, the Prophet replied 'Yes' and said 'henceforth you must be called Fakhri-i-Alam'. He was then ordered by the Prophet to go to a place named Kirmán. Sayyid Fakhri-i-Alam, they say, married the
King's daughter, and the Qabat Shah Khel of Zerán regard themselves as her descendants. The Sayyids of Grám and other places are descendants of Sayyid Fakhr-i-Alam by his first wife who was a Sayyidáni. Fakhr-i-Alam, they say, went in search of Kirmán and eventually reached the place he sought, and there he stopped. This happened prior to the occupation of the Kurram valley by the Bangash.

This version of the story is, however, not accepted by the descendants of Sayyid Jalál who point to the great honour done to the tomb of Sayyid Jalál at Uch in Bahawalpur and Bilot in Dera Ismail Khán as proof that he was the person who had his pedigree verified in the manner above quoted.

IV. Lála Gul, another descendant of the 7th Imam whose shrine is at Shakh, is much resorted to both by the Malli Khel and Duperzai Turí and the Muqíhils of Kurram. His descendants, who go by the name of Lála Gul Kawal Sayyids, are found in Kharláchí, Shál Khána, Sultán and Shakh. Lála Gul is also known as the Yakh-posh, 'endurer of cold', saint, for having passed a night in a pool of frozen water at Istía. According to another legend, he sat on a burning pile of wood without being injured, and in return for this miracle he was given by his disciples a piece of land near Shakh, which his descendants still enjoy. Lála Gul's father Burqá-posh is also much revered by the people. He is said to have requested the Amír-ul-Mominín Ali to show him his face and on receiving no answer, he put on a šafá (winding sheet) and went to the cave of a big serpent known to be the guardian of a hidden treasure at Pír Ghar, about 2 miles from Kharláchí. As soon as the Burqá-posh (wearer of the veil) went near the serpent, it lowered its head as a tribute to his virtues. The Burqá-posh then took up his abode in the serpent's cave and it became as harmless and tame as a domestic animal. After a few days three Muqíhils of Istía, thinking that the serpent was dead and that Burqá-posh was in possession of the treasure, determined to kill him and steal it. But when they neared the cave, the serpent gave a furious hiss and all three were burnt to death. Three black stones are still preserved as evidence of the incident. Burqá-posh then lived peacefully for some time in the cave with the serpent which provided him with sustenance. One night he had a dream in which Ali appeared to him and told him to pay a visit to the Shapóla hill, close to Pír Ghar. Next morning he went to the Shapóla hill, and was much astonished to see a wall miraculously rise around him and some sheep descend for him from heaven. Almost immediately after this he saw the face of Ali which was like a full moon. Burqá-posh then bowed before the Amír-ul-Mominín (commander of the faithful) and received from him, as tokens of his love, a gold ring and a golden flag. Thenceforth Burqá-posh always kept his face under a veil and never showed it to the people, signifying that nobody was worthy to catch sight of him. That is why he was known as Burqá-posh. His shrine is at Shakh close to Lála Gul's shrine.

This saint recalls the Veiled Prophet of Kharáshán, Al-Muqámmán, the the

Lumstedt's statement that the shrine of Fakhr-i-Alam, the father of Nádir Shah, which is considered very sacred by the Turí tribes, is in the Karmán Valley, is totally incorrect.
concealed whose name was Hakim Bin Hashim and who wore a golden mask. He was also called the Sayyid-i-Mah or the moon-maker, because he produced a miraculous illumination by night from a well at Nakhsb which caused the place to appear moon-lit. Mokanna taught that God has assumed the human form since he had hidden the angels to adore the first man, and that since then the divine nature had passed, from prophet to prophet, to Abu Muslim who had founded the Abbasides, and had finally descended to himself. He founded in Transoxiana the sect of the Sufedjimagan or white-clothed. The Burqa, a sect found, like the Rawandi, in Transoxiana, were so called because Muqanna had veiled his face. They would appear to be identical with the Sufedjimagan.

Three centuries later the Assassins adopted white garments and were called Muhayasa or white, as well as Muhammad or red, because they also adopted red turbans, boots or girdles.

The Rawandis also acknowledged Abu Muslim as their head and he seems to have been the first to import the doctrine of transmigration (landauka) into Islam. To this doctrine Muqanna added that of the incarnation of the divine and human nature.

Mr. Muhammad Hamid on this suggestion writes as follows:—

"Al-Muqanna originally belonged to Merv in Khorasan, and served for some time as a secretary to Abu Muslim, governor of that province under Al-Mahdi, the third of the Abbasid Caliphs (A.D. 755-785). Afterwards he turned soldier, passed from Khorasan into Transoxiana and proclaimed himself a prophet. By Arab writers he is generally called Al-Muqanna or sometime Al-Burqa'i (the veiled) because he always appeared in public with his face covered with a veil or gilded mask. The real cause of his always appearing in a burqa was that he did not like to show his defects to the people. He was short in stature, blind in one eye which he had lost in one of the wars—deformed in body, stammering in speech and otherwise of a despicable appearance. His followers, however, alleged that he hid it lest the splendour of his countenance should dazzle the eyes of beholders. Not content with being reputed a prophet he arrogated to himself divine honors, pretending that the supreme Deity resided in him. He alleged, as proof of his claim, that the first man was worshipped by angels and the rest of creation. From Adam, he asserted, the Deity had passed to Noah and so on to the prophets and philosophers until it resided in the person of Abu Muslim and after his death had passed on to him. He gained a large number of followers, deluding them by many so-called miracles, the chief of them being a moon which he caused to appear from a well for several nights together at a fairly long distance from his residence. Hence it is that he is also called Sayyid-i-Mah or San'i-i-Mah (the Moon-maker). His disciples increasing in number occupied several fortified places in Transoxiana and the Khalifa

1 Amir Ali assigns the Rawandis' foundation to 141 H. (758 A. D.), op. cit., p. 431. He terms Muqanna the 'infamous' founder of the Sufedjimagan, pp. 431-2. But he writes as if the Indo-Magian sect of the Rawandis, who taught the mnemonics, were distinct from the Sufedjimagan.

2 Ibn Khallaqan makes him a washerman of Merv. His real name, he mentions, was Aja but that of his father is not known. He is sometimes called Hakim.
was at length obliged to devote his energies to repressing the formidable rebellion headed by him. At the approach of the royal forces Al-Muqanna' retired into one of his strongest fortresses (Sanfam?) in the city of Kash, which he had well provided against a siege and sent some of his chosen followers abroad to convert people to his heresy alleging that he raised the dead to life and knew future events. But being hard pressed by the besiegers, when he found that escape was impossible, he gave poison to his family and followers and when they were dead, burnt their bodies together with their clothes and all the property and cattle in the fort and then to prevent his own body being found jumped into the flames. Another tradition says that he threw himself into a tub of a poisonous preparation which consumed every part of him except his hair. The besiegers entered the fort but could find nothing but one of his concubines, who, suspecting his designs, had concealed herself, and disclosed the whole matter.

Ibn Khallaqān gives another and somewhat different account of his death. He says that he administered poison in drink to his family (but not to his followers) a portion of which he drank himself, thus dying at his own hands. The besiegers, he says, forced the entrance of the fort and killed all the followers of Muqanna' found in the stronghold. The remainder of his followers still adhered to his teachings as he had promised them that his soul should transmigrate into a grey-bearded man riding a greyish beast, and that after many years he would return to them. This expectation kept the sect alive for many generations after his death which occurred in 163 H. = 778-9 A.D.

A careful examination of the accounts of Al-Muqanna' and the Burqaqosh of Kurram shows that there is no direct connection between them. The former died in 779 A.D. The latter seems to be much later but he is probably a true saint, never pretending to be a diety or even a prophet.

The Burqa'ī sect of Transoxiana where Muqanna' first spread his heresy may be descended from some of the surviving disciples of the impostor. Muqanna' is called 'the veiled prophet of Khorassān' simply because he originally belonged to Merv in that province; but in fact his heresy spread over Transoxiana and he was besieged and defeated in the latter province. Again if the sect of the Sufiānāmah was founded by Muqanna', it is more than probable that they are identical with the Burqa'īs.

Sayyid Lāla Gūl's descendants are the Sayyids of Kharlāchī. It is said that Lāla Gūl migrated from Kashmir. When he came to Kurram the valley was full of the Karmān Sayyids, and when the eldest of them heard that a new Sayyid had come to the valley he sent him a glass of milk as a hint that the valley was full of Sayyids. Lāla Gūl then put a flower in the milk and sent it back to the Karmān Sayyids, thereby signifying that though the valley was full of Sayyids he would trouble no one. From Kurram he went towards Lohgur and after a while came again towards Kurram. Passing through the Chakmānī country he was recognized by the people as a saint. It is stated that a headman of the village of Dhanda asked him to remove the jhil which had made his lands a swamp. This Lāla Gūl did by throwing his staff into

1 The Sword of Islam, pp. 489 and 139.
it. The village, however, still retains its old name: The land where Kharlâchi lies was in possession of the Bangash. They gave some land to the Sayyid, but after a while were themselves driven from the place.

V. Sayyid Ishâq, grandson of the Sayyid Jalâl just mentioned, whose tomb is in Alizai, was the ancestor of the last of the five recognised khawâdos of the Sayyids. His descendants are called Bukhâri Sayyids and are found at Pawiwar Mahura, Agra, Tutak, Makhezai and Nasti Kot. His shrine is visited by the Hamza Khel and Mastu Khel of Alizai, Bagzai and Chârdiwâr. Offerings are made, and the mujâwars and poor people are fed. Flags are also hung here. Many miracles are ascribed to this saint. By the most important of them all he perforated, by means of his club, a hill which obstructed the water of the Alizai Canal. That tunnel still exists, and through it flows the water of the canal. As a reward for this miracle he was given a piece of land called Bargherai which is still in possession of his descendants.

Sayyid Ishâq was the great-grandfather of the Mahera Sayyids and came to the Kurram valley from Peshâwar, where the Karimpura Bazâr is named after Sayyid Karim Shah, his grandfather. Sayyid Ishâq's father, Muhammad Shâh Tâjdâr, died on his return from a pilgrimage to Meshed and was buried at Grinch, a place between Herât and Kandahâr. Sayyid Ishâq, returning to Peshâwar viâ the Kurram, stayed in the Kurram and died there. He is buried at Alizai. According to another account, however, he was not buried in Kurram, but there is a place in Alizai where he is said to have stayed.

In addition to these shrines, the Turfs make long and perilous journeys to the famous shrines of Karbala and Mashad in Persia. In former days when there were no facilities of communication they had to travel the whole way on foot, but now the greater part of the journey is made by rail and steamer. Sometimes a whole family migrates to these shrines and takes up its permanent abode there. This is called hijarat by the Turfs. Well-to-do people often send the bones of dead relations to the Karbala cemetery to be buried there.

It appears that the Kurram Valley already possessed four classes of Sayyids, as stated above, when one of the Tirâh Sayyids came to the valley to try his fortune. Some of the people owing to a political disagreement with the Kurram Sayyids flocked to him and became his murids. He used to stay a while with them and then return to Tirâh where he spent the greater part of his time. It is stated that one Amîr Shah Sayyid of Kharlâchi preached that the Tirâh Sayyids were superior in every way to all the other Sayyids in Kurram, which so irritated the other Sayyids of the valley that they took up arms to kill him. The Tirâh Sayyids' murids defended him, but owing to the smallness of their numbers could not protect him, and so Amîr Shâh was killed. This was the beginning of the Miân Murid and Drewandi factions. The Miân Murids though few in number nevertheless managed to oppose the Drewandi faction with some success. The Miân Murids were at one time called Ting or 'rage' Gund and the Drewandis, the Sust or 'slack' Gund.
Their disputes lasted for a considerable time, until the British Government put a stop to them, but the two factions still exist.

The Mián Murids generally believe that the assistance of their pir is required for entering Paradise. The other Sayyids are only pirs in name, and their murids do not put much faith in them. The main cause of the differences between the Drewandi and Mián Murid factions is said to be that the former object to the Muluangi institutions fostered by the Mián Murids. A Malang is the religious devotee of a Sayyid and the Mián Murids declare that his devotion (to a Sayyid of their persuasion) will be rewarded by Paradise.

These sectarian differences are further cross-divided by the Sîñ and Tor gunds or factions. None of the Turis or Bangash can say when these gunds arose. A Ghaltai version is that a long time ago there was in Afgânistân a Khán who had two sons. The eldest was called Spîn Khán and the younger Tor Khán. After their father’s death they quarrelled about the supremacy and this led to a fight between them. As both were wealthy they subsidized the neighbouring tribes who took part in their fights which lasted for a considerable time. The tribes who joined Spîn Khán’s faction were called Spîngundi and those which joined Tor Khán’s Turgundi. The Turis and Bangash do know of this tradition, but they can give no other explanation of the origin of the two gunds. This feud breaks out occasionally but it is chiefly observed in matters which have no connection whatever with any religious question. In fact it may be said to have become extinct as such but the factions live, and influence the tribes in their dealings with each other. All the Torgundi are Sunnis, whilst the Spîn gund comprises some Shi’a and some Sunni tribes.

The Sayyids of Tirâb, Gram and Ahmadzai are the most honoured families in Kurram. The Sayyids of Mahura and Kharlâchi come next to them.

I.—SHRINES OF THE KURRAM WAZîRS.

1. The zîrats of Pir Sâbiq and Pir Râmâdîn.

These two shrines lie close to each other at the junction of the Thal and Biland Khel boundary, about four miles from the latter village, and are held in high veneration by the Biland Khels, Thalwâls, Khaṭṭâks and Kâbul Khel Wazîrs, who pay annual visits to them and make vows for the increase of their cattle, wealth, and sons. In former days, cows and sheep were slaughtered as offerings here, but no sacrifices are now made. Hindus also resort to them, but Shi’as never visit them, although the saints were Hussaini Sayyids. The descendants of Pir Sâbiq and Pir Râmâdîn are known as the pirs, or religious guides, of the Biland Khels and comprise no less than fifty families. They own one-fifth of the Biland Khel possessions, and are a powerful community.


A characteristically cynical folk-tale says that the origin of the Tor and Spîn gunds is due to a discussion about a bird called goîbuka or hujâku. Some people said that the bird had more white feathers than black, others that its black feathers were more numerous than its white. This led to two political parties, the Tor and Spîn gunds, being formed.
The Kábul Khel and other Wazirs, when proceeding to the Sháwal and other places in summer, leave their grain, hay and household property within the precincts of these shrines and find them intact on their return in winter. The shrines are covered over with domes shaped like canopies, and are consequently called the dúl-gumbat ziráát, or shrines with two domes.

The story about the miraculous power of the saints is as follows:—
The Biland Khels, being in want of water for the irrigation of their lands, begged Pír Sábiq and Pír Rámdín to dig them a canal from the Kurrám river, and this the saints undertook to do. Though they had no money, they commenced excavation, and when in the evening the labourers came to them for wages, they directed them to go to a certain rock, where they were paid. Nobody could tell how they came by the money. One day, while excavating, the labourers found their way blocked by a huge stone, which they could neither remove nor blow up. The saints thereupon ordered them to leave it alone and retired. In the morning, when the labourers returned to work they found that the rock, which had to them appeared an insurmountable obstacle, had been driven asunder by the saints, who had made a passage for the water to flow through. Two years after the completion of this canal the saints died. The Biland Khels, who are their chief disciples, attribute their prosperity to their patronage and the proximity of the two shrines. To cut trees in the vicinity is looked upon as sacrilege.

2.—Rámdín Ziráát.

This shrine lies midway between Biland Khel village and the shrines of Pír Sábiq and Rámdín. This Rámdín was a descendant of Pír Sábiq, and should not be confounded with the Pír Rámdín who was Pír Sábiq's contemporary. He was a great Arabic and Persian scholar, and endowed with saintly powers before he came of age. When a child of four, as he was seated one day on a low wall, repeating verses from the Qaráh and meditating on their import, he happened in his abstraction to kick the wall with his heels, which began to move, and had gone seven or eight paces before the saint became aware of what had happened and stopped it. The wall can be seen even to this day.

One day he went to a hill, sat down under a pílama tree and began to repeat verses from the sacred book. The shade of the tree pleased him so much that he determined to plant one like it near his own house. Having finished his reading, he walked home and was surprised to find the tree following him. He turned round and ordered it to stop. The tree is now known as the rúwán pílama or 'walking pílama,' and is held in high esteem by the surrounding tribes. Its twigs, when worn round the neck, are said to cure jaundice. A stone enclosure about fifty yards in diameter surrounds it, and to this day the Kábul Khel Wazirs bring diseased cattle there. The moment they taste the earth of the enclosure they are cured.

3.—Sar Pekhur; Faqir.—The Shrine of the Beheaded Saint.

This shrine lies about four miles from Biland Khel village. The saint is said to have been a cowherd, and one day, while grazing his
herds on a hill-top, he was attacked by a gang of Malli Khel Turis, who killed him and carried off his cattle. Tradition says that the severed head of the saint pursued the raiders for nearly a mile, and that when they turned and saw it they fled in dismay, leaving the cattle behind. The cattle were thus recovered. There are now two shrines, one at the place where the saint’s body fell, and the other where his head was found. As he was a great lover of cattle, all those desirous of increasing their herds visit his shrine, fix small pegs in the ground and tie bits of rope to them, as a hint that they want as many cattle as there are pegs; and the belief is that their efforts are not in vain. The saint’s descendants, who go by the name of Manduri Sayyids, are found in Kurram and the Bannu District. They are supposed to possess the power of curing people bitten by mad dogs. Their curse is much dreaded by the people, and nobody ventures to injure their property. In the tribal jirgas, whenever one party wishes to bring the opposite side to a permanent settlement or termination of a feud, it invariably secures the attendance of a Manduri Sayyid at the jirga, as no one will venture to violate or contravene an agreement drawn up in his presence. People whose property is insecure in their houses take it to the precincts of this shrine in order to secure its safety, and no thief will venture to touch it. A jackal is said to have once entered the compound of the shrine with intent to steal, but it was miraculously caught in a trap and killed. The head of the Sayyid is buried in the Miâmi country and his body in Malikshâh.

4.—Zaidat Sarwardin.

This shrine is situated about a hundred yards from the shrine of Bándin (No. 2). This saint also was a Sayyid. His descendants, who live in the surrounding villages, are said to have been much oppressed by the high-handedness of the Thalwâls (inhabitants of Thal), who maltreated them and forcibly diverted their water. One day descendants of Sarwardin, exasperated by the excesses of the Thalwâls, went to their ancestor’s shrine and prayed against them, and it so happened that one of the men, who was actually engaged at the time in injuring them, died within twenty-four hours. Another man, who had stolen some grass from the field of a descendant of this saint, saw in a dream that he was stabbed by a horseman and when he awoke he went mad, ran about like a wild animal and died soon after. The descendants of this saint are also respected and dreaded by the people, though not to the same extent as those of the Sar Prekârî saint.

5.—Nâsimâlîdâ Zaidat.

This shrine is about three hundred paces from Bâland Khel village. The saint belonged to the Qâz Khel family and lived a life of great austerity. He very seldom spoke, always remained bareheaded, and passed his days and nights, both summer and winter, in water. He left to his posterity a green mantle and a green cloak. The popular belief is that these clothes, when drenched in water, have the power of bringing down rain from the sky. His descendants look upon them as a sacred and valuable legacy and would not part with them for anything.
Shrines in Waziristan.

6.—Khallifa Nika Zidrat.

This shrine lies about a mile from the village of Biland Khel. The saint, who goes by the name of Khalifza, was a beloved disciple of Hajji Bahadar Sadiq, whose shrine is at Kohat, and he is said to have been allowed by his spiritual guide to lift kettles of boiling water on his bare head. There is a belief that if a man receive a piece of cloth from this saint’s descendants and dip his head along with it in boiling water, it will come out unscathed. This shrine is visited by men and women and vows made for the birth of sons and increase of wealth. The Kabul Khel and Kohial Khel Wazirs make frequent visits to it. A stone taken from the zidrat and passed over the body is looked upon as a potent charm against evil spirits.

7.—Khand Zidrat.

This shrine is close to the village of the Karmandi Khel Wazirs and is highly venerated by them and by the Mlya Malik. Khand was a Manduri Sayyid, and the popular belief among the Karmanda Khels is that the vicinity of the saint is a strong safeguard against the prevalence of cholera, fever, and small-pox. The Karmanda Khels, on proceeding to their summer settlements in the Shawal hills, leave their household property in the precincts of this shrine and find it untouched on their return in the following winter.

8.—Saif Ali Zidrat.

This shrine stands six miles from Spinwam. The saint was a Kabul Khel Wazir. His descendants, who are known as Isa Khel Kabul Khels, are much respected by the people. A man, who stole a bundle of hay from the precincts of this shrine, became blind and his house was burnt down the same night. The saint’s descendants are held in repute by the Wazirs of the Karmandi Khel section, and when the rains held off they are fed by the people by way of offering, the belief being that a downpour will immediately follow. They are also empowered to give charans to the people, which they say have a wonderful effect in curing various diseases.

9.—Ghundakai Zidrat.

This shrine stands on high ground and is known as the shrine of the Aslah, or Companions of the Prophet. In its precincts the people stock their crops, after they are cut, and they are then safe from the hands of an incendiary.

II.—SHRINES OF THE MADDH KHEL AND OTHER WAZIRS OF THE TOCHI VALLEY AND OF THE AHMADZAI WAZIRS AND OTHERS OF LEWA.

1.—Mandun Zidrat.

This shrine lies in a village, called after it the Zidrat Qil’a, which stands within a sungle sound of Sherana. The saint is a descendant of the famous Dangar Pir, whose shrine is in the Gydn country in Khost, Afghanistan. Almost all the tribes of the Tochi Valley, viz., the Madda Khels, Khizzer Khels, Dangar Khels, Tannis, and Dauris, visit it, and to its presence they ascribe their prosperity, security, and very existence. The tribes living close to the shrine visit it almost every Friday. Those living farther away resort to it at the ‘Id and Muharram. It
is guarded by Wazir majdawar (guardians) who are entitled to one osaka 1 of grain per house from each crop. They also receive a share of the alms of pilgrims, who make offerings and slaughter sheep, goats, and cows at the shrine. Vows are made here for an increase in wealth and the birth of sons. The Sporkais, Wali Khels, Tori Khels, and Madda Khels, when going to Shawal, and the Kabul Khels when returning to Margha, on their way to Kurram, deposit in the precincts of this shrine all such property as is not required for immediate use. The belief is that it is immediately transformed into a snake if touched by a strange hand. A murderer wishing to make peace with his enemies resorts to the shrine for seven consecutive Fridays and thereby succeeds in his object. During his lifetime the saint is said to have asked one of his shaikh (disciples), called Dale, to cook a kok 2 two menards in weight, and the story goes that the shaikh succeeded in so preparing it, that when it was weighed it was found correct. The saint is said to have blessed Dale for his dexterity, and the following proverb is associated with his name: 3 Dale dung daceka dung dat. 4 Dale is tall and his kok is also tall. The large boulders seen near Dagar Gil'a are said to have been detached from the hill by the miraculous power of this saint. On one occasion he sent his shaikh to Padoi, a gardener, to fetch fruit, but the latter refused to give him anything. On this, the shaikh called out "Fall, fall," and the fruit began to fall one after another. The gardener was frightened and gave him as many as he could carry. Lunatics, who cannot otherwise be cured, are tied up by the side of this shrine and recover in a week. It is said that unholy persons cannot pass a quiet night within the precincts of the sidrat. The descendants of Maman are known by the name of pire. The shrine is also called Miraji Sahib. Dargar Pir was a follower of Haji Bahadur Sahib of Kohat. In addition to the Tochi tribes mentioned Zadrana, Khustwals and Bannhosts visit the shrine in large numbers. Another account says: 1 Sporika and Tori Khels do not go to Shawal and the Wali Khel enter Shawal by a different route and do not deposit their property in the sidrat. Madda Khels leave property there on their way to Maxdak, and it is believed that any one touching property left at the shrine is either struck mad or blind.

2.—Baba Ziarat.

This shrine stands near Dando village and is visited by Madda Khels, Tori Khels, Dauris and other tribes of the valley, who make offerings of live animals. The flesh is distributed among the poor and needy Wazirs, who hang about the place at such times. The descendants of this saint are called soqiros and are looked upon with respect by the people. Offerings are now usually made in cash.

3.—Mara Pangyo Shaikh (Martyr).

This shrine is situated on the slopes of the Char Khel Range and is held in esteem by the Machas, Ismail Khels, Nazar Khels, Khizzar

1 About 20 yrs.

2 A kok is a Wazir loaf, round like a ball, and cooked on the embers by placing a hot stone in the centre.
Shrines in Wafristan.

Khels, Tannis, Janheya Khels, and Bakhshi Khels, who visit it in the hot weather en route to their summer quarters. A goat or sheep is slaughtered for every flock that passes by this zijrat. All those visiting it go on a Friday morning, and after throwing some wood-chips round about the tomb, fall asleep and in their dreams see their desires fulfilled. On waking they pray to the soul of the saint, slaughter a sheep or goat, and distribute its flesh among the poor. All who have once slaughtered a sheep or goat at this shrine become the saint's disciples, and it becomes incumbent upon them to slaughter a sheep every year by way of offering to the shrine. Grains, querns, beams and mats are deposited within the precincts of this shrine by the nomad tribes. Flags are also hung here, and a bit of stuff taken from them and tied about the neck is looked upon as a safeguard against all diseases.

4.—Chang Mangal Zijrat.

This is situated close to Achar, a village about twelve miles west of Datta Khel. The saint was a Mangal and passed a pious life in this vicinity. He has no descendants here. The shrine is visited both by Mada Khels and Achars. A thread, equal to the length of this tomb, worn round the neck, is said to be a specific for fever and jaundice.

5.—Dangar Pir Zijrat.

This is a most important shrine, situated in Gyan and periodically visited by almost all the tribes of the Tochi, Khost, Zadrán, and Urgán. The saint was a Sayyad and an ancestor of Maman. His descendants are called Dangar Khels and are found at Ghazlami and other villages of the Tochi Valley. They are called jîrks by the Tochi tribes and are highly venerated by them. Their displeasure is much dreaded, especially by those who become murids, or disciples of Dangar Pir. The name Dangar, which means ‘lean’, was given to the saint on account of his physical condition. His home is traced to Egypt, of which country he is said to have been king. He is afterwards said to have laid down his sceptre for a saintly staff and to have travelled to this country. In his travels he was accompanied by Miso or Musa (now known as Musa Nikka) and Maman (now called Maman Pir). People take special care never to offend the descendants of Saint Dangar, for it is said that whenever anybody does so, the saint in his rage miraculously flings blades of iron at him, and destroys him and his family. These iron blades are called saghiras by the people.

6.—Maman Pir Zijrat.

This shrine is about two hundred yards from Dangar's shrine. In the autumn a joint fair is held by the Gyanis at the shrines of Maman Pir and Dangar Pir, at which a sheep is slaughtered by every family attending it. Maman Pir belonged to the Abbaside dynasty, and the following saying shows how much, according to popular belief, he was loved by God:

"God is as enamoured of Maman the Abbaside, as a cow is of her new-born calf."

A sub-section of the Mada Khels.
7.—Musa Nikka Zidrat.

This shrine stands on the right bank of the Shakin Algard on the Wana Urgun border. Musa Nikka claims to be the ancestor of all the Wazirs, whether in Wana, Birmal or the Tochi. The Ahmadzai Wazirs and others on their way to Birmal in summer leave their superfluous property in the precincts of this shrine and on their return in autumn find it intact. The belief is that any one stealing property thus deposited is immediately struck blind.

The Musa zidrat is visited by the Ahmadzais and Mahsuds of Wana, the Saifalis and Paipalis of Birmal and the Madda Khels and others of the Tochi. Many stories are told of the miraculous powers of this saint, as, for instance:—One day the saint’s brother Isa was grazing his flock in the hills. There was no water in the neighbourhood. Isa and his flock both became parched with thirst. Just then Musa came to his brother’s help and with his stick made a small hole in the ground, covered it with his mantle, and began to pray. After a while he told his brother Isa to remove the mantle. The tradition says that a spring of clear water began to ooze from the hole, at which Isa and his flock quenched their thirst. Musa then closed the hole and the spring dried up. The site of this spring is in the Warmana Nulla, close to which are seen two large heaps of stone called the chillas of Musa and Isa. Within the walls of this shrine are three trees, which are believed to be endowed with different miraculous qualities. To embrace the first will give a man a wife; to climb the second will give him a horse; and to swing from the third will give him a son. Close to the Musa Nikka zidrat are two others, known respectively as Shin Starga zidrat and Baghara zidrat. All three shrines are visited on one and the same day and joint sacrifices made.

8.—Michan Bhaba Zidrat.

This shrine stands about eight miles east of Wana. The descendants of this saint are not found in Wana, but it is probable that the scattered families of Michan Khels, found in the Banu District and elsewhere, are his descendants. The shrine is visited by the Zalli Khels and Mahsuds and vows made for the birth of sons.

III.—MINOR SHRINES OCCASIONALLY VISITED BY THE AHMADZAI WAZIRS AND OTHERS.

1.—Umar Aga.

A Daftani saint, who has a shrine at Dhana, about twelve miles north-west of Wana.

2.—Khojati Zidrat.

This is situated at Maura. The saint was a Sayyid and the shrine is visited by the nomad Wazirs.

3.—Madar Baba Zidrat.

This is about fifteen miles west of Wana and has a well close to it, where Wazirs encamp every year.

4.—Mamun Zidrat or Paton Zidrat.

This is situated on a hill near Madar Zidrat.
The shrines of Hazara.

Section: Tahsil Haripur.

1. The Bhorewáli shrine, on the bank of the Jobi nála, Mohri-Malya, 9 miles from Haripur, is known as the 'ibbdat-gáh (place of prayer) of one Sháh Maqsbúl, who came from Baghdád and spent 24 years there in prayer. His bhór or cell still exists, though in ruins. His grave is at Pesháwar in the Mohalla Babgári, but this shrine is also greatly revered by the people of Hazara in the belief that a visit to it will cure certain diseases. The descendants of this faqir are still to be found at Bhedáin in Attock and at Kokáliya in Hazara.

2. The shrine of Sháh Maqsúd, 6 miles east of Haripur and on the bank of the Dár nála, in Maqsúd. The grave is of one Sháh Muham-mad Gházi, who came from Sukkur and was buried there by a spring of clear water. This shrine is of great repute.

3. The zidrat of Bihí Puráníwáli, a virgin recluse, in Dehdar alongside the main road leading to Hassan Abdál, is ascribed to the Muham-madan period. Every Sunday women assemble there to get relief from parvkháwan (the shadow of a demon or apparition). It has a pond in which sick people bathe. The villagers have allowed an acre of land as sári to its mujáwar.

4. The Dári zidrat, 6 miles north of Haripur, in Dári, is the shrine of Sháh Sher Muhammad Gházi, who is said to have come from Sayyid Kishrán in Ráwalpindi. People generally visit it to get cured of sore eyes. It is also the scene of a fair at each 'Id. Sick persons resort to it every Thursday. Táttí is also played.

5. The zidrat of Chhajka in a glen of Sowáhi Míra in tahsil Haripur is visited by the people of that tract to cure colic. Every Thurs-day nearly 150 souls assemble there.

6. The zidrat of Sakhi Habb, 2 miles east of Haripur in Mának Ráí, is the shrine of a Pir held in high esteem by the people, who generally resort to it of a Thursday to obtain their desires. They give what is called gaddí podi to the mujáwar.

7. The zidrat of Jatti Pínd, 4 miles north of Haripur, lies in a dry plain in that village. It is said that a hermit came here from Gujrát in Muhammadan times. Every Thursday people suffering from neuralgia make a pilgrimage to the shrine to get cured.

8. The Qáziáni zidrat, 2 miles north of Haripur, in Qáziáni, is the shrine of Miyán Abdul Wahab Gházi, who migrated from the Awánkári iláqa. His descendants still live in this and the two adjoining villages of Malakýár and Padhána. Every Thursday it is the scene of a large gathering of people suffering from coughs.

9. The zidrat of Mián Mardín Sáhib lies in Darwesh near Haripur. People believe that a bath in its tank on a Thursday will cure scabies.

10. The shrine at Páhárn is known as that of Haqání Sháh, whose native place was Saiyad Kishrán in Ráwalpindi. This is a well-known zidrat where people assemble every Thursday in large numbers in order to obtain their desires.

* The local pronunciation is pácháwa.
The shrines of Hazára.

11. The siárat at Kharkoṭ is the shrine of Bábá Sajalíf of the Awán Qub-Sháhí tribe whose native place was in the Awán-Kári, whence he went to Pakhlí, but not finding it to his liking he flung his horse’s reins which fell at Kharkoṭ and then took up his abode there and was buried there on his death. People assemble there every Thursday in order to secure male issue.

TÁSHÍ MÁNSEHRA.

1. Dístán Rágá Bábá was a well-known saint in the Pakhlí tract near Bafta in the Mánsehra tahsil and it is the common belief of nearly all the people in that district that the notoriously oppressive Turk Rágá was expelled from his kingdom and dethroned because he incurred the displeasure of this saint. Soon after the Rágá was warned to mend his ways, the Swáṭís came over and defeated him. The only thing is that they can only say and do what they see will be done by the Almighty and be contented to do whatsoever He will. The shrine in Guli Bág near Bafta is visited by almost every one in Hazára and is generally called the yaqún-iwáli siárat. At this shrine is a spring in which the sick bathe. At the ‘Id on one day only women and next day only men assemble. Among the men the principal game is the tákí, a kind of prisoners’ base. The people of the Pakhlí plain, of the Swáṭ glens and of Feudal Tanáwal are the principal visitors at the gatherings which are in the main festive, though the shrine is held in high repute.¹

2. The shrine of Míán Khákí-Sáhib in the Agror valley is famous.

3. The shrine of Súltán Mughal Sáhib in Míán Khákí-da-Bágh in Tanáwal is also famous and it is believed that he was blessed by Hazrat Míán Sáhib at Mangal.

Another shrine in Loáng, a village in Mánsehra tahsil, is also much respected.

5. The other shrines are in Independent Territory in the trans-Agor valley, i.e. Pámál Sharíf, or in Muzaffarabad in Kashmir.

6. The siárat of Hayáṭ-ul-Mír, 24 miles north-east of Mánsehra at Bálákoṭ on the bank of the Kunhar nála, is in Muhammadan belief the sitting place of Sákhi Hayáṭ-ul-Mír who is said to have been endowed with life everlasting, while according to Hindus it is the sitting place of Bháí Bálá. At the ‘Id one day men and the next day women assemble there. It has a spring, known as sárāf, which has medicinal properties, being believed to cure leprosy and other diseases and 20 or 30 sufferers are generally to be found there.²

7. The siárat at Nankoṭ in the Pakhlí plain is the tomb of Sáiyád Ali Hamdún Bábá. He had also some niákastpáhá, or sitting places, in Kashmir which are held in high esteem. Every Sunday, especially the first in every bright half of the lunar month, there is a large gathering of women with their children afflicted with parckhawán. The sufferers are passed under the olive tree at the shrine.

Hazára Gázetteer, 1888-9, p. 59.
¹ B., p. 60.
8. The **ziārat** of Sayyid Jalāl Bába at Bhogaramang commemorates a leader under whom the Swáts of what is now Mánsehra tahsil wrested their present seats from the Turks.  

9. The ancient **ziārat** known as that of Sufaidátwála Bába lies at Khatai in the Agror idqá. This faqir, who lived quite naked, was a Sayyid by caste. 

10. At the shrine at Dogáí (the ‘junction’ of the Sarori and Unár streams) in the Agror idqá people assemble every Thursday and Sunday. The name of the faqir entombed there is not known, but he was a Sayyid of Ogh.

11. The Takiáwáli shrine at Torawára in Agror is the tomb of Akhund Sa’ad-ud-Dín who with the aid of Subá Khán, leader of the Tanáwallás in Hazára, conquered Agror. Swáts and other tribes visit this shrine. 

12. The **ziārat** at Gházikoṭ or Tútní-ki-ziárat lies by the road leading to Abbottabad. People suffering from stomachache visit it every Thursday and Friday. 

13. The shrine of Sháh Sharíf Qalandar lies at Sufaidát near Mánsehra. The saint entombed therein was a Sayyid. The inhabitants of the Pakhli idqá and Garhián in Tanáwal assemble there for prayer in times of drought. The water of its tank is possessed of medicinal properties in some ailments. 

14. The **ziārat** Takiya Mahándri in Jarid by the road leading to Kegán is the tomb of Pir Gházi Sháh. He is believed to have struck a stone with his ‘ard or ‘stick’ and from it gushed a spring which still exists. 

15. The **ziārat** Sri Pánjámíwáli is the shrine of Khítáb Sháh whom the Swáts brought here from Yaghistán and entombed after his death. He was by birth a saint. The villagers visit his shrine at both ‘Ids. 

16. The Bawájíwáli **ziārat** is the shrine of Sháh Walaýat Sháh, who went to a distant land, but his body was brought back and buried, near Icharián. He was deemed an able man of enlightened mind. At the ‘Ids people go to his shrine to **saláms**. 

**Tabríl Abbottabad.**

1. **Ziārat** Bawájí Sáhib is a shrine at Máinoisíri in Tanáwal. The Bawájí came here from Chandaur, in Tanáwal, Tabríl Harípur. He is also known as the ‘beşery of Chhattí Mohri’, an estate or tract still held by his survivors. According to the popular faith a visit to the shrine will cure every disease. 

2. The **ziārat** of Miyán Sultán Gházi lies at Khání Tathára in Tanáwal and midway between Johripur and thána Sharwán. It is a resting place for travellers as it has a spring of sweet water and shady trees. Several diseases are cured by paying it a visit. 

3. Chila Sháh Barri Latíf is a place for the worship of Sháh

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*Hazír Gauther, 1938—9, p. 60.*
Shrines on the frontier.

Barri Latif, whose shrine is at Naarpur Sahib in tahsil Rawalpindi. This, it is said, lies one or one-and-a-half miles from Dakhun Pesor in the Naara Talga on nala called the Haru Dhandar. It has a grove of shady trees and is much revered by the people who to the number of nearly 20 assemble there every Thursday.

4. The Khandwala Pir Sahib shrine at Sajkot, in the Naara Talga, is so called because, according to the people, a rain of kano (gum) fell at his death. Hence the offerings to it consist mainly of sugar. Some 4 or 5 persons visit the shrine daily. One's desires can be fulfilled by paying it a visit.

5. The Numana Shiahwali safrat in Chanial near Nagri Totia is the tomb of a faqir whose native place is said to be Kashmir. After praying here for some years he was buried on this spot at his death. According to the people a visit to it is an antidote for fever.

6. The safrat at Mangal or Miyan Kangal Sahib is the shrine of Gul Muhammad, lying 8 miles north of Abbottabad in Jalspor, the former site of Mangal. His pir was Shaiikh Abdus Suhur Qadiri of Kashmir who was also called Bastal, c. 1145 H. (1732 A.D.). A large gathering of men and women is held every Thursday.

7. The takiga at Tarich, near Majhish, is the very old shrine of Pir Sattar Shah Ghazi and is situated on the bank of the Jhelum.

8. Other shrines are that of Jamal Ghazi at Damtaur where there is a fine grove of some size and to which Muhammadans make offerings; that of Sain Malpat in Abbottabad tahsil; and in Munsaira tahsil, that of Shaiikh Baba and Mehr Ali Baba at Bajna near Shinkiari; that of Qalander Sayyid at Balakot; that of Nanab Shah Sayyid at Lachimang in Konsh; that of Tortom Baba Sayyid at Shamshara; and that of Haidar Baba at Ghanian, both in Agra. The last-named lies at the foot of Black Mountain and is the tomb of Miyan Haider Baba, grandfather of the Sayyids of Atir. It is the scene of a fair at the Id.

SHRINES ON THE FRONTIER.

Peshawar.

Jogian Sar is a safrat on the summit of the Tortoba spur of the Himalayan mountains which is visited in spring by both Muhammadans and Hindus, in separate parties. The latter term this festival Rantakht. It lasts three days and is described as a mixture of religious devotion and debauchery. Pir Baba is a safrat in Buner which is a sober place of pilgrimage without a fair owing to the unsettled state of the country.1

Kohat.

The safrat of Shaiikh Yusuf in Chiltibagh at Sherkot village, Kohat tahsil, tappa Samilzai, consists of a masonry tomb in an adobe building surrounded by shisham trees and beds of narcissus. People from the neighbouring country assemble on Thursdays between Chet and Bhadoon, the gatherings lasting from one to four days, and, on the first Thursdays of Har and Maghar especially, visitors bring bread and khichri which is all collected and after being blessed is distributed to those present. This gathering is called taghra. Visitors ask for happy marriages, sons, wealth, recovery from disease and forgiveness of sins. Goats and sheep

1Peshawar Gazetteer, p. 119.
are sacrificed and the heads and legs offered to the *sidrat* to be eaten by the man in charge. Coverlets, oil, *jor*, rice etc. are also offered. Gatherings are held both in the light and dark half of the month, in which both Hindus and Muhammadans join.

The *sidrat* of Mir Habib Shah, near the spring of Khwâja Ashraf in village Jangal Mir Asghar Melan, is a thickly wooded place in a picturesque situation where the saint is said to have prayed. Gatherings take place at the end of Sawan when the grapes are ripe.

The *sidrat* of Shâh Imaâl Saih, between Samari Bala and Pâyân, Kohât tahsil, *tappa* Baizai, consists of tombs surrounded by a grove of trees. Gatherings from villages near and far take place every Friday in Chet and Baiskh, both in the dark and light half of the month, and last for one or two days. Visitors kill goats and sheep, offer a part to the priest in charge and ask for all sorts of blessings. This shrine is held in great reverence by the Khattaks, Bangash and Tîrâhwâls. Tradition says that the saint was a Sayyid of Bukhârân who, with some companions, visited Mir Khweli and thence cast a stone which fell near the shrine. So he dwelt here. But a serpent bit his finger and he died. There are now three graves, one of the saint, another of the bitten finger and a third of the snake!

The *sidrat* of Háji Bahâdur Saih consists of a masonry mausoleum, with a mosque and tank attached to it, in Kohât town. It is the most frequented shrine in the district. The saint was a Mîr Ahmad Khel, Bangash, and his original name was Miân Abdulla. From boyhood he was fond of religious studies and became a disciple of Shâikh Adam Banûrî who with his disciple set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca. During the voyage, the ship was brought to a stand-still by a storm. At his preceptor's instance, tradition says, Miân Abdulla lifted the ship on his head and set it afloat, but the exertion bruised his scalp and caused baldness so since then all his descendants are born bald. At Mecca the preceptor's son died but was restored to life by Miân Abdulla's prayers. In recognition of this miracle he was styled Háji Bahâdur by his preceptor. On his return to Kohât Háji Bahâdur assumed the title of *khuḍâ-i-bîs* or 'seer of God'. This offended Aurangzeb and the Háji was summoned to Lahore by the emperor and challenged to display his supernatural powers or undergo punishment for his heresies. Tradition says that he accepted the ordeal and asked the emperor to look at some water which he was dropping through the holes of a *pipal*. The emperor became insensible at the sight and fell from the throne. When he was himself again he testified to the Háji's supernatural powers and granted him the village of Miân Khel. It is also claimed as a proof of existing sanctity, that in seasons of drought, stones placed on the tomb, if dipped in the tank, are sure to bring down rain. Four well-known verses commemorate the date of the Háji's death. It is even said that he married Aurangzeb's daughter. This shrine is respected by the Bangash, Khattak, Afridi, Orakzai, Wazir and Kastâl Pathâns.

The *sidrat* of Tor Kamal near Kamal Khel is that of a saint who came from Turak with Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and was killed here.

*See paragraph 4, App. I to Tucker's Kohât Settlement Report.*
Shrines in Kohat.

The Khulai {\textit{sidr}}at in Marchungi is resorted to every Thursday by people suffering from rheumatism. This saint was killed in a religious war, but he took up his severed head and walked away. People noticed this and began to talk about it, whereupon the head fell off near the site of the {\textit{sidr}}at.

At the {\textit{sidr}}at of Pir Fateh Sháh Sáhib in Kohat town gatherings take place on the 'Id-ul-Fitar, 'Id-ul-Zuha, the 8th day after the 'Id-ul-Zuha, and the Nauroz. Visitors eat a little salt placed on the grave and also touch the stones with their eyes.

The {\textit{sidr}}at of Sháh Sa'id Halim Bukhári on the left bank of the Kohat Toi close to the Railway Station was believed to be respected by the Toi, but now it has been washed away. Men given to intoxicating drugs often resort to its shady grove.

The {\textit{sidr}}at of Sháh Abulla Namázi near Sir Sháhzáda Sultán Ján's cemetery owes its origin to Ganhar, a kárípar, who had a dream about it and so the {\textit{sidr}}at was made.

The {\textit{sidr}}at of Shaikh Alláhad in Kahi Circle, Kohat tahsil, is that of a saint, a Kháttak Páthán who used to pray in the Manduri hills and then settled here. The Jawakki Afridis and others visit it in large numbers on the first Thursday of the light half of the month. It is a fine masonry building consisting of two mausoleums, one of the saint, the other of his son.

The {\textit{sidr}}at of Sandali or Fateh Gul Bábá in Torastáni marks where that saint prayed on the Sandali hill.

The {\textit{sidr}}at of Faqir Sáhib in the village Nariáh, Hangu tahsil, is visited by people of this district as well as of Tirah on Thursdays and lamps are lit at it.

The Nawán Faqir {\textit{sidr}}at in Darsamandi on the 10th to Torwári is visited by rheumatic people on Thursdays.

The {\textit{sidr}}at of Sháh Álmáš, on a high hill north of Hangu, is believed to be the tomb of the ancestor of the present Sayyid in Hangu. People assemble on both 'Ids and a lamp is lit every Thursday.

The {\textit{sidr}}at of Miánji Sáhib, Shakardara Circle, Kohat tahsil, on the Makhad road is visited by people with toothache who put one stone above another to invoke its blessing.

The {\textit{sidr}}at of Háji Kamál Sáhib, near Miánji Khel in Teri tahsil, is said to be the tomb of the ancestor of the Mián of Miánji Khel. It is very popular among the Kháttaks and Wazírs.

The {\textit{sidr}}at of Miánji Sáhib in Shiwáki is the tomb of the ancestor of the Sayyids of Shiwáki.

The {\textit{sidr}}at of Siláj Khel is a well-known shrine. The saint was the ancestor of the Sayyids of this village. People visit it every Thursday in Chet.
Shrines in D. G. Khan and Muzaffargarh.

Shrines in Dera Ghazi Khan and Muzaffargarh.

The shrine of Pir Adil or 'the just saint' lies 9 miles north of Dera Ghazi Khan town. The saint, Sayyid Sultán by name, came from Baghlád in 439 H., but the shrine was only built in 814 H. by Nawáb Ghazi Khan. Sayyid Sultán's son Sayyid Ali one day killed a goat-herd whose mother complained to the saint. He handed over his son to her to wreak her vengeance on him and she killed him. He thus earned the title of Pir Adil and survived his son 26 years. The annual fair is held in Chet. But another version is that the saint only came from Mashhad in the 9th century of the Hijra and it adds that after the tomb was finished Ghazi Khan came to see it and asked the pir to manifest himself. This he did by thrusting his arm through the masonry of the tomb and a circular hole still remains in it to testify to the truth of this story.¹

Tohát Rájanpur.

The shrine of Muhammad Aqil Sahib at Kot Mithan was in the old town of Kot Mithan, but when in S. 1919 both town and shrine were washed away by the Indus, the coffin containing the body of Muhammad Aqil Sahib was disinterred and brought to the present shrine. Muhammad Aqil Sahib traced his descent from Abbáṣ Ali who came from Khorásán to dwell in Sindh and Muhammad Sharif Sahib came here in 1090 H. The pedigree is:

MUHAMMAD SHARIF SAHIB.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qádi Núr Muhammad</th>
<th>Muhammad Aqil Sahib, died in 1229 H.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hádi.</td>
<td>Abúl Khas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad</td>
<td>Muhammad Aqil Sahib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwája Táj</td>
<td>Khwája Khoná</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Dera Ghazi Khan Gazetteer, 1896, p. 55.

A legend about the miracles of Muhammad Sharif Sahib says that once he had to cross the Indus but there was no boat, so he put all the water of the river into a jug and went across, but on reaching the western bank he emptied the water out of the jug and so became...
known as Karbacha. The shrine is a handsome dome and the urs is very largely attended. 1

Another shrine at Rájanpur is known by the name of Khalífa Mián Muhammad Sáhib. It has existed for 40 years only. One urs is held in Safar.

The shrine called Aţharm 2 Imam and Sayyid Bukhári has existed for 150 years. Its khalifa is Ghulám Muhammad, mazímar, and its gaddáwásí Sayyid Gul Sháh, salídár of Murgáí. Every year in Chet a fair is held there lasting over 7 days. People of all creeds attend it, and they bring their own bread. The offerings go to the khalifa. A story about Tagía Sháh, a descendant of Tháran Imam Sháh, is that once a potter moulded an earthen horse and Tagía Sháh mounted it and it ran hither and thither. Tagía Sháh said that Tháran Imam Sháh had given him the horse and from that day the shrine has been greatly revered. The descendants of Tháran Imam Sháh, Gádi Sháh and Dalán Sháh live at Murgáí and those of Bande Sháh at Bhágsar.

Tahán Jámipur.

The shrine of Mossan Sháh of Jámipur is the scene of a fair from the 14th to 20th of Rabi-ul-awal. It is managed by descendants of the saint’s daughter’s son in default of male issue. His tomb is of adobe with a four-walled enclosure. 8

Láli Parwáns or ‘the red moth’ also has a shrine at this town, but the wall round the tomb is of brick. The saint left no sons but a faqir sits at his tomb and his urs is held on the 13th of the same month.

In the Kaha Pass at a distance of 5 miles from Harván is the shrine of Khalíd, son of Walid, known as Ishにおける Asháb, as he is said to have been a companion of the Prophet. A pilgrimage to his shrine is regarded as equal to one to Meca and it is visited on the 7th of Zuhá.

A tomb, held in great respect, though no shrine has been erected, is that of Shaikh Khás Sáhib of Gádi in Sangarí tahsíl at which visitors pray for what they want, presenting offerings expressive of their wishes. The tomb is in consequence hidden under a heap of toy cradles, bullocks, camels, yokes, strings of cowries with which camels are ornamented, and the like.

The shrine of Khwája Núr Muhammad Sáhib Nordwála at Hájipur.—Born in 1134 H. this saint went to Multán to learn Persian, Arabic and Philosophy in 1148 H. and completed his studies in 1150. At the age of 30 he became a disciple of Mián Sáhib Núr Muhammad Mohátwali and went to Hájipur with the Barra, men of his caste. He dwelt on the Nordwála well at Sikhaníwála whence he was known as Nordwála; his own caste was Pirhá. He spent a large part of his life in devotion, not sleeping by night and fasting by day. People regard

1 Dera Ghází Khán Gazetteer, 1893, p. 55.
2 Ib., p. 55.
3 Recalling the ‘eighteen Náríma’ of Kulu, the eighteen Imámá must be a purely conventional number, but though 18 is a very common number in Hindustán, no other instance of it is known in Islam.
him as an aulìa and he worked miracles. He died in 1204 H. at the age of 70. The present shrine was built in 1206 H. by Islam Khan Daud Petra, an uncle of the then Nawab of Bahawalpur, with 3 doors on the north, south and east. People say that once Manlavi Aziz Ullah, a disciple of the Khwaja Sahib, was in a difficulty and one night he went inside the shrine and prayed for his pir's help when suddenly Muhammad entered it from the southern door and his difficulty was solved. This door is now named the door of Heaven and is kept closed all the year, being only opened for two days on the 6th and 7th of Muharram, and those who visit the shrine always enter it by this door.

Two arms of the Indus are held in special veneration. One in Rajanpur tahsil is called Taran Imam or the Imam's Ferry and though long silted up is still held in honour. To say: Taran Imam kā dur, Malik Osman (or any name chosen) kā kur, is to attribute falsehoods as numerons as the dust of the taran to Malik Osman (or the other person selected). The couplet doubtless originated in a Shī'a curse on the Caliph Othman. The other arm is called Dhand Lalāgir after a saint of that name who diverted the waters of the Indus by his prayers.

Babā Lalāgir, a saint who gives his name to an arm of the Indus in Dera Ghazi Khan tahsil, diverted by his prayers the water of the Indus, but it found its way into the creek again, though the fine bānum tree which forms a place of pilgrimage is, or was till 1898, still standing.

At a distance of 8 kās from the Shori pass is the shrine of the Zinda Pir, Lakh Bahri, a son of Shāhābāz Aulīa. He is, as his name implies, an immortal and invisible saint. His father only looked at a woman and she conceived Lakh Bahri who is said to be still alive concealed in a large cave. In the Shori hill torrent are hot springs in which people suffering from boils, syphilis and leprosy wash and recover their health. Once a housewife was cooking something in a pot or deg to give away in charity but it was slow to boil, so Zinda Pir broke the deg with a kick in anger and the housewife was buried with it beneath the earth—whence the hot spring.

An ancient shrine in Rajanpur is that of Shahid Mard at Sikhānīwāla. The tomb has existed for some 500 or 600 years, but a few years ago one Ditta, a Gopāng Baloch, built a shrine (of which he is now gaddi-nashta or incumbent). He takes the offerings and feeds the people who collect at the annual urs on 12th Muharram.

It is possible for a gaddi-nashta to be a pluralist. Thus at the modern shrine of Manlavi Muhammad Hassan, a great faqir, the khalīfah is Ghulām Mohammad Awān, and at the annual urs in Safar people of all creeds attend and are fed by the naštā-nashtā. But the gaddi-nashtā, Manlavi Ghulām Farid, is also incumbent of another great faqir

1 D. G. Khan Gazetteer, 1898, p. 55.

2 The shrine consists of a house built for his residence and furnished with beds etc., and a copy of the Qu'ān. It is much visited—especially in March. D. G. Khan Gazetteer, 1898, p. 56.
Manlavi Aqil Muhammad Sahib's shrine. Each of these shrines contains three tombs and otherwise resembles the other.

At Rajanpur the shrine of Sayyid Nur Shāh Sahib has existed for about two centuries. It has no wakf but people of all creeds frequent it daily and the offerings go to the khālīfa.

A very old shrine is that of Hamza Sulta at Suman 6 miles west to Dajal. This saint was an auliya and as he left no male issue the offerings are received by the mujāwars.

The shrine of Manlavi Nur Muhammad Sahib at Muhammadpur.—A son of Manlavi Aqil Muhammad Burra of Burra, a village in Dajal, this saint was made a khālīfa by Khwāja Nur Muhammad Sahib of Hajipur, and went to reside at Muhammadpur. He was recognised as a wali and had many disciples. As he left no sons his sister's son succeeded him. The annual fair is held on the 16th of Ramzan.

The shrine of Shāh Lāl Kamāl in Dera Ghāzi Khan.—Some 300 years ago this saint came here from Chotar Lahri. He was famed for his miracles and died in 1069 H. His wakf is held annually.

The shrine of Sayyid Nabi Shāh at Kot Chutta, 14 miles south of Dera Ghāzi Khan.—He left no issue so his collaterals succeeded him. He died in 1200 H. and his wakf is held in Asaugh. He is regarded as a wali.

The shrine of Shāh Sadar-ud-Din, 15 miles north of Dera Ghāzi Khan.—He is said to have been a disciple of Bahāwal-μaq of Multān and descended from the same family as Pir Adil. He left no issue, so four faqirs look after his shrine and a fair is held annually on the first Monday in Chet when people collect and offer presents. They also get their sons shaved there.

The shrine of Khwāja Muhammad Sulaimān Khan at Taunsa.—Khwāja Muhammad Sulaimān was the son of Zakria Khan, a Jāfir Afghān, a native of Khurāsān. His ancestors came to live at Drung, in the hills west of Taunsa, and Muhammad Sulaimān Khan was born at Gargoji hill in 1170 H. He was named Manu, and educated at Taunsa and Shahe Langah as a boy; after that he acquired knowledge at Mithankot, and at the age of 16 became a disciple of Khwāja Nur Muhammad Pir Mokerwala who named him Muhammad Sulaimān Khan. In 1190 H. he went on a pir's pilgrimage to Delhi and Ajmer and returning to Gargoji lived there for a while, but eventually made his abode at Taunsa where he spent his time in devotion and gave whatever he received in charity. He bore a simple character and had no pleasures except devotion to God and charity. His reputation as nek-bakhsh or fortunate grew and people from far and near became his disciples, among them a Nawāb of Bahawalpur. He was also known as a worker of miracles. His son Gul Muhammad had predeceased him when he died in 1267 H. and so he was succeeded by Mīrān Allah Bakhsh, his grandson, commonly called the Hazrat Sahib. The present shrine was erected in 1272 H. by the Nawāb of
Bahawalpur at a considerable cost. Ghulam Mustafa Khan, Khakwani of Multan, also had a majales khas built and Ahmad Khan, Afghan, had a well sunk and masonry buildings have been built out of the income from offerings. An ura is held twice a year in Safar and Rabit-us-sani. The shrine is frequented by Muhannadans of every sect.\footnote{For a description of the buildings, see Dera Ghazi Khan Gazetteer, 1885, p. 54.}

The shrine of Mian Ahmad Sahib at Taunsa has also existed for about 60 years. It is largely visited by hill tribes such as the Baloch. No special fair etc. is held.

At Siwal Sharif, south of Sahiwal in Shahpur, is the shrine of Khwaaja Shams-ud-Din, a branch of that at Taunsa Sharif.\footnote{Shahpur Gazetteer, 1897, p. 37.}

At the shrine of Shah Shams, ancestor of the Sayyids of Shahpur, a large fair is held on Chet 23rd to 25th. Tent-pegging and other amusements are provided. According to Maclagan another fair is held every year in honour of Shah Shams at Shalikpur, near Bhera in the Shahpur District, where the sick and ailing from all parts of the province present themselves at the appointed time to be bled by the barbers of Bhera. These worthies are said to do their work with great efficiency, and the whole neighbourhood is soon reeking with horrid rivulets of human blood. But according to the Shahpur Gazetteer\footnote{B., p. 28.} this fair is held in honour of Sultan Ibrahim on four Sundays—the two last in Chet and the two first in Bisakh in spring and the operation performed on these auspicious days protects the patients from all diseases.

Din Panah was a Buhari Sayyid who settled in the north-west corner of Muzaffargarh about 330 years ago, in the house of Sahagan, wife of a Makwals Jat called Akku. When her daughter was married Din Panah gave himself as part of her dowry. He died in 1012 H. on the west bank of the Indus, whence the Makwals of the east bank tried to steal his coffin. This led to a feud in the tribe which was eventually settled by the saint who in a dream bade Akku's brothers make him a coffin for the east bank in which his body would also be found. He has now a shrine on each bank and the Makwals are still khuddims of his tomb. Daira Din Panah in Muzaffargarh is a favourite shrine for the observance of the jumah among Hindus as well as Muhannadans. The daira is the centre of a set of beggars, called Shah da faqir, who are self-elected, any idle or discontented rascal who wraps a brown pagri round his head being entitled to beg within 14 kaf of the daira under a traditional saying of the saint. These beggars require no authority to beg from the keeper of the shrine and they compel the people to give alms by abuse and curses.\footnote{Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, pp. 62-3. It would not be difficult to point to several elements of nature-(river-) worship and a fertility cult here.}

The shrine of Haqrat Din Panah Sahib in Daira Din Panah in Dera Ghazi Khan has existed from the time of Akbar. Hindus
and Muhammadans alike go there to pay respects. In the month of
Chet 4 fairs are held on Fridays, called the Junashah fair. The
tradition about it is that the Hazrat caused boats to run on land and
as these boats are still to be found in Beehra village the people
gather there also for worship.

The shrine of Karm Sháh Sáhib at Bughláni has existed for about
400 years. The Bughláni and Mongláni Baloch of Sokar revere it and
a small fair is held there on a Friday in Hár.

Other small shrines at different places are those of Ghalghu
Sultán Sáhib, Sakhi Sathán Sáhib, Lajmir Sáhib, Sultán Naurang
Sáhib, Shaikh Sultán Sáhib, Shaikh Ibrahim Sáhib &c.

Alam Pir (Shaikh Alam-ud-Din), a Bukhári Sayyid, descended from
the Makhdum of Ush, has a shrine at Shahr Sultán, which is remark-
able for the frenzy which attacks the persons, especially women, who
resort to it. It even attacks women at home as the fair time, in Chet,
draws near, and is believed to be due to possession by jinn, the woman
being said jinn khedan, lit. 'to play the devil.' In the houses of
the makhdum and other Sayyids of his family women of the upper class
have the jinn cast out to a drum accompaniment played by a miráman.
For ordinary people four sites are chosen, over each of which a khalifa
of the makhdum presides. The women possessed pay him a piece or fowl,
take their seats and begin to sway their bodies to and fro, with gradually
increasing violence. The excitement is increased by a drum. The
khalifa goes round and lashes the women with a whip and pours
scented oil on them. As each woman gets weary the khalifa pronounces
some words and sprinkles a little water over her. The jinn is cast
out and the woman is dragged away in an exhausted condition by her
friends.¹

Bagga Sher is a shrine 6 miles north of Muzaffargarh which is so
called because a 'white tiger' there defended the saint's cows from
thieves. During an epidemic it is good for cattle to visit this shrine.
The saint's name was Shaikh Muhammad Tahir.

Mlán Hayát has a shrine 7 miles south of Muzaffargarh, with a
stone image of the camel he used to ride and a grove of date-palms
the branches of which are like cobras. A branch kept in one's house will
drive those snakes away. The saint was a nephew of Ghans-ul-Azam,
and his fair is held in Ramzan.

Dedha Láli has a fine domed shrine at Harballo in Muzaffargarh.
Cattle visit it as they do Bagga Sher. Originally named Shahab-ud-
Din, the saint got his other name on conversion by Makhdum Jahánán
who turned milk into blood and made Dhedha drink of it.

Shaikh Labli's shrine is similarly visited.

¹ Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, p. 66. The Koral.
Músán Shah, where wrestling matches are held at the fair on 5th Asauj:

Muláh Jäháníán, where wrestling and occasionally horse-races are held.

Núr Sháh
Shaikh Pallía
Háji Isháq
Pír Ali and Pír Kamál are vaqásás.

Shaikh Alláh Dád Quaishí who came from Arabia had acquired sanctity in the service of Makhdám Jäháníán Jähán-gasht and settled in Rámpur in Muzaffargarh. His shrine is known as that of Dád Jäháníá, Dhudú Jäháníá or simply Dhudù, and is celebrated for its cures of leprosy. The patient bathes in baths of hot and cold sand prepared by the attendants of the shrine and on recovery presents models of the diseased limb in silver or gold. The repute of the shrine extends to Kashmir. The Shaikh’s descendants are now Mélá Játís, because, they say, so many Mélá live in the neighbourhood. Hindus also frequent the shrine, where a fair is held every Thursday, especially in Chet and Sáwan. A vow common at this shrine is the utla ghatta.¹

Saints and shrines in Multán and Baháwalpur.

Some of these have already been noticed under the various Súfí orders, but many more might be described here if space permitted. Reference may be made to the Multán Gazetteer, 1901-02, passim, especially to pp. 121-3, and 339-43. The most renowned in the district are the shrine at Sher Sháh and that of Súltán Ahmad Qattál at Jálálpur Pírwlá. The former was built in honour of Sháh Ali Muhammad Hussain who came from Mashhad in 1490. The latter came to Jálálpur in 1582. Many of the shrines in Multán offer features of great interest in their cults or traditions, but in this respect they are excelled by those in Baháwalpur. In that State Uch Sharif is unrivalled in India for the number of its shrines. The most celebrated of its Bukhari saints was the Makhdám Sher Sháh, Jálá-lul-Dín, Surkh-pish, Bakhári, the Second Adam. Born in 1199⁹ he is credited with the conversion of Chingiz Khán, as well as of many tribes indigenous to Baháwalpur. His grandson Sayyid Ahmad Kábir, the Makhdám Jäháníán Jähángasht, and his descendants are numerous and widely scattered. Later in date came the Gilání Sayyids, descendants of Bandagi Muhammad Ghaus, 7th in descent from Abdul Qádir Giláni, who reached Uch in 1452. The other saints are variously descended and at their shrines many varieties of ritual and miracles are performed.²

The Saints of Ferozpur.

Núr Sháh Wáli, the Saint of Ferozpur City.

In the time of Ráíf Láchhmánkáñz, there was a fort at the site where this tomb is now situated. The Ráíf had a stable here, but what-

¹ Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, 1883-4, p. 63.
² The date is doubtful. Temple gives 1188-1233 as the dates of his birth and death

Legenda, III, p. 184.

³ Baháwalpur Gazetteer, 1904, pp. 159-183, and Chap. IV.
ever horses were tied there, one used to be found daily dead or injured. The Râni was perplexed at this and made enquiries about its cause. The third night she had a dream in which the saint told her that the cause of the trouble was the disrespect shown to him by allowing horses to stand at the place where he was buried. He also told Râni his name. She thereupon ordered the stable to be removed, and on this being done, a pucca grave was found to exist there. One Sayyid Naqi Shâh, who was the ancestor of the present occupants of the shrine (khângâh), was employed in the cavalry (risâla) of the Râni. She ordered him to take charge of the khângâh as she said he was a Sayyid and the khângâh was also a Sayyid's. All the land appertaining to the fort was assigned to him. The Râni used to support Naqi Shâh as he had to give up his service in the cavalry. Naqi Shâh was succeeded by Naqif Ali Shâh and the latter by Hussain Ali Shâh who was succeeded by Rahmat Ali Shâh the present incumbent. When British rule commenced, the then Deputy Commissioner Captain (Sir Henry) Lawrence ordered the fort to be demolished, so it was pulled down and the ground sold. The tomb was the only thing left untouched, but no one listened to the attendants of the shrine until Captain Lawrence had a dream in which he saw the saint and had some sort of compulsion laid upon him. In the morning he ordered that the tomb should not be disturbed and moreover he had it repaired, gave Rs. 500 as a present to Naqi Shâh and promised to grant a munâf to the khângâh. That very day he received a telegram to say he was transferred. The tomb with the ground surrounding it was left in Naqi Shâh's charge.

**Pir Balâwal Shâh's khângâh in Ferozepur tahâ-il.**

When Mirân Shâh Nûr was living at Khât, Akbar sent Pir Balâwal, whose real name was Dîlâwar Khân (or rather Balâwal Beg), Sûbah of Delhi, with troops to bring the saint to the capital. When he arrived he found the Shâh had gone to battle at a tank, whither he went and delivered the emperor's message. The Shâh forthwith dived into the water and reached Delhi where the emperor and his wife were at supper. The Begam observing a third hand on the table told the emperor who replied: 'If you see it again let me know.' When the hand again appeared, reaching towards the dishes, she pointed it out to Akbar who seized it and enquired what the matter was. The Shâh said: 'You summoned me and I am here.' Akbar was delighted. When the saint took his leave he asked for a token to show the Sûbah at Khât. Taking a handful of rice, a handkerchief and an order under the imperial seal the Shâh immediately re-appeared at the tank. All this only took as long as a man would spend in a single dive. The Shâh showed the thing to the Sûbah and said: 'Do you mean to take me to Delhi?' Dîlâwar Khân said: 'If I get a token from the emperor, what more is needed?' The Shâh made over the things aforesaid to the Sûbah which so completely upset him that he took off his uniform and turned faqîr on the spot, saying he would serve.

1 This is a very common incident in hogiohical legends of Temple in Indian Art, XI, p. 42, for account of this shrine and in Folklore Record, V, p. 158, for an account of Khâyûnî Pir. The same writer records a similar experience attributed to himself in Selections from the Calcutta Review, Second Series, VIII, page 278.
the True King and not an emperor of this world. So he remained with the Shâh, attaining perfection and dying in the lifetime of the Shâh. He is indeed popularly said not to have died a natural death but to have become a Shahid or martyr in this wise:—Certain thieves came to offer him a share of the plunder, but when they arrived he was asleep, so they placed a part of the booty at his pillow, and went away. Meanwhile the owner came and found the Pir still asleep, with the property by him. Thinking him to be a thief he killed him. Miran Shâh Nûr ordered him to be buried in his blood-stained clothes, as he lay, without being washed. His brother came from Delhi, buried him and built his tomb. He also purchased the four wells on each side of it and made them over to the Shâh's son Miran Shâh Jamâl. Subsequently Miran Shâh Nûr's grandson Imâm Shâh came from Kasur and tried to take possession of the shrine, but Quth Ali Shâh, another grandson who was in possession of it, gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Imâm Shâh. The disciple of Imâm Shâh, Manûh Madat Ali Shâh, settled the dispute, so Imâm Shâh took possession of the shrine, jagir etc. of Pir Balâwal Shâh and settled there. There used to be four fairs, but two are now held—one on the 2nd Asauj, which is the wâs sharif or wedding (death) of the Pir, at which beggars are fed—and the a cond and greater on the 10th Muharram, when the tâjias of Ferozepur city are all buried there. Prayers on both dates are made for the Pir's soul. Hindus frequent the fairs but do not join in these prayers.

Litl Musan (Mohsin) Sâhib Lâhorî.

His tomb, which is coloured green and lies in the Mandi Kalâlân or spirit-sellers' market, was founded 141 years ago. This saint was a Sayyid, a son of Sultân Arab, who was of the royal family. He was a saint from birth and having finished his course of worldly education in his 11th year went with his father to Multân and there became a disciple of Shaikh Bahâ-ud-Dîn Zakaria Multânî and a perfect saint the same day. Those on whom he cast his sight used to become senseless and for this reason very few used to visit him. Whoever made him an offering of one madr begat a son. He was married to Bihi Mîlkhî, a pious daughter of Shaikh Zakaria, who was a Sirdâr of Matlûl, a village between Thatta and Multân. She also was a saint from birth. The saint had four sons: Shaikh Yâqub, Ýshâq, Ýsmâîl, and Ahmad. He went to Gujrât and stayed in the house of Mahmûd, a blacksmith. The king asked leave to see him, but was not allowed. A Hindu woman came to the blacksmith to have her spindle straightened, and the Shaikh seeing her said, 'she savours of Islâm' and looked at her. The woman finding the Shaikh gazing at her, asked the blacksmith, 'what sort of jagir is this who is gazing at me?' The Shaikh said: 'if I looked at you with bad intent, I will touch my eyes with the spindle, and may God deprive me of my sight.' Saying this he touched his eyes with the spindle which was on fire, but it did not injure them in the least, nay it became gold. Seeing this miracle the woman became a Muhammadan, but her parents hearing of it tortured her and she died. While the Hindus were taking her body away the Shaikh, hearing of her death, reanimated her and caused her
to recite the *kalima*. This made him widely known and the people used to visit him to such an extent that he was obliged to remove to Lahore, where he died on Thursday the 18th Safar 962 H.

Prf Karam Sháh’s fair is held on every Akhiri Chahár Shawa (a Muhammadan holiday), and alms are distributed to beggars and blessings invoked.

Máí Amrán Sáhiha’s fair is held on the Bárāwaftāt day, alms being distributed to *faqirs* and blessings are invoked. She was a great *majhab* and a perfect saint. She came from down-country.

Rođe Sháh’s taka, on the road from Ferozepur to Malwal or Moga, belongs to the Qádiri sect. No fair is held. The saint was a disciple of Iqár Husain whose tomb is near that of Máí Amrán Sáhiha. Iqár Hussain was a disciple of Jáfár Husain whose tomb is at Kishenpura in tahsil Zira.

The shrine of: Mirán Sháh Núr at Mirán Sháh Núr in tahsil Ferozepur.

Some 500 years ago, in the time of Akbar, Mirán Sháh Núr was born at Chûhnâ in Lahore, and Shaikh Alamdî (Iâm Din), a dyer of that place, and his wife, Máí Chhinkó, having no children, adopted the boy at the age of 5 or 6. When he was aged 14, Shaikh Alamdî bade his wife test his conduct, so she took him to the jungle and invited his advances. But he seized her breasts and began to suck therefrom. She told her husband of this as proving that he was untainted by the world. Shaikh Alamdî had his dyeing vat on the fire that day and into it he threw the Sháhzâdah (Mirán Sháh Núr) and shut down the lid. After 24 hours his wife, searching for the boy, asked him where he was, but he did not reply. Lifting up the lid she saw the Sháhzâdah sitting cross-legged inside and when she had taken him out the Shaikh said:—'Had he remained another day and night his children one and all would have been the friends of God. Now however only one of them will always be so'. And to the Sháhzâdah he said:—'I have given you all I had. As I am a dyer and you are a Sayyid you must choose a perfect master and placing your hands in his do homage (ba’dé)'. Then he told the boy the name of Sayyid Sultân Lal Músán (Mohsin) Nûrî Lahorî as one who was to be his master. Accordingly Mirán Sháh Nûr went to Lahore and served him and was made his disciple. He too was also a Sayyid and the boy remained with him for a year. He gave the boy a tiger’s skin, a handkerchief, a staff, bedding etc. and said:—'Wherever by the power of God this skin falls, there make your house and deem it your tomb also'. So the boy left his master and came to the bank of the Sutlej, but found the ferrymen had started with the boat. He asked them to take him across also, but they said the boat was full and had left the shore, so they would return and fetch him; whereupon the youths stepped into the river, calling on God and his master, and straightway the water fell until it became fordable, so that he crossed before the boatmen could return. Then he returned after his wanderings to Chûhnâ and married into a Sayyid family of Dhelanwâl.
settling in Gulnaki village where he sunk several wells. After 23 years, leaving his three sons and daughter there, he came alone as a traveller to Ferozepur, where an old fort stood long before the Sikh rule arose. There he abode with a miller named Nūr for 7 years in the fort, engaged in the worship of God. Eventually the place in Sikh times became known as Nūr Shāhwālī. In Rānī Lachhmankaur’s time some one had tethered horses in this sacred place, but the Rānī was told by Mīrān Shāh Nūr in a dream that this should be forbidden, and he told her his name, condition, and caste. So the place was deemed blessed, and a great shrine built there by degrees. Thence Mīrān Shāh Nūr went to Khāi where Ghāzī Khān was in power and the country all round was dense forest, and the river and rains had filled the tanks so that the land was desolate, only a small space being clear. There Mīrān Shāh Nūr built his house. After the ablutions of prayer, they say, he buried his tooth-brush which by the power of God became green and grew into a plīṭ tree which is still visible in front of the shrine. He summoned his family from Gulnaki and from his preaching and piety gained wide recognition.

One day six Hindu women came and prayed for issue, Mīrān Shāh also prayed and told Shaikh Ratu Sāhī, his chief disciple, to give each of them a loaf and some of the meat which he was himself eating. Shaikh Ratu did so and five of the six women ate each her loaf and meat without aversion. The sixth however did not do so, but threw the food under a bush as she went away. In due course the bush had the food under a bush as she went away. In due course the five had each a son, but the sixth had none. All six came to Mīrān Shāh Nūr, the sixth complaining and asking what sin she had committed that no son was born to her. He replied:—‘Your child is lying under the bush’ and when she went to look at the spot where she had thrown the loaf and meat she saw an embryo in the very form of a child and became ashamed. Many other miracles and mercies of this kind occurred. Shaikh Ratu, Pir Balāwal and other elders as well as his four sons became his khalīfās (successors). His tomb, they say, was built in his life-time, though Akbar’s agent made it under his orders and at his expense. A great miracle occurred in its building. A lōhār, blind from birth, begged the Sayyid to restore his sight, and agreed to place eight iron bricks in the tomb if this were vouchsafed. By the power of God he forthwith gained his sight and made the bricks of iron which are still within the shrine. The great fair of this shrine is held on the 4th Asaaj when saqīrs are fed.

The khāṅqāh of Sayyid Mirāj-ul Dīn was built some 80 years ago by a descendant of the founder of Zīrā. Poor travellers can put up in this shrine. The tomb is surrounded by a brick wall, near which are interred all the dead of the saint’s family. Its administration is carried on by the Shāh’s descendants who also hold the gārdī. and at present a lady manages it. At a fair held in Asaaj or Kātāk only saqīrs assemble. They are fed and make free use of charas.

The khāṅqāhs of Ahmad Shāh, Qutab Shāh and Rođe Shāh are managed by the Mahommedans of Zīrā. They are all nearly 100 years old. A brick mosque and well are attached to the khāṅqāh.
Minor shrines in Ferozepur.

The khandar at Jalalabad.

A khandar of Hazrat Sayid Kabir lies to the east of Jalalabad. In its enclosure are interred the dead of his family, and in the midst lies the tomb of the Sayid. A great fair is held on the second Thursday of Chet, when people from distant parts come to pay homage to the shrine to which they offer a gift in cash or kind according to their means. The Sayid's recipients are responsible for repairs to the tombs etc. Sweets offered are distributed there and then. Both Hindus and Muhammadans attend the fair. It is said that the tomb is 200 years old.

The shrine or sidratgarh of Pir Guran is situate at Sultanpur village. Its building was completed in S. 1907. Pir Guran was a good faqir and after his death his disciples built his sidratgarh. A fair held on the 1st of Har is attended by some 2000 persons and prayer is offered. Every Thursday a drum is beaten at the shrine. Its administration vests in the owners who keep it clean. Potlihus are offered and their value is estimated at Rs. 15 a year which is spent on the up-keep of the shrine.

The Pir Mal khandar in Khwaja Khurak is also called Pir Kali Mal. No fair is held in connection with it.

The village of Khwaja Khurak has existed for 70 years, but the khandar was already known by the name of Pir Mal when it was founded. The villagers have the right to appoint any one as mujawar for sweeping the khandar etc.

Shrines in Ferozepur tahsil.

The khandar of Rori in Atanwali, founded some 70 years ago, has no fair connected with it. When the village was founded, some bricks were found lying near it and Thakar Daya Singh built a kotha (hut) of them, but it fell down twice or thrice so a faqir Nathe Khan built a brick tomb. A wall and mosque were also built. A faqir used to live in the khandar, but it has been quite neglected since his death, and no mujawar is employed in it. The offerings of milk, patisho and charma when made are distributed among those present at the khandar.

At the Karim Shah khandar in Sidhuwan a movable fair is held in Har or Sivan every year, on a date fixed by the mujawar. Maulvi Karim Shah Qazi of Mithlam is said to have got a ghumdo of land from the people of Sidhuwan, and built his grave at this spot some 18 years ago. As he was a devotee and his prayers were heard people worshiped him. The mujawar is a Bhatti Meelum. He sweeps out the khandar twice a day. Celibacy is not obligatory, but succession is governed by spiritual relationship. The mujawar receives special respect and is provided with grain etc. by the villagers, while charma or milk is offered as bhog to the khandar.

The khandar of Shah Sikandar in Arafke has no fair. It is said that when a house was built on the tomb of this saint its owner was
Minor shrines in Ferozepur.

directed in a vision to abandon it. He obeyed and rebuilt the saint's tomb 80 years ago. The faqir is a Dogar. He sweeps the tomb twice a day and lights a lamp every Thursday. At every marriage four annas are offered to it.

The khángáh of Jandla in Araffe also has no fair. Jandla was said to be possessed with power to work miracles and to fulfil the desires of all who resorted to him. After his death the people built his tomb and began to worship it 40 years ago. Its administration vests in a Malang who sweeps it out twice a day and lights a lamp every Thursday.

At the khángáh of Makhi Sháh a fair is held every year on the 9th Asaúj. Makhi Sháh was possessed of miraculous powers and after his death his remains were kept in a box in a house, and are still preserved in the khángáh. It is believed that the encroachments of the river on his khángáh are barred by his power. It was built 60 years ago. Its manager is a Bukhari Sayyid who sweeps it out and lights a lamp every Thursday. On marriage a rupee is offered to the khángáh and food given to the manager.

The shrine or Dera of Usmán Sháh has no fair connected with it. Formerly this khángáh contained the grave of Jiwan Sháh but his remains were removed to Rangoon, so those of Usmán Sháh were interred in it. It was built 50 years ago. The manager is a Munar Dogar who lights a lamp on the tomb. Succession is governed by spiritual relationship. The priest is held in special respect and a rupee is paid him on a marriage. Charas is not used. Cháurma is offered. The khángáh of Dáti Núr Sháh at Atári has no fair. It was built 60 years ago. The wajmwar is the manager and he is an Usmán faqir, by gót Gurzmár. He sweeps out the khángáh daily and lights a lamp in it. Succession follows natural relationship.

At the khángáh of Baji Sháh a fair is held on the 20th Sáwan. Baji Sháh only died on November 18th, 1892. Succession follows spiritual relationship.

At the khángáh of Ináya Sháh, who died in Bhádat S. 1933, succession follows spiritual relationship. The wajmwar feeds poor faqirs but himself lives on alms. The use of charas, opium, and bhang is common. A lamp is lit on every Thursday.

At the khángáh of Bir Sháh a fair is held on 22nd Hár; Bir Sháh died in Sambat 1024. Succession follows spiritual relationship. The faqir who dwells at the shrine lives by begging. The use of charas or bhang is common. The khángáhs of Sálíshu Majnu, Fi Sháh and Mallí Sháh are connected with this.

At the khángáh of Núr Sháh Bal a fair is held every Thursday, Succession is governed by spiritual relationship.

At the khángáh of Nán-Gaza a fair is held every Thursday.

The khángáh of Bohar Sháh has no fair. The saint died in S. 1932. Succession follows spiritual relationship. The keeper of the shrine is a faqir who lives on alms. Lamps are lit every Thursday.
At the takia of Roja Sháh a fair is held on the 20th Bhádon. Roja Sháh died on 8th April 1902.

The takia of Mai Miráq has an annual fair held on 12th Har. It was founded on 12th Chet S. 1946. The munáwar is a faquir who lives on alms.

The khanqáh of Wali Sháh has a fair on 15th Jeth.

The khanqáh of Makhun Sháh has a fair on 22nd Sáwan.

The khanqáh of Ráfi Sháh has no fair. It dates from 1929 S.

The khanqáh of Hussain Sháh has no fair. It is called after Husain Sháh. The khanqáh was founded in S. 1929. People of all castes make offerings to the shrine.

At the takia of Ghore Sháh a fair is held 40 days after the Moharram. This shrine was first occupied by Husain Ali, a faquir possessed of power to work miracles, but he had a disciple named Ghore Sháh after whom it is known.

The khanqáh of Bhakhar Sháh in Mahiwára has no fair.

The khanqáh of Sháh Baka in Malwal has no fair.

At the khanqáh of Wahab Sháh in Lodhra a fair is held annually on 15th Har. Wahab Sháh was a juggler. It has been in existence for 200 years. At the fair many jugglers visit the shrine and Qawáls are invited to sing at it. Many visitors go into a trance and their limbs are bound up and they are hung on trees. The visitors are fed at night by the holder of the sadí, and lamps are lighted at the shrine. Succession is governed by natural relationship. People make offerings of chúri to the khanqáh.

The khanqáh of Khwaja Roshan Din—in Pir Khán Shaikh—has a fair every year on the first Thursday in Har. It was built some 100 years ago. Its administration is carried on by a descendant of the Khwaja. He is not celibate, but succession is always governed by spiritual relationship.

It is said that when Khwaja Roshan Din chanced to pass through Mohanke he spent the night in the house of a Dogar Sardár whose descendants always keep a lamp burning in their house in commemoration of the Khwaja’s visit. Of the 400 people who visit the fair many go into a trance.

*The khanqáh of Ramzán Sháh Qureshi in Kurma is named after a Háshami saint whose uras is held annually in the last week of Har. He used to live in Malikpur but went to Lahore whence Varyám knowing him to be a devotee brought him to lay the foundations of Kurma. Ramzán had a son named Khudá Baksh, also a devotee, and so great reverence was paid them by the Nawabs. Both their tombs and that of the grandson, Ghulám Sháh, lie in the khanqáh. At the uras only verses from the Qur’án are recited. People make offerings to the shrine at marriages etc.
The **khāngāh** of Sāīn Sher Shāh has no fair. One Jiwan, a weaver of Kurma, used to go into a trance, and so he learnt of the existence of the tomb of Sher Shāh, no trace of which then remained, and he pointed out the spot, which was enclosed some 60 years ago. Women of the village light lamps here on Thursday nights.

The tomb of Sāīn Tokal Shāh in Kurma lies near the house of Allah Ditta, a butcher, and lamps are lit at it on every Thursday night.

The **khāngāh** of Pir Pake Shāh is in Jamad. Once Mala headman built a cattle-pen here, but in a vision he saw that the place contained a faqir’s tomb, so he abandoned it and rebuilt the tomb. Another story is that the clay horses offered at the tomb fight at night and are found broken in the morning. This has been witnessed by one Jaimal, son of Himmat, a Dogar of Algu.

The **khāngāh** of Sayyid Nazar Shāh in Jhok Tehil Singhu.—This Sayyid was a grandson of Mirān Shāh, Nawāb. He had a Gujar disciple named Dāg Shāh. Founded 140 years ago, the tomb contains the Sayyid’s *muraq* or wallet and the story is that the village owners of the village once determined to eject Dāg Shāh and destroy the shrine, but they resisted so they set fire to the **khāngāh**. So Dāg Shāh covered himself with his *muraq* and lay in a corner of the shrine, which was reduced to ashes but he was unharmed. The fame of this incident spread far and wide. The offerings are taken by Dāg Shāh or Mirān Shāh.

The **khāngāh** of Sayyid Mahmūd Shāh was founded 120 years ago. The Sayyid left a disciple Bani Shāh who kept up the fair for some years but it ceased on his death. Offerings of *chārmas*, *patākhahs* and other sweets are eaten by those present.

At the **khāngāh** of Māma Sultān in Māma a fair is held on 12th Asan. This saint was a Husaini Jāt, who lived in Fākpatan. While grazing his cattle on the river bank he chanced to come to the site of the present village and built a hut there. His example was followed by others and the village grew up. It was named Māma after him. His two brothers were Shāh Jiwan and Nūr Muhammad, and his disciple Pir Ser. The fair is attended by 100 faqirs. The shrine is run by Māma’s descendants whose caste is Jara and got Husaini. Milk, khir and *patākhahs* are offered.

At the **khāngāh** of Sayyid Chirāgh Shāh in Māma a fair is held on 12th Asan. This saint, a descendant of Hazrat Mirān Shāh Nūr Muhammad, died on 5th Asan S. 1949 and his disciple built his tomb of brick and enclosed it by a wall. Soon after one Muhammad Na’ī began to take bricks for his own use out of it, but his house fell down and in order to avert a recurrence of this he offered a *deg* of rice to the tomb and then rebuilt his house without difficulty. This incident contributed to the fame of the fair at which faqirs are fed on rice and meat. Founded in S. 1949, its administration is carried on by one Shāikh Dār Dur who is not celibate as mujāwar. The Jāts of the village mostly make offerings. The **khāngāh** of Mirān Shāh Nūr Shāhib is connected with it.

The **khāngāh** of Sayyid Bahādūr Shāh in Khai has been in existence 100 years. It contains two tombs, one of Bahādūr Shāh and another.
At the khanqah of Miran Shâh in Nûr a fair is held on the 15th Asauj at which faqirs are fed on sweet rice, bread and dál or pulse. Many go into a trance (dâl) by shaking their heads, in which state they are hung on trees with their legs tied together. Miran Shâh died on 17th Muharram, 1335 H., but the khanqah was founded in Akbar Shâh’s time. The khanqah has 3 storeys and is built of brick. It contains 4 rooms with as many tombs—of Miran Sâhib, Miran Shâh Jamâl and Jamîl Khan.

The khanqah of Nûr Shâh in Jhel Teh Sangi and many tombs of this family in Wazir Khan’s mosque at Lahore are connected with this shrine.

At the Rauza of Pir Balâwâla in Khilji a fair is held on 16th Muharram every year. The Pir was one of Akbar’s high officials. When Miran Shâh was working miracles the Pir came to him and was so impressed with his powers that he became a faqir and entered his service. Miran Shâh asked him to live in Khilji. Six thieves robbed a rich man’s house and vowed to give the Pir an eighth of the booty. So they went to him, but finding him asleep laid his share by his bedside. Meanwhile the owners in pursuit of the thieves came to the Pir’s residence and found their goods there and thinking the Pir had robbed them, they murdered him out of hand. People then built his tomb on the spot. At the fair all the tâxiâs used in the Muharram are buried here. The shrine was laid some 350 years ago. It contains three tombs—of Pir Bald, Sayyid Amâm Shâh and Mard Ali.

At the khanqah of Shâh Sikandar in Mamdot an urz is annually held on the 10th of Muharram. The two brothers Sayyid Kabîr and Shâh Sikandar came from Bakhâra and settled in Mamdot and Fatehpur respectively. When Shâh Sikandar died his tomb was built in H. 905. The khanqah contains the tombs of the dead of his family. Gajars mostly affect this Pir’s cult. Kabîr’s khanqah in Fatehpur is connected with this.

The khanqah of Sâin Khwâja Bakhsh in Mamdot.—The Sâin came from Montgomery and died here. At the fair held on the 1st Sawan faqirs shake their heads and go into a trance. Kâlu Shâh, a disciple of the Shâh, used to feed visitors with rice, bread and meat.

The khanqah of Sultan Mahmûd, murshid of Sâin Khwâja Bakhsh at Abarbara in Montgomery, is connected with this shrine.

The Rauza of Sâin, son of Mosh Shâh, in Kelowâla.—This saint was a Qureshi Chisti who lived in Ferozepur. The tomb of Muhammad Akal the Sâin’s murshid is at Mîthankot in Bahawalpur.

The khanqah of Sayyid Sher Shâh in Azim Shâh has a fair in Hây. This saint was headman of this village, and died only few years ago, when the khanqah was built. His brother Haidar Shâh granted and for its maintenance. The faqirs attending the fair are fed free.

The khanqah of Sâin Roshan Shâh in Jhel Kari Har existed long before the foundation of the village.
The **khānst** of Mirān Sāhib in Bazīdpur.—The Sāhib came from Bukhārā in Ranjit Singh's time. He died and his grandson constructed his **khanqāh**. People light lamps on Thursday night and offer a rupee at marriages.

The **khanqāh** of Shāh Kumāl, who is said to have lived in Sikh times, lies in the middle of the village.

The **khanqāh** of Sayyid Lāl Shāh in Khánípur has a fair on the 25th Har every year. This Sayyid was a Bukhārī **faqīh** in Sikh times.

A **faqīh** named Kumāl Shāh has been living here for 22 years and he laid the foundation of the fair. **Faqīhs** practise **ḥāl** and are fed free.

The **khanqāh** of Pir Kāle Shāh at Norang Sīāl has an **urā** on 15th Chet.

The saint Mián Mir, whose real name was Sh. Muhammad Mir, was a man of learning and sanctity. He visited Jahāngīr at Agra, and was visited by Shāh Jahān. But his principal rôle was that of spiritual adviser to Dārā Shikoh, though his disciple Mulla Shāh or Shāh Muhammad is also said to have filled that office. However this may be Dārā Shikoh built Mulla Shāh's tomb at Lahore apparently before his death in 1661. Dārā Shikoh also commenced the building of a mausoleum to Mián Mir who died in 1635 at the age of 88.

Dārā Shikoh gives a pedigree of Mián Mir which makes him one of the sons of a Qāzī Sāmīndītta. He was born in Seistan but lived almost all his life at Lahore. He appears to have affected the Pir Dastgīr and at any rate had such respect for his memory that he never mentioned his name without ablation. His long life was attributed to the practice of **khu dām** or slow breathing. His disciple Mulla Shāh followed him in this and also in remaining unmarried and never lighting a lamp in his house.

Mián Mir's disciples included the scholar Mulla Shāh of Badakhshān who died in 1614: Khwāja Bahārī, who was credited with many miracles: Shakhī Bahūl Ma'ālī, a native of Bhera; his **khālfā**

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1. *Hist. of Lahore*, p. 47.
3. *Ib.*, pp. 175 and 64.
5. *Ib.*, p. 175.
7. *Ib.*, p. 59. Mullah Shāh was a great mystic. Born in 1594, he died in 1661 at Lahore and was buried there in a shrine of red stone erected by the princess Fāizzá, sister of Dārā Shikoh. The orthodox taxed him with imitating Mnāsr Hālīnj and he was sentenced to death by Shāh Jahān, but saved by Dārā Shikoh's intercession. His disciples included Mir Baqī and Akhānd Mullah Muhammad Syed (? 1661). Mián Mir taught him **)** exercises according to the Qūfīrs rule: *Field, op. cit.*, pp. 194-199.
9. *Ib.*, p. 63. Abūl Ma'ālī (Shakh Khair-ul-Dīn) was a saint in the reign of Akbar and Jahāngīr who built a great part of his tomb in his lifetime. On his death in 1616 A.H. it was completed by his son. A large fair is held there: his **urā** p. 203.
Abdul Ghani, whose maqbara was built by Dārā Shikoh, and Abdul Haq who cursed the kils of Buddhun because he was refused its warmth on a rainy day. Another disciple was Mir Inayatulla, surnamed by his pīr Miskīn Shāh on account of his secluded life. When asked how his disciple supported life his pīr replied that he was miskīn amīr, a poor man supported by God’s amār or will, and so in no need of help. Dārā Shikoh also built his shrine.

Maulavi Muhammad Ismaîl, generally known as Mīr Wadda, has a spacious tomb Lahore at where he built a madrasa in Akbar’s reign. Born in 1586 he became a disciple of Makkhdâm Abdul Karîm of Langar Makkhdum on the Chenab and died in 1633. He desired that no dome should be erected over his grave, but the present mājīdā-nisfīn has built a grave in which he sits daily, reading the Qur’ān. His disciple was Jān Muhammad, the first imām of the mosque built in 1649, the year in which Shāh Jahān sent Aurangzeb to recover Kandahār.

Maulavi Nizâm Din, whose tomb is at Lahore, is known as Pīr Mobina, meaning one who cures warts. Sufferers are said to be cured by making a vow to this saint to offer a broom and a garland. He died in 1705 A.D. and his maqbara or mausoleum is a fine one.

Addul Razzaq Makâi of Sabzvar settled in Lahore in Humayun’s time and when he died was buried in the closet in which he used to pray. His tomb long remained without a dome, and a lion was believed to sweep it out every Thursday with its tail until the guardian of the shrine saw in a vision Manj Darya Bakshari who bade him construct a large dome over the saint’s remains.

Maidho Lal Hussain is the name of a famous pair of tombs at Lahore. The actual tombs are in an underground chamber, signs of them being reproduced on a lofty platform. Maidho was a Brahman boy of whom Lal Hussain became enamoured, and who became a Musalm under the name of Shaikh Maidho. Lal Hussain was a historical saint who lived in Akbar’s reign and is mentioned by Dārā Shikoh and other writers. Two great fair, the Basant and Chiraghân, are held annually at this shrine. The former was celebrated with great display under Ranjit Singh.

1 Hist. of Lahore, p. 144.
2 Ib., pp. 151, 107.
3 He died in 1647 A.D.
4 Hist. of Lahore, pp. 156, 212 and 108.
5 Hist. of Lahore, p. 161.
6 Hist. of Lahore, pp. 145, 192-3. Shaikh Maidho is a name which could not possibly be borne by a Muhammadan, not even by a convert. The name of the cult is probably to be found in works like the Bahnavat or Raghut-ul-Fugad.
Some saints at Lahore and Ambala.

Ghore Sháh whose real name was Bahá-ud-Dín, a Bukhári Sayyid, a grandson of Sa'id Usmán of Uch, was affected with palsy and so was known as the Jhulán Sháh or 'Sháh who shakes like a swing?'. He was credited with having been born a wali and before the age of 5 displayed such horsemanship that he is called Ghore Sháh, and any disciple who presented him with a horse got what he desired. Even the present of a toy horse had the same effect. But his display of saintly power at such an early age brought down upon him his father's curse and under it he died at the age of 5 in 1594. A fair is held at his tomb to which toy horses in thousands are presented.¹

Pir Zaki, who gives his name to the Yakki Gate of Lahore, was a warrior of the same type. According to the Tuhfat-ul-Wasíla he was killed fighting against the infidel Mughals, and his head is buried in the gateway, while his body rests at a spot close by where it fell.²

At Ambala town is the shrine of one Lakkhe Sháh Darvesh. One legend is that he lost his head in a great war in Multán, but fought his way to Ambala. A well then stood at the site of his shrine and from the women who were drawing water from it he begged a draught, but they ran away and so he fell down there and died, but not before he had uttered the curse: Ambala sháh dítha, andar khárd, báhir wíttha, 'Ambala town have I seen, sweet without and bitter within'. So to this day that well has been dry and any well sunk within the town always yields brackish water.³ Another legend is that after the English had taken possession of Ambala, the magistrate, Mr. Murray, wished to make a road from the town in the fort (since dismantled), and destroyed the Sháh's tomb. A man in black came by night and overturned the magistrate's bed but he was not dismayed. Next night however he threw him off his bed and this frightened him so that he sat outside his house all night. After that he changed the line of the road and rebuilt the tomb with its four gateways.

¹ Hist. of Lahore, p. 158.
² Ib., pp. 95 and 230.
The shrine of Imam Badr-ud-Din—Sayyid Badr-ud-Din is said to have suffered martyrdom in one of the first Muhammadan inroads. The story goes that Raja Anang Pula of Panipat resolved to build a castle. He consulted all the Brahman astrologers and told them to fix the most auspicious moment for laying its foundation. They advised him to get hold of a Muhammadan and secure its good fortune by laying its foundations on his head. As a Muhammadan was a rarity in those days in Hindustan, the Raja disregarded their advice, but soon after two of his men by chance fell into his hands and he caused one, a Sayyid, to be killed under the northern wall of the fort; the rest of his body being similarly placed under other parts of it. Accordingly there are two shrines, that of the head on the summit of the fort and the other of the body below it. The Raja reaped the fruit of his inhuman conduct, for having sacrificed the Sayyid, he excoriated his wife or sister with all care to the frontier. There she related the episode and Badr-ud-Din and Akbar Ali with other Sayyids got up their loins to wage war and by spiritual insight obtained the Prophet's sanction. Sayyid Badr-ud-Din with his relations and friends, numbering not more than 300 in all, gathered all the information they needed from the lady and set out disguised as dealers in Arab horses. On arrival at Panipat they took up their abode near the Raja's palace. When apprised of this arrival the Raja inquired their purpose in visiting his capital and bade them leave it at once. After much negotiation fighting ensued and the sons of Hashim displayed such valour that despite the limited force at their disposal the Musalmans killed many of their opponents. Whenever a Sayyid fell in the action, drinking the cup of martyrdom, his place was mysteriously taken by one of the enemy; while from the souls of the dead there sprang a number of Sayyids, with heads and hands cut off, who were seen to slay many who possessed heads and hands. Seeing such miracles many of the Hindus embraced Islam and fought against their countrymen; and one Baram Jit, a Hindu commander, thus became a Muhammadan and was killed fighting against his former co-religionists. The tombs of these converts are still to be seen in the open ground near that of Sayyid Badr-ud-Din, the martyr. None of his offspring survived him. The date of the Sayyid's tomb is not known, but the present dome was built some 50 years ago by Khwaja Muhammad Khan Barnich.

The shrine of Khizir Khan and Shadi Khan.—The author of the Zubdat-ul-Tarikh says that Khizir Khan and Shadi Khan were two brothers, akin to Ala-ud-Din Khilji, and men of great influence. According to the Sharif-ul-Ma'mal the Sultan stood much in awe of the greatness of Hazrat Sharaf-ud-Din, and frequently consulted him in difficulties relating to his empire, seeking his help and guidance. One day the Hazrat asked the Sultan to build his tomb, telling him that his death was at hand and that there should be no delay in its construction. The Sultan lost no time in obeying his orders and appointed his son to supervise the work. The tomb was built in 717 H.

The shrine of saint Shadi Sharaf-ud-Din.—This saint, before the arrival of Khwaja Shams-ud-Din, used to live in Panipat. But after the
Khwája's arrival he left it and went to settle in the village of Budha Katru. Here he spent most of his time, but often visited the town as it was his birthplace and the place where his parents were buried. He was greatly attached to Mubarak Khan and Shaikh Jalal-ud-Din. The former died in 715 H. and his tomb was built in Pánípat. Knowing that death was near the saint asked Sultán Ala-ud-Din Khilji to build his tomb near that of his follower Mubarak Khan. He died on Ramzan 29th in 724 H. in Budha Khera. The residents of Karnál and Pánípat spent the day in deep regret, and next day his remains were brought to Karnál. But one of his followers named Maulána Siraj-ud-Din had been told in a vision that his body should be interred in the grave which had been built for him, and as the saint had also told him that he had been released from bodily imprisonment, the Maulána set out next morning with the saint's nephew and others for Karnál to fetch the body which was brought to Pánípat and interred there. He was a great teacher and reputed to possess power to work miracles. He adopted the creed of the Sufis, because according to their belief the souls of prophets and saints obtain eternal bliss on leaving the material body. It is said that in his lifetime one Malik Ali, Ansari, of Herat, became his follower, and that Amar Singh, a Rajput, whose descendants are still found in Pánípat, also embraced Islam. The so-called tomb of Shaikh Sharaf-ud-Din at Karnál should probably be regarded as a mausoleum or nominal shrine.

The shrine of Shaikh Jalal-ud-Din—This Shaikh, one of the chief saints in Pánípat, traced his descent from Khwája Abdul Rahmán Usmání who flourished in the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi. Noted for his generosity he had been brought up by Khwája Shams-ud-Din, Turk, and like his father he used to distribute food daily to 1,000 persons. He often besought Shaikh Sharaf-ud-Din for the gift of saintship, but was assured by him that it could only be had from Khwája Shams-ud-Din. Eventually the latter appeared in Pánípat and bestowed it on him. At the same time the Khwája directed him to marry. From the union he had five sons and two daughters whose descendants, still found in Pánípat, are generally known as the Makhdum. Dying in 800 H. at the age of 170 his tomb was built in 904 H. by Muhammad Lutf Allah Khan in the reign of Sikandar Shah Lodí. But the Sair-ul-Iqtihas places his death in 765 H.

The shrine of Sharaf-ud-Din Bu Ali Qalandar.—Sharaf-ud-Din, son of Sálih Fakhr-ud-Din, was a descendant of Imám Azam Abu Hanifa of Kufa who claim descent from Nausherwán. Born at Pánípat, in the early years he became well versed in all kinds of religious knowledge, and according to the tradition in the Iqtihas-ul-Anwar, he taught the people in the great madrasa in the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque at Delhi for 30 years. Eventually he attained absorption in divine meditation, and spent the rest of his life. Although his system resembled that of Shahab-ud-Din, the lover of God, yet he received the spiritual power entitling him to rank as a saint from Ali Murtaza without undergoing the required training and ranked foremost among the saints. His fame spread far and wide. His sayings recorded by the mutassis of Delhi in the 1 Whence his title of Bu Ali or the spirit of Ali. He is said to have taught the tartuq-majlis or duty of defending religion.
book called the Takmil-ul-Imâm are still current. Born in 694 H, he died in 724 and the latter is the probable year of the erection of his tomb.

The shrine of Sâlîr Qamar-ud-Dîn of Irâq, father of Shâh Sharaf.—According to Muhammad Bin Ahmad, the descendant of Nizám Irâqî and the author of the Sarg-ul-Mundûqîb, Sâlîr Qamar-ud-Dîn and Bîbî Hafîz Jamâl, the parents of Sharaf-ud-Dîn, came to Pânîpat in search of Nizám-ud-Dîn their eldest son who had come to India for trade, but the beauty of the place induced them to settle in it, Sâlîr Qamar-ud-Dîn had two sons and three daughters. One son Nizám-ud-Dîn was born in Irâq, the other Sharaf-ud-Dîn in Pânîpat. The tombs of Sâlîr Qamar-ud-Dîn, Nizám-ud-Dîn his son, Bîbî Hafîz Jamâl, his mother and of two of the daughters are all under one dome, but the date of their erection is not known.

The shrine of Sayyîd Mâhûd.—This Sayyîd was one of the ancient martyrs—a fact attested by Hâzrat Sharaf-ud-Dîn and Khwâjâ Shams-ud-Dîn. It is said that the Prophet in a vision directed Jalâl-ud-Dîn to visit the tomb of the Sayyîd daily and offer prayers.

The tomb of Sâlâganj was founded in Hîjri 1182.

The shrine of Sayyîd Shâh Shams-ud-Dîn, Turk.—This Sayyîd, a native of Turkistân, had a son Sayyîd Ahmad, to whom the present family traces its descent. The Sâr-ul-Khâtûb says that one of the family held the rank of a Panjâbâr under Shâh Jahân, but tired of worldly pleasures he chose the life of a devotee, and still in need of a spiritual guide he left home in search of one and travelled afar. When he arrived in India he chanced on Makhduûm Ala-ud-Dîn Ali Ahmad, the Patient, a successor of the saint Ganjshakar of Kûlur. He became his follower and attained saintship. On his death-bed his guide thus addressed him:—"Shams-ud-Dîn, my death is at hand, when I am buried, stay a while at my tomb and then go to Pânîpat to give guidance to its people. The gift of saintship was handed down to me by Jalâl-ud-Dîn and the same I now give you." The disciple gladly undertook the duty of clearing the tomb daily, but this offer the dying saint declined, so when he was dead Shams-ud-Dîn, after spending three days at the tomb, set out for Pânîpat. On his arrival there, he sat at the foot of a wall. His fame spread through the town and reached the ears of Jalâl-ud-Dîn, who had also been directed in a vision, by Makhduûm Ali, to do him homage in return for spiritual blessings. So Jalâl-ud-Dîn served him faithfully for some time, and on his death in 716 H. succeeded him.

A story of Khwâjâ Shams-ud-Dîn, given in the Sâr-ul-Khâtûb, is that, after acquiring spiritual perfection, he, with his teacher’s permission, entered the service of Sultân Ghiàs-ud-Dîn Balban, but kept his spiritual perfection a secret. By chance, however, his holy spirit manifested itself in a miraculous and supernatural way, and the Sultân who had

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* Or Khîr.

* The Jalâl-ud-Dîn Pânîpati already mentioned. Another account says that Shams-ud-Dîn reached Pânîpat in the guise of a qalamandar or ‘keeper of bears,’ and that Jalâl-ud-Dîn handed on to him the naṣîmât bânsî or ‘inward delights’ delivered to him by Ala-ud-Dîn in trust for Shams-ud-Dîn. He was learned in both sciences, nàft and ṭaqî.

* This is the date given in the Sâr-ul-Iqûtûs,
made vain efforts to conquer a fortress, came to know of it, and said that it was a pity that he had not been benefited by the saint's powers. At first the saint tried to conceal his spirituality, but he gradually yielded to the king's importunity and offered up prayer for his success and the fortress fell.

The shrine of Imám Qásim.—Sayyids Abul Qásim and Abul Isháq, it is said, were members of Sayyid Badr-ul-Din's party and leaders of his vanguard. They suffered martyrdom and when Sayyid Badr-ul-Din reached Pánípat and learnt of their deaths he was greatly enraged and began to fight. The descendants of Sayyid Abul Qásim say that formerly he was interred near Badr-ul-Din's tomb and so the place came to be called Shahidpara or habitation of martyrs. Descendants of these martyrs, called 'the children of Mir Abdur Rahmán', are still found in Pánípat. The present dome of Imám Qásim was built 80 years ago by Khwája Aín-ul-Din, an Ansári masáļi. The founder of the old shrine is not known. After these Sayyids had fallen Mahmúd of Ghaznavi reached India, and according to the author of the Mirat-ul-Astrár, that Sultán having conquered the country up to Kanauj returned home in 497 H. In 416 H. he again plundered it as far as Somnáth. From that year the propagation of Islám in India began and many Muhammadans settled in different places. One of them, Khwája Abdur Rahmán, in many ways the precursor of Shaikh Jalál-ul-Din, settled in Pánípat and for a time ruled it absolutely, levying tribute and acquiring wealth. After this great numbers of Muhammadans continued to visit Indian cities, and the Rájputs, who in reality were the chiefs of India, after many struggles were entirely put to the sword by the royal forces, so much so that none of them escaped but a pregnant woman, and she after undergoing various hardships succeeded in reaching the house of her parents. She gave birth to a son, and his descendants increased in the village of her parents. One known as Amar Singh was one of them. The shrine has been in existence for 900 years.

Champions as saints.

Mirán Sáhib is worshipped in the Nardak. With his sister's son Sayyid Káhir he has a joint shrine at Sonepát. Another shrine at a spot midway between Bhaútinda and Hájí Ratan in Patiala is known as the shrine of Máma-Bhánja or the 'Uncle and his Sister's Son'. The latter pair are described as leaders of Shahib-ul-Din Ghori's army who were killed in the capture of Bhatinda. But the story in the Nardak differs. According to it a Brahman appealed to Mirán Sáhib for help against Rájá Thana of Habri. The fight extended over the whole country to Delhi and the so-called Sayyid shrines are the graves of the Moslems who fell. Mirán Sáhib had his head struck off in the battle but he went on fighting until a woman exclaimed: 'Who is this fighting without his head?' Then he fell down and died, but not before he had cursed all Thana's villages which

1 Punjáb States Gazetteer, 1905 (Patiála), p. 81. The names of the pair are not given. Sayyid Mirán Sáhib has a tomb at Bhatinda. In the Káhirwáin tahalí, of Múltán, Máman Shér has a shrine at the large mound outside Túlumba. This saint was martyred with Dáta Gájú Bahásh at Lahore, but rode back without his head to the place where he is now buried; Múltán Gazetteer, p. 122.
Champions as saints.

were turned upside down, all their inhabitants save the Brahman’s daughter being killed. Mirán Sáhib was buried at Habri. Who this Mirán Sáhib was is not very clear.

To get rid of karnæ, a fly which injures báfras in bloom, take your sister’s son on your shoulder and feed him with rice-milk while he says: ‘The sister’s son has got on to his uncle’s shoulder: go, karnæ, to another’s field’,—just as he has climbed on to a stranger’s shoulder.¹

Sirkap Sháh or the headless saint has a tomb at Ladwa in Ambálá. Long ago by prayer and fasting this faqir obtained the power of granting sons to the barren, and many women visited him, but his refusal to allow more than one woman at a time into his hut caused scandal so the people tried to poison him, but he frustrated their attempts and bade the women visit him no more. But they disobeyed him and in revenge their men-folk attacked the saint and beheaded him. His headless trunk however slew them all within four hours, leaving so many widows that the place was called Randwa Shahir or the ‘widows’ town’ in consequence.²

A nangaza is a deceased saint whose tomb is supposed to be 9 feet or as many yards long and whose remains are believed to be of proportionate length. They perform miracles, grant sons, and so on. At Guppta (in Sirsa apparently) where Gurd Govind Singh is said to have encamped, he found a faqir who had built himself a masonry tomb 9 yards long, leaving on one side of it an opening large enough for him to be put in when he died.³ Cunningham says that every such tomb is described as that of a Gházi and Shahid, ‘champion and martyr’, who fell fighting for the faith and that their length varies from 10 to upwards of 50 feet. But he also records that the two tombs ascribed to the Prophets Seth and Job (Sis and Ayub) at Ajodhia and to Lamech in Lamghán are the extreme limits of their occurrence, so they are dedicated to prophets also. At Multán there are 16 of them, including that of Pir Gor Sultán near which lies a mânkâ or gigantic stone ring, said to have been worn by the saint as a necklet or thumb-ring. At Harappa near the tomb of Núr Sháh nangaza there were three undulated stone-rings called the nád, mânkâ and nág (gem) of the giant. This tomb seems to have grown from 18 feet to 46 in length since Burns saw it.

The nangaza shrines are common all over the Punjab and a Buddhist origin has been suggested for them.⁴

¹ Sirsa Setl. Rep., p. 256.
² Selections, O.R., VIII, p. 274.
³ Sirár. Sis. Atar Singh, Sáhib, p. 77, quoted in P. N. Q. I., 1, 433. The faqir is said to have been of the Wáhími order, an order not mentioned elsewhere apparently. The term wáhími signifies that faculty by means of which one grasps the qualities of objects, and forms one’s opinions (wáhí). Wáhí seems to connote acquisitiveness in a proposition, but the assent to it is not ordinarily free from doubt (Síra’s Itn Khúdá, L, p. 199). Hence it also denotes illusion (ib., III, p. 97). Hence the wáhími would seem to be a philosophic doubter.
The tomb of a Naugaza Sahib, whose real name was Hazrat Imam Ja'far Sadiq, one of the companions of the Prophet, is found at Ferozepur. It is said that once when the Prophet fought with the infidels the Naugaza Sahib had his head cut off in the fight, but the rest of his body remained fighting and by his miraculous power reached this place where it stopped as soon as a party of women saw it. No fair is held but offerings are made every Thursday. Temple records another nameless naugaza at Batola in Amritsar (Gurdaspur) regarding which the stock legend of a man stealing the saint's bed and being overturned when he slept on it is told. The nebulous character of the saint and his identification with the Imam Ja'far suggests some connection with the concealed Imam, but the origin of the term is as obscure as that of the shrines themselves.

Shah Rahm is the whirlwind saint in Shahpur, where once, when his shrine was neglected, he cursed the district that whirlwinds should blow for nine days in succession. This ruined the wheat harvest and so now his fair is regularly attended.

Jamme Shah is a giant who is confined in a well at Kastewal in Amritsar. He is only allowed to leave it on one night, on 18th Jeth, in the year, and on his return all the lamps in the village are extinguished. The rattling of his chains is heard and an evil smell pervades the place on this occasion.

Khajuria Pir had an old tomb in the Paget Park, Ambala Cantonment. Growing out of it is a date-palm—whence his name. His dealings with English Officers are described in Folklore Record, V., p. 158. He visits Allah Bakhsh, a saint who occupies a room in the Cantonment. Magistrate's cutcherry at Ambala, where he is regularly worshipped by suitors and accused persons. He had in life a favourite station under a bakara tree near the race-course and still visits it torch in hand at night. Palay is attributed to him and to cure it a white cock in full plumage and a plateful of sugar and cardamums should be offered to him.

The khanaqah of Miyan Mohhamud-Din, a Rajput of Ambala, was built at Jagran in 1915 S. and the annual fair is held on 14th Phagun. It now lasts for 3 days and nights, and many fairs are held round it at night during that period. The Miyan had a disciple in Bhai Basant Singh whose samadhi at Kakra in Moga tahsil is the scene of a fair on Sawan 1st as well as of a fair on every Thursday. It is in charge of a darvezah named Hira Singh, who is celibate. At Jagran too succession goes by spiritual descent.

At Jagungar in Jagran is held a fair in honour of Miyan Bure Shah on the night between Asar and Kartik. This khanaqah was founded

1 J. B. A. S., XIII, N. S., p. 133.
4 ib., § 18.
6 F. N. Q., II, § 1086.
in 1341 S., the year of the Mián's death. He was a saint of such high character and of spiritual powers that people irrespective of caste or creed loved him and held him in high esteem, and on the anniversary of his demise gathered to worship his tomb, and pray for fulfilment of their wishes. He was a native of Uch and belonged to the Hussein-sháhi sect, to which its incumbents still belong. By degrees this fair grew so popular that now about 10,000 people assemble at the khánqáh by night. Some also bring cattle with them and having remained there for a night go away. Lamps also are lighted on all sides of the tomb, as well as inside it. It contains another tomb besides the saint's, that of Bhab Khusrácó, a Brahman girl, who was disciple of the Mián and who died 40 years after him.

The story about the shrines of Wiláyat Sháh and Hásham Sháh of Ghairatpur Bál, in the Mœ country in Gurgón is that two faqirs so named died in that village and so their shrines were built there. There is no anniversary celebration at Hásham Sháh's tomb, but at Wiláyat Sháh's his disciple Cháitán Sháh collects about 20 faqirs each year on 11th Zikád and feasts them. Wiláyat Sháh died in 1825.¹

Another Sháh Wiláyat has his tomb at Palwál.² His name was Sayyid Baha-ud-Dín and a khalifa of Ali Ahmad Sábír of Gangóh.

The fair called Nishán is held every Wednesday in the middle of Mág. The visitors are mostly Móos. When Sálar Ma'súd Gházi conquered this part 400 or 500 years ago he made many converts to Islam and they are called Móos. His standard or mishá is set up every year and the fair held around it, but no temple or other building exists. Three hereditary faqirs manage the fair and the men sing songs in honour of Sálar when the flag is put up. It is carried from village to village while songs are sung and offerings of grain collected. Rice and churma are cooked and distributed as daríd.

Sháh Badr Diwán, whose mausoleum is at Móosán in Bátâla tahsil, Gurdâspur, has a chilla at Lahore. At Móosán his khánqáh is called 'Husaini' or 'Gfiláni'. Its annual festival is held on 12th Rabî-ul-Awal and the monthly fête or nau-chandí on a Thursday at the appearance of the new moon. Sháh Badr-ud-Dín was born in Bághdád in 861 H. He left his home in 908 H. and came to Móosán where he died in 978 H. and this khánqáh was built. It contains the tombs of Bhab Murássa, his wife, Sayyid Ali Sábar, his eldest son, and Sháh Abdúl Sháhár, Sayyid Ahmad Sháh and Khwáiá Ján, his grandsons. The tombs bear some modern inscriptions.³

At Káśtiwál, a fair is held annually on the purnamásáhi or full moon of Jeft for 4 or 5 days. The shrine, which is named after the village in

¹ These two shrines may be those of twin gods. The latter's minister once allowed his shrine to fall into disrepair, whereupon he afflicted them with sickness until they restored it. Wiláyat Sháh protects travellers and once when a village's cart wheel gave way he vowed 5 bulls of gur to his saint if he got his cart to his village. His cart duly reached the village boundary, but got no further: Gurgón Gazeteer, 1910, pp. 8 and 9.

² Epigraphis Indo-Musulmin, p. 1. Palwál also boasts a Sayyid Chirágh and the tombs of Patán and Umrá Sháhás, as well as that of the well-known martyr Ghádal Sháháb-ud-Dín, concerning whom the usual story is told that after his head was cut off, he rode his horse to the spot where his grave now lies.

³ Hist. of Lahore, pp. 133,
which it stands, owes its origin to one Bābā Goḍaṛ Shāh, who is said to have come from Sīra. A disciple of Allāh Dād Khān, he built him a hut to live in, but a body of demons living in the forest threatened to burn him alive in it, if he did not leave it. The Bābā however blew some verses of charm on to water which he sprinkled on the demons, and so caused them to stand on one place like statues. Next morning the Bābā found them all unable to move, and when they saw him they implored him to set them free. He threw some water on them, and revived them. They then left the place, but one of them Jūmē Shāh begged to be made his disciple. He soon acquired miraculous powers. Once he placed a big beam on the shrine which 20 persons could not lift. When on the point of death Jūmē Shāh asked the Bābā’s leave to go to his fellow demons and live with them, but he asked the Bābā to grant him a room in the shrine and the latter gave him one in a āûry or dome, which is still called after him. At that time the forest was uncultivated and the village of Kāśtiwāl stood on a mound, but the Bābā built a wall round the shrine and also a mosque with ten ḥaḍrās or chambers.

The fair is held on the anniversary of the Bābā’s death, prayers being offered for the benefit of his soul.

Founded in 1062 H., or 3 years before his decease, its present manager is a Jāṭ whose duties are to meditate on the name of God, to feed needy travellers, and look after the khāngāḥ. The holder of this office is celibate, and succession is governed by spiritual relationship, the disciples being always selected for the gaddā.

At the Jogīān vála well near the khāngāḥ Bhūmar Nāth Jogī used to live. Once an old woman was about to offer milk to the Jogī, but when near the khāngāḥ, the Bābā bade her offer it to the shrine. She did so and next morning found that her cow yielded much more milk than before. This miracle impressed the people of the neighbourhood, and the Jogī in jealousy at the Bābā’s fame summoned him through one of his disciples. The disciple told the Bābā that the Jogī, his Gurū, wanted him, but he bade him sit by him for a moment and then he would accompany him. Before long the Jogī despatched another disciple with the same request, and the same thing happened. At last the Jogī himself came and challenged the Bābā. The latter asked him to show him a miracle. On this, the Jogī put off his sandals and flew towards the sky. The Bābā then ordered his sandals to chase the Jogī and bring him back to him. The Jogī was accordingly pursued by the sandals, which overtook him and brought him back to the Bābā. The Jogī thus defeated implored the Bābā to give him shelter. The latter sent him to the village of Jiṣkhuar in Pathānkot. The Jogī on his departure asked the Bābā whether he could do him any service. The latter replied that as he was going to a place where wood and bamboo were abundant, he might send him a wooden plate (pāṭ) and a bamboo basket. The custom of supplying these articles is in use ever since.

The khāngāḥ of Bhūka Shāh in Kāngra is the scene of a large fair, which lasts from 5th to 7th Jiṣṭ every year. The story goes that Bhūka Shāh was a Brahman who lived in Jāisingpur, and became a disciple of Masāṭ Ali. He miraculously restored a corpse to life.
Thereby he incurred the displeasure of his gurū who ran after him to chastise him, but the chela disappeared underground and took up his abode at the place where the shrine now stands. The fair was first celebrated in 1907 S.

At the khaṅgādh of Pir Salohi at Kaluah in Nāpur tahsil annual fairs are held on Māgh 7th, on both Thursdays in the second half of Jēth; and on the first two in Hār. The story is that Pir Salohi asked some shepherds here for water to wash his hands and face before he offered his prayers. The shepherds said that none was to be had near by, whereupon the saint struck the ground with his kūndū (an iron rod) and a spring gushed out. Then the saint went to the house of Jaimal, a sāmīnādīr, and asked if he was at home. His mother gave the saint a cup of milk, and he then returned to the place whence he had started. Here he disappeared underground. During the night it was revealed to Shāh Fakhr in a vision that a lamp should be kept burning on the spot where the saint had said his prayers. The shrine was founded in 1794 S., a date verified from its records. Three sacred lamps are always kept burning at the shrine, a number increased to 7 on Thursdays. Sacred fire is also kept alight. Both Hindus and Muhammedans pay their devotions and no distinction is made in their offerings.

In the Attock Hills Ghāzi-Walipūrī is the popular name for a huge boulder at Hāji Shāh, which is covered with irregular cup-marks. No tradition regarding it seems to exist.¹

A shrine of which little is known is that of the Pir Abd-ur-Rahim, Abd-ur-Karim or Abd-ur-Razāk, at Thānesar, where it forms one of the most striking of picturesque monuments in North India, with its pear-shaped dome and flowered lattice of white marble. Ascribed to the time of Dāna Shīkh, all that is recorded of the Pir is that he wrote a book called Livres de la Vatī,⁴ and known as Shāikh Tillī or Chilli. In the Punjab Shāikh Chilli seems to have no great vogue, but a Shāikh Chilli holds in the United Provinces the same position as Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, the Khoja of Aqshahīr, does in Turkey. His character is a curious blend of cunning and naivety, of buffoonery and shrewdness.⁵

Charāg Shāh, Charāg Chandī Shāh or Shāh Charāg has a tomb at Bāwalpūndī which is famous throughout the Sindh Sāgar Doāb. He was a Sayyid, born in 1360 A. D.

The death of Sher Shāh Sur is attributed in folk-tales to a headless man. Dharm Dūt, a Bānia, had two fair daughters whom the emperor demanded and on the Bānia's refusal he was beheaded, but his headless trunk seized the sword and slew the emperor as he had threatened to do before he was executed.⁶

¹ Y. N. O. II, § 1022. Regular cup-marks occur at another place, half a mile from Hāji Shāh, with out-line engravings of deer-hunting. Close by is an ancient Buddhist well— with an inscription. Cup-marks also occur at Kot Bhitūr in the hills of Ibb, III, §§ 50-7 and 109.

² Cunningham, A. S. R., II, p. 323. The Imperial Gazetteer does not mention this tomb.


⁴ S. C. R., VIII, p. 275. Shāh Shāh was killed at the siege of Kalinjar in 1545.
Invisible saints.

Ghaibî Pir or the hidden saint has a square shrine on the top of the Bahánpur hill in Rohitak. It is in the form of a tomb but with no emataph and is open to all four winds. The tale told of it recalls that of Púrun Bhagat and other legends. When a wayfarer passed by the faqîr with a load of sugar and was asked what he had, he said ‘salt.’ ‘Salt be it,’ said the faqîr, and salt it was; but he repented and it became sugar again, so in gratitude he built the shrine. But no one knows the saint’s name or where he lies. Popular rationalism says the sinner mistook the faqîr for a customs line officer. Crowds visit the shrine on Sundays. A Pir Ghaib has a small shrine at Halalwaja in the Shujâbâd tahsîl, Multan.1

An invisible tomb is found in Baháwalpur tahsîl. There the 7 tombs of Ali Asâhâb include one which is not seen. The other 6 are ascribed to Ali Asâhâb, Gul Ahmad, Pir Zakarîa, Mubârîk and Tangâr Sâhîb, all companions of the Prophet who fell in battle. Five of the tombs are 9 yards long, and apparently mungâsas, the sixth being only 3 yards in length. They are frequented by people sick of fever or headache, by those desirous of a wife or offspring, or in distress. Even thieves make vows at them in order to escape punishment. Seven fairs are held on Fridays in Jeth and Har, and Hindus who are in debt or childless offer the flour and goat sacrifice. A Hindu making an offering must fast, as must his wife also. He must then cook a kid’s liver, and get the mujâwâr to recite a khalam over it and give a piece of it to the wife to break her fast. Cattle are also taken to the shrine to cure fancy etc. The mujâwârs are Ansâris or Thalims and their offices are hereditary.3

Barât Shâh, a saint of Kasûr, has a shrine there and near it is a pond in which children are bathed to cure them of boils (pdâwâsâte).3

Shâh Abdul Aziz of Delhi was a noted interpreter of dreams and he once advised a disciple to go to Tonk. He entered the Nawâb’s service and under his directions the Nawâb sided with the British.4

Miân Ahmad Khân, a darvesh, has a shrine at Kasûr in which the attendants place white pebbles. These stones are known as Ahmad Khân’s lions and are bought by his devotees to tie round the necks of children whose sleep is troubled.5

Miân Miṭthu, a saint extensively worshipped in the western part of Gurdâspur, has a shrine at the village which bears his name. He was a Nawâb at the imperial court and was sent to suppress a revolt, but on the march his favourite horse died and he was so impressed by the sorrow which death could cause that he threw up his command, turned faqîr and withdrew from the world. Once a Hindu faqîr appropriated the milk which the villagers used to supply to him, justifying the act on the ground of his own superior sanctity. The

Muhammad Gazetteer, p. 128.
3 Baháwalpur Gazetteer, p. 156.
1 P. N. Q. III, § 181.
2 N. L. N. Q. I, § 880.
4 P. N. Q. III, § 378.
Mian challenged him to a practical test of their spiritual powers. The Hindu flew up into the air, but the Mian brought him down with a shot-gun and was voted the holier man. The Hindu turned Muhammadan and became his disciple. The Mian is greatly revered, however, by Hindus and they make offerings to him. They also eschew the use of burnt brick because his shrine is built of them, and so strict is this prohibition that several large villages in the neighbourhood are entirely built of adobe bricks.1

Sayyid Mithha may be connected with the foregoing. His name was Ma‘in-ud-din and his father Sayyid Jamāl-ud-din was a native of Khwárazm. The invasion of Changiz Khán drove him to take refuge with Jalāl-ud-din of Ghazni and with him he fled to India when Ghazni also fell to the Tartars. The name of his son surpassed his own and he made many disciples at Lahore where he died in 1262.2 His tomb is held in great respect.3

Pir Ghare Bhan is ‘the saint of the broken pitchers’. His shrine at Kasur is a platform where pitchers are broken in pursuance of vows to do so if desires are fulfilled.4

Pir Chithrī is one of a group of pirs whose insignia are of the humblest. Chithrī is a pir whose casrus of brushwood are common in the Bār between Lahore and Multān, and if a traveller throws a stick upon one of them intuition is at once conveyed by the Pir to his home that he is safe. Pir Thīgrī is a similar saint. If a man’s wishes are fulfilled he places branches of trees (goḍā) and shreds of cotton at a certain place in accordance with his vow, and the place is called Pir Thīgrī.5

Pir Thīgrī is also represented by shreds of cotton, but in his case they are tied to a tree,6 and Pir Ropa by one brickbat placed on another. They are both worshipped by thieves who offer them sweetmeats if successful.7

Bāna Walī Qandahārī, who has 186 other names, is the saint of Hasan Abdāl. One Hasan, a Girjar, owned a cattlepen on the site of the modern town and used to water his cattle in the Harōh river. The Bāna arrived, performed a chhala and asked for water for his ablutions. Hasan went to the Harōh for it, but the saint in his impatience struck his tongue into the limestone and water gushed out. The Bāna’s shrine is on the hill-top, and the town derives the second part of its name from one of his titles, Shāh Walī Abdāl. As he is still, it is said, alive

1 P. N. Q., II, § 377. The bamboo or paḍa brick is also found among certain tribes, e.g., the Mīn Mīhār is quite distinct from Mīn Mīhār s.a.b. whose see Vol. II, p. 390. Mīn Mīhār is also a sobriquet for the parent and to call oneself Mīn Mīhār (same sāda Ḍ. Mīn Mīhār sānd), means to sound one’s own praises, ot. III, § 317, IV, § 472. It is also styled Ganga Bān.
2 Hist. of Lahore, p. 239.
3 P. N. Q., III, § 159.
4 For a Tīlak Nath see Legends of the Panjāb, II, p. 441.
5 In Bāhawalpur when a young tree is peculiarly vigorous it is dedicated to a pir and even called after his name. Offerings are made to it and villagers often visit it in groups. By degrees the tree is anthropomorphised into the saint himself, the pir most implicitly believed in by the villagers, and distinguished by a flag which is fastened to it.
6 P. N. Q., III, § 457.
he is also called Ḥaṭta'ī Mfr. A modern accretion to the legend averse
that Bābā Nānak visited the place and sent two of his disciples to demand
water from Bābā Wali. The latter retorted that if Nānak were a
saint he could procure water where the wished. He also sent a stone
rolling down the hill after the disciples, but Bābā Nānak stayed it with
his outstretched hand and left its impress on the stone, from beneath
which a spring of water has flowed ever since.¹

Among Muhammadans in Attock various methods of causing rain
are in vogue. One consists in collecting grain from each house, boiling
it and then taking it to the masjid or khānqāh where after prayers it is
divided among those present, confectionery being added in Attock
tahsil. Another consists in simply collecting together, repairing the
mosque and cleaning it, and praying there. Women join in these gather-
ings. In a third a boy's face is blackened and a stick put into his
hand. He then collects all the other children and they go round begging
from house to house calling out:—

\[\text{Aulii! Aulii! Mish barā,}\\
\text{Sūbi kothi dāna pā,}\\
\text{Obriye da mish pāni pā.}\\
\text{"Aulii! Send rain,}\\
\text{Put grain in our house,}\\
\text{And water in the beaks of the birds!}\\
\]

Whatever grain is collected is boiled and divided. Lastly there is
the dā-ri rite in which mutāhās and others go to the mosque, calling the
tāqṣ e seven times at each corner as well as in the village. Crowds of
villagers assemble and pray, religious books are read and presents made
to priests and shrines, a common offering being a ploughshare's weight
in grain.²

The Muhammadan rosaries are as various as those of other creeds
and comprise the Sunnis' aqīqūl-'bahr of dark stone; the kāth m tasbh
of variegated wooden beads; the tasbh of kānch or variegated glass;
the sanq-i-maṣqād of yellow stones: the kahrubā of amber, used by
maulavi; and the sūlamān of various stones also used by them. The
four last named are also used by all fujūrs. Shi'as use the khāk-i-shifā
or 'dust of healing', made of particoloured earth from Karbalā.³

¹ P. N. Q. II, § 680. Lalla Bachelor was buried at the town of Hassan Abad.
³ 1. N. Q. IV, § 146.
(d) The Chūhās.

The Chūhās or Rat-children are an institution in the Punjab. They are microcephalous beings, devoid of all power of speech, idiots, and unable to protect themselves from danger, of filthy habits, but entirely without sexual instincts. They are given names, but are usually known by the names of their attendants, whose voices they recognise and whose signs they understand. They have to be taught to eat and drink, but cannot be allowed to go about unguarded. Their natural instinct is to suck only, and, when they have been taught to eat and drink and can walk, they are made over to a faqir of the Shāh Daun’s sect, who wanders about begging with his ‘Shāh Daun’s Rats’.

The popular idea is that these unfortunate beings have been blessed by the saint, Shāh Daun Daryāl of Gujrat in the Punjab, and that, though they are repulsive objects, no contempt of them must be shown, or the saint will make a Chūhā of the next child born to one who despises one of his protégés. It is this fear which has brought about the prosperity of Shāh Daun’s shrine at Gujrat.

The common superstition as to the origin of the Chūhās is this: Shāh Daun, like other saints, could procure the birth of a child for a couple desiring one, but the first child born in response to his intercession would be a Chūhā—brainless, small-headed, long-eared and rat-faced. The custom used to be to leave the child, as soon as it was weaned, at Shāh Daun’s khalqā, as an offering to him. After the saint’s death the miracle continued, but in a modified form. Persons desiring children would go to the saint’s shrine to pray for a child, and would make a vow either to present the child when born or to make an offering to the shrine. In some cases, when the child was duly born in response to the prayer, the parents neglected to make the promised gift. Upon this the spirit of the offended saint so worked on the parents that the next child born was a Chūhā, and all subsequent children as well, until the original vow was fulfilled.

The tomb and shrine of Shāh Daun lie on the eastern side of Gujrat town, about 100 yards from the Shāh Daun Gate. His descendants dwell near and round the shrine, and their houses form a suburb known as Garhi Shāh Daun. The shrine itself was built in the latter part of the seventeenth century by a ‘saint’ named Bhāwan Shāh and was rebuilt on a raised plinth in 1867. In 1898 it was put into thorough repair by the followers of Shāh Daun.

The cult of Shāh Daun offers few unusual features. No lands are attached to the shrine and its pirs are wholly dependent on the alms and offerings of the faithful. Three annual fairs are held at the shrine, one at each ‘Id and a third at the urs on the 10th of Muharram. A weekly fair used to be held on Fridays, attended by dancing girls; but this has fallen into abeyance. There are no regular rules of succession.

For medical opinion on the Chūhās, see an article in the Indian Medical Gazette, for May 16th, 1898, by E. J. Wilson-Johnston, M. D. M. B. C. S. E. This article is reprinted in Punjaub Notes and Queries, 1898, III, §§ 117-128; see also II, §§ 69 and 172.
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to the shrine, and each member of the saint’s family has a share in it. Three of them, however, have a special influence and one of these three is generally known as the sijjida-nashin, or successor of the saint. The general income of the sect is divided into three main shares, each of which is divided into minor shares—a division per stripes and per capita. The shareholders also each take in turn a week’s income of the shrine.

The principal murids, or devotees of the sect, are found in Jammu, Púnch and the Frontier Districts, and in Swat, Malákand and Káhiristán. Sháh Daula’s faqirs visit each murid annually and exact an offering (sazer), usually a rupee, in return for which they profess to impart spiritual and occult knowledge. Some of these faqirs are strongly suspected of being concerned in the trade in women that exists between the Punjáb and Púnch and Jammu, and it is from these districts that the Chidás are chiefly recruited.

There is a notable offshoot of the Sháh Daula faqirs in an order of faqirs, who properly own allegiance to the Akhund of Swát. A disciple of the Akhund, named Gházi Sultán Muḥammad, a native of Awán, a village in Gujrat District on the Jammu border, has established a considerable following. He lives now at Sháh Daula’s shrine, but has built himself a large stone house at Awán.

(i) The Legend of Sháh Daula, by Major A. C. Elliot.

Sháh Daula was born in A. D. 1581 during the reign of Akbar. His father was Abdur Raḥim Khán Lodi, a descendant of Sultán Ibráhím Lodi, grandson of Bahlol Sháh Lodi who died in A. H. 894 (A. D. 1488). This would make him a Pathán by descent, but he is nevertheless claimed by the Gujars of Gujrat as belonging to their tribe. His mother was Nímat Khátun, great-granddaughter of Sultán Sárang Ghakhir.

In the reign of Sultán Salim, son of Sultán Sher Sháh (A. H. 952-960 or A. D. 1545-1553) a large force was sent to subdue Khawás Khán,1 who had rebelled in support of Adil Khán, Sálim Sháh’s elder brother. Khawás Khán met with a crushing defeat and sought refuge with the Gakkars, who supported him, and a battle was fought near Rohtás in the Jhelum District, in which Sultán Sárang Ghakhir was killed, and all his family were afterwards made captives. A daughter of Khawás Khán, son of Sultán Sárang, was among the captured, and she had at the time an infant daughter at the breast. This was Nímat Khátun, who was taken with her brother to Delhi and in the first year of Akbar’s reign (A. H. 963 or A. D. 1556), shortly after Humáyûn’s death, she was married to Abdur Raḥim Lodi, then an officer of the imperial household. But Sháh Daula was not born of this marriage till the 25th year of Akbar’s reign (A. H. 989 or A. D. 1581), which was also the year of his father’s death.2

Where Sháh Daula was born is not known, but his widowed mother returned to her native country, Pathás, now represented by the Jhelum

1 For a Legend of Khán Khuda and Sher Sháh Chahaghát see Indian Antiquary 1909.
2 This story reads like the familiar fictitious connection of local heroes in India with the great ones of the land.—En., Indian Antiquary.
The legend of Sháh Daula.

and Rawalpindi Districts. On her arrival, however, she found that, though she was the great-granddaughter of Sultan Sári, she was as much a stranger there as in Hindustán and that no one had any regard for herself or her fallen family. For five years she had to earn her living by grinding corn in the village of Sabhála in the pdyana of Pirhrálat, whence she removed to Kaláh, where she died in A. H. 998, or A. D. 1590 after four more years of toil.

Sháh Daula, now left an orphan and friendless, determined to go a-begging. In the course of his wanderings he reached Sakhi Siálkot, where he met one Mahta Kián, a slave of the Qánúngos of that place, and a rich and generous, but childless man. Moved by pity and favourably improved by his looks, he adopted Sháh Daula and brought him up in luxury. Sháh Daula's intelligence attracted the notice of the Qánúngos, who gave him charge of their tosha-khánas or treasury, but so generous was Sháh Daula by nature that he could never turn a deaf ear to a beggar. The result was that not only all his own money, but also all the valuables, cash and furniture of the tosha-khána disappeared! The Qánúngos refused to believe his story, that he had given everything to mendicants and had him imprisoned and tortured.

In his extremity under torture Sháh Daula declared that he had buried the money and would dig it up again if released from prison. He was led to the tosha-khána where he at once seized a dagger from a mache and plunged it into his belly. This act put the fear of the authorities into the Qánúngos, and they sent for a skilful physician, who bound up the wound, from which Sháh Daula recovered in three months.

The Qánúngos then set him free and he went to Sangrohi, a village near Siálkot, where he became a disciple of the saint, Sháh Saidán Sarmast. Sháh Daula now ingratiated himself with one Mangú or Mokum, the saint's favourite disciple, and spent his time as a mendicant. The scraps he secured as the proceeds of his begging were placed before the saint, who ate all he wanted and passed the remainder on to Mangú. After Mangú was satisfied, the small portion that remained was given to Sháh Daula, whose hunger was rarely appeased. But such poor earnings in kind failed to satisfy the saint, who sent Sháh Daula to work and earn money with which cooked food might be bought, as a substitute for the stale scraps received as alms.

At that time a new fort was being built at Siálkot out of bricks from the foundation of some old buildings, and Sháh Daula was sent to dig as an ordinary labourer at a fakr or two pies a square yard of brickwork dug up. So hard was the material that most powerful men could not excavate more than two or three square yards in a day, but Sháh Daula worked with such amazing energy that he dug up seventy square yards on the first day and separated the bricks. The officials, recognising superhuman aid, offered him seventy fakrs, or full payment for his work, without demur, but he would only accept four.

With the four fakrs thus acquired, he bought a savoury dish of khichri, which he presented to the saint, before whom he was inclined to boast of his powers. But the saint showed him his own hands, all blistered with the invisible aid he had been rendering to Sháh Daula. As a mark of
favour, however, the saint gave him some of the *shiekh*, which produced such excreting pain in the second finger of his right-hand on his commencing to eat it that for days he could neither sleep nor rest, and at last asked the saint to relieve him. Mangu also interceded and at last the saint told Shāh Daula to go to the Butchers’ Street and thrust his hand into the bowels of a freshly slaughtered cow. As soon as he had done this there was immediate relief and he fell into a deep sleep for twenty-four hours; but on waking he found that the finger had dropped off! He returned, however, to the saint and thanked him for his kindness, whereon the saint said:—‘Man, thus much of self-love hast thou, but it has gone from thee now and love for others only remains. Be of good cheer. Thou art proven worthy of my favour, and of the knowledge of God!’

For twelve years Shāh Daula remained in the service of the saint, Shāh Saidan Sarmast, who was a faqir of the Subarwardi sect. At the end of the twelfth year the saint saw that his own end was approaching and asked who was near him. The reply was, ‘Daula’, but the saint told him to go and fetch Mokhu, i.e. his favorite Mangu. But Mangu refused to come as it was night. Thrice Daula went and thrice Mangu refused. The saint then remained silent for a while, but towards morning he roused himself and said:—‘God gives to whomsoever He will’. He then made over his dalg (faqir’s coat) to Daula, and when the latter said that he knew Mangu would not let him keep it, the saint said:—‘Let him keep it who can lift it’. And so he gave the dalg into Shāh Daula’s keeping, gave him his blessing also, and died.

When the day broke it became known that the saint was dead and Mokhu and all the other disciples took their parts in the funeral ceremonies. They then attempted to seize the holy dalg, which fell to the ground. Each in turn tried to lift it and then they tried all together, but it would not move until Daula grasped it with one hand, shook it and put it on, thus proving his right to the name and title, by which he has always been known, of Shāh Daula.

Making his way out of Sidkot, and leaving the jealous disciples, he bade himself for a while outside the town. For ten years after the death of Shāh Saidan Sarmast he remained in the neighbourhood, growing yearly in reputation and power. He built many buildings, mosques, tanks, bridges and wells, the most notable of which was the bridge over the Aik. After this Shāh Daula moved to Gūjrāt and settled there permanently in obedience to divine instructions.

Faqirs believe that each city has its guardian saint, and Shāh Daula is looked on as the guardian of Gūjrāt. During his life he devoted himself to works of public utility and the construction of religious buildings. His principal works were the bridge in front of the eastern gate of the town of Gūjrāt over the Shāh Daula Nalī, and the bridge over the Dik in the Gūjrānwālā District. It is said that he never asked for money and that he paid his labourers promptly. He was also most successful in finding the sites of old ruins, whence he dug up all the materials he required for his buildings. He was liberal to the poor, irrespective of creed, and had a peculiar attraction for wild animals.
keeping a large menagerie of all sorts of beasts and birds. His tolerance made him beloved of all classes and there were both Hindus and Musalmans among his disciples. He became very famous for his miracles and received large gifts. The attraction towards him felt by wild animals largely contributed to the general belief in him.

The emperor Akbar died whilst Shāh Daula was still at Siālkot, and it was in the seventh year of Jahāngīr that he went to Gōjrāt, in A. H. 1022 or A.D. 1612. No meeting between Shāh Daula and Akbar is recorded, but the following account is given of an encounter between him and the emperor Jahāngīr:—

Shāh Daula used to put helmets, with rauris sewn over them, on the heads of his favourite animals. One day a deer thus arrayed strayed near the place where the king, i.e. Jahāngīr, was hunting at Shāhdara near Lahore. The king saw the helmeted deer and enquired about it, and was told about Shāh Daula and his miracles. The deer was caught and two men were sent to fetch Shāh Daula who at that time was seated at his khandāgh. During this he had remarked to his disciples:—‘What a strange thing has our deer, Darakhsha, done! It has appeared before His Majesty and caused men to be sent to call me before him. They will come to-day. Cook a delicious pilaf and all manner of food for them’. The astonished servants prepared the meal and towards evening the messengers arrived with His Majesty’s order.

Placing the order on his head, Shāh Daula wished to start at once, but the hungry messengers had smeared the supper and so they stayed the night at the khandāgh, and did not take the Shāh to Shāhdara till the next day. When he arrived, he called for ingredients and made a large cake which he wrapped in a handkerchief and offered to the king when summoned. The king was seated on his throne with Nūr Jahān Begam near by, and they were both much struck by his holy appearance. The king asked Shāh Daula where he had found the philosopher’s stone, but he denied all knowledge of any such stone and said he lived on alms.

The king, however saw in him a wealthy and influential person, capable of raising a revolt, and Nūr Jahān suggested that he should be made away with. At the king’s order the imperial chamberlain produced a poisoned green robe, which Shāh Daula put on without receiving any harm. A robe smeared with a still more deadly poison was then put on him and again no injury resulted. Upon this the king ordered a cup of poisoned sharbat to be mixed, but his throne began to quake, the palace rocked violently, and faces of faqirs were seen everywhere. The king in his fear recognised the mintship of Shāh Daula and dismissed him with honour and two bags of akhrafas. Giving the king his blessing, Shāh Daula departed after distributing the akhrafas to the royal servants. Hearing of this the king summoned him again and asked him if he would accept a grant of 8000 bighās of land. Shāh Daula replied that he did not want any land, but would avail himself of the offer later on, if necessary. Upon this the king allowed him to depart after showing him much reverence.

The building of the bridge over the Dik came about in this way: During one of the journeys of the emperor Shāh Jahan into Kashmir, the
private belongings of Dára Shikoh and Huri Begam and many pack animals were lost in the Dik, which was in flood. The Faujdar of the District, Mirza Badi Usmán, was accordingly ordered to have a large and permanent bridge ready by the time the royal party returned. The Faujdar set to work, but could get nothing but mud bricks and so he imprisoned all the brick-burners. The result was that when the emperor returned the bridge was not even commenced. On being severely reprimanded, the Faujdar remarked that only Sháh Daula could build the bridge. The emperor at once ordered him to fetch Sháh Daula. By a stratagem he was induced to enter a palanquin and was carried off, but he remarked:—'There is no need to force me to obey the emperor’s orders. I know them and will carry them out'.

Arrived at the Dik, Sháh Daula procured the release of the brick-burners and set about building the bridge. A wicked gard, who inhabited the spot, destroyed the work as fast as it was done, but after a controversy in which he was overthrown the gard was lured into a lime-pit and buried up to his neck in lime and mortar by Sháh Daula.

Sháh Daula met with many other obstacles. Among them was one raised by Bút, the land-owner of the neighbourhood, who made money out of the ford at that spot. Bút cut the dam in order to drown the faqir encamped underneath it, but Sháh Daula cleverly frustrated him by making a second dam below it. A faqir was sent to report on Bút’s behaviour to Sháh Jahán, who ordered him to be sent to Lahore bound hand and foot, there to be beheaded and his head to be hung on a sis tree. But Sháh Daula interested for him and obtained his release. Bút after this rendered every possible assistance, the bridge was duly built and Sháh Daula returned to Gujráṭ.

About this time a faqir, named Saidun, came to Gujrat and claimed the guardianship of the town by divine appointment in order to discredit Sháh Daula. By spiritual means Sháh Daula convinced the impostor that he was wrong, and the faqir disappeared and was never heard of again.

At that time female infanticide was rife in Rájaur, now a part of the Jammu State. Rája Chatur Singh of Rájaur was a devoted follower of Sháh Daula, but he always killed his female children at birth. However, on the birth of one girl, Sháh Daula told him to let the child live, as she would be very fortunate and become the mother of kings. The child was therefore allowed to live and grew up a fair and lovely maiden, and when Sháh Jahán was passing through Rájaur on one of his journeys to Kashmir, the Rája presented her to him as a sonar. The girl was accepted and bestowed on Prince Aurangzeb, who married her.

Later on, the prince, being anxious to know whether he or one of his brothers Dára Shikoh and Murád, would succeed to the throne, went to see Sháh Daula and presented him with a sar-wurph (golden pheasant), a foreign cat and wooden stick. If the saint accepted all but the stick it was to be an omen that the prince would succeed. But Sháh Daula, as soon as he saw the prince, arose, saluted him as ‘Your
The death of Sháh Daula.

Majesty, and giving him a cake, returned the stick and said:—
"God has sent you this cake, and this stick is granted you as the sceptre of your authority. Be of good cheer," Aurangzeb told the tale to the Begam Bai, who confirmed him in his belief in it by relating Sháh Daula's prophecy that she herself would be the mother of kings. Her sons were Mu'azzam and Mahmúd, of whom the former became the emperor Bahádur Sháh.

At a later period, after he had become emperor, Aurangzeb again sent for Sháh Daula, who appeared before him in a miraculous manner. The emperor was dining by himself, but he saw that a hand was eating with him. Calling his attendants he told them of this, and said that the hand was the hand of an old man with the second finger missing. One of the attendants, named Bakhtáwar, said that the hand was probably Sháh Daula's. The emperor thereupon summoned the Saint to appear, when Sháh Daula at once stood revealed, and was dismissed, loaded with presents by the amazed sovereign.

Many other tales of his miracles are told of Sháh Daula, but that which is chiefly associated with his name is the miracle of the Chùhás or Rat-children, said to be born through his agency with minute heads, large ears, rat-like faces, and without understanding or the power of speech.

Sháh Daula lived to a great age, commonly stated to have been 150 years, and was contemporary with Akbar, Jahángir, Sháh Jahán, and Aurangzeb. He was born in the 25th year of Akbar, A.H. 989 or A.D. 1581 and died, according to the anagram of his death, Khandadest, in A.H. 1087 or A.D. 1678. He was therefore really 95 years old at his death.

His usual title is Sháh Daula Daryáf, because of the numerous bridges that he built. To the end of his life, princes and nobles, rich and poor alike, sought his blessing. At last, when he saw his end approaching he sent for his disciple, Bháwan Sháh, duly invested him with the dâyí, and installed him as nijâda-nashir and successor.

The existing members of the sect of Sháh Daula claim that Bháwan Sháh is the son of the saint, but whether he was a real or an adopted son or bâkhâ, the present pírs are the descendants of Bháwan Sháh.

Notes by the Editor, Indian Antiquary.

There are some points worth noting in the stories of Sháh Daula's Rats and of Sháh Daula himself.

In the first place it seems pretty clear from what has been above recorded that the acscription of the Chùhás to the agency of the well-known saint of Gíyât is posthumous. One suspects that Bháwan Sháh of the Sháh Daula shrine created the cult, much in the fashion that Gháfí Sultan Muhammad is creating one now out of the shrine.
which he has set up round the tomb of the great local saint. All the circumstances point to such a situation. These are the extreme modernness of the cult, the fact that a band or order of faqiri make a living out of a certain class of local microcephalous idiots, and the convenient existence of an important shrine. Then the absence of landed property in possession of the band, or of any recognized right to succession to the leadership, and the entire dependence on earnings, in turn dependent themselves on the gullibility of the faithful, all make it almost certain that Bhawan Shah took the opportunity of the then recent decease of a well-known ancient and holy man to find a sacred origin for the unholy traffic of his followers. The division of the income thus earned is just such as one might expect of a body that had no other source of cohesion originally than profit out of a common means of livelihood.

As regards the legend of Shah Daula himself, we have the usual ascription of a direct connection by birth of a local holy man with the great ones of the earth in his day, with the usual clear openings for doubt in the account thereof, and we have also the ascription of miraculous powers common to Panjabi saints. There is nothing in the story that could not have been picked up by the tellers out of the tales of other saints commonly current in the country. No doubt there did live, during the seventeenth century, a holy man in Gujrat town, who died there at an advanced age and had a tomb erected to him, which became venerated. It is quite probable that he was instrumental in forwarding works of public utility in his neighbourhood, and was notorious for his charity to the poor and needy, led an excellent life, and was venerated by the nobility around him. Considering the situation of the town of Gujrat, it is quite possible also that he attracted the attention of the emperor Shah Jahan and his suite, during their many journeys to and fro between Kashmir and their Indian court. But all this affords no ground for supposing that he had anything to do personally with the poor idiots now exploited by the sect, band, or order of faqiri that have fastened themselves on to his name.

As regards the Chulhas themselves, it is quite possible that there is a tendency to produce such idiots among the population of given districts, such as Poonch and Jammu, but one cannot help suspecting that, owing to the necessity for a continuous supply being forthcoming for the well-being of those who live on them, some of these unfortunate are artificially produced after their birth as ordinary infants. It would be so easy to accomplish this on the part of the unscrupulous.

THE CULT OF MIAN-BIBI; OR THE PRINCE AND HIS TWO WIVES.

I.

The Legends of Mian-Bibi.

1. There are various stories as to who these saints were and when they first appeared. According to one account, Khwaja Kasmi had five sons, Shah Madar, Biolan Shah, Shaikh Mard, Pir Sultan Shah, and Pir Jholan Shah, and five daughters, Jal Pari, Mal Pari, Asman
Pari, Hur Pari and Sabz Pari. Of these, the tomb of Bholan Shāh exists at Jhōnawāl, in tahsil Garhshankar in Hoshiarpur. The other brothers and sisters are said to have become famous in other countries and died there. Another story is that Shāh Madār, who is referred to throughout the songs sung by the followers of Miān-Bibi, was a Shaikh of Rūm by name Badr-ud-Din. Being an adventurous man he migrated to India and took lodgings in the house of a person whose profession it was to amuse the king of that time with tricks. After his arrival in the house the host gained increasing favour from the king, which he thought was due to Shāh Madār’s spiritual influence. Shāh Madār was called Miās by the daughter of his host, and they were called by him in return Bibi. The girls became more and more attached to the Miān, and their belief in his supernatural powers grew stronger day by day. One day, it is said, the king, instigated by a minister who was jealous of the favour shown to the jester, ordered the latter to fight with a tiger. The jester, not being able to do this, asked the Miān’s aid, and he by a miracle caused a tiger to go into the king’s darbar, kill the jealous minister, and desist from doing further mischief at the bidding of the Miān’s host. This astonished the king and the people, who sought out the author of the miracle, but the Miān was not pleased with the exposure of his powers and desired to leave the capital. The girls insisted that the Miān should not leave them, but he could not be persuaded to remain. At last seeing that the girls were determined to live or die with him, the Miān and his virgin-companions disappeared underground. It is not known where and when this happened, but the general belief as to the origin of Miān-Bibi is as above described.

2. Another, and perhaps the most plausible story, is that Miān was a Shaikh by name Saddū of Delhi. He was well versed in medicine and pretended to have influence over evil spirits. He had a number of followers and maid-servants, the principal among whom were Miān Bholan Shāh, Miān Chanan, Miān Shāh Madār, Miān Maleri, Shāh Pari, Hur Pari, Mehr Pari, Nūr Pari, Usmān Pari, and Gungan Pari. These are not Indian names, but the addition of the distinctive word pari signifies the exquisite beauty of these female companions of the Miān. These pari were more commonly called Bibi, and the Shaikh was on account of his attachment to the women called Miān-Bibi. The party travelled through many lands and preached the wondrous powers of their head, the Miān, and the women, being credulous, believed in the spiritual powers of the Miān, held him in great respect, and kept his memory green after his death by playing Miān-Bibi in the manner explained later on. The Miān was extremely fond of women; he was shrewd enough to know that his pretensions would be readily believed by the weaker sex and worked exclusively among them, curing their diseases by his medical skill and attributing the success to his spiritual powers. It is said that the Miān was in possession of a lamp like the one Aladdīn of the Arabian Nights had, and that with the aid of this wand he could get any woman he liked. It is said that the king’s daughter fell in love with the Miān, and this being brought to the notice of the king, the Miān was killed and the lamp destroyed. His companions, fearing a similar fate, fled in different
Worship of Mián-Bibi.

directions, Bholan Sháh finding his last place of rest in Jhonawal, talasíl Garbhankar, and Mián Maleri at Malé Kushá. Shah Madar escaped to the Deccan and Mián Chanan to Afghanistan, where their tombs are still found. It is said that this happened after Akbar's time.

The worshippers of Mián-Bibi.

3. As above stated, the Mián and his wives were all Muhammadans, and their influence was at first confined to people of that creed. Gradually, as the time went on and communion between Hindus and Muhammadans became more general, the former followed the practices of the latter and vice versa. The principal followers are Bhtis, Sainis, and Miraís, but Rajputés and other classes of Hindus and Muhammadans are also found among them. In no case, however, does a male member propitiate the Mián-Bibi which is a deity of the female sex alone. It is also remarkable that in most cases it is the young women who worship Mián-Bibi, and as they become old they neglect it, although their regard for the deity is not diminished.

The method of Worship.

4. No fixed fair is held, nor is there any fixed time for the worship. Generally when the new harvest is gathered, and the people are at their best in point of wealth, a young woman who is a believer of the Mián-Bibi prepares herself for the worship. None but a woman in want of a child, or of a bride for her child, or for relief from some distress, follows this practice, her object being to invoke the assistance of Mián-Bibi in getting her wishes fulfilled. MiRÁI women (professional songstress) are called in with their instruments. The woman puts on a new dress, adorns herself as on her wedding day and sits in front of the Mirána. The latter sing songs in praise of the Mián, his manly beauty, and his devotion to the Bibis and their mutual love and attachment. While singing, the Mirána also play on their instruments which consist of small drums. The worshipping woman moves her hands wildly, nods her head, and as chorus grows, she becomes excited and almost frenzied. At this stage it is believed that she forgets all about herself and that her spirit mingles with the thoughts of the Mián, whom she personifies so long as the fit caused by the excitement lasts. Other women who have belief in the spiritual powers of the devotee come and offer grain and sweets, which the Mirana appropriate. After making their offerings they put questions as to coming events in their families. Such questions generally relate to family distress and wants, and the devotee, knowing full well the wants of her neighbours, answers them in ambiguous terms, on which the women putting the question place the best possible construction and prove the spiritual power of mind-reading displayed by the devotee. It is believed that the Mián answers the questions through the devotee and fulfills the desires of those believing in him. The women practising the Mián-Bibi devotional exercises in the above manner are distinguished by a silver tablet or piece hanging round their necks on which the Mián's picture is engraved and an amulet with the Bibi's picture on it.

[LALA DIXA NATH]
II.

Songs sung when Míán Bábí sways his head in an emotional trance.

A.—The Káfí.

1. A káfí of Míán Sháh Madád.

Khele zinda Sháh Madár
Main tón tán jindo,
Terá nír bhárá didár,
Terá maúla nád gárár
Khele zinda etc.

If the living (ever-living) Sháh Madár sways his head in an emotional trance or a hysterical woman falls into a trance, I shall live.

Thy (Sháh Madár's) countenance is beaming with the (heavenly) light and thou conversest with God.²

2. A káfí of Bullún Sháh.

Míán Bullún Sháh jawáni móne,
Karm karo tán maináin jáne,
Tarsá dítiáin lókh karedán,
Tere vàch darbár jî dús,
Amar máun ádán murádatán aíne.
Tarsá dítiáin etc.

May'6st thou, O Bullún Sháh, live long. If thou lookest kindly on my condition, thou wilt come and know of me. Thou hast blessed me with a myriad favours. He who appears before thee (lit., in thy darbár) attains his heart's desires.

3. A káfí of Pír Banna Bání.

Pír Banna ji maín árs karán tere áge,
Sub jítiá nún pâk jî
Karán vàt di dar na àge
Jáná ábár ún dús tán kará
Jot teri oh sahá lava
Pír banna.

To thee, O Pír Bannájí, I present my appeal. Thou purifiest all who have lost heart and this thou dost without the least delay. Thou drivest away (all) jinnás and evil-spirits who flee in fear of thy glory.³

4. (a) A káfí of Mínn

Móre peshwá Alá Bakhsh Peshwá—
Mábhád-i-Kábul Móhán Alá
Bakhsh Peshwá

Móre Sákhá-i-Aulí Alá Bakhsh
Peshwá

Dosti pâk karo mere Alá Bakhsh
Peshwá.

On thou my Leader! Thou Alá Bakhsh, Peshwá! Thou art beloved of God and art protected by his peace. Thou art protected by and beloved of God! Thou Alá Bakhsh, Peshwá! who art the best of saints! May'6st thou purify my soul.

The original is Tere moond nád gárár, which may be translated, ' thou reposest in peace in God'. 'Qarár means repose in peace.' But it is also explained to mean 'Tere káton shándi se kóté naíp', ' thou holdest conversation with God'.

² 'The original is Jot teri oh sahá lava, which is thus explained, wák tere jâte ko darnâdi daun jage jâte koí, meaning, 'they gradually hear thy glory.' But it is also explained to mean Tere jâne ko kásmudh daun jâte koí, which is the translation given above.'

³ Móhán is explained as Kándá ko amún ko máñsán, or 'protected by the peace of God'.
4 (b). Another kift of the same.

Māmūn Ala Bakhsh pān kā bhîrā
tāwān tere pās.
Je tūn kāpōn kā jōtā māngēn,
darai bulānān tere pās Je Māmūn Ala Bakhsh dūhā pēre
mujh se māngē,
Hatwāt ko bulāwān jhāl tere pās.
Jo Māmūn Ala Bakhsh pān bhîrā
māngē,
Main pāwātī ko bulāwān sauran tere pās.

5 (a). Another kift of Bullān Shāh (to whose tomb it is addressed).

Tān main ādān tere pîrā,
Dhe marudān tūn man ādān pîrā.
Teri châhār dinwâri variānsdât,
Teri qabar te jale ērātī pîrā.
Tān main ēt.
Khāst teri tâhān pîrā,
Tere bāgān bohān mor pîrā,
Teri châhār dinwâri khāst pîrā,
Tere kath teikh nādī pîrā.
Tān main ēt.

5 (b). Another kift of Bullān Shāh.

Bullān Shāh jamānt nāne,
Han bāhren tūn jānān,
Teriān lâh kârōn dētīān,
Māmūn fāzāl kârōn tū jānān.


Mānā kârōt sukh charān tākārān,
Mēri marudān parān pîrā.
Jo sukh ācē se phâl pūwā,
Ghaũs Nābī kē lūgē pîrā.
Mānā kârēt ētān.

7 (a). Another kift of Shāh Madār.

Shāh Madār mānī dīwāt dēkho,
Shāh Madār mānī dīwānī,
Pîrā tere āwān ā quādān,
Tūn tūn roshān doṭān jâdūmī.
Kalā bàkâr suâdī maṭā dēs shē-
hān mûhantī.
Shāh Madār mānī dīwānī, dēkho
Shāh Madār mānī dīwānī.

O Māmūn Ala Bakhsh! May
I bring to thee pān bhîrā. If
thou needest clothes, I will
call the tailor to thee. If thou
wisihest to have milk and pēra,
I will forthwith call the con-
fectioner to thee. If thou
desiresh pān, I will at once call
the pāwātī to thee.

To thee, O Pir! I will come if
thou givest me my heart's
desire. The four walls of thy
house are studded with pearls,
and lamps are lit on thy tomb.
The water of the well of thy
house is exceedingly cool and
peacocks sing in thy garden,
and thy enclosure walls are very
wide. Thou art owner (pro-
tector) of good and bad ac-
tions.

May'st thou, Bullān Shāh, ad-

cance in years. If thou art
kind to me and fulfillest my
desire, I shall know that thou
art a true saint. Thy favours
and boons are given in myriads.
I will have faith in thee if thou
dost kindness unto me.

O thou, who fillest my desire
I pray to thee on my knees.
He who cometh to thee with
a desire secures it and is be-
loved by Ghaus Nābī (a
saint).

See, O Shah Madār! I am mad with
love for thee, O saint! If thou
comest (to me), I will sacrifice
myself to thee: Thy name is
a light in this and the next
world. If thou comest, I will
offer a black goat and ½
maunds of flour for a feast to
the saint. See, O Shāh Madār!
I am mad with love of thee.
R.—THE THOUGHTS OF THE MÍÁN.

1. KHALIL : MÍÁN : rág Khált Ádiman.

Zinda Sháh Mardár,
Allah kíne ánúdá dethádá?
Mádar ní Márádár,
Níte gharé valá,
Sáth doukhádá valá,
Báyahán fanidá valá,
Kíne ánúdá dethádá.
Zinda Sháh Mardár.

Has anybody seen the living [ever-living] Sháh Mardár coming? Sháh Mardár has a blue horse to ride and a green shawl to wear. His retainers are very handsome. Has anybody seen him?

2. ANOTHER SONG : SAME rág.

Bárá banne láde ji merá bárá báne
lánná
Tárádá dená nákhi melá ji mány
Sarwar zamánu musahlí kárde dánu.
Tárádá dená etc.
Putání de kárán ládo sennan
mátádá,
Man dímé múyádá mere pir ne
nujádé,
Musáhí kár de ádná,
Tárádá dená.

Oh Míád! let the ship of my life sail to the end, i.e., let all my difficulties be removed. I have invoked thee in the time of my distress. Mayst thou remove my difficulties! O generous one, women worship thee for sons. I have attained my heart's desire by the grace of my Pir.

3. ANOTHER SONG : rág Bihóg tár tín.

Ká razaí mohár dí jí
Míráj, ji Miráj
Máy láín par bárá-sadd gí tilá
qurbán Miráj
Ká razaí mohár dí jí Miráj.

Be kind unto me, O Míránjí (another name of the Pir). I sacrifice myself to thee. Be thou kind unto me.

4. KHALIL II : Bihóg tár tín.

Mainun hál Miráj dá dásiý?
Mainun hál Miráj dá, etc.
Chár durráh shurámt valá wích
Miráj dá chakhdándá.
Mainun hál Miráj dá dásiý etc.

Tell me in what state is Míránjí? The four walls of Míránjí's house are shaded with rows of trees and he has a seat in the house. (This refrain is repeated.)

†Meaning the rág that the Mírá has heemmarred his body with the light of God. This song is sung at we liling when the flower-girl brings garlands of flowers.

‡A kéft is sung by faqirs with regard to the time of the day or night. A kéft must be sung at its proper time.

(1) Mirān ji has come! Shahji has come! Shah Madar has come! (These three names are identical.) The giver of desires, the bridegroom, the one devoid of care has come. His assembly is brilliant and a garland of flowers has been placed round his neck.

(2) Mirān ji has made me restless by the winking of his eyes. I sacrifice myself on thee, O Mirān ji! His head-dress is dishevelled and it is of saffron colour. He has playfully whispered something to me in a language half concealed. I devote myself for thee, Oh! Mirānji! there is meaning in his playful glance.

(3) Oh living (ever-living) Shah Madar! I have seen my Mirān coming. He is Madar! He is Madar! (my) deliverer.

(4) Oh Shah Madar! I am waiting for thee. Thy countenance is beaming with the light of God. Has anybody seen my Mirānji coming? (Here follows the refrain.)

6. KHAL KASHMA: RAG BHI.

(1) Oh my God! The Bhitān (i.e., Shah Pari and others), are free from care and all control. Oh my Shah Pari! Thy red-coloured dopatta (body-sheer) is wet. I am going to witness amusement in the garden of my beloved.

(2) Shah Pari, who is attired in a choti (petticoat) dyed with kasambara and who wears green glass bangles (churia) round her wrist, is swaying her head to and fro in a frenzy in the Darbar of Shah Madar.

Chanda bharda. When women have made vows to saints and their vows are fulfilled, they repair to the saint’s residence and sit there for a day and a night. This is called chanda bharda. The Bharda or priests of Shahi Sarwar derive their name from this rite.
The most remarkable fact about this cult of Mián-Bibi is that it has been so completely Muhammadanized, and it is suggested (I, 2 above) that this cult was introduced into India after Akbar’s time, i.e. after that ruler had attempted to found a new religion amalgamating all the creeds of his empire. On the other hand, it is clearly connected with the famous shrine of Shaikh Mālār, the founder of the Mālār Kotla State in the Punjab. There a similar cult exists, an account of which is given in the Gazetteer of that State. It might be imagined that the cult is a mere adaptation of a Hindu myth, but this is by no means certain, and it is quite possible that it is an importation of pure Muhammadan mysticism:—

Shaikh Sadr-ud-Dīn.—Shaikh Sadr-ud-Dīn, the founder of the Mālār Kotla ruling family, flourished during the reign of Sultan Bahīb Lodhī, who gave him his daughter in marriage in 1464. Commonly styled Hazrat Shaikh, Sadr-ud-Dīn, or Sadr Jahān, left Darabgan, his birth-place in Afgānīstān, and settled at Mālār on an old branch of the Sultān. An aged Muslīm woman, named Mālī, became his first follower and from her Mālār takes its name. From the princess are descended the keepers of the shrine while the Nawabs of Mālār Kotla are descended from a Rājāpūtrī whom the Shaikh also married. His shrine, surrounded by four walls believed to have been built by genii in one night, lies in Mālār. His fair, held on the first Thursday of every lunar month, is largely attended by Hindus and Muhammadans from the State as well as from distant places. Various offerings are made; such as horses, donkeys, cows, buffaloes, goats, fowls, clothes, money, grain of all kinds, food (especially sweet bread and that cooked in a frying pan) etc. Of these offerings the khalīfa, a descendant of the Shaikh, takes elephants, horses, donkeys, complete suits of clothes and roupas, while all other offerings are taken as of right by the majāmwar. People of all castes have great faith in Hazrat Shaikh. No marriage is considered blessed unless the bridegroom attend the shrine and salām to it immediately after donning the wedding wreath and before leaving for his bride’s home. Women believe that all worldly desires are fulfilled by the Shaikh. To gain any wish they vow to make a specified offering to the shrine; in case it is realised. They often perform the ceremony called ‘Hazrat Shaikh ki chaunk’. Sometimes they keep awake the whole night and employ a mirādān who sings songs, especially eulogies of the Shaikh, and sometimes play the chaunk in the day time. The woman who is to do this, bathes, puts on the best new clothes she can get and sits on the bare ground with other women round her. The mirādān beats her drum and sings the Shaikh’s praises. At first the woman sits silent with her head lowered and then begins to roll her head with hair dishevelled. Then the mirādān sings more vigorously, generally repeating over and over again the part of the song at which the woman showed the first signs of having fallen under the Shaikh’s influence. In a few moments the Shaikh expresses through the woman what he wants of her and what she must do for him and where. After this all the women round her question her and receive her responses. She then attends the

* Just as tradition says Adaan Paqīr married the King’s daughter.
shrine and offers something according to her promise. In Jeth and about the time of the Namami fair, on the Jeth sardi, the attendance at the fair of Hazrat Shaikh is very large, people of all creeds and ages and of both sexes being attracted to it from long distances.

A curious parallel to the cult of Mián-Bibi is afforded by that of Sindhu Br who, like the Mián, has three pairs of attendant goddesses, viz. Rāri and Brāri, Chāhri and Chhatriari, all worshipped in Chamba, and Andia and Sandha who are worshipped in the hills. The goddess Bhāmāni of Bairaur, in Chamba, is also associated with Sindhu. The cult of Mián-Bibi is probably of phallic origin, though such a theory cannot be definitely proved. The parallel afforded by Sindhu's pairs of wives is, however, too striking to be accidental. Sindhu is certainly a god of fertility adored by all the seven Bandspati Mothers, who are goddesses of vegetation. But he is also called Lord of metals, Lohān Pāl, of the earth, Bhāmi Pāl, and of chains, as Sanglīn Pāl. As the last-named he has with him always a chain and his votaries also keep one at their homes. Sindhu Br affects mountainous regions generally and is even said to be widely worshipped in Lāhul. He becomes enamoured of fair maidens and they dance with him. But he has small ears or none at all, and often carries a broom on his back. He wears a cotton girdle though the rest of his costume is like that of Gadddi or shepherd and when not whistling he makes the sound chhū chhū which shepherds use when grazing their sheep, resting or fatigued. Indeed he is also called Laknu Gadddu or Lakhna the Gaddi youth, with whom Gaddi maidens fall in love.1

A note on Baiat.

Baiat, bai, or 'sale' of self, denoting one should give up one's own desires and submit wholly to the will of him to whom one sells oneself. To make baiat implies faithful obedience as set forth in the Holy Qurān and the doctrines inculcated by the Prophet as well as by the acts of his Caliphs.

The baiat made at the hands of Prophets and the appointed ones of God is made solely with a view to attain to piety. God said to His Prophet Muhamma—

Those who pledge their faith to thee pledge it to God, the hand of God is over their hands—hence whoever shall break his oath will suffer for it and whoever shall perform what he covenanted with God to him. He will give a great reward.11

In the Chapter called mutabia (Examination or Trial) God addresses His Prophet thus—

O Prophet when believing women come unto thee and make baiat that they shall not confuse anyone with God, nor steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children, nor come with a calumny which they [the women] have forged in front of their hands and feet, nor be disobedient to thee in doing good things; take their pledge and pray to God to forgive their sins—God is prepared to forgive and is merciful.12

1 For a song to Sindhu Br see Indian Antiquity, 1909.
11 Verse 10—Chapter Fathah (Victory) of the Qurān.
It is mentioned in the Sāhiḥ Bokhārī in the conditions on which the Imām should accept a pledge that ʻIsnāf, son of Abū Olaīs, said that he had been told by Imām Mālik, who was told by Yahya, son of Sayd Anṣārī, who was told by Ibad, son of Walīd, who was told by his father, who in his turn was told by his father Saint Abādah that —

“We pledged our faith to the Prophet to bear his orders in prosperity and in suffering, to acknowledge the supremacy of him who should be fit for it and not to dispute with him—that we should adhere to what is right wherever we lived—that we should tell the truth and that in God’s path we should not fear the reproach of any persecutor. We were told by Abdūl, son of ʻYūsuf, who was told by Imām Mālik, who was told by Abdūl, son of Dīnār, who was told by Abdūl, son of Umar, that when we pledged our faith to the Prophet that we would obey his orders he said: ‘Say so far as may be possible.’”

Baiat should be made thus: —“If the one who makes it is a man he who accepts his pledge should take his hands in his own and recite the words pertaining to baiat and the other who makes the baiat should repeat them; after the repetition of the baiat the Imām, i.e., the receiver of the pledge, and those present should pray for the stability of the faith of the pledger. If the plighter of faith be a woman an oral pledge is taken from her—but her hand is not touched—as is described in the Sāhiḥ Bokhārī regarding Hazrat (holy) Aīsah that the Prophet received oral pledges from women in accordance with the muṣṭahihī. The Prophet’s hand touched no woman save his own wives. But nowadays some receive the pledge from a woman by holding a cloth which is also held by her.

LEGEND OF DÛLLĀ BHÂTTI.

ARGUMENT.

Dūllā or Dùllā, son of Farīd Khān, is a Bhaṭṭī Rājput of the Sandal Bâr or Sandalwâl. He goes to Nâima Bâs village to enjoy the plîṣ festival in the Holi and during his absence Jalâl-ud-Dîn, his uncle, goes to Akbâr, the Mughal emperor, to inform him that Dùllâ is a highwayman. The emperor deputes Mîrza Alâ-ud-Dîn and Zîây-ud-Dîn to seize Dùllâ. Alâ-ud-Dîn goes to the Sandalwâl with 12,000 men Nûrânâ, Dùllâ’s wife, dreams that her golden bedstead is broken and interprets this omen to mean that Dùllâ’s misdeeds will end in disaster. But her mother-in-law boasts of Dùllâ’s strength. A Dogar woman announces that during Dùllâ’s absence the imperial troops are advancing to the attack. She borrows the five garments of Dùllâ’s wife and goes among the soldiery hawking curds. Alâ-ud-Dîn wants to buy some and puts his finger into the jar to taste the curds, whereupon the Dogar grips his arm with such strength that he cannot make her let go. The Mîrza, in admiration of her physique, offers to make her his chief wife—he has 360 already—and mounts her on his horse. On the road she borrows his sword, on the pretence that she will chase deer, and plunges it into his heart. She carries off his five garments to Dùllâ’s mother. Zîây-ud-Dîn, the murdered Mîrza’s brother, hearing of his death lays waste the Sandalwâl. Nûrâ, Dùllâ’s son,
rejecting his teacher's advice to flee, demands his father's sword from his grandmother. Ignoring his mother's entreaty that he will save himself he takes the sword and kills 25 of his opponents, but his sword breaking he is captured, and all his relatives with him. His younger sister begs Jalal-ud-Din to effect her release, but he basely refuses. Dállá's wife now sends a mürdä with a letter to Dállá imploring aid. Dállá immediately attacks the Imperial troops and rescues his son, with the others. He is about to put Ziá-ud-Din to death when his mother intercedes, saying he will dishonour her by the murder, but, disregarding her prayers, Dállá smites the Mirza on the mouth and knocks out his teeth.

The following songs and ballads are inserted here for the sake of the light, which they cast on Punjab ways of thought and the relations which exist between the various creeds and castes. The Tale of Mirza and Sáhibán is peculiarly rich in omen:

QISSA DÁLLÁ BHAŚTY BÁISPÁT SÁHIB SÁHIB SÁDÁN SÁJÁHÁNT SÁNDAHLÁND, YN SÁDÁN BÁR JANGAL, MÁNTÁLAGA ZÁLTA MÓNCTAMÉR.
Akbar Sháh báadh há ke jamán mé Dállá BhaŚtý Báispáth há.
Lájé nám Rábá há, kárde na bétá pár.

QISSA.

1. Chándá ki bairé bádhá, machhál há bairé jál:
Bándá ki baírán mánt hai, nekí ke din char.
2. Múrdu nás badáon lhláh, lohá nás níte lícá:
Múrdu nás dhúpán likhá, nírá na kíte ghádá.
3. Sukh se suy se jí par supá dýál ráj,
Sowarám palang márítá, táhá chhóór saí.
4. Mítáka ki bindá bhá parí, mór né bál khágá né tát,
Chárá pháçá háth dánt bá, phám ká tátá cíháy.
5. Ghóré kíwá thunáhí, kárde máro mór,
Kí Dállá tórá gírá má, lutjá Saudáhlád :
6. "Sás ! Yíh bádyóga háí mór buri !"

JAWÁB LÁDHÍN WĀLÍN DÝÁLÁ AX BÁRH :—

Gídá ne jíyá pánch sáí, máy shíhí ne jéyá ak ;
8. Jit méra Shér kharóktá kárá máro már !
Faujá báádshááhá háágyá, murka ná leót sáú !"

BÁRH SÁÁ AX KÁRTÁ HÁI :—


Lt., the horizontal piece, etch, not the legs. The breaking of a bed is always regarded as a disastrous omen, and the overturning of a bed under a sleeping man is a favourite way of manifesting divine or saintly displeasure against him.
11. Bhr puri men bhagjd, hamko n leja saith.
   Ai sds ri. Ta bar+la p+v ko, baday+ho+ja bari;"

   KALAM DOGARI: AZ WAIHA DULLA:

12. Bole Musto Dogari: "Suno, Laaddh b+th!
   Pרךho l+h de kapre, sol+a lade singdr.

13. Pசчho pahne kapre, bhblur'e sol+a singdr.
   Sir hah ma+th dadd ki, dve laskar darmiydn.

14. Dahr dahi paskhd laskhar ho darmiydn:
   Dahr mngi Mirza 'Ald-ud-din: "Ma'n+nd thora dahl de chakh'ete!"

15. Bhalke ngl+ chalh de pah*nchh+ yakrd jad,e.
   "Gud budjh, gu dhurh ky d+re? Sidh+ bali b+th!

16. "Mahiy+n l(pera khanchh, ter+ battle jhar jisng+ dnt:
   Dahr naha Dull+ R+jp+ut kh. Tor+ laskar dau lu+udr'e.

17. Bhal ch+ha, jera u+thd le, nahd+ laskhar d+n lu+udrd'e.
   Bole Mirza: "Ky+ kahe? Suno, Musto, b+th!

18. Us Dull+ ko ky+ d+re? sung ham+ro chal,
   Begam+i t+i sam sa+b, ab+ ki har+n sidr.

19. Sone me+ kard+ chamak+h, sung ham+ro chal.
   Mth+ chakhi phrd+e, charhke ghore pur.

20. Pakar btgh b+thldr, par+ Dhl+ ke r+n.
   Dkh srrt+ ko ro puri, Mirza b+hre f+wd+b.

21. Je kadrd mere dth de, mrgnd ho kdr+nd +d.
   Sht+ kdhdr Dog+ri ne b+hld+ Mirza ke ktl+ mnh.

22. Pach+on l+he kapre, pach+on l+he hath+jdr:
   Ghr+ jrd le+ld, dve Sandalwd.

23. Ghrd+ ldd+ hdn+ su, Laadd+ se krt sal+d:
   'Ibdr+at. Mirza 'Ald-ud-din j+b mrgnd+ , to bh+il Mirza Zuh-ud-din
   ne s+d, to voh Sandalwd ko ldt+ nlgd.

24. Dnm our Bhr l+i+y dete k+bir sund'e.
   Khd+ khanhrt l+i+y, lu+yd nld ha+wd.

25. Dlle k+d oh+h+h l+i+y, lu+yd nld ha+wld,
   Maul+ kald+ l+i+y, dende phl shardb.

   Jd b+te, bhgjd, nah+n pur+ jdh b+hld+ k+ qu+ld."

27. Je, Qst+ , m+h bhjd+dn, ktl+ ko dve l+dj.
   Chl+h N+d d+n+d dve mhl+dn ko ktn;

28. Hth bnd+d hr+ne bnt, d+il, s+h+l mrd +d sldm.
   Mnh+ k+d m+h khanjd +nd+ pah*nchh+ jn+n darmiydn.

29. Bole Laddh: "Ky+ kahe? Suno, b+te, b+th!
   Jd, b+te mdr, bhgjd, nah+n pur+j b+hld+ k+ qu+ld."

30. "Jo, da+il, m+h bhgjd+dn, mdr ktl+ ko dve l+dj"
   M+h se s+te msk, dve dht+h+ k+ bdr.
31. Pachchis jawāni ko bājā karte Mughal Paṭhan, 
Amar se khungrā tidāyā, lohe ne dekhā ārē.
32. Sir se chirā tāre dā'ī mukhān kān bānāth, 
Nārā purgāy qāid mēn, purgāy bādshāh kē qāid.
33. Nūramā Phulamā bānd hogaī, purgāyā bādshāh kē qāid; 
Mātā Laddāh bāndhāgaya, purgāyā bādshāh kē qāid.
34. Phāppā Phā Samāsh bāndhāgaya, purgāyā bādshāh kē qāid; 
Bēṭ Salēmo bāndhāgaya, mēn kahī jīnā?
35. Bole Salēmo: "Kya kaha? Sunle, dādā Jālā Din, bāt! 
Bānā kāra kāhārd, kānghī āṭhman gīr."
36. "Bādshāh kē qāid meu tum parī, pottī, mere gī kē bāth chārāgh " 
"Dādā, tuṭhā Rājpūt kē nāhna kāi, kēī bānā kē jām."
37. "Jo hīn mukhā dāngalī, dāngal kāthī kahā kē nā? " 
(Lājīne nām Rab kē, kāhrēd bēd pār?)
38. Bole Nūrame: "Kya kaha? Sunle, mērdē, bāt! 
Le pārānā pahūnchā, jāya Nainā bād."
Le pārānā mērdē ne jē dē Dāllā ke hāth.
40. Bole Dāllā: "Kya kaha? Sunle, jawānā, bāt! 
Jhāṭ jhāṭ kāthī purgātī, bānāghāt sona ke sūn."
41. De dohāgī pānī dāwā lāsskā dārmīya. 
Lāsskā bājā mēṛī kartē mādro mār.
42. Fāmīa Shāh kē bhādghān, bādghī Mughal Paṭhan. 
Bole Nāre: "Kya kaha? Sunle, mērdē, mērī bāt!
43. Zāra mūshān kholō, dākhī Nārē ke hāth. 
Jhāṭ jhāṭ mūshānā kholgyā, hōīt kē kā dāwāsā mārā.
44. Lāsskā bājā mēṛī, kartē mādro mār. 
Challē Ziyā-uldīn uṭād dēw Laddāh ke pās:
45. Bēṭā karke bāehtē, mauj hāngī dēmangī! 
Tānā mēn Dāllā pahunghyā, dēw uṭād ke pās:
46. "Rān kē chā bāehtē, Mātā, sāch bāṭā! " 
"Bēṭā rān kē chā bāehtē - pahunghā Dēkā dēmārīyān."
47. Bole Mīrā: "Kya kaha? Sunle, mēṛī, bāt! 
Bēṭā karke bāehtē terdī hāngī dēmangī."
48. Bole Laddāh: "Sun, bēṭā Dāllā, bāt! 
Jo tā nēko mārta, mērī battle āḥdrī hardā."
49. Mērdē lepā rēkā dekhō Mīrā ke battle jhargāyē āṭhāt.

Mīrī Tālmār.

Dūllā Rājpūt bēṭā Parīd Kān nāhmēsā Sāndālāwāl kā thā. 
Mauza Nainā Bās mēn Hāṭ kē pāhō ākmē thā. Bādā nākē 
Jānē ke uke sādēkā Jālāl! An Aṅkār bādshāhī Dēkā kē pās 
ajān kē fāyādī kārī kē Dūllā mūsāfārōn kē jēī leī hāī. Bādshāhī ne 
Mīrā 'Aīā-uldīn wā Zāī-ulānā kē bēcē jē Dūllā kē pākār lāo.
The Legend of Dúllá Bhāstä.

In the time of the emperor Akbar there lived one Dúllá, a Bhatti Rājpūt. Take the name of the Lord, He will grant victory. 1

Literally, will bear the boat across.
1. The cloud is the enemy of the moon, and the net of the fish:
   Man's enemy is death, and his days of doing good but a few (lit. four).
2. Trouble is the lot of Man, and often is the iron plunged into the fire:
   The sun is the lot of the deer, and wounds are a hero's lot.

Song:

Dúllá's wife:

3. "I was asleep on my bed at ease, when last night I had a dream;
   My golden bed creaked and its four legs broke.
4. My frontlet fell to the ground and my nose-ring twisted badly,
   My ivory wristlets broke, and my wedded happiness turned to sadness.
5. The horse came galloping rapidly;
   Dúllá has been captured, and the Sandal Bár been raided! (She moralises on her dream:—)
6. Oh mother-in-law! These deeds (of Dúllá) are indeed evil.”
   Reply of Dullá's mother, Laddhí, to her daughter-in-law:—
   The jackal had a litter of five or seven, I, the lioness, brought forth one only.”
8. When my lion rears, he shouts: 'Kill! kill!'
   The king's forces flee and do not turn to take breath.
   The daughter-in-law says to her mother-in-law:—
9. Said Núramde: "What sayest thou, listen, mother-in-law,
   Why dost thou boast of a robber's and a liar's deeds?
10. May no one bear a son like Dúllá:
    By night he holds a dance of courtesans, by day he hunts (i.e., he robs).
11. In trouble he flees away and takes not us with him,
    O good mother, admonish thy son, his deeds are indeed evil." 3
   The Dogar's wife speaks:—
12. Said Masto Dogari: "listen, Laddhí, to me, Bring the five robes and sixteen ornaments."

1 Literally, nine times.
2 This is part of the dream.
3 Cf. verse 5 above.
13. She put on the five robes and bedecked herself with the sixteen ornaments. 
Putting a pot of milk on her head she went in among the troops.

14. She hawked her curds among the troops.
Mirza Alá-ud-Din asked for a curd, he said "give me a little to taste!"

15. Taking it up with his fingers he tasted it. She grasped his arm and said:
Why dost thou talk nonsense? Talk plain sense.

16. I will buffet you, and all your thirty-two teeth will fall out:
Hast thou not seen Dúllá Rájput,

17. If you wish for your own good, strike your camp, else I will have it plundered.
Said the Mirza, What sayest thou? Hearken Master!

18. What wilt thou do with thy Dúllá? Come with me.
I have three hundred and sixty ladies, of all will I make thee queen (mistress).

19. I will make thee glitter with gold. Come with me.
Break the jar, and mount my steed.

20. Grasping her arm he placed her in the saddle, and took the Delhi road.
Looking in his face she felt a weeping and the Mirza inquired the cause.

(The Dogri replied)—

21. "If thou wilt give me your dagger, I will go and kill deer."
Drawing the dagger she, the Dogri, thrust it into the Mirza's heart.

22. She took the five robes and the five weapons.
Taking his horse and his garments she came to Sandalwál.

23. She tethered the horse in the stable and greeted Laddhi.
When Mirza Alá-ud-Din had been killed his brother Mirza Zúá-ud-Din heard of it. He began to ravage the Sandal Bár:

Verses.

24. He plundered the Dúm and the Bhát; they chanted verses.
He plundered the chief prostitutes, goods and chattels.

25. He plundered Dúllá's uncle of his goods and chattels.
He plundered Mánlú the vintner who sold the wine.

26. The Mián said to Núrá¹: listen to me:
"Fly hence or the King will cast you into the prison."

¹ Dúllá's son.
27. O Qázi, if I see dishonour will fall on my family.
Núrā went to his palace.
28. "With joined hands, grandmother, I beseech thee sevenfold
greeting to all.
Give me my Lord's sword: I will go among the forces."
29. Laddhi said:—"What sayest thou? Hearken, my son!
Flee or the royal prison awaits thee."
30. Grandmother, if I fly, disgrace will befall my kin.
He drew the sword from its scabbard, and came out of the
porch.
31. He slew outright twenty-five of the Mughal Páthán youth.
By fate's decree his sword broke and the steel betrayed him.
32. Taking the turban from his head they bound his hands behind
him.
Thus was Núrā taken, taken and cast into the imperial prison.
33. Núramade and Phulamde were taken captive and cast into
the imperial prison.
The mother Laddhi was taken, and cast into the prison.
34. Shamash, the aunt of Dállá, was taken, and cast into the prison.
Salemo, his daughter, was taken, calling on her father.
35. Said Salemo:—"Listen grandfather Jalál-ud-Din
Release me as a slave girl, or I will seize thy skirt!"
36. "Thou hast fallen into the imperial prison. I will fill my
lamp with ghāt."
"Grandfather, thou art of no Rájpút stock, but the son of a
slave-girl."
37. "If I return alive, I will have thee flayed."
Repeat the Lord's name for He will take the boat across.
38. Said Núramde:—Listen mirdāf,
Take this letter to Nainabás.
39. If thou desirest to attack, then attack quickly, Sandalwál has
been plundered.
The mirdāf took his letter and gave it into Dállá's hand.

* Wives of Dállá.
* In the next world. A better translation appears to be—Thou hast not me imprisoned
at last, but at the Day of Judgment I will seize thy skirt; i.e. 'acuse thee of this wrong.'
Salemo knows Jalál-ud-Din to be the cause of her distress, but will not stop to implore his
mercy.
* In sign of rejoicing.
* Spoken by the poet.


40. Dúllá said 'Listen, comrades!' And in a moment the saddles were on, with the gold laced saddle cloths.
41. On both sides they attacked and came into action. Swords rang in the field, and (Dúllá's men) slew right and left.
42. The King's forces fled, fled the Mughal and Pathán. Said Núra:—"Listen father, to my words!"
43. Loose my bonds a little and see Núra's deeds." Speedily his bonds were loosened, and he mounted a mare.
44. Swords rang in the field and (Dúllá and his men) slew right and left. Zíá-ud-Din came on foot to Laddhi:—
45. "Save me as if I were thy son I will cling to thy skirt (hereafter)."
Meanwhile Dúllá came up and drew near his mother:—
46. "Point out to me the thief of the field; mother tell me truly. My son the chief of the field has fled and reached Delhi."
47. Said the Mirza: "Mother hear me! Save me as thy son or I will seize thy skirt."
48. Said Laddhi—Listen Dúllá, my son If you slay him you will defile my thirty-two streams of milk.
49. He gave the Mirza a buffet which knocked out his thirty-two teeth.

THE STORY OF DAYÁ RAM THE GUJAR, BY KALA JOGLI OF KHAUDA IN THE AMBÁLA DISTRICT.


²Bigar, for baghoër.
The story of Dayā Rām Gujar.

Chōd Pānepat kē lāde, surma Panjāb kē lāde.
Jīdā Pāshāwar kē lāde.

Jīna Dayā Rām dādhrāī, sohā nārát pata, j sku.
Bāt Gujarī motī māge, chhāhte he dīghī,
Bātī Gujarī nī dī dē, māna mālā dīrī nī—
"Sankā marī motī māge, Dayā kahān mārdījāgā
Gāwari sănnī kēpājī, 
Le, le māre ro mānagā,
Motī kī par pahādeī."

Jīna Dayā Rām dādhrāī, sohā nārát pata, j sku.
"Na mātā marī nīr nīr ro ro, na jhūra man mēn,
Ab he phore yā kārīāgī, Dayā jannān nāā, 
Moā kē to seįkā na kārīāgī, ramāndā kē seįkī kārīāgī,
Ran mēn bānte ko pāo, Gāwari kē seįk kārīāgī." 
Jīna Dayā Rām etc.

"Lā Gujarī, mare pānchān bāpe, lā mare pānchān kathīār.
Thān sa lā marī Laālī ghōri, maiā he chālān amāō,
Dūā ko jākā gherā ko dūā tājīē stūche motī,
Gujārī tājīē ān pahādādā." 

"Sādān mare jāhā rahīē!
Amī kē lā phēlī rahīē
Urīā te rē dhanār sīmāndā,
Dūā kē kāy ko jīā ā?
Nēi terī sung chāleágī,
Bālī kahāddē ko jēē ā?
Jīna Dayā Rām etc.

Ohēkē Dayā ne ghaō jāē pērī shaīrī ko jīāē sāng,
Yē Gujar kēhā mārdījāēgī, yē mahēgā jāng.
Jīna Dayā Rām etc.

Orā barje,* Dhore barje, barje sāb parādā,
Gīlājārī kē rāndī barje, * sat ādā āiā ārā,
Sawālīī tērī barje, ran man tērī betā barje,
Bābā ā bind na jhōyō kātā kēhā mūnāgē.
Jīna Dayā Rām etc.

Akkī Dayā, tērī mādā ko plāē,
Bhuūnī bānī kāmān
Akkī sōhān yābū Dayā rēp ālā Kārēā,
Mūnchāddā tērī bal kēhā rahāē.
Jīna Dayā Rām etc.

Pun saā ghorī akhe, Dayā ne rāstā gherājāē,
Shāh Dēlī ālā chāē, Mirājārī kē jāēī.
Dayā ne rāstā gherī.

1 Sēkā = sorrow, mourning.
2 Ramāndā = one who dies on the field of battle.
3 Amī = water of life, meātā.
4 Barjād = restrain.
5 Bābā = husband.
The story of Dayā Rām Gujar.

The story of Dayā Rām Gujar.

Bring me strings of pearls, I would wear real pearls.
On pearls have I set my heart, without pearls I cannot live."

*Long live Dayā Rām,*

*Let me immaculate myself for the beauty of thy face!*

"Thus the Gújarī mocked at thee, and the arrow hit the mark!*

Either bring me real pearls, or turn beggar,

Bring me a shawl from Gujrost and a gown from Mīrān,

Bring me sóla from Sángāner, and a comb from Karnāl.

Bring me toothpowder from Delhi, and henna from Nārnaul.

Ivory bangles from Pānīpat, antimony from the Punjab,

*And shoes from Peshāwar."

*Long live Dayā Rām etc.*

The Gújarī elder wife demanded pearls and his second wife was vexed.

In tears she went to her mother-in-law, her eyes shed tears.

"My co-wife is demanding pearls, and Dayā will be ruined.

The village will be ruined.

Our sons will perish.

On whom wilt thou put pearls?"

*Long live Dayā Rām etc.*

"Do not weep, mother, do not repent and consider.

That Dayā was never born.

Mourn not my death, but worship me as I die on the field of battle.

Send me to the battlefield, and rule my little village."

*Long live Dayā Rām etc.*

"Bring Gújarī, my five garments, and my five weapons.

From her stable bring Iaulī, my mare, I will mount her and away.

I will lay in wait for a palanquin, and bring real pearls,

My Gújarī, for thee to wear."

"May Heaven prolong my husband's life!"

Long may he drink the water of life.

The soul is to quit this body.

What can be taken away from this world?

Good deeds will go along with thee,

With the king will go ill deeds."

*Long live Dayā Rām etc.*

He saddled the mare while sneezing, and the girth broke as soon as he mounted.

Either the Gújar will perish somewhere or a battle will begin.

*Long live Dayā Rām etc.*

BBBB
The story of Dayá Ram Gujrat.

Auru, Dhaura and the whole family restrained him. The courtesan of Ujjásapur dissuaded him, saying, 'don't go, my beloved.'

Sandal, thy daughter, dissuaded thee, and to the battlefield thy son—would not have thee go.

Without my father, we will not live, we will die by the dagger.

Long live Dayá Ram etc.

His eyes are cups of wine,

His eyebrows are like a bow,

A fine and handsome lad is Dayá, to whom the Creator gave beauty.

Thy moustachios are twisted.

Long live Dayá Ram etc.

Urging on 500 horse Dayá stopped the highway,

From Delhi city went the palanquin, on its way to Miránpur,

Dayá stopped the way.

Long live Dayá Ram etc.

When Naubat Khán, Governor, said:—"Listen, my men,

Where is Dayá, tell me,

I will cut off his head, and never let him go alive."

Dayá Ram went and bowed.

Naubat Khán hurled a spear,

But Dayá Ram dodged it.

Dayá was preserved by God.

Long live Dayá Ram etc.

In the palanquin a lady spake;—"Listen, Dayá this palanquin belongs to a friend of thine, let it pass.

I will see that justice is done thee, and have a village bestowed on thee."

Long live Dayá Ram etc.

I will not rob thy treasure, or thy fire-arms,

Tell me, lady, what things are in your coffer,

Tell me, where are the real pearls?

For pearls I came in search,

My Gujri yearns for pearls.

Long live Dayá Ram etc.

The baker's loaves were looted and the betel leaf-seller's betel leaves,

A tankala (female betel leaf-seller) was looted who was so beautiful that one would not care to part with a hundred and thousand takas for her sake.

Her locks were curled.

Long live Dayá Ram etc.

He plundered three strings of pearls,

A shawl of Gujrat,
A gown of Multán,
Sâlâ from Sângâner,
A comb from Karnâl,
Bangles from Pânipat.

Long live Dayâ Râm etc.

He stole real pearls and brought them home, and asked Gújâri to wear the pearls with pleasure.

And his Gújâri adorned herself:

"Long may my consort live,
Long may he drink the water of life,
Thy soul is to fly away,
What can be taken from this world?
Good deeds will go along with thee,
With the king deeds evil."

Long live Dayâ Ram, etc.

KISSA MIRZA AUR SÁHIBÁN KÁ.

Pîrâ dê Vîr Mahâ-nû dôn, ghasaâna dê Qâb Pârâî,
Zidrat châlîdâ pîr dê, râhîa ghat wohîr!
Bolan khamere khamrida, jahan faisîr Pârâî,
Nangdî dûndâ koyre, bhiwâ khojîn kheî!
As kîr dawân mangî, Dîñkî chhîkîn Kashmîr,
As pîjshud jumal dê, mîrî Shâhâ Shâhâvîl pîr.
Charhâ Mirza Khân nû mâdî, waltî de khari:

"Jis ghar hoe dostî, us nã jago gali,
Tapun kashâte tel de sîr rich âldî talî.
Supne undar mûrgo, terî sûrât khîk valî.
Charp de Mirza Khân nî, Wanjal dê dundâ mat:

"San farzandî merid lujj dî bannîs pag!
Ramhân Bhattânu dê dostî, khûri jînhân dê mat!
Ape lâman ydroy, âpe dundîyan dâs!
Pare bijlâni bâîshê, mavât nã karyo hat!
Lathi hath nâh dundî dânishmandâ dî pat!
Bhâg ne wâgdo phûrtîydy. Ghat Allah dê kór:

"Suni: wîrá Mirzâ merd! Bah he kâj swârd!
Ek jânî, ek mânî, ek tere wâkhân hîr!
Hathi dardâ bithân, tâst jhûlên dîsbîr!
Kâj wahînî main ghûrdî: mainû ki kâmde nûl?
Kô! wâhînî koî ghorûdy, dastîdî dê dîtî balâr!
Aî dê wâr tuld jad, wîg pîchhân bhmîd.

Jawâd Mirzâ kî pûmpî:

"Suttî supnâ sohôd, supnâ huret balâd!
Bhîd jhîdî kheîdî, Mûghân kûthâ dê!
Kalî jehê dûmîl lagnî, bîrînân aî!"

1 Wanjal, Mirza's fat hor.
A version of Mirza and Sáhibán.

Siroś mândre ghâi pâyâ, mâhâî ghâd karihâye !
Aj kâ wdr jâld jê, wâg pichhâh bhuwâ !
Bej Hârat Allâ de, Hasan Hussain bûrâ !
Lordô nâl Yâhûdîwâ, bûrâ bhuwâ jângdâye.
Hônî nà miîe paighambardô, tûn bîi manîn rûsâye.

Yâh gâ lârre Mirza chalagnâd, rûstâ móy ek nâî so mild, us so pûncchâd ! Tere pâs kî hâtî ? Usôe kâhâ !— Mere pâs pîdîri suhâdy suûrâd dê hâtî. Mirza no pîdîri kohî, apûi bakkî nà châbûkh mûdrâ, laj Bakkî nà jawdâ dûtîd !—

Jawdâ Bakkî bôd.

'Mainûn mâdrâ korâ, jadû nû lajîy lôj !
Main hárâ dê bhân Padmaî, utrî tainûn dôj !
Mori qadar na pêyo dêkha, haisen ji tûn nibhèy !'


Changi bhalî ghalîgî, açoî modhe laggy !
Kies ghâtî gaj mâdrâ gûyâ kâlûja chat ?
Sâhibân ghalî ti nûq gûyî-pûsdrî dê hût.
Pûdr kôn nôt tûlî, jin tûlî tên bûf.
Mirza kûllûn jhûlîgy, mûhûn chârdrî jûye.
Hatôr gold deko, Sâhibân lâûûîjûye.
'Je tê bhûkha dûh dê deyên, dûh piyîd.'
'Maih bhûkha nûhîn dûh kô, dûhkôn bhûkhd nôt je.
Bhûkd tere iûk dê, khal tûnî gal lô !
Okaîgy Dândûdd nûn : jeîhî kere Khûlû !

Kalâm Sâhibân.

'Kâbl bûry râyâi, chalâon âûrît tor.
Je nûhîn sî ghar bûp de, mûng lûwos hût.
Ghôtre wîr Shâmîr le sabhâ rûtâb hûtôr,
Khdûkd khanû nûhîrya, türde sùmuñ tâkor !
Dhanûyên jân na dênge, âûlûñiydâ de chûr !'

Jawdô Mirza.

'Bakkî wêkh na dukbî, jhûre chût nôt pûd !
Udû jeî pûkheûûd, têdi kann bûldy.
Bakkî nûn rûvûn fârishtê, mâinû roye Khûlû !

* Brother of Sâhibân
A version of Mirza and Sâhibân.

Ochâr mert bel te, Kâhâ sîl wîlâyâl !
Le châlém Dâmâvâdâ uâ, tâinâ tattî na lâge uâ !

Lîg kâhê hâtî.

Askek ratte akkîâ, kâhê ratte tel !
Jânî munûtî râhgâyâ, bûhâ baîtîâ mel !
Thâtî bâûd râhgâyâ, kûppî tel phûlî !
Hâmâr sâm pîdrîdâ, gahî sâm hâmâlî !
Sâhibân mâre râgâyâ, ghat Bakî di baît !

Munâmîf kâhid hât.

Jânâ, hâtî, mân, bûrydâ, bûrî jhâll ghâne,
Sâmîk janj de nikle, sûrî rât bhane.
Tângû malle mante de, khallân sâmîk dûsîr, e
Hûn, bigâmî máthâ bârî bîgol mûndî ?

Jâmdé Summa Mâhî.

Sunnâm mîhî kâkîyâ, shang sîyala dî hûr, Kâhênte bûrî hât uâ, taut uâ mûtyâr, Ujâr malle pîyâtâ, dûndî malle awâd !
Sâmîk Mirza mûndî, hûkhe kauî hâtî !

Jâmdé Mirza.

Panne sâmî kâllî, panje thâddî de jand Gut kîyâ gûnyâ, wêh mân gayîn de au.
Daît dâît mûgâyâ sâmîn, bûrî pûkân shorang Maît wâkîyâ mân sînâd dî, lâmgya panj naud Mâdî mûth Dâmâvâdî uâî dîtî, sîyâlaî uâ kand !

Jâmdé Khâda Jogyâ, T

Ishâmî Kalle pûkârât, jî Sûmâr senî,
Jûndî wâr de main dîtîlî, ek Bakî, dî jî !
Kanî mînde sû rûshîyâ, kisî bhali di dî,
Uâmî mûth tum palûlûsh gûyî, vâ lûñ na lûñ !
Jâmâ de marjâwâna, munto ārâm dî ?

Jâmdé Sâhibân.

Uth Mirza muttiyâ ! Kei dô uawâr !
Thâtîsh sâm roûngî, sardî ' mûro mût !
Shôm dûhâm dû pûn, shôm mûr chîlî,
Uth ! Bakî te chârî bâhîsî ! Wurtî Dâmâwâd !

Jâmdé Mirza.

Enche dîde shamyr re sâmîk bûhî gûnî,
Bûhîyâ bûhî na jûgû, pûnûs bûhî na mûn !
Wêh jandêre ki chhatî, shômî sî dî chûn
Pûk dûhâmî bûshiyî, jog sîch rûshîyî uâ.

1Hammâm, a pocket furânî, worn in token of pilgrimage, in a gold embroidered crimson velvet or red morocco case slung by red silk cords over the left shoulder. Burton's Al-Madîna, I, pp. 142, 239.
A version of Mirza and Sáhibán.

Jawád Sáhibán.

Katte mír Shamír do, khapati én xáte !
Lamb jawán mavke (khán !) hatté van charhe !
Gal wích päthè maunt de (wahyán) do phoä !
Jo nán xángán ahthián, pabhí pay gssé !
Khari ne hàns lujá leya, lujá khab reë !

Jawád Mirzá.

Mándá-kháát, Sáhibán ! Turkash tangí jau !
Sau såth kán trán di diyen sìthawánd !
Pahle Khán Shamír ná, duye kallo de tang !
Uje márù us ná, ridhi pahlí tá mung !
Chauthá wích asán do jhar, jhar payen patyús !
Talúrún jhurn, qhotayá, tân dé pìgí dán !
Síron núdásí lehgyú, nangí ko quti jhán !
Kállá Mirzá máríá, mafth ná bháyí bánd !
Je bháyí houn de jyna jaye Siyálkó na wáñ !

Translation.

Saint of all saints is Muht-ud-Dín and the axis of all devotees is Faríd!

On a pilgrimage to this saint would I go ! O guide put me on the way !

The doves male and female coo the name of Faqir Faríd

Who giveth clothes to the naked and feedeth on rice and milk the hungry !

Full of hope come the needy, from Delhi and Kashmir,

And the desires of all are fulfilled by my Shaikh, Baháwal Pir.

By Mirza Khán as he was mounting to set forth, his mother stood and advised him :

' Enter not the street wherein dwells your sweetheart,
I saw cauldrons of heated oil whenoes arose fiery flames.
I dreamt Thou hadst been slain and thy body mingled with dust.'

To Mirza Khán, as he was mounting to set forth, Wanjal gave counsel :

' Heark O my son ! Bind fast the turban of honour !
Vain is the friendship of women and dancers, for they are rotten !
They themselves make friendships, which they themselves betray.
Sitting in a stranger's company, speak ill of no man !
Even when they have lost honour cannot regain it.
His sister too seized his reins and bade him trust in God :-

' Hearken, Mirza, my brother ! stay and set thy affairs a-right !

On the one hand are the wedding party and its attendants, on the other the lookers-on !
The elephant moves in Winter, but only the racer is found at Court!
Listlessly I wander about, for what have I do with them?
So many milch-buffaloes, so many mares and strings of camels!
Let but this day go by! Turn Thy steed again!
The reply of Mirza's father's sister:-
'Whilst I slept I dreamed a dream—a fearful dream!
That while a buffalo-calf was lowing the Mughals came and slaughtered it!
A dark-browed songstress stood beside the porch!
The lofty towers fell down, and the palace crushed in rain!
Let but this day go by! Turn thy steed again!
Sons of Hazrat Ali were the brothers Hasan and Hussain,
Fighting with the Jews they fought many battles
Even the Prophets escaped not what was doomed to pass, do thou also yield to Fate!'

Thus speaking Mirza went his way and meeting a barber on the road asked him what he had. He said:—he had a small basket of toilet requisites. This Mirza opened. Then he struck Bakki his mare with his whip and she replied:—

'By whipping me thou hast brought dishonour on thy ancestry;
I am sister to the virgins of Paradise, as Padmaní come to thee in dower;
My worth thou hast not prized, my lover, being but a luckless hoor.

Clasping his hands together Mirza spoke to Bakki:—I forgot. Then Bakki galloped on and overtook the wedding processions and Mirza took off all the pagris of its members and went to his mother's sister Bibo's house. When people saw the procession without a pagri in it its members retorted that it was her daughter's son who had removed them. The people said they did not know where Mirza was. Hearing this Mirza said to Bibo:—'Aunt! I can only be saved if thou bringst Sáhibán.' Bibo said to her brother: 'Our she-buffalo has calved, but she will not suckle her calf. People say that if a newly wed girl feeds her on boiled grain she will suckle her calf. Thereupon her brother Khwá sent his newly wed daughter along with her. She took her to Mirza. They met, and after meeting Sáhibán went off home again.
I had sent them hence hale and hearty, but then comest leaning on another's shoulder!

Has some gáhsh pierced they liver through with his goad?
Sáhibán was sent to fetch oil and went to the grocer's shop.

*Lit. containing hair, a comb, red thread etc.
Yet no one gave her full weight, whosoever weighed gave short weight. Mirza drove in pegs and by them climbed into her mansion. After searching (the text is obscure and not translatable here).

Sáhibán says:
‘If thou art athirst for milk I can give thee milk to drink.’

Mirza says:
‘I am not thirsty for milk. Milk would not appease my thirst, I hunger for thy love! Now loose thy girdle and embrace me! Let us then go to Dánáwwád, and may God do what He wills!’

Sáhibán’s reply:
‘Thy light brown mare hath come afar from the steppes. If thy father’s house had not another, thou shouldst have borrowed one.

The steeds of Shamhr, my brother, all are stall-fed on sweetened food. Fed on sugar and flour mixed together they stamp their hoofs! So fast are they that they will not let seducer escape or runaways like us take flight!’

Mirza’s reply:
‘Think not that Bakki is lean, nor let despair afflict them! She can outpace the birds in their flight and no racer can match her.

For Bakki the angels weep as weeps God for me! Mount my steed, bowing thy head to the Ka’ába! I will carry thee to Dánáwwád, not even the sirocco shall catch thee!’

People all say:
‘Lovers are with lovers, as is an oil-press with oil!’

The wedding procession was left in the lurch, and the visitors sitting at the door!
In the dish pomade remained, and in the goatskin some scented oil!
In the box ankle-rings yet left and ornaments of all kinds, even the hamait.

Mirza put Sáhibán on the back of his mare and carried her off!

Saith the poet:
Thro’ the dense jungle studded with jósád, karír and wild shrubs, Setting out at dawn they spent the whole night travelling. Death watched his opportunity, the pair panting like bellows. Stealing another man’s property why do you sleep in the forest?

Samáln’s reply:
‘Samáln Málí called aloud, The brown milk buffalo in the dense forest is missing and the bhee is not among the spinsters spinning.’
A version of Mirza and Sáhibán.

Follow the untrodden path ye who are on foot and follow the beaten path ye who are mounted.

Pledge your honour and kill Mirza alone?

Mirza's reply:

My face towards Dánáwád, and my back towards Síáil.

Kal's reply:

"Kalla empty stomached called out—live, O Sammír live!
I saw Bakki with two riders entering the jungle!
With rings in her ears, wearing her hair braided,—the daughter
of a man,

Goes unveiled without shame or sorrow!

Man is mortal, wherefore then fear death?"

Sáhibán's address:

"Rise sleeping Mirza! Many horsemen have arrived,
With coloured lances in their hands, crying 'kill him,' 'kill
him.'

They are not looking for themselves, nor are they a hunting party,
Get up and mounting Bakki let us reach Dánáwád!"

Mirza's reply:

The cottages in a village look high when no trees surround it,
No pair can be without a brother and no name without a son!
Look at the shady jang tree and its refreshing shade,
Let me snatch a short rest and leave my name in the world.

Sáhibán's reply:

Lo; Shamír's dogs have come and entered the pond!
A tall youth with muffled face has come!
The angels of death put round our necks the rings of death!
As a Jãt struck with hail on his side,
Mirza was openly plundered, losing his all!

Mirza's answer:

Sáhibán thou did still to hang thy quiver on the jang tree!
My 100 arrows would have the Síáls!
My first arrow would have hit Khán Shamír and my second struck
the flank of his steed!

With the third I should have aimed at him to whom thou wast
betrothed!

My fourth would have flown to the sky and brought down moths!
Now are they encompassed by swordsmen urged on by bowmen!
The turban fell from his head, and his hair was uncovered!
Mirza fell alone, unaided by brother or kinsman!

If his brothers had been there, each would have coped with band
of the Síáls.
A mystical poem.

GIT MIRAN SAYYID HUSSAIN WALI.

The Song of Miran Sayyid Hussain, the Saint

1
Shai'kh musâhib buzurg the dânâ,
Mîrâñ Sayyid Hussain nûl jî parhâ dogânâ.
Shai'kh Shahâb ze le le musâdâb,
Khâdî poisâdâ manqâdâ.
Chêrâ harâ, harâ thâ jâmâ,
Pa'thâ harâ kamar se bhârî.
Hari dûp talaâr nûl jî,
So kamar bich laâhî.

5
Gâinde kî ghâl par harâ phâl jî,
Boghân kî chamkâ sîyâhî.
Khâsah kàgär pah zâlîm dhâr jî
Gûthî maine kî hari lâgoâ'î.
Tukkâ harâ bhare thâ tarkâsh,
Tîn san châtâr châtârâ'î.
Nâzâ harâ, hari thâ bairâhh,
Hari bhaunâ dî nût jhan nû't.
Khânhâ ghorâ sîn sâb sin harâ jî,
Aur sâr halghâ hari sîhâ'î.

10
Harâ pois aur bakhâr pois jî,
Aur Mirâñ ke sang chalîe sâr sîyâhî.
Mîrâñ bhâye awâr khing ke âpar,
Sûng harî fauj bânâdî.
Kâfâr bahut, Turk the thore,
Mîrâñ Sayyid Hussain sidhe kîye ghoare.
Mîrâñ ne sidhe kîye ghoare,
Bâje tabul aur tâkore.
Aî Aî kharka jore,
Ran mey tarte nûrâ sûrâ.

Mîrâñ kî chalî hûl aswârî.

15
Faujâân gâd bhañ bahnâ hûl,
Lejâ tîghe ko nîsût,
Larte âpâ mey hasinâl,
Ran mey phailâ hûs gûlâl.
Ran kî suno bîs taisûrî.

Ran mey hone lûjî kariâlî,
Bê'ê Râjpâtâ bûrëng golâh,
Aôi machâ jais te holi,
Bhîqë rakot mey chohî.

Ohhûj râkî bharî pichhârî.

*Bairag, P. Bairak or-kh, H. = s flag.
The song of Mîrâb Sayyid Hussain.

{ Úthâ ðâñâñ to gâmbhîr,
  Órtâ retâ jo 'ubâr.

20 { Chhûte bâlahî aurâ têr,
  Dûbdî tohâ meû shûrîr.

  Wuhûn parà jûnh ek bhûrê.

  { Ban meû kûddâ ek Shaûkh,
  Maulû rakhtâ dêbl tek !

  { Tûrâ sarmukh áyâ dêkh,
  Urûne bâlchhí mûrî phekh.

Tûrâ ne simat sing jah marî.

  { Zakhm Shaûkh Abu ne khûyâ,
  Aur unkû Maulû ne bachûyâ.

  { Sotê tega ko lagûyâ,
  Kât Tûrâ ko gîryâ.

  Râjâ ko lagû zakhmû tan kûrî.

25 { Gayî kûsîr ko jûn,
  Aur jallà dozakh ko dûrmîyân.

  { Lorâ Mîrâb ko jauân,
  Hûû Maulû miharwân,

  Râjâ ko bhûg gayî sauj saûri.

  { Khabardar khabreg daûn ;
  Râjâ yeh ko 'arz hai mûrî :

  { Khot râhâ Mûrå ko hûth,
  Dhan âhun Sayyid aur soûdd !

  { Lorî guzûrî sauj rût,
  Kûhî hûlkhêne ne bût,

  Râjâ ko ghûâgnat sauj khûd gayî sauj.

30 { Jab Tûrâ mûrå gayû,
  Mûrå satah kari Kûrtâr,

  { Khabar bhûyî Pûrthi Rûko ko,
  Sun uûth khûdî pachhûr.

  { Úthî bhûyî pachhûr it naiînû nîr ãûn bûhrâ,
  Kûfû lûsî loth dûh ko yûn hûmû aûp Rûjâ kûrdâ.

  { Rûjâ jûrmuné bhûk ko bûldûn,
  Aûr ãû 'râ bûkhûyû mânu bût hamûrî !

  { Tûrâ mûrå jûwe nà tuûkha lûj ãûn ?
  Aûr ãû 'râ bûkhûyû tûth bûgh tûdûrî !
35 \{ Nahi aati lenge koi jagat mihal \\
\{ Bari bari jahane naahi mathali \\
\{ Is sindgi se hai marud khali \\
\{ Aise de re bahiyi karo hai tayari \\
\{ Rajya sun Ijjeya majhe hukum atiya \\
\{ Gerun jado van meh karan madhavi \\
\{ Baja fardagi danka dulwadi \\
\{ Alie sunhar fauj zimmat kar adari \\
\{ Aye Rajpat na kitne rajo \\
\{ Hasina fii aswari bari bari chhalar adhari \\
\}

40 \{ Panchoa hathydr Rajya aap sajja \\
\{ Tarkash tir, talwar aur aadali kari \\
\{ Diya top, sar par lda pahan bakhtor \\
\{ Bo hamar ho bich meh khaldh kari \\
\{ Rajya aap tera ldo hathi maara \\
\{ Jos par jhad kunchan ki hai jhadh kari \\
\{ Kishna charha paith hathi ki \\
\{ Aur kar kuda Megal aswadi \\
\{ Kishna hathi pah charha \\
\{ Yadda Sambha ko karda \\
\}

45 \{ Tha woh ghusse meh bhardar \\
\{ Holah aage ko bhardar \\
\{ Rajya liye kathak fauj dal bahari \\
\{ Man meh yadd Sambha ko kare \\
\{ Jat Kishna hathi par charha \\
\{ Bhaadi badla ijo jaake \\
\{ Yoo hukam aap Rajya kare \\
\{ Pirhi bai kare bhadh se \\
\{ Tum jee Turch ko maro \\
\{ Uleko mero, uchhi laukhar lafu \\
\{ Yaa Rajya jawab thaharo \\
\}

50 \{ Kishna bht kahal bhad se \\
\{ Jo bidhda itthda telaro, \\
\{ Qismat ke likhe konge sohi \\
\{ Jo vaamh aap Kartdro \\
\{ Rajja be yagin naahi samjho dnu re \\
\{ Woh Rajja bard gundardh \\
\{ Unhe saha hathi chalae kor meh \\
\{ Sany beshnumr asedo \\
\{ Bara bar tope Rajja jutadnaa \\
\{ Leye lainchi bai saab nidgetram \\
\{ Rajja paheenchha jee kaatkh dal andar \\
\{ Jahan lohpm ki pade kardho \\
\}
The song of Mírdu Sayyid Hussain.

{ Ohãí aur gáh, mar rai rãhã re
{ Aur le Shambhã kã nam sáng jõe gáãro.
{ Rãjã pãhãnhã dh án jahãn thã maïdãn jì
{ Aur hãthi par se Kishã kãhã lalkãro
{ An Músãlmãn Mírdu Sultãn le hãhã mãñ?
{ Kiûn nã laro dã rã?

Jin ne mãro bîr hamãro.

{ Khabãrdãr khabãren dagãy
{ Khaôen khahe Mírdu se hål

60 { Ran mep marãn tabãl phir se lajãs
{ Suno Zaid Ali ke hål.

{ Khabãrdãr járãs ne khabãren dãn
{ Ajo ajo merã dyd chhãr rájo.

{ Oãrhe hål lalkãr ke dp Mîrãn
{ Hegã kãning oãrhe ne dãn dãjo!

{ Mîrãn ne formãdyd kãning ko manãdãja
{ Jã par sîn konchan kã yãh shakal kãjo.

{ Oãrheôen Shaikh Shahãd aur aep Bohãdãr
{ Oãrheôen Rãmã, Halbi aur Irãn adã.

{ Oãrheôen hål lalkãr ke dãn kãjã.

65 { Mîrãn pãhãnhã dh án jahãn thã maïdãn jì
{ Gayã bhãd kãyãr jãh kîmmãt kãrã.

{ Jahãn nãn kambhã dãrê Sayyid wãhãn thãrã
{ Bhãrã sãr se sãr sunke kãyãr bhãjã.

{ Rãjã pãhãnhã dh án jahãn thã maïdãn jì
{ Aur hãthi par se kharã Kishã lalkãrã.

{ Mîrãn khaôe sarmãkh dãte jãmã
{ Sãr sarmãkh ãûëte kãdãr vãhã gãdãr mãñ tãb.

{ Mîrãn ko dãkh Rãjã kahãne laqã,
{ Abãi hãi hålãn uor mãdãn.

Makke ko phir jãjio tã kãhã hamãrã mãn

70 { Lô kahã mãn merã Sultãn jì,
{ Yãhãn mâhaq jôn gãswãyo.

{ Mãi mãrãn tumãn lõj ãs vãs mûjãko,
{ Ùn Rãjã javeô sunôna.

{ Mîrãn kalôm mûkã jhãrãn phãlãjì,
{ Mîrãn sunke bît muskãyãno.

{ Rãjã tujãko mãrãn térã gãrh ko lãtãy,
{ As mâhãn dãn nâbã kã mâño.

{ Itã sukhõn sunã Rãjã nã,
{ Wãh ghusãch jõr dãi khãno.

75 { Rãjã ne upnã sujã ko lôhã bulãko,
{ Rãjpar Rãõê kõyã Rãmã.
The song of Miràn Sayyid Hussain.

Maír paír Chauhán Bándélâ,
Raho ranke bich laj châno.
Mîrán ko châro taraf se lâd ghér ke,
Jaise badlî men chând chhipâno.
Maír kahân tak siffat harsûn Sayyidôn ki,
Jinke shâhen jagât bakhâno?
Jiâ naâght Mîrán pakre shanâsher ko,
Bâjâ kâ sâton sârat gahlahâno.

Pakre shanâsher lai dast me,
So rann ko bich Mîrán kharô.
Arâ Êô Kishnâ sun-lîjo
So hât kalmah mukh se bhâro.
Arâ Êô Kishnâ lenâ mûn kahô!
Parke hât kalmâh Mîrán farmâyâ re.
Bâjâh sun pûne ghuâsâ jî men khânsâ,
Unne aumî jafun ko bulnâyân re.
Bâjâ hûlâm kînâ tope danâg dânh,
Dhûlân dâhur ghabâr woh saranâyân re.

Ashagh falâk topen oshûto dana nan,
Dhan dhan jînôn karke gold aiyâna re.
Kâ qâ kahdâ karke hûnû topâr oshûti,
Jiâse dihul aur sêr maçhâyân re.
Tan man kâfar chogar wahdâ to golî barse,
Jiâse Indar barsât shar lâgân re.
Mîrán Sayyid Hussain liye komân dastôn,
Ghussah karkar karke karkayiân re.
Mîrán ko tér oshûto dke ran men jûfe,
Sûnâ nê nân karke woh phan ndiyân re.

Lâgho teghdâ chaîne sunke kâgar bhâge,
Tûfe tér talwârô shan naiyân re.
Nesâ khud baâhutar wahdân to giron kât kât,
Lâgho tam men zakhm woh bhal khûdyân re.
Sûz bîr rake ranke darmiyân jî,
Aur oshûti se oshûti bhîr jdyân re.
Jogun lâlkrâ Shâmhâ dâng gêre,
Woh katîr âpur nubal aiyân re.

Translation.

1. Shaikh Musâhib was a sage,
And he used to say the morning and evening prayers with
Mirâm Sayyid Hussain.

On the advice of Shaikh Shahib,
He sent for fine raiment.
Geron was his turban, green his coat,
Green his waistband round his waist,
Green was the shield, with the sword
Hung round his waist.

5. On the shield of rhinoceros hide was worked a green flower,
   And it was lacquered with black varnish,
A good dagger with cruel edge
In a sheath of green chintz.
Green were his arrows,
All three were perfect.
And green the quiver deftly wrought,
Green was his spear, and green his standard.
And over it was a green knob which whirled round and round.
His horse carried a green saddle and trappings,
And on his head he wore a green helmet.

10. Dressed all in green, and harnessed in green,
Mirán was attended by gallant men-at-arms.
Mirán mounted his steed,
And led his troops all clad in a green uniform.
Countless were the unbelievers, and but few the Turks,
Mirán Sayyid Hussain rode his steed upright.
When Mirán rode his steed upright,
The drums were beaten.
Side by Side, calling upon Ali,
The gallant warriors fought in the battle.

Thus rode the Mirán's chivalry.

15. The troops fell into an ambuscade,
All drew their swords,
And fighting on the defensive,
Besprinkled the field of battle with red.¹

Learn the twenty ways of waging war.
Loud rose the din of battle,
As the sons of warriors fired their pieces.
The battle was in full swing, like the Holt festival,
And garments were drenched in blood,

As if squirts full of blood were being discharged.

A heavy dust-storm arose,
Sand scattered like powdered talo.

¹Lit. red powder, gafl, which is used at the Holt.
20. Spears and arrows were thrown,
Bodies became wet with blood.
A terrible combat raged.
In the midst of the battle uprose a Shaikh,
Whose honour was safe with God!
Ṭārā seeing him advanced, came before him
And the Shaikh cast his lance at him,
    But Ṭārā drew back and threw his spear.
And the Shaikh and his companions received wounds,
But God saved their lives.
Drawing his sword
He attacked him, and cut down Ṭārā,
    The Rājā receiving a mortal wound.

25. The infidel lost his life,
And burns in the midst of Hell.
Mirāpb's brave youths fought on,
And God was kind,

    All the Rājā's army fled.
The scouts brought in words,
(Saying) "Rājā! This is our report:
The field remains in Mirāp's hands,
Honour to the Sayyid and his race!
The whole night passed in fighting."
Thus spake the messengers.

    The Rājā's army fled in shameful rout.

30. Ṭārā was slain,
And God gave the victory to Mirāp,
When Firth Ráío learn'd the news,
Hearing it, he fell prone.
He fell prone, and his eyes were filled with tears.
He himself gave the order that his body should be brought in.

    And he bade them call his brother,
"O my brother! Hearken to my words!
Art thou not ashamed that Ṭārā has been killed?
Oh my brother! One of our arms hath been broken!

35. We shall never be re-born in this world,
Our mother will never again give us birth.
'Twere better to die than to cling to this life,
Oh my brother! Forthwith make ready!"

"Oh Rājā! Hear me, and give me thy commands!"
Though I perish on the field I will deal our enemies a heavy blow.

By beat of drum the Rájá proclaimed his orders,
Hearing it, all his forces assembled,
Rájpúts came, and many a Rájá,
Mounted on elephants, with umbrellas over their heads.

40. The Rájá put on the five arms,
The quiver, the arrow, the sword, and the strong shield,
He put on also his helmet and his armour,
And stuck his dirk into his girdle.
The Rájá himself bade them bring his elephant,
On which was a saddle-cloth embroidered with gold.
Krishná rode on the elephant's back,
And Megal also rode forth.
Mounted on his elephant, Krishná called to mind the god Shambhú.

45. Pull of wrath he
With a mighty force advanced,
Remembering the god Shambhú in his heart,
When Krishná mounted his elephant,
"Go and take vengeance for thy brother."
Thus the Rájá bade him.
And again addressing his brother,
(He said) — "Go and smite the Turk
Smite him, and plunder his camp."
Such were the Rájá's orders.

50. Krishna spake to his brother:—
"Whatsoever he written in the book of fate,
Whatsoever is written, that shall come to pass,
As predestined by God."
The Rájá was a sceptic, and did not comprehend the faith of Islam:
Such a clown was he!
Twenty-two elephants moved with him in line,
Countless horsemen rode with him.
The Rájá had his heavy guns yoked,
Taking cross-bows and various weapons

55. The Rájá won his way to the midst of the dense throng
Where the dead lay in heaps.
Over them hovered kites and vultures.
Invoking Shambhū's name he couched his lance,
The Rājā reached the scene of battle,
Standing on his elephant Krishna shouted aloud,
"Thou Musulmān! Mīrān Sultān! Grant me this boon!
Why dost thou not come forward to meet me in fight?"
Scouts brought in the news,
And told Mīrān this news:—

66. "O son of Zaid All! In the battle beat the drum!"

Careful spies brought in word
That the Rājā has come forward.

Then Mīrān himself mounted his horse, and shouted aloud:—
"This is the day to mount our steeds!"

Mīrān bade them bring his horse,
On which was a golden saddle,
And Shaikh Shahāb rode on Bokhāra stead,
And the men of Turkey, Aleppo and Iran all mounted.

All rode impetuously in the cause of the faith, shouting aloud.

66. Mīrān reached the field of battle,
And the coward fled when his courage failed him.
Where the battle raged most fiercely, there stood the Sayyid steadfast.

With the brave fought the brave, but the faint-hearted fled.
The Rājā reached the field of battle,
And from his elephant's back Krishnā shouted,
Standing faced him and thus answered his challenge.

Mīrān seeing the Rājā, called to him:—
"When the lion comes forward, what strength remains to the jackal?"

Seeing Mīrān the Rājā spake:—
Thou art but young in years and ignorant,

Get thee gone to Mecca, and listen to my words.

70. "Hearken, O Sultān, to my words,
Here thou wilt but vainly lose thy life,
If I slay thee, I shall be put to shame;"
Thus the Rājā answered.

From Mīrān's mouth came words like flowers
Hearing these words Mīrān smiled.

"Rājā! I shall slay thee and plunder thy stronghold
Unless thou wilt embrace the Prophet's faith."

Hearing this the Rājā was enraged at heart,

75. The Rājā summoned all his forces,
The song of Mírán Sayyíd Hussain.

All his Rájpúts, Rá'os and Ránás.
"I am a Chauhán of Bundelú,
I will that the combat begin now."
Mírán was surrounded on all sides,
As the moon is hidden by the clouds.
How shall I sing the praises of the Sayyíd,
Whose exploits are known throughout the world?
When Mírán grasped his sword,
The Rájá's seven senses were lost.

30. In his hand he grasped his sword,
As he stood among the horsemen.
Hail! Rá'o Krishná! Hear me,
Repeat the kalma with thy lips.
Hail! Rá'o Krishná! accept my counsel!
"Repeat the kalma!" Time commanded Mírán.
As the Rájá listened he grew enraged at heart,
And called upon his soldiers.
He bade the cannon open fire,
And they belched forth smoke.

35. The cannons opened fire
And the balls fell in showers.
The round iron discs flew into the air and made a noise like the grunting of wild bears.
In his hands Mírán Sayyíd Hussain took his bow and Mírán's arrows flew, just as Indra sends down rain in torrents.

90. When the swords began to play, the cowards fled,
Arrows, swords and spears were broken into pieces.
Lances and armour were splintered into fragments,
Bolts were wounded and cries of pain arose.
Brave men fought in the midst of the battle
Breast to breast
Jogan Lál saith; Shimblá threw away the spear,
Now came the time for the dagger.
SECTION 6.—Sikhism and the Story of Banda Bahadur.

LIFE OF NÄNAK.—Nänak, the founder of the Sikh faith, was the son of Kuld Chand, a Khatri of the Ruli section, and was born at Talwandi, a village on the Ravi not far from Lahore, on the full moon day in Katak Samhaut 1496, or 14 years earlier than Luther. His father was a simple peasant, employed by Rāj Bānā, a Muhammadan Rājput of the Bhaṭṭi tribe, the owner of the village, as an appraiser of produce. His mother’s name was Tripta.

When only 5 years old the sister of Nānak’s mother, Bibi Lakhā, came to see her sister and observing the boy’s indifference to worldly things said to her: ‘Thy son is soft headed.’ Nānak rejoined: Thine will be four times as soft headed; thus predicting the birth of the famous saint, Śaṅka Rām Thānnman whose shrine is at the place of that name near Kāsīrī.

Of Nānak’s life, few authentic details have come down to us, and these are contained in a jauṃśākhi or biography, assigned to Bantu by Trumpp to the later years of Gurdā Arjan or his immediate successors. This work refers to hymns in the Gāthā Sahib and must therefore have been compiled after it. Mohanī-Fānī appears to refer to separate stories which even in his time were not collected in one work. This biography contains few of the miracles and other incidents found in the later jauṃśākhīs, and as it is an early record of Nānak’s life and teaching it may be regarded as authentic in all material points.

One account avers that Kuld or Kālī had no son until one day a fāqr visited his hut and was there fed, whereupon he sent some fragments of his meal to Kālī’s wife promising her a fāqr son. She went on to her confinement to Mārī near Kāsīrī, and received the somewhat disparaging name of Nānak, because he was born in the house of his maternal grandfather. See McFerran’s History of the Sikhs, 1, 32, and Cunningham’s ulloa, p. 40, and note. This account is rejected by the better-informed who say that Harīlāl, the family priest, drew up the boy’s horoscope and divined for him the name of Nānak to which his parents objected, as it was common to both Hindus and Muhammadans. The priest rejoined that his calculations disclosed that the boy was destined to be revered by both creeds: Philosophical Hist. of the Sikhs Religion, by Khānsā Singhe, Lahore, 1914, p. 85. B. Gurushāh Singhe however writes: ‘Gurdā Nānak’s sister was older than himself and she was named Nānak. The brother was given her name, as very often happens. This is a simpler and more natural explanation than the other two given. Perhaps the girl was born in her maternal grandfather’s house and so named Nānak.”

* Talwandi Rāi-Halka or “of wit and wealth” is now called Bālpur; McFerran, I, 32. The date of Nānak’s birth is also given as the 3rd of light half of Baisakh.

At Talwandi now stands the famous Nānka Sahib on the site of the house, in which Nānak was born; the Kārī Sahib, the sacred field into which Nānak, when absorbed in contemplation, let his father’s cattle stray but in which no sign of damage done to the crop could be found; a temple on the site where a snake showed his face with its hood while he lay sunk in contemplation and stream where the shade of the tree stood still: Khānsā Singhe, op. cit., p. 90.

* Khānsā Singhe, op. cit., p. 98. Rām Thānnman was a Bālpur, and a cousin of Nānak; see vol. II, p. 281, infra. Thānnman-దాంమాన, the Gurmukhī name, is derived from the Sanskrit, a post or pillar, Śāmkr. Thānman and may, thus be connected with Sankh Nāth, a form of Shiva.
Life of Guru Nānak.

As a child Nānak was devoted to meditation on God, and at the age of 7 he was sent to the Hindu village school, where he composed the 55 verses of the Path in the Rāg Asa of the Gurdwārā. Here Nānak received all his secular instruction, for he was early employed by his father as a buffalo-herd.

In due course he married and two sons were born to him, but this did not prevent his leading a life remote from thoughts of this world and his superhuman character was revealed to Rāi Bulār, the son of Rāi Bhoi, who found him one day sleeping beneath a tree whose shadow had stood still to shelter him, while those of the other trees had moved, with the waning noon.

Nānak showed no bent for any worldly vocation, but delighted in the society of saints and even wandering faqirs, and at last his father in despair sent him to Sullānpur, a town now in the Kapurthala State, where his brother-in-law Jairām, husband of his sister, Nānakī, was employed as a factor to Nawāb Daulat Khān, the Lodī, who after his long governorship of the Punjab called in Bābar to aid him against his master's injustice.

At Sullānpur Nānak devoted himself to his duties, but his wife and children were left or remained at Talwandi, sometimes regarded as an indication that his domestic life was not happy. His wife however rejoined him after his travels and lived with him, till his death. There too he was joined by an old acquaintance, Mardāna, the Dūst, an itinerant musician, who accompanied his improvised hymns on his rabāb or harp.

At Sullānpur too Nānak was destined to receive that definite call to the office of religious leader to which he owes his title of Gūr. While bathing one day in the canal he was taken up by angels and transported into the presence of God who gave him a goblet of nectar with the command to spread the name of God (Hari) through the world. Meanwhile his servant had carried home the news of his disappearance in the water, and the Khān had actually set fishermen to drag the canal for his body, when he reappeared.

After this event Gūr Nānak took the decisive step of distributing all that he had among the poor and accompanied by Mardāna he left his house and began to preach. In popular phrase he turned faqir. His first pronouncement 'There is no Hindu and no Mussalmān' led to his being cited, at the Qāzi's instance, to appear before the Nawāb, who 35 and 36 as usually stated. Each verse began with a letter of the alphabet. The letters are exactly the same 35, as are now found in the Gurmukhi alphabet, even including the letter r which is peculiar to Gurmukhi, thus proving that the Gurmukhi alphabet existed before his time and was not invented by the second Gūr, Angud, though the same Gurmukhi may have replaced its original name, which was possibly Tātikri. See the pamphlet: The Origin of the Gurmukhi Characters, Coronation Printing Works, Hāl Bāsar, Amritsar. Sir George Massey holds that the alphabet is derived from the Śādik through the Tākri of the Hills and the Ānsu script of the plains - J. R. A. S. 1916, p. 577.

37 Subsequently the legend ran that a huge black snake had raised its hood over Nānak's head to shield him from the sun's rays while he slept.

38 Mardāna was the founder of the Rābhī group of the Pan-Mirdas. Cunningham calls him the harper, or rather a chanter, and player upon a stringed instrument like a guitar. Hist. of the Sikhs, p. 62.
invited him to accompany him to the mosque. Nānak did so—and while
the Qāzī led the prayers, he laughed. To the Qāzī's remonstrances he
replied that the latter had left a pail in his own courtyard and had
throughout the prayers been anxious lest it should fall into the well.
Amazed at Nānak's power of reading his thoughts the Qāzī fell at
his feet and acknowledged his power.

After this incident Nānak set out on what are often called his five
pilgrimages, thus beginning his mission to call the people to the right
path. The first lay eastward, to the shrine of Shaikh Sajan who had
built a temple for Hindus and a mosque for Muhammadans—a proof of
the religious toleration in fashion at this period of Indian history. But
the Shaikh was given to murdering those who put up with him in his
shop and stealing their property, until the Guru saw through him and
made him become a repentant follower of his teaching. Tradition also
takes Nānak to Delhi, where he restored a dead elephant to life and
interviewed the Mughal emperor. Besides Shaikh Sajan he encountered
many other ūlā, whom he converted. At the suck of Sayyidpur he
was captured by Bābar's troops and carried off, but coming under
Bābar's own notice he was honourably used and set at liberty. 8

But he soon set out on his second or southward pilgrimage. That
he ever reached Ceylon or formed there a mālā (congregation) of his
disciples is hardly probable, and if he did so few authentic details of
this journey have been preserved.

At Sādikot he heard that Hamza Ghānas was undergoing a 40 days'
fast in order to acquire power to destroy the town, so he sat under a
plum (ter) tree and called thrice to the fāqīr. Receiving no reply
he stood up and gazed at the lofty tower in a vault of which the fāqīr
had shut himself, and burst open its walls so that the sun fell on the face
of the recluse. This saint had promised some to a Khatri of the town
in return for a promise that the first-born should become his disciple
and as the vow was broken had condemned all the inhabitants to
annihilation. The Guru impressed on him the injustice of punishing
all for the faults of a few. 8 The Bāb Bābā Nānak still commemorates
this incident.

On his 3rd tour the Guru who was returning from Russia and
Turkistān reached Hassan Abdāl in 1520. On the top of the hill was a
spring of water. Its summit was occupied by Wali Gauḍhārī, a
Muhammadan saint, who grew jealous of the Guru and refused to let

8 Khānsā Singh locates Sajan at Talambur and places the incident in the second tour.
The Shaikh inveigled Mardīnā into his house and maltreated him, hoping to secure the
Guru's accumulated offerings in his possession. Talambur had been in Tāleqān's time a
considerable centre of religious learning for his biographies speak of his Sāvyās, wālna,
No mention of Sajan is traceable. But at Chawāl Makhānī in Mālān Gāsetār is a Dāshār
Sāhib of Bābā Nānak (62, p. 129). So too at Nūhā there is a shrine to Bābā Nānak north
west of the shrine of Sakhī Sāwar; Dera Ghānsā Khan Gāsetār, 1899, p. 59.

8 This must have occurred in 1529, and though Nānak does not mention the occurrence
in the Gāsetār, it may well have happened. In this pilgrimage the Bāb Nānak
supplemented his imperfect schooling by constant dialectics with Muhammadan Shaikhs
and other ūlā. He then returned to Talāwanī.
Mardana draw water from it, so the spring dried up and re-appeared at the spot where the Guri had halted. The Wall cast a huge rock down from the hill upon it, but the Guri stopped the rock with his hand, leaving an impression of it on the hill-side. Therefore he continued his tour through Sialkot and witnessed the sack of Sialpur, near Eminahd, which he had foretold.  

Again Nana returned to Talwand, but only to make thence his third pilgrimage northwards into Kashmir, where he climbed Mount Sumera and had a lengthy discussion with the chiefs of the Jugis and according to some accounts with Shiva himself.

His fourth pilgrimage was to the West to Mecca, where he lay down and by chance turned his feet towards the Ka’aba. When reproached for this by the Qazi, Raka-ul-Din, he challenged him to lay his feet in any direction where God’s house did not lie, and whenever the Qazi turned Nana’s feet, there appeared the Ka’aba.

Guru Nana’s fifth and last pilgrimage may be regarded as purely allegorical. He went to Gorakhliatri where he conversed with the 84 Siddhas, or disciples of Gorakh Nath. A temple exists at Nanakmata in the Kumon or Naini Tal Tarai, about 10 miles from Kathima, a station on the Rohilkhand-Kumon Railway. Not far from this place are still to be found several spots of yoga, from one of which sweet soap-nuts (wiska reta) are obtained by the wakhat at Nanakmata. Two such trees are known in the Almora district; one at the place called the Gali reta by the hillmen, the other on the road from Lahughat to Dhunnaghat. It appears that where new shoots spring from old decayed trunks, the fruit they bear lose its bitterness. Gorakh-latri may be the name of some matth of yogis in these hills. “It was also,” observes S. Guruksh Bakhsh, “the name of a well-known matth at the Indian end of the Khaibar Pass, about two stages from Peshawar. Baba, who went twice to visit the place, gives an account of it and describes it as a well-frequented place to which Hindus came from distant places, and went through the ceremony of shaving themselves clean. Several low underground cells, entry to which was obtained by crawling along on all fours, and immense heaps of hair marked the place. This seems to be the well-known Gor-Mari at Peshawar. Other authorities say that this the Guru’s last pilgrimage was to the East and that it took him to Gorakhmata or Nanakmata.

Other accounts give more detailed and less ambitious accounts of the pilgrimages. On his first the Guru visited Eminahd where he meditated on a bed of pebbles (rot) where the Rori Sahib now stands. Here he composed a hymn in which he reproached the Khatri for subsisting on alms wrung from the people and expounded the merits of earning a livelihood by honest labour.

2 Ib., p. 102.
3 The chata or cloak said to have been presented to him at Mecca is preserved at Baba Baba Nana. It is inscribed with thousands of words and figures: Gurdasgar: Gazetteer, 1914, p. 30.
4 Khunda Singh, p. 70.
Nának went to several other places also. At Haridwár he pointed out to the Hindus the hollowness of sending water to their forefathers. At Kurukshetra he proved the uselessness of such vain beliefs as not eating meat at an eclipse. At Jugannáth he pointed out the right way to worship God and said that it did not consist in lighting lamps and so on. Among the other countries that he visited were Kábul, Baghdád etc. But this pilgrimage is rejected altogether by the reforming Sikhs.

Nának died at Kartáarpur on the banks of the Rávi in the Jullundur District in the house of his family, with whom he appears to have been reconciled. Before his death he transmitted his Guruship to Lahna, surnamed Angad, the second Gurú, by a strikingly simple ceremony. Nának laid five pice before Angad1 and fell at his feet. This event occurred in 1537 A.D.

The successive Gurús transmitted their office by this rite, but later on a 'coconut'2 was also laid before the successor thus appointed. Gurú Nának: also went four times round his successor and then said that his own spirit had gone into his body so that he was from that moment to be regarded as Nának himself. It is now a common Sikh belief that each Gurú inherited the spiritual light of Nának and the doctrine is as old as Móhsin-ul-Fánu.

Bhai Budha, a Ját, affixed the tilák or coronation mark on Angad's forehead and survived to witness the installation of no less than four of Angad's successors. Tradition says that while very young he came to Nának and referring to the devastation of the unripe crops wrought by Bábár's troops said that he was afraid of being untimely carried away by the angel of death. Nának replied: 'Thou art old (Budha) not young.' So he was named Bhai Budha and lived till 1627. The significance of the tilák is well known. It is often affixed by a dominant or autochthonous agricultural class and in this instance the choice of Bhai Budha represented the Ját recognition of the Gurú's chiefship. To his sons' protests against their father's choice of Angad, Gurú Nának replied that not even the Gurú's dogs suffered want, and that they should have clothes and food enough. In accord, probably, with this tradition, we find the Nánakputras or descendants of Nának employed towards the close of the Sikh period in bandu-bhara, a practice whereby traders entrusted goods to a Nánakputra who engaged to convey them for a stipulated sum from Jagadhri to Amritsar, then the emporium of the Sikh states, paying all duties. The Nánakputras, from the sanctity which attaches to their persons, engaged enjoyed certain exemptions and were less subject to molestation from custom-officers' importunity than others.

1 Angad is said to mean 'own body' (fr. ang. Sanskr. 'body'), because Lahna obeyed Gurú Nának's order to eat of a corpse which vanished when he began to do so: Mebrugor's Hist. of the Sikhs, 1, p. 49, and Malcolm's Sikh 1, p. 298. But a more probable account is that he was blessed by the Gurú and proclaimed as flesh of his flesh and blood of his blood, as the Gurú's self, in fact.

2 Als eine Art Haarschmuck (Trumpp, Die Religion der Sikhs, p. 11)—cf. Murray's History of the Panait, 1, p. 109. But Khizar Singh says that the coconut was used at Gurú Angad's consecration.
Nānak's attitude to Islam is illustrated by several incidents in the above sketch of his life. To these the latter janamsadhis make many additions, which at least record the traditional attitude of the earlier Sikhism to Islam. Thus immediately after Nānak's election for a spiritual life he is said to have been visited by Khvāja Khizar, the Muhammadan saint, who taught him all earthly knowledge.

The traditional account of Gūrū Nānak's funeral also records his attitude towards the two religions. When the Hindus and the Muhammadans both claimed his body he told them to lay flowers on either side of it, for Hindus on the right and for Muhammadans on the left, bidding them see whose flowers remained fresh till the following day. But next morning both lots of flowers were found fresh, while the body had vanished, signifying that it belonged to neither, yet equally to both the creeds. Nānak expressed his religious thought in verses, composed in Panjāhi, which form no insignificant part of the Granth. Nānak was absorbed, to use the Sikh phrase, on the 10th of October 1538 (the 10th of the light half of Assaj, Sambat 1596).

His successor, Gūrū Angad, was a Khatri of the Tribhūn section, who had fulfilled the Gurd's ideal of unquestioning obedience to his will. Though perhaps illiterate, the invention of the Gurmukhi alphabet in 1533 is ascribed to Gūrū Angad¹ and he also had much of what he had learnt about Nānak from Bālā, the Sindhi Jat, a disciple of that Gurū, reduced to writing.

He himself however composed a few verses which are preserved in the Granth. He earned his living by twisting the coarse twine made of manjari, thus following Nānak's teaching about alms. His death occurred in 1552 or 1553 at Khadur near Govindwāl on the Bīsā, where he dwelt in seclusion since his accession to the Gurūship. He had appointed his follower Aamar Dās, a Khatri of the Bhalla section, to succeed him, passing over his own sons as unworthy.

Gūrū Amar Dās resided at Govindwāl whence he sent out 22 of his numerous disciples to various parts of the country to preach, dividing it into as many manjars or dioceses.² He also built Kajārawāl. But his most important act was the separation of the passive recluses of the Udāsi order from the active lay Sikhs, thus giving the latter body something of a social character in addition to the religious ties which held it together. He organised and maintained a public refectory (langar) at which all the four castes ate together and no question was raised as to whether the food had been cooked by a Brahman or a low caste Sikh.³ Before his accession he had been a Vaishnava, and after it he built at Govindwāl the grand baoli or oblong well with its 84 steps

¹ R. Gum加以.ahā bāhā, however writes: — "The tradition that the second Gurd invented the Gurmukhi alphabet is based on a misreading of the spurious book called the Jānapadākha of Rāma Rālā. Gurd Angad only secured the Jānapadeś or horoscope of Gurd Nānak from his uncle Lāl: see the introductory portion of this sikkhi given in Dr. Trump's Translation of the Granth. The peculiar script of Gurd Gobind Singh's letters is an earlier stage of Gurmukhi.

² The Panth—Prākāśa calls them gaddī. Manjā means a large couch so that 'see' would be a good translation of the term. Of Akbar's 22 provinces: G. C. Nānang, Transformation of Sikhism, p. 29.

³ Khāsun Singh, p. 118.
and landing places. It is a general belief among the Sikhs that whoever bathes on these steps one by one on the same day repeating the *japji* with sincerity to the last step shall be saved from the 8,400,000 transmigratory forms and go direct to heaven. Gurū Amar Dās also pronounced against the Brahmanical rite of *jari*, reformed the ceremonies in vogue at marriage and death, forbade pilgrimages and the like, and added largely to the poetical literature of the Sikhs. His verses in the *Granth* are distinguished for simplicity and clearness. Gurū Amar Dās left two sons, Mūlam and Mohari, but bestowed the *barkat* or apostolic virtue upon Rām Dās, his son-in-law, as a reward for his daughter’s filial love and obedience as well as the worth of Rām Dās himself.

Rām Dās succeeded as Gurū in 1574. He was also a Khatri of the Sodhi section, which has played so pre-eminent a part in Sikhism. Gurū Amar Dās is said to have found an attentive listener in Akbar, but Rām Dās entered into still closer relations with that tolerant emperor, and is said to have received from him the grant of a piece of land whereon he founded Rāmdīsāpur, subsequently known as Amritsar, or the ‘pool of salvation’ from the ancient tank which lay in it, and which he repaired and enlarged. According to some authorities he also built in its midst the Harimandar, or temple of God (Hari), in which no idol were set up.

Gurū Rām Dās’ poetical contributions to the *Granth* are clear and easy to understand, reproducing the traditional circle of Sikh thought as enunciated by the earlier Gurūs.

This, the fourth Gurū, was succeeded by Arjan, his youngest son, and henceforth the office becomes hereditary in the Sodhi section. Moreover with the accession of Arjan on the 3rd Bhādon *sudi* 1589, according to the oldest known record, the Sikh community enters on a new phase. He laid aside the rosary and garb of a *japji* and dressed in costly raiment. Though not, it is sometimes said, a Sanskrit scholar, Gurū Arjan was a man of considerable literary attainments and nearly half the *Adi Granth* was composed by him.

He also collected the hymns of his predecessors and adding to them selections from the writings of the earlier reformers, Kaḥīr, Nāndoo, Rāvī Dās, and others, compiled the *Granth* or ‘Book’ of the Sikh commonwealth. A decalogue of ten commandments ascribed to this, the fifth Gurū, has recently been discovered in Eastern Bengal. It is naturally very like the Mosaic, but one of the manuscripts indicates that the Sikhs were being boycotted and found it difficult to marry.

But Arjan’s activity was not confined to spiritual affairs. Hitherto the Gurūs had lived on their own earnings like Angad, or on voluntary offerings of their followers though these seem to have been in the main earmarked to charitable purposes by Amar Dās, but Gurū Arjan established the beginnings of a fiscal system, appointing collectors, called *mandals*, to each of whom was assigned a definite district.

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1 Not his eldest son. Arjan’s elder brother Partīl Chand had founded a rival sect, the Mihras. The eldest son was more than once set aside as personally unfit or not available.

Their deputees were called mehás, a term borrowed from Akbar’s system. These appointments indicated an attempt at regular administration. Some writers hint that the 23 secs or manás of Gurú Amar Dás became the 23 fiscal units of Gurú Arjan. If this was so the change is significant of the gradual transformation of Sikhism even at that early stage. But disciples were also sent to Kábuli, Kandahár, Sindhi and even Turkestán, not only to spread the Sikh faith but also for purposes of trade. He also permitted himself to be addressed as saheb padsháh or true king, Sudhi Sultán, the Sudhi Sultan. Apparently he obtained this title in consequence of the dignities bestowed on him for his services against Nálagarh. He continued Nának’s policy of toleration for and good relations with the Muhammedans, for the famous saint Mir Mír was a great friend of his and the happening to visit the Gurú at this time he was asked to lay foundation stone of the Harimandar in 1589. But it was not well and truly laid and though the mason righted it the Gurú prophesied that the temple would fall down and have to be rebuilt. In 1599 he founded Tára Tára.

Gurú Arjan’s chief opponent was Chandu Lál, a dhána or finance minister of Akbar, whose daughter the Gurú refused to accept for his son Har Govind. This led to an enmity which had dire results. Chandu Lál denounced the Gurú to the emperor as an enemy of Islam and though Akbar himself was not induced to persecute the Gurú — on the contrary he honoured him in various ways and an account of Akbar’s visiting Gurú Arjan at his home and remitting the land revenue on a famine-stricken area at his request is given in the Sarvat muktakhaan-Chandu Lál’s hostility predisposed his successor Jahángrí against him. It was he who informed that emperor of the Gurú’s loan of Rs. 5000 to prince Khurram. Indeed the Dabstán, which contains the most probable account of Gurú Arjan’s death, says he was accused, like

1 Khánán Singh, p. 118. Akbar had employed Meoras or Mureshs, of the Mevát, as dák-runners, spies and on other delicate duties: Afn-i Akbar, 1, p. 253. The definition of meora as a Gurú’s priest cited in Vol. III, p. 86 infra, is misleading.
2 Narang, p. 35. He suggests that manasa is a corruption of manas-i-dil or ‘Excellency,’ a title of the Mughul governors, and that though there are now no Sikh manasas exist under the style of Bhai (in that sect). But a water in the Decal’s Review for January 1916 (p. 317) speaks of the term as equivalent to saṅgatás. And he writes: ‘the original number’ of the manasas got very much multiplied (under the successors of that third Gurú). With the gradual transformation of Sikhism, this system also underwent a change and the bishops did not remain purely spiritual guides; but became collectors of tithes etc. (p. 316). This confirms the view expressed in the text. Followers of manas, who were in charge of saṅgatás, were called saṅgatás or manasadas, not manasad themselves. Transupp says Gurú Arjan introduced a regular system of taxation, compelling all Sikhs to contribute according to their means or other gams. But this Gurú appears to have established the tithe, dawaduth; dawaduth, a regular tenth contributed to the Gurús’s side Panjabi Dáti, so was. In the Western Punjáb, at any rate, this title was called síkhí or was replaced by a new tax called by that term.

4 According to Khánán Singh (p. 130) these titles were a manasad first by Gurú Har govind.
5 Khánán Singh, p. 119. Gurú Arjan’s saḥṣi in the Dabbi Bazar at Lahore was also made by the Muhammedan governor, Hesain Khán : p. 121.

8 II p. 279 et seq.
many other Punjab notables, of actual participation in Prince Khusru’s rebellion. It is certain that he was condemned by Jahàngir to a heavy fine. Unable or unwilling to pay the sum demanded he was exposed of the sun’s rays and perished of exhaustion in 1606.

Arjan’s son Har Govind succeeded to the Guruship. He wore two swords typifying amrit or secular and faqir or spiritual authority, and he was the first Gurū to take up arms against the Muhammadans to whom he certainly ascribed his father’s death, whatever the precise circumstances may have been. He built the stronghold of Har-govinda-pur on the upper reaches of the Beas, and thence harried the plains. To his standard flocked many whom want and misgovernment had driven from their homes. But at last Gurū Har Govind fell into the hands of the imperial troops, and Jahàngir kept him a prisoner at Gwalior for 12 years, until in 1628, on that emperor’s death, he obtained his freedom by sacrificing his treasures.\(^1\) Returning to Kiratpur the Gurū renewed his attacks on the Muhammadan land-owners and imperial officials of the plains. One of his last exploits was an expedition to Nānakmāta, in the Tarai near Naini Tāl, whose faqir Almaṣ, the Udaśi, complained that he had been expelled from his shrine by the Jogis, who had also burnt the pipal tree under which Gurū Nānak had held debate with the followers of Gorakh Nāth. This or another Almaṣ had been defeated by this, the sixth Gurū, to Shunjā-pur near Dāmān and had there founded saṅgat. This saṅgat at Shunjā-pur was called after Nātha Sāhīb, third in succession to this Almaṣ.\(^2\) In 1836, the Gurū restored him to his shrine and returned to Kiratpur.

\(^{1}\) According to the Tāj of Jahàngir he waited upon Khazr when the latter halted at his residence, and placed the saffron flower-mark or sīkā upon his forehead; J. A. S. R., 1907, p. 603. The meeting took place at Tarā Taran according to Khāṣūrī Sing, p. 125.

\(^{2}\) The Sikh accounts aver that Chanū Lāl continued his intrigues against Gurū Har Govind and prevailed on Jahàngir to demand payment by him of the fine imposed on the father, but the Gurū forbade the Sikhs to raise the money. Māhī Mir however interceded with Jahàngir at Delhi and not only obtained his release but reconciled him to this emperor whom he accompanied on his tour to Rājpūtau and who even employed him to subdue the rebellious chief of Nāṅgūr; Khāṣūrī Sing, p. 129. This account is easily reconcilable with that of the Dīvāntā (II, p. 274) which represents Gurū Har Govind as entering Jahàngir’s service and continuing to serve Sithā Jahān; yet the latter emperor sent troops against him and they drove him out of Rāmāshpur (Amritsar) and plundered his lands there. The Gurū was victorious in his struggles with Pāndā Lāhū, who resisted the fortifications of Har-govinda-pur, but imperial troops intervened and drove him to seek refuge amongst the Hill States; ib., p. 277. The testimony of Mohāmnd-i-Firād is in some ways all the more valuable in that he was a Muhammadan.

Malcolm’s Jātā (p. 22) reproduces a tradition which is not based on any written or authentic proof.

Other authorities say that the Gurū was arrested by the emperor to Delhi and thence accompanied him to Aga. There misled by an astrologer the emperor requested the Gurū to fast and pray for him for a period of forty days in the solitary hill fort of Gwalior. This was a plot on the part of Chanū and other enemies of the Gurū to get him out of the way. But the emperor soon realized his mistake, sent for the Gurū and at his request liberated many of the hill Rājās imprisoned in Gwalior.

\(^{3}\) Davis Review, 1916, p. 228, Sikh Religion in Eastern Bengal. The Nānakmāta near Nainī Tāl seems to have been called the ‘Nānakmāta of Almaṣā’ B. Gorakhshek Singh writing regards the saṅgat at Shunjā-pur; ‘The inscription on a stone in the well of this saṅgat commemorates the name of the original founder and his “Mother Lodge” of Nānakmāta. This new saṅgat was not named Nānakmāta, but it was under the Lodge at Nānakmāta in Nainī Tāl, and its priests were appointed or removed by the head at that place.'
through Alfghar, Dehli and Karnál. This life of active military enterprise, lightened at intervals by sport, absorbed all Har Govind’s energies and he contributed nothing to the Granth.

But interesting stories are recorded of his aversion to the ostentatious or undue exercise of spiritual power. Bábá Gurditta, his eldest son, had restored to life a cow accidentally killed by a Sikh. The Gúrú rebuked him for such uncontrolled exhibition of spiritual force and the Bábá went to the tomb of Badhan Shah, a Muhammadan faqir, where he lay down and gave up his soul. Similarly, Atal Ráí, his fourth son, as a boy of 9 restored to life a playmate who had died of snake-bite and he too when reproached by the Gúrú for relying with the giver and taker of life by exercising miraculous power over death covered himself with a sheet and breathed his last. His tomb is close to the Kaalisar at Amritsar and is the highest building in that town.

Gúrú Har Govind was known also as the Chhatwán Bádehah or 6th king among the Sikhs and so offerings of karó paratád are made at the Darbár Sáhib at Lahore on the 6th of every month and the building is illuminated.

On his death at Kiratpur in 1645, his grandson Har Ráí succeeded him. Of this Gúrú we have an account by the author of the Ijáddí, who knew him personally. Less warlike than his grandfather, Gúrú Har Ráí still maintained the pomp and circumstances of a semi-independent military chieftain. His body-guard consisted of 300 cavalry with 60 masqueers, and 800 horses were stabled in his stables. His alliance was successfully sought by another rebellious seion of the Mughal house, Dárá Shikoh, who soon perished. Thereupon the Gúrú retreated to Kiratpur whence he sent his son Rám Ráí to Dehli to negotiate pardon. Arrangzeb received the young envoy graciously, but detained him as a hostage for his father’s loyalty. Har Ráí contributed not a single verse to the Sikh scriptures. Dying in 1661 at Kiratpur he left his office to his second son Har Kishan, the 8th Gúrú, and as yet a minor. Rám Ráí, still a hostage, appealed to Arrangzeb, who seized

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1701 S.

1715 x.

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the pretext for interference in the Gurū's domestic affairs and summoned Har Kishan to Delhi. There he died of small-pox, after declaring that the Sikhs would find the next Gurū in Bakāla, a village on the Beas. Disputes regarding the succession inevitably arose and some of the Sodhis set up a Gurū of their own, while Rām Rāi urged his claims in reliance on imperial support. This, however, only alienated his own followers, and despairing of success he retreated to Dehra Dūn, where he founded a sect of his own.

At length in 1664 Teg Bahādur obtained recognition as the 9th Gurū. Teg Bahādur was a great figure among the Sikhs. From his birth he was destined to be a scourge to his enemies, and foreseeing this his father named him Teg Bahādur. His personal likeness to Bābā Nānak was also striking. Nevertheless his recognition was keenly contested by Dhir Mal, the elder son of Guruditta, the Udāsi, and Teg Bahādur was driven to seek refuge on a piece of land which he purchased from the Kahlū Rājā. Here in 1665 he founded Anandpur. Still harassed by his opponents the Gurū set out on a progress through the Mālsī country—a tract still dotted with shrines, tanks and dharmadāsars which commemorate his visits. Then he wandered through the Kurūkshetra, and thence into Lower India, where the Sikh faith had many scattered adherents. The Sikh accounts of this progress are perhaps inaccurate in detail, but it is certain that Teg Bahādur's itinerancy was designed both to foster the Sikh faith where already established and to preach the Sikh doctrine throughout Lower India. Incidentally the existing records show that the not-work of Sikh organisation had been spread as far east as Patna and even Dacca, where a masand was posted. Dacca indeed became a hazūr sangat or provincial sangat, at first under the

1 Sikh authorities say that 22 Sodhis of Bakāla each claimed to be the rightful Gurū, but they all failed to stand the test of dividing what sum one Makhān Shāh, a Ladā, had vowed to offer the Gurū when he escaped shipwreck.

2 Teg Bahādur was the 5th son of Gurū Har Govind and his wife Nānak, and was born at Amritsar on Baisakh bārī of 1678 Sambat (1621 A.D.).

3 Trumpp is almost certainly wrong in making Dhir Mal a son of Gurū Rām Dāī; Adī Granth, p. cxxv. He is cited by Macleayan, §§ 101 and 104. The genealogy given in the latter paragraph should be as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4th Gurū Rām Dāī</th>
<th>5th Gurū Arjan Dāī</th>
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<td>6th Gurū Har Govind</td>
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<td>7th Gurū Har Rāi</td>
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<td>9th Gurū Teg Bahādur</td>
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<tr>
<td>8th Gurū Har Krishan</td>
<td>10th Gurū Gobind Singh</td>
</tr>
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Pirāt Chandi (Mal),
The Mālsī.

Bābā Gurditta.

Dhir Mal.

Khasān Singh does not say whose son Dhir Mal was, but he states that he had possession of the Śārandi and supported Rām Rāi's pretensions: pp. 150-51.

4 We also find he Gurū assigning the offerings of Hānsāl and Hānsāl to Gahara, a masand who lived at Chhibra.
pontifical throne at Anandpur and later under the tabhū or archbishopric at Patna. 1 The saṅgāts thus established were not merely places of worship but also wayside refectories which gave food and shelter to indigent wayfarers and each was under a mahaū, a term equivalent to viceroy. When in 1666 Teg Bahādur visited Decca, he found prosperous saṅgāts at Sylhet, Chittagong, Sondip, Lakhkar and elsewhere and by the time of Guru Govind Singh Decca had earned the title of the home of Sikhism. 2 At Patna in 1666 was born the future Guru Gobind Singh. Not long afterwards the Guru returned to the Punjab, but Govind Singh remained in his native land until the Guru sent for him and he went to Anandpur.

Recent research has thrown considerable light on the life and propaganda of Guru Teg Bahādur. At that period the Aorpas went north to Kābul and Kandahār, Balkh, Bukhāra and even Russia, while the Khātṛis monopolised the markets of Eastern and Southern India. House when Teg Bahādur was persecuted by his Sodhi brethren and when even the mutaddis of the temple at Amritsar shut its doors against him he found adherents in the Khātṛī communities dotted all over Hindustan, the Deccan and Eastern Bengal. 3 These colonies probably preserved the secular Khātṛīya tradition of the independence of thought and freedom from Brahmanical control.

The enterprise of the Sikh missionaries and the distances to which they travelled may be gauged by the recently discovered itinerary of a pilgrim to the Sikh temples in Southern India and Ceylon. The author must have lived long before 1675, but he must have taken boat at Negapatam on the Coromandel coast and returned through Malaya, in which country he found stray colonies of Bhaṭṭa Sikhs and met Mayadaman, grandson of Shīvanāth, 4 at Sattur. Inquiries recently made by B. Gurbakhsh Singh have thrown much light on the history of Sikhism in Southern India.

The author of the itinerary mentions a viceroy at Tanjore—Aairapatī Naik. This and other indications would fix his date soon after the battle of Tallikote in Akbar's time. Other details as regards topography are also substantially correct. This account places Shiv Naṭh at Jaffna, in the extreme north of Ceylon. Sikh temples still exist at Rāmeshwar, Salur, Bhaker and Shīvkanji in Madras and Colombo in Ceylon. Old temples also exist at Burhanpur, Sūrat, 5

1 There were four of these tabhū or 'thrones' at Anandpur, Amritsar, Patna, and Nander (Haidarābād, Deccan).
2 Dacca Review, 1912, p. 225 f.
3 Jh. 1916, p. 377 f.
4 Jh. 1916, p. 376. Trumpp discredited this story, but its substantial truth must now be regarded as established in spite of the pilgrim's exaggerations in his account of the victuals consumed at the daily saggīs in the principal temple in Ceylon. The name given in the Sikh books is Shīvandhī and not Shīvanāth. Naṭh in Buddhist literature means an evil spirit and naṭh has sacred associations as in Rudra sakti etc. It is quite possible that the name was changed upon purpose and the Sikh books give it correctly as known at Jaffna. Another explanation is that Shīvanāth in Persian: character was misread as Shīvanāth by early chroniclers. Even in Gurumukhi Shīvandhī is apt to be misread as Shīvandhī, the letters s and t being so alike. For a similar reason Randa would be obliged to call himself a Khātṛīya instead of a Khatri in the Deccan, where the term Khatri is used for Dhej weavers.
Bombay (and Mahalakshmi, Grant Road), Amrāoti, Nirmal (District Adilābād—in the Nizām’s Dominions). Manuscript copies of the Granth Sahib are to be found at Bathānpur and Sūrat, and another old copy with one Bolaji Tripathi at Lonavala (Poona).

The sangat at Colombo is in Colombo fort and a Brahmin Mira Jawālā Panḍharā is now in charge. A Sindhi firm—Topan Singh Mothūwāl—claim to have been established in Ceylon from before Guru Nānāk’s time. Their head office is at Karnāi and their mahāl or agent in Colombo, Gopāl Dās by name, is still known to be a good Sikh. Certain Egyptian mummies in the Colombo Museum are curiously enough identified by the local Sikhs as Shivnāth, his wife and son! Large numbers of Khatris have been established in Bathānpur from very remote times, and are found as far south as Madras, where a Khatrī, Rāja Tuljārām, lived not many years ago in Tirmalkheri (Madras town).

At Salur where Guru Nānāk is supposed to have held discussions with yogī many matha or yogī temples are found.

Meanwhile Aurangzēb’s policy was bearing fruit. In his attempt to Muhammadanize India he had excited grave opposition and Guru Teg Bahādur recognized that if Guru Nānāk’s sequestration was to be revoked his own life must be the price of the revocation. Accordingly he sent the Kashmiri pandit who had appealed to him in their distress to make a petition to the emperor in these words:—We live on the offerings of the Khatris. Guru Teg Bahādur, the foremost among them, is now seated on the throne of Guru Nānāk and is Guru of all the Hindus. If thou art first make him a mussalmān, then all the Sikhs and Brahmins who follow him, will of their own accord adopt thy faith. The emperor accordingly summoned the Guru to Delhi and he replied that he would come after the rains. That season he passed at Saffābād with Saif-ud-Dīn whom he converted and then dismissing all his followers save five, among whom was his dūnd, Matī Dās Chhibra, he set out for Delhi. At Samāns a Pāshā offered him a refuge, but the Guru went on to Delhi. There he was seized and resisting every inducement to forsake his faith was eventually put to death. To his son Govind Rāj he sent a dying message to abide fearlessly in Anandpur. Govind Rāj, then a boy of 9, received this behest at Lakhnau, whence he and his mother retired to Anandpur.

There he received his father’s head, which was cremated at that place. Govind Rāj was then acknowledged as the 10th Guru in 1675.

The first of the Hill Rājās to accept the teaching of the Gurus was the Rājā of Haripūr, in Kāŋgra. He was permitted to see the Guru

1 Guru Nānāk, it was said, had promised Báhar the empire for 7 generations. Six emperors of his line had resigned, and Teg Bahādur would offer his own life in lieu of the 7th.

2 Saffābād lies 4 or 5 miles from Patāla.

Govind Rāj was here related by Bhikham Shaḥ, owner of Kuirān and Sīkhs, 4 miles from Lakhnau, end of Thaska which the emperor had bestowed on him. Govind Rāj guaranteed his possession of Thaska during the future Sikh domination. Govind Rāj’s close connection with leading Muhammadan is remarkable.
Amar Dás after eating from his kitchen at which food was prepared and eaten by all castes without distinction. This occurred before 1574.

In 1618 Guru Har Govind had subdued Tārā Chand, Rājā of Nāлагarh, who had been in revolt against Jahāngīr. He was brought before the emperor and the Guru for his services obtained the honorary command of 1,000 men and 7 guns, with high judicial functions and other honours.

In 1627 Guru Har Govind was invited by some of the Hill Rājās to visit their territory, but he sent Bābā Gurditta, his eldest son, to the (Jaswān) Dūn and Hindūr (Nālagarh) and he founded Kīratpur in that year.

In 1635 however we find Guru Har Govind himself visiting Rājā Tārā Chand's territory.

In 1642 he joined forces with this State and helped the Rājā to defeat the Nawāb of Rūpar.

About 1656 we find the Sikhs reducing the Rājā of Kahlūr (Bilāspur) to submission.

In 1682 Rājā Bhīm Chand of Bilāspur, in whose territory the Guru Govind Singh was then residing, demanded gifts which included an elephant called Parādī (or loans which he did not intend to return) from his guest. He deputed his wazīr, Parmānand, to obtain these exactions, but the Guru declined to lend the offerings of the Sikhs. The Rājā's personal threat of explosion was equally ineffectual and so he attacked the Guru but was routed, losing many men.

In 1684 Guru Govind Singh visited the Sirmūr territory at the Rājā's invitation and founded Pāonta on the banks of the Jamna. Bhīm Chand's defeat, however, had rankled and he leagued himself with the Rājās of Goler, Kaṭočh, Jaswāl, Kāthgār and Nālagarh against him.

In 1688 they attacked him at Pāonta and won over 500 Pathūns who had been discharged from the imperial service and whom he had

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1 Khalsa Singh, p. 118.
2 Ib., p. 123.
3 Ib., p. 183.
4 Ib., p. 139.
5 Ib., p. 143.
6 Ib., p. 164. The Sirmūr Gazetteer, p. 15, gives a slightly different account. It says that the Guru declined to surrender an elephant to Rājā Bhīm Chand and Hari Chand, both of Bilāspur, so they compelled him to leave Anandpur, then in that state, and he came to Toka whence he was brought to Nahan by the Rājā of Sirmūr. Thence he proceeded to Pāonta. Meanwhile the Bilāspur Rājā had returned the presents made by the Guru to Rājā Fateh Shāh of Gaṅgāwāl whose daughter was marrying a Bilāspur prince. This insult determined the Guru to prepare for war and at Bhargāni, 8 miles from Pāonta, he defeated both Hari Chand and Fateh Shāh. The Guru resided at Pāonta from 1686 to 1689: Ib., p. 112.
employed on the advice of his friend Budhu Shâh of Sadhur. An
equal number of Udâsî also deserted him though they had long been fed
on his bounty, and if Budhu Shâh had not joined him with 2000 disciples
the day would have gone against him. The Gurû then left Phanta for
Anandpur and founded Anandgarh, Lohgarh, Kesgarh and Fatehgarh
to keep the hill states in check.¹

The attempt of the Delhi government to collect revenue from the
hill Râjâs however led some at least of them to change sides, for we soon
find the Gurû aiding them with troops to repel a force sent against
them. Bhim Chand too had certainly concluded peace with the Gurû,
and the Bilaspur chronicles even say that in alliance with him he
defied the imperial authorities at Kangra and defeated the governor Alif
Khan at Nâdaun,² but many hill Râjâs joined Ghulam Husain Khân
in his expedition from Lahore.³ Before he reached Anandpur however
he was opposed by one of the hill Râjâs who sided by forces sent by
the Gurû completely defeated him.

1707 S.

But in 1700 disputes arose about fuel and grass and Râjâs Bhim
Chand and Alam Chand with the help of the Râjâs of Bilaspur and
Nâlagarh attacked the Sikhs in the forest, only to be completely routed.
Bhim Chand⁴ then convened a council of the Râjâs of Sirmour, Kangra,
Darauli, Parauli, Dadwâl, Srinagar (Garhwal) and other states, be-
sides those mentioned above and they attacked Anandpur with 20,000
men, but failed to take it by siege and were dispersed. But obtaining
promise of a reinforcement of 2000 men from the Mughal governor
of Sirhind they treacherously attacked him again, only to meet with
a second reverse, and yet they were able to compel Ajit Singh to evacu-
ate Kirsapur. The history of this episode is obscure. The Gurû was
apparently on friendly terms with the Râj of Basauli and in 1701
he concluded peace with Bhim Chand once more, though he had been
the leader of the confederacy against him. Soon after the Gurû visited
Rawâlsar in Mandi.

Gurû Govind Singh is said to have come up into the hills from Bilâs-
pur at the end of the 17th century and went as far as Sultânpur in Kulu.
There the Râjâ asked him to perform a miracle whereupon the Gurû
² Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bilaspur, p. 9. The year of this victory is not stated
but it appears to have been won late in Bilaspur Chând’s reign, 1636-92 A.D. R. Gurbaksh
Singh points out that it must have occurred before 1725 at any rate, as in that year
Gurû Govind Singh wrote an account of all these engagements. The elephant came from
Dacca. Unfortunately neither this letter nor the one that followed a few months later is
dated, but they were certainly sent after 1714 A.D., which is the date of the first letter,
written while peace still prevailed, though war material was being collected. So the
best dates must have occurred between 1748 and 1755 S., more probably nearer the former
date, say about 1749-50, or 1752 A.D. ¹. Gurû Govind Singh’s letter to the ancestors of the
Phâtâkâ chief, now preserved in Patiala, is dated 1753 S. It invites them to aid
him with their horses. This appears to have been the last engagement of Gurû Govind
Singh with the hill Râjâs, and an account of it is given in the Introduction to his Bâchter
Râdâh, completed in 1755 S. The dates of these engagements therefore fall between 1748
and 1755 S.
³ Rhasî Singh, p. 169.
⁴ Rhasî Singh says Râjâ Bhim Chand of Bilaspur, but a few lines before he writes
as if another Bhim Chand were meant and in this he is correct for Bhim Chand of Bilaspur
had abdicated in 1698: Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bilaspur, p. 6.
took hold of his own beard and draw it out to a great length, but the
Rājā in his turn breathed out a flame which consumed the Gurū's
beard and also had him imprisoned in an iron cage. The Gurū then
causethimselftobecarriedthroughtheair, eagere and all to Mandi,
where the reigning chief—Rājā Sihih Sain, A.D. 1034-1727—received
him with honour and treated him hospitably. Govind Singh's journey
into the hills seems to have been with the object of seeking assistance
from the hill chiefs against the Muhammandans. He remained some time
at Mandi and the Rājā became his disciple. On his departure he told
the Rājā to ask anything he might desire and it would be granted.
The Rājā expressed a wish that his capital might never fall into the hands
of an enemy, and this promise was given in the following cryptic couplet
still current in Mandi:

\[
\text{Mandi ko j營t^engo,}
\text{Asmane golo chhūt^engo.}
\]

"When Mandi is plundered
Heavenly shots will be fired."

Vigne who visited Mandi in 1839 says that down to that time the
Sikhs had never entered the capital though the State had long been
tributary to them—indeed from 1809—and for some superstitious notions
connected with the above prophecy no servant of Mahārāja Ranjit Singh
had ever been sent to Mandi. The receiver of the revenue on behalf of
the Sikhs was quartered outside the town and the Mahārājā's officer
in attendance on Vigne did not enter it.

By some the promise is said to have been made by Banda, the
follower of Gurū Govind, but there is no evidence to prove that he ever
visited Mandi.

Mandi continued to enjoy immunity from Sikh intrusion till
1840 when a force under General Ventura was sent into the hills under
the orders of Nāo Nihāl Singh, grandson of Ranjit Singh. Mandi was
occupied and the Rājā taken by treachery and sent as a prisoner to
Amritsar, where he was confined for some time in the fort of Govind-
ghūr. In the following spring, soon after the accession of Mahārāja
Sher Singh in January 1841, the Rājā was released and allowed to
return to his capital. General Ventura when returning to Lahore at the
close of his expedition took with him the trophies of 200 hill forts—
chiefly in Mandi and Kalu—including those of Kamalāghūr, the famous
Mandi stronghold which till then was a virgin fortress.

The Sirmār Gazetteer (p. 15) which is silent regarding the events
1811-27 8. of 1700-01 says that Kirat Parkāsh, Rājā of that State from 1754-
70, turned his arms against the Sikhs, taking Narāingāh, Morni,

2 The Rājās of the Panjāb, p. 580-89.
3 Mandi Gazetteer, p. 9.
4 Vigne's Travels, p. 100.
5 Mandi Gazetteer, p. 11.
6 Khanī Singh, pp. 175-8.
Pinjaur and other tracts (from them apparently). He then entered into an alliance with Rájá Amar Singh of Patiála.

According to the Bilaspur chronicles Mahán Chand, Rájá of that State, 1778-1834 A.D., waged war with the Rájás of Nálagarh and Kángra and the Sódhis of Anandpur, but they do not state expressly that the Sódhis were in alliance with those states.¹

An account of the latter Sikh incursions into the hills will be found in Barnes' Kángra Settlement Report, §§ 56-82, and one of their rule in Kulu in Sir James Lyall's Kángra Settlement Report, §§ 82-5. No attempt was apparently made to proselytise the hill people and to this day a Rájpút is very rarely a Sikh. Nevertheless there were a few Sikh shrines in the hills at Páonta, in Sirmór, and at Haripur in Mahlog is a gurudwára, the see (gaddi) of a sect of gurús widely revered by Sikhs and Hindus in the lower hills and adjacent plains. This see was founded by Jámáhír Singh,² who appears to have been the great-grandson of Gánda, founder of the Gáousháths (Volume II, p. 973).

Elsewhere in the hills hardly a trace of Sikhism exists. In Kángra Nának's teachings resulted in the foundation of a shrine near Rániwál, but it differs little if at all from any other shrine in Kángra. It is called Báwá Fathu's shrine.

Three hundred years ago a Brahman of the Bhai ríđa in Ráwalspíndi asked Bedi Báwá Parjapati for a charm, as his children had all died and vowed to give his first-born to him. The Brahman had five sons, but failed to keep his word, so two of them died. Thereupon he brought one of his sons, Fathu, to the Bedí, who kept him with him. So Báwá Fathu became a sádhí and people began to pay him visita. The Brahmans of the shrine are descendants of Báwá Parjapati, a bhágat of Guru Nának. The fair is held on 1st Baisákhi.

In Chamba Sikhism never obtained a footing.

The first mention of the Sikhs in connection with Chamba is in the reign of Ráj Singh (A.D. 1764-94), when that Rájá obtained the help of the Rámágarh Sárdáre against Jammu and Basohli in 1774-5. In the following year the state became tributary to Jai Singh Kanhiya and paid Rs. 4001 of tribute.³ This probably continued to be the case till 1785-6 when Jai Singh having been defeated in the plains was compelled to retire from the hills—the suzerainty of the hill states of the Kángra group passing into the hands of Sansár Chand of Kángra.⁴ Chamba came under Ranjit Singh's control in 1809, but was only once visited by a Sikh army in 1844.⁵

Basohli was under the Sikhs in 1783 when Forster passed through it. They had probably been called in in the previous year on account of the invasion of Ráj Singh of Chamba in 1783, referred to by Forster.

¹ Simla Hill State Gazetteer, Bilaspur, p. 7.
³ Chamba Gazetteer, p. 99.
⁵ I.b., p. 105.
The Sikhs in Chamba.

In the inner mountains of Bhadrawáh and Kashtwár Sikhism seems never to have obtained any real footing. Kashtwár was under Muhammadan rulers—who were nominally at least subject to the Durráns in Kashmir and later to Ranjit Deo of Jammu, and finally to the Rájás of Chamba, to whom the suzerainty of these states was transferred by Jammu towards the end of the 18th century.

In the outer hills from the Sutlej to the Jhelum, Sikh influence began to be felt soon after the middle of the 18th century. In their conflicts with one another the hill chieftains often called in to their help one or another of the Sikh leaders, and the latter took advantage of the opportunity thus given them to establish their power in the hills. The first of these to acquire supremacy in the hills to the east of the Rávi was Jassa Singh of the Ránggarhia wísl who had probably in the first instance been called upon for help in the way described. He assisted Ráj Singh of Chamba in expelling the Basohli army in 1775 and the latter state received help from another wísl, probably that of Jai Singh Kanhiya in 1782-3. In a similar manner, when a feud took place between Ranjit Deo of Jammu and his son Brijráj Deo in A.D. 1774, the former received help from the Bhangi wísl and the latter from the Sukarchakia wísl, the Sikhs being only mercenaries and ready to sell their swords to the highest bidder. When they came they generally came to stay, and by the beginning of the 19th century all the states of the outer hills, except Kashtwár, had become tributary.

That the tenets of the Sikh faith took root to any extent in the hills is highly improbable, though some of the Rájás may have given a nominal adherence. Between Ranjit Singh and the hill chiefs, no love was lost. They despised him as an upstart of lower status socially than themselves; and possessing no claim to their homage and allegiance. To Ranjit Singh the Rájput chiefs "were an object of special aversion, for they represented the ancient aristocracy of the country, and declined to condescend an organization in which high caste counted for nothing." 76

Among the common people however a certain amount of veneration was developed for the personality of Nának and his descendants called Bedís. For a long time probably the Sikhs in Chamba and possibly in other parts of the hills have been in the habit of transmitting a yearly offering in cash to one of the Sikh shrines in the plains and about 30 years ago this usage spread almost all over the state, but more especially in the Churáh wísdvát and assumed the character of a voluntary cess on the Hindu community. This cess is farmed out by some Bábás or descendants of Nának, residing in Chamba, at the rate of 4 okkát (nearly an anna) in cash and one wísl of grain (4 sachcha seer) for each household, the cash being paid to the Bábás and the grain going to the collector of the cess as his remuneration.

1 Chamba Gazetteer, p. 99.
2 Forster's Travels.
Ranjit Singh—Rulers of India.
Nānak as a saint is believed to control one of the infectious fevers, probably typhoid, and the offering is meant as a propitiation to ensure protection from the disease. This belief is probably prevalent in other parts of the hills also.

In the Simla Hills an Udāsi ascetic has become a Hindu god under the name of the Dughli deota, whose temple is on a peak of the Darla dhār, a smaller range running from south-east to north-west through the centre of the Sutlej, parallel with the Bāri dhār. A fair is held on

1 The last Gurū.

1 Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bīgāl, p. 6. The place-name Dughli is clearly derived from the deota whose own name would seem to mean thin or 'emaciated.'
Soon after the Gurú however began to lead a life of seclusion and the masses believed that his mind had suffered by the appearance of the Devi or some such cause.1

The account current in the hills of this event is characteristically different and illustrates the conflict between the teaching of the Sikh Gurús and the orthodox cult of Devi. The story goes that Gurú Govind before embarking on his campaign against the Turks sought the aid of Nainá Deví. He brought with him a Brahman of Benáres and for months kept up the kena. At last the Devi appeared and the Gurú, awe-stricken, presented his sword which she touched and disappeared. The Brahman, however, declared that the stigma or defect in the rite caused by the Gurú’s display of fear could only be removed by the sacrifice of one of his sons. To this he agreed, but the mothers of his four sons objected. So one of his followers was sacrificed, the goddess re-appeared and promised prosperity to his sect.2

Gurú Govind Singh was, however, bitterly opposed to Islám. The execution of his father called for retribution, and the Gurú early instituted the pokál or rite of initiation whereby a chosen few3 were admitted into a sacred brotherhood, called the Khalsa or ‘pure’ commonwealth of the Sikh votaries. To emphasize the change thereby effected in the initiates’ being the Gurú altered his cognomen, whatever it might formerly have been, into Singh,4 he himself assuming the style of Govind Singh instead of Govind Ráí.5

As the outward and visible sign of this initiation the Sikh was enjoined to wear the 5 K’s—

the kes or long hair;
the kachh or short drawers ending above the knee;
the kara or iron bangle;
the kripa or small knife with an iron handle round which the kes is rolled and fastened to the head; (some authorities give instead the khasa or steel knife);6
and the bhangá or comb.

1 Khánzán Singh, pp. 170-73.
2 Símá Hill States Gazetteer, Bihárapur, pp. 13-14.
3 According to some writers the Gurú initiated five Sikhs only by the pokál. Bokh was styled Bhái to denote that he was spiritually a brother of his fellows. These appear to be the five alluded to below. Their names were Sáhib Singh, Dáya Singh, Himmat Singh, Dhar Singh and Mohán Singh.
4 Lit. ‘Hon.’ Singh had long been an affix of name among the military classes of India, though not, I think, confined to Khatriyas (Temple, Proper Names of Panjabhs, p. 14).
5 A precisely similar change of suffix is usual (1) among ságars—in entering a religious order, and (2) among heirs to the crown—in ascending the throne.
6 Modern in Cal. Rec., 1881, p. 162.
7 The error in due appurtenance to the fact that the pokál of Gurú Govind Singh was called the khasa, pokál or initiation of the dagger, whereas Banda initiated by the charah pokál, whereas the initiate drinks water in which the Gurú’s foot (charah) has been washed; Khánzán Singh, p. 318. The Sikh was always to go armed. Malcolm says an initiate was presented with 5 weapons: a sword, fire-lock, bow and arrow, and a pike; Sketch, 2 Asianic Researches, XI, p. 235. Cunningham, p. 79.
The rite of the pahul.

In accord with, and in amplification of, these signs the Sikh initiate was enjoined, as one under a vow, not to cut his hair or beard, or indeed to shave any part of his person. ¹

¹ In Sikhism the number 5 has always had a mystical significance. Guru Govind Singh deputed 5 chosen Sikhs to Bundha's army, and bestowed on him 5 arrows to protect him in extremity: ib., p. 187.

But the pahul was the essential rite. It is difficult to say why it has ever been described as a form of baptism. The initiate, after bathing and donning clean clothes, sits in the midst of an assembly generally summoned for the purpose, some sugar is mixed with water in an iron basin and five Sikhs in turn sit by with a double-edged dagger chanting certain verses of the Granth. After this some of the solution is sprinkled over the hair and body of the initiate and some of it is given him to drink. The rites or rules of Sikh conduct are also explained to him. The solution is called amrit, and amrit chakki, 'drinking nectar,' is thus another name for Sikh baptism. The amrit is supposed to confer immortality on this new son of Govind Singh, to make him a Singh (lion) and a true Khatriya. Finally kordi, prashad (baked, sweetmeat) is distributed among those present: Nang, p. 140, cf. p. 70. At initiation the Sikh also becomes a son of Mili Singh. Pers. the childless wife of Guru Govind Singh, who asked for issue and was told she would become the mother of the whole Khalsa: Khushal Singh, p. 163. Women are also initiated by the khaada pahul and Khasan Singh says that Mughal and Sayyid women were so initiated in 1750. They were taken in marriage by the Singhs: p. 249.

On the other hand Macauliffe says that Guru Govind Singh appears to have left no instructions regarding the forms of prayer for women or their initiation in the new religion. Nevertheless then offered him homage in his wanderings ministered to his necessities and received salvation from him as the reward of their attentions. Childless women who visited him spontaneously received the gift of children. Mothers, he indicated, could avert the dread crime of infanticide by simply bathing in full costume in a sacred tank. Women are said to have fought in his battles and to have been wounded on behalf of the Khalsa and it is recorded that the sanctity and childless Muli Budg, situated in the Sikh kach and a peeda or turban, and armed with a panderas javelin, commanded a body of the ten faithful Sikhs with whom she watched over the Guru in his nightly simmers: Calcutta, 1881, p. 75.

Pundit Bheo Narain, B.B., gives an interesting history of the rite of initiation in his paper on Pahul (Sikh baptism) in Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, IV, pp. 62-7. Deriving the term from paw, 'foot;' and Xal, 'shaken' or 'stirred,' he ascribes its origin to Guru Nanak. In its inception the rite consisted of washing a toe of the Guru in a basin of water which was then sprinkled by the initiate who had to spend some time as a novice in the service of the Guru of his order and attain a certain degree of self-submersion. Bhau Kahan Singh states that the initiate also drank water touched by the foot of other devout Sikhs, whatever their original castes, so that all pride of caste was destroyed. In the time of Guru Arjan the water was not touched by the Guru's toe, but simply placed under the mango orreen of the Guru. But Guru Govind Singh greatly elaborated the rite and changed its significance.

At the khaada pahul, instituted by him, an iron vessel is filled with water and sugar, and wafer is mixed with it. Instead of being placed before the mango it is set in front of it. The presence of the Granth Sahib is indispensable, together with a reader (granthi) and five initiated Sikhs, of pure and unmixed blood, character, called pithada. (The Granth now-days represents the Guru and the five pithada the original five companions.) The novice constantly mutters the Wdi Guru, standing throughout the rite. The granthi and the five ministers then announce to the congregation that a candidate desires to enter the fold of Sikhism and on his rising singing the pawl Sahib exclaims: Saj Guru de-dary, 'the true Guru has assented.' Then prayers are offered, and the ritual presence invoked and the novices blessed by the ministers who assume the kirdana or soldierly pose. One of them holds the vessel with both hands, another fills it with water, a third pours in sugar, a fourth draws a sword and sits opposite the holder of the vessel, and the fifth, the leading minister, thrusts a two-edged dagger into the water and stirs the sugar unconsciously, while he recites the Japita, Jap Sahib, Chamat and Sukhmati from the Granth. He then passes the dagger to his colleague who repeats the recitation. On his return to him he also repeats the rite, but recites the Amandi. Then all five stand up and offer a prayer. The initiation begins with an invocation by the leading minister, after which the granthi again asks the congregation to assent and repeats the phrase Sat Guru de-dary. Then the five ministers approach the candidate who repeats the well-muttered word, the first stanza of the Japita, five times. Instructed in the
He also wore blue clothes, a colour abhorrent to the Hindu, though anciently worn by Balrám himself. He also avoided the use of tobacco.

Lastly, the Gurú enjoined ablution of the head, arms and thighs (pañjanam, or puni saṅkā, i.e., washing of 5).

The first initiates of the Gurú were 5 men of various different castes and hailing from distant parts of India. They were a barber of Southern India, a Khatri of the Punjab, a Káir of Agnánám, a Ját of Hastinapúr (Delhi), a Chipa of Dwárka in Guzerát, just, one may say, the very classes among which Sikhism has had its fewest converts.

The Gurú also denounced 5 bodies of men, viz., (i) the Mina-Dhírmallá sectaries, (ii) the Rám Ráýs, (iii) the maṇandás, (iv) the turínárs, or those who destroyed girl infants, and (v) the bhágánás, who shaved their children’s heads. The Gurú also denounced certain practices, viz., the use of the javéo, the kárma or belief in metempsych-essentials of the Sikh creed, he knew before the Gurú and site in a solitarily posture. Five handfuls of water are placed in his hands and he repeats the Wahe Gurú ka káthaa etc., over much. Then he samarías his sight by gazing at the principal minister who sprinkles the mixture five times over his face. Then the rest of it is given him to drink, and if not more than one service be initiated at the same time the cup is passed from mouth to mouth to dilute all caste scruples.

The addition of sugar to the water is accounted for by the following episode:—Gurú Govind Singh intended to use pure water in the rite, but Máthá Sáibh Dwára brought pottásha and mixed them with it. The Gurú remarked that he had meant to use water stirred by a sword, but the Wahe Gurú intended otherwise. The sweetness added signified that although a Sikh should be a soldier yet he should enjoy peace at home, with God, his Gurú and the world and that he is only to fight defensively. Tradition adds that once the Gurú split some of the water and the birds drank it and began to quarrel. The Máthá Sáibh to avert this again poisoned the Gurú to mix pottáshas in the water. Women also receive the pakhá, but in their case a single-edged dagger is used, though it is said that efforts are being made to review the ancient practice which used a two-edged one in their initiation also.

The whole history of the rite, its origin and development, shows how fundamentally it differs from the ritual significance of baptism. A similar custom will be noticed among the Baloch.

1 But Muhammadans often prefer blue to any other colour for clothes. No Sikh will or should wear clothes dyed kaśmírī; or saffron, the favourite colour of Hindu devotees. Govind Singh escaped disguised in blue clothing when he escaped from the battle of Chambán, presumably a priest of Uch.

2 Cunningham (p. 70) following Shí Shírí Êsšaî Şahîla says: “Krishna,” but Balrám is alluded to.

The list was clearly an appeal to the non-existent sentiment of nationality.

The names of Gurú Govind Singh’s hostility to the maṇandás are quite obscure. Malcolm says he put to death many of this tribe (sic), and described them as the sect who called themselves Gurús, or priests, and endeavoured to introduce heterodox doctrine; Sketch in Am. Rev. XI, p. 283. They opposed him in his propaganda of the sword, rebelled, established their own sect, and were the sangats referred to in his letters.

Other Gurús retained their maṇandás and at Gurúám in the Sindhgarh tahsil of Pátiala the Marwánás Sáhib Khatri are still maṇandás of Gurú Bátā Ráï in Dehra Dún. They are descendants of Shíl Ráï of Gondwát in Amúrás, who was appointed by Gurú Amúr Ráï and whose kibre is at Bálás in Lakhánás. They now serve the gurdwärás in Dehra Dún and also the dárás of Máthá Rájkar in Mau, Járás and Bábá Gurúka at Káspur: Pákhtún States Gazetteer, 1904, p. 96.

3 Cunningham, pp. 78-9. For bhágánás P. Shaw Naráin says “hook-smokers” (pari-ën) is now substituted in the pakhá rite, but aloofness from either class is now regarded as impracticable.
chosis, the distinction of castes (kshetras), and division of classes. Their watchwords must be Kṛṣṇās, kula-dharmās, dharma-dharma, karma-dharma. For sake occupation and family, ritual and ceremonies.\(^{21}\)

The transition from theocracy to monarchy.—Guru Govinda Singh perished or disappeared in 1708, a year after Aurangzeb had died in 1707. He was succeeded as military leader, but not as Guru, of the Sikhs by Banda, the "Slave" of the departed Guru once a Bairagi devotee but converted to the Sikh faith by the Guru's supernatural powers. But Banda was nothing more than a devoted, almost fanatical, military commander and under his leadership the political development of the Sikhs ceased. Banda's religious doctrines indeed showed Hinduizing tendencies.\(^{2}\) His rule was, however, too short to be an enduring influence in Sikhism, for in 1716 he was captured by Abdul Samad Khan, governor of Kashmir and the Punjab, and put to death at Delhi.

The Bandālī Sikhs—The régime founded by Govinda Singh was however destined, even before its birth, to be profoundly affected by separatism and even schism. The principal exponent of a more violent policy than the Guru's was the famous Banda. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 was followed by divisions among his sons. Govinda Singh found a protector or at least a sympathiser in the emperor Bahadur Shah, but he was not able or willing to restrain the activities of Banda. This man had a curious history. By birth a Rājput of Rajauri in Kashmir, he had changed his name of Lachhuaman Bāla to Narān Dās at the shrine of Ram Thaman near Kasur and became a Bairagi in 1688. But in 1691 he became a Jogī and an adept in occult science with the name of Mādhvā Dās. Meeting the Guru, probably at Nader,\(^{3}\) he was given the title of Bahadur, with that of Banda which he had earned by his submission to the Guru, together with five arrows and other weapons. But he was not initiated with the path\(^{4}\) and while imparting to him his spiritual power the Guru enjoined on him five rules according to which he was to remain strictly celibate and truthful, not to start a new sect or use a cushion in a Sikh temple, or allow himself to be styled Guru, but live in peace with the Singhis.

Banda proceeded to wage open and relentless war on all Muhmas and he was joined by the Singhis. He exacted vengeance for

1 According to Cuningham, p. 74.
2 Jh., pp. 164-5.
3 Another account makes Banda also a Punjabi Khatri of the Sālākot District—perhaps of the Kapir sect. The verses quoted at the end of this section also make him a Khatri of the Sodhi class. He was married in a Mehta or Marwadi family. The former would make him a Kapir or a Khanna and the latter a Sodhi according to the nomenclature prevalent in the Punjab. See note on p. 722.
4 He possessed a volume called the Sikh Anand, compiled by a disciple of Geradhāni: Manandhar, The Sikh Religion and Banda in Calcutta, 1884, p. 155.

This is very uncertain, as indeed is the whole question of Banda's relations with Govinda Singh: see Khalsa Singh, pp. 198-200. There seems some reason to believe that he had been active before the death of Govinda Singh and possibly it was that Guru's death which caused the leaderless Sikhs to flock to his standard.

6 Other authorities say he was so initiated.
the execution of Guri Teg Bahadur and for the treachery of the Pathans of Damla. Moreover he reduced Sdhaun in spite of its adherence to the Guri, and some four months before his death he destroyed Sirhind with merciless slaughter. To its province he appointed a governor and a divad, organised its administration and the collection of its revenue.

This victory made many join the Khalsa, but it was not followed up at least by Banda himself. One of his first acts was to chastise the Ram Bahadur of Pacl, and then after exacting contributions from Miler Koan and Rolkot he retreated to Mukhlasgarh in the hills, renamed it Lochgarh, and provided it with immense stores, but he himself retired into the Joharar hills for religious meditation. Meanwhile the Sikhs met with defeats at Tirauri and Khara; but were joined by Banda at Burial and a victory there enabled them to regain Sirhind, which they had lost. But he failed to take Jhalibsid by siege and after defeats at Ladwa and Shahabad in 1709, Sirhind was re-occupied by the Muhammadans and the Sikhs retired to the hills. Banda had apparently again retired to Lochgarh whence he emerged for another advance on Sirhind and regained all the country lost by the Sikhs. But again his triumph was short lived for he met with a crushing reverse at Saharanpur-Buria at the hands of prince Rahe-ns-shah and was driven back to Lochgarh. Thence he escaped in disguise, fleeing into the hills and getting possession of Sirhind again, but only for a short time as in 1711 the emperor's appearance in person made him seek refuge in the hills once more. At Pathankot he had a successful encounter with the Moghals, killing Shams Khán, a foydar, and Baid Khán. The emperor issued an edict that all Hindu should shave off their beards and that all Singh should be indiscriminately massacred, a step which led to the slaughter of thousands of Hindus on suspicion.

Bahadur Sháh's death in 1712 led to the usual strife amongst his sons for sovereignty and Banda took full advantage of it to occupy Sirhind again and compel the Rájás of Sirmur, Náladgarh and Bilk-pur to submit formally to his allegiance. He reduced the Muhammadan jéttrádar of Rújgar, Basí, Kiri and Bahlípur to a similar position, and in 1714 was strong enough to hold a regal darbar at Amrisar, at which he appeared in royal dress with an aigrette on his head. His

1 Khán Singh, op. cit., p. 208.
3 Lochgarh, the Sikh name for Mukhlasgarh, stood on a steep hill a few miles from Sdhaun. It was, however, not well marked on a hill, surrounded by two mountain streams, G. C. Nair, p. 110. It must not be confused with the fort in Gourdán, also styled by some, Lochgarh, ib., p. 114. But the precise site of this latter Lochgarh is also in dispute. It is identified with Gourdán itself and with a village still called Lochgarh near Shamar, but its site is probably a mound in Bathinda, a village one mile north of Gourdán: Gourdán Gazetteer, 1914, p. 18.
4 Khán Singh says Tirauri, Sirhind and Khanpur, and thus preserves that the third battle took place at Burial. He probably means Tirauri in the province of Sirhind. 1 Ib., pp. 211-13.
5 The Rájá of Sirmur was charged with having allowed him to pass through his territory and was sent a state prisoner to Delhi: 16., p. 214.
6 16., p. 215.
next step was to take Gurdaspur, Pathankot and Batála, which last named town he gave up to indiscriminate pillage and massacre, beginning with its wealthiest quarter, the khalsa of the Qázís. These events were followed by the reluctant submission of the Káŋgra chiefs.

In 1718 Farrukhsíá’s reign began and he promptly attacked the Sikhs on two sides, calling in a large army from Kashmir and sending picked forces from the east against them at the same time. The Sikhs rallied at Sirhind, but were compelled to fall back on Lahore which was besieged, until Banda saluted forth from his hill fastnesses and drove back the imperialists, thus bringing the country between Lahore and the Jumna under Sikh control. Farrukhsíá next tried to use the influence of Gurú Govind Singh’s widow against Banda, who was communicated on eight counts in that he had married, started a new creed, substituted a chāran pahul for the Sikh khand pahul, invented the war cry of fateh darag (victory of faith), in lieu of the Sikh war-cry, attired himself in royal robes, styled himself the 11th Gurú and claimed to rule the Sikhs, his followers being called Bandáí instead of the Singhás of the Gurús. Banda’s answer to these charges was significant. He said he was merely a Bairagi faqir and not the follower of Govind Singh; yet that he was merely carrying out his orders for the campaign of vengeance and the protection of the Khalsa.

This edict led to the disruption of the Sikhs, the true or Tat Khálsa holding Amritsar, while Banda went to Gurdaspur. His power lay chiefly along the Jammu border as far as Attock, but he had adherents also in Ambála whose fanejáí they defeated. But all his efforts at a reconciliation with the Tat Khálsa failed and in 1711 he was captured at the siege of Gurdaspur. He is generally said to have been put to death with great cruelty at Dehli, but another tradition is that by a mental process he survived his tortures and reconstituted himself. Refusing the offer of some Singhás to place themselves under his leadership he retired to Bhabbar on the Chenab in the Râsi pargana of Jammu where he died in 1741, leaving a son whose descendants still hold charge of his shrine.

Banda’s relations to the Tat Khálsa are not very clear. It certainly fought against him at his siege of Lahore, but generally refused to do so. It had made terms with the Mughal governors, but was certainly reluctant to join them in repressing Banda. The Imperialist attitude to the Sikhs indeed changed as soon as Banda had been captured, and the Singhás retaliated. In 1725 they proclaimed their intention of holding the Dúfáí fair at Amritsar, but the Bandáí Sikhs, still more numerous than the Singhás, disputed the claim. It was settled by lot and most of the

1 According to Macauliffe {Calcut. Rev., 1881, p. 159} he prescribed garments dyed with safflower and red turmeric in lieu of the blue clothes of the Sikhs.

2 The followers of Banda Bairagi are said to still form a sect in the south-west of the Punjab under the name of the Banda-panth: Macalister, 3 197. Cunningham also mentions them: Hist., p. 373.

3 According to Macauliffe Banda’s hostility to the Sikhs became acute in his later years and he openly proclaimed his purpose to establish himself as Gurú and offer beacetoms of Sikh opponents to Káth. Such sacrifices, initiated and sanctioned by Govind, Banda declared necessary for the success of a new religion; and his would succeed, when he had filled with human blood the Šágár or sacred cup of the malevolent deity: Calcut. Rev., 1881, p. 159. Šágár—skull.
Nádir Sháh's invasion.

Ráudáí Sikhs went over to the Tat Khála, being initiated by the šhanda pahle. Confused, desultory fighting ensued with the Imperialists, but on 1781 a Sikh force surprised their main body at Bhúllówál, 20 miles from Lahore, and then Párrukséér weakly offered them a jágir of Rs. 100,000, with the title of Nawáb to cease their depredations. This latter offer the Sikh leaders one and all rejected, but Kápur Singh of Páızullápur, then working a hand-paítkhá, was decked in the imperial robe, and proclaimed Nawáb. Whatever the truth of this story may be, Kápur Singh became a notable figure among the Sikhs. He had succeeded his father as leader of the Sikhs who subsequently formed the Páızullápurí míst in 1915, and in various battles received no less than 48 wounds. It was considered a great honour to be initiated by him and among many others Aá. Singh, Rájá of Patíaál, and many of his relations received the pahle at his hands. He paved the way for the Khála's rise to power and its transformation into a monarchy. He appears to have designated Jása Singh Auhlíválla as his successor in the leadership of the Khála.

The Sikhs or their leaders however certainly accepted the Dipálpur, Kangánwál and Jhábal pargáns in jágir and abandoning plunder contrived to subsist on its income. But as their numbers increased they divided in 1734 into two dál's or armies, one called the Budhá or veteran, the other the Táru or young. The latter had five jaltuks, companies or groups, viz. the Shahúds, Amritsíras (headed by Khátrí of Amritsár), the Dállewálás (headed by Khátrí of Dállewála), that of Bábá Káhn Singh, and the Rámílásíyas (headed by Rámídási or Mazhabí Singh). These dál's fought in unison, especially in the submontane tracts along the Jámnu border, and the division had no religious significance.

The events of the next few years can only be very briefly touched upon. It is however necessary to hark back first for a moment to Pánda's relations with the Rájáí chiefs of the Kángra hills and the adjoining tracts in the north-west corner of the Punjab plains. As already described the Kángra chiefs had reluctantly submitted to him in 1714, and he had undoubtedly found allies in the hills whence he descended in that year to fall upon the country round Batála and Kálánaur, and whirl, whether he fled when imperial troops were sent against him. In 1716 however he again entered from his strongholds, falling upon the two towns just mentioned and sacking them with much slaughter of the Muhammadans, including the famous family of Sháikh-ul-'Amál. But some of the hill Rájás sided with the Mughal governors for Abdul Samad Dáler-jang, governor of Lahore, set out in pursuit of him assisted not only by the nákim of Eínábád, Pasúr, Fáti and Kálánaur but also by Rájá Bhím Singh of Káotch and Dhrúva Deva of Jásotía.

But Nádir Sháh's invasion in 1738-9 appears to have led indirect-

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2. Thakur Singh, p. 277 f.
3. Thakur Singh, p. 277-8, where an account of Kápur Singh is given which totally negates the idea that he ever worked a pukka.
4. G. C. Norang calls it the Taránál dal, p. 129. Neither form is given in Maya Singh's Punjabi Ditty.
5. Thakur Singh, p. 297, The Dállewála of the Tarán dal appear to be quite distinct from the Dállewála míst.
6. Thakur Singh, p. 239.
ly to a general combination between the Mughal governors and the Hill Rājās to put down the Sikhs, although they had fiercely assailed the invader on his retreat. The Sikhs had seized the opportunity allowed them by the confusion created by the invasion to plunder Muhammadan villages and Nawab Kapur Singh had refused to join Nawab Zakaria Khan, governor of Lahore, in resisting them. A demand for restitution of half the booty wrested from Nadir Shah was rejected by the Sikhs and this exposed them to the enmity of Hindus as well as Muhammadans.

After Ahmad Shah's invasion of 1748 a proclamation issued for their extermination. About 15,000 Sikhs had collected in the dense jungle of Kāhmūwān which Lakhpūt Rāj Khatri, chief minister to the governor at Lahore, invested. His blockade lasted three months and when the Sikhs had exhausted their ammunition they tried to cut their way out towards the hills through Pathānkoṭ, only to find the passes all blocked by the Hill Rājās under orders from the governor of Lahore. Finally they broke through towards the south and directed their course towards the Malwa. This fight was known as the Chhota Ghullughara. Again in 1756 when Adiva Beg, governor of Lahore, fled before Ahmad Shah's invasion of that year he sought protection under the Hill Rājās.

After Banda's execution the Sikhs waged implacable war against the Muhammadans, but made no attempt to establish an organised government. In 1748, Cunningham states, the dal of the Khalsa, "the army of the elect," was proclaimed by Jassa Singh Kalāl, one of their ablest leaders and head of the Ahlūwālia misl, and a few years later he struck coins in the Mughal mint at Lahore with the legend: "Crowned by the grace of the Khalsa in the country of Ahmad, conquered by Jassa the Kalāl." In 1761 when Ahmad Shah retired from the Punjab after his great victory at Ghūnpat, Jassa Singh attacked him while he was crossing the Bisās and released about 22,000 Hindu captives, male and female. For this feat he was popularly known as Bandichhor or 'the liberator.' He also occupied Lahore. But the Sikhs had to cope with internal dissensions, for about this time the sahast, who was Hindal's successor at his shrine in Janjālā, turned against the Singhis and tampered with Nānak's biography. He had destroyed hundreds of innocent Singhis and now called in the aid of the Abdali whose forces in 1862 raised the siege of Janjālā which the Sikhs abandoned, concentrating at

* Gobal Chand Narang, Transformation of Sikhs, p. 114, citing Muhammad Qāsim's
* Thirindam, p. 81.
* Th., p. 244.
* Th., pp. 247-8
* Hist., p. 101. It would appear that Jassa Singh only revived the dal, no longer divided, but whether he gave it a new significance cannot be affirmed with any certainty.
* Cunningham, p. 108. G. C. Narang gives the inscription:
* "Sikhs sar ḍal Abūbāla ḍal,"
* "Mulā-i Ahmad gīrī Jassa Kalāl.
* Which would give rather a different meaning. He adds that the Sikhs used the old Mughal mint and that Jassa Singh was styled Pāzādī by his own followers, but the Sikhs never regarded him as such, nor did he claim any superiority over the Khalsa: p. 347. Lepel Griffin says that "Abāl," not "Khaliṣ," is the correct reading, but he points out that so much coins are extant and that the qaṭa and dāndās very, possibly struck a few to incite Ahmad Shah's resentment against the Sikhs: The Rājās of the
* Panjab, p. 401.
* Khurān Singh, p. 252.
the siege of Sirhind which they would probably have taken in that year but for the advance of the Sháh's forces, allied to the Muhammadan chiefs of Málér Kotla, Baroch and other places. Their great defeat at the hands of the Abdálí near Hathúr—the vada ghalla ghara or great defeat—followed in the same year.

Nevertheless in 1763 the Sikhs took Sirhind, sacked and destroyed it. This event virtually decided the fate of the Punjab proper as far as the Abdálí were concerned, and the generally received account is that in 1762 Alá Singh of Patiála received the first title of Rája ever bestowed on a Sikh chieftain, and though no coins of his appear to be extant he seems to have minted rupees in 1763 or two years before his death which occurred in 1765. The Sikh policy was radically changed from that time. The Phulkian chiefs became sovereigns in their own States. Tradition indeed describes how after their victory at Sirhind in 1763 the Sikhs dispersed as soon as the battle was won, and how riding day and night, each horseman would throw his belt and scabbard, his articles of dress and accoutrement, until he was almost naked, into successive villages, to mark them as his." This description may well have been true of their earlier conquests, but the old Mughal province of Sirhind was partitioned in a much more systematic way.

In 1764 the Sikh chiefs assembled at Amritsar and proclaimed their supremacy and struck the Nánaksháhi or Govindsháhi rupee which bore the inscription:

Dey na Teg na Patlak aurat he drung,
Yaft az Nána Gúra Govind Singh.
"Gurú Govind Singh received from Nának,
The Sword, the Bowl and Victory unfailing."

This inscription was adhered to in the main by later Sikh chiefs, including Ranjit Singh, though petty chiefs occasionally inserted the emperor's name. It was also retained by Nábha, but never adopted by the other two Phulkian States.

From time to time attempts were made to restore the Sikh theocracy, under representatives of the sacred Khatri families. For instance in 1800 Sáhib Singh Béli, a descendant of Báhá Nának, "pretended to religious inspiration," collected a large force, invested Ludhiana, took Málér Kotla and 'called on George Thomas to obey

1 Khazán Singh, p. 255.
2 Khazán Singh however gives a different account of the Abdálí's 'lease' of Sirhind Province to the Patiála chief. According to him it was offered by Ahmad Sháh in 1735 to the Patiála of Málér Kotla, and the chiefs of Bhiwán, but they refused it owing to their fear of the Sikhs. It was accordingly farmed to Alá Singh with the title of Rája-i-Rája, as Mahádár Bahádur and he was at the same time permitted to strike coins in his own name. The Singh chiefs declined to accept Jógas offered to them through the Rája. Khazán Singh adds that he was put under a religious ban for his submission to the Abdálí. p. 290.
3 See Griffin's Biíás of the Punjab pp. 25, 255-5. For the curious inscription on the coins of Patlá and Jíd see pp. 286-7.
4 Khazán Singh, p. 264. The téj, lit. a big cooking vessel, typifies the earth which produces food for the world: 46, p. 507. Teg Bahádur had disclaimed that designation, saying that he aspired to be called Dég Bahádur or 'the lord of bounty' not 'lord of the sword': 46, p. 150. Cf. Cunningham, p. 50, note.
5 Cunningham, p. 111, note.
him as the true representative of the Sikh prophet. But the time had gone by for militant religious leaders and the Boli soon retired north of the Sutlej.

**THE SIKH REGIME.**

The Sikh government was a curious mixture of theocracy, democracy and absolutism. At its head stood the Guró, and in later times the Maháraja. Below them was the Gurúmáṭta or council of the Guró which was in theory convened in any emergency. Of its precise constitution little is known, but it included the Sikh chiefs and was held at Amritsar. It was convened by the Akális (or according to other authorities by the granthis), and was, like them, established by the 10th or last Guró Govind Singh, its last meeting being held in 1805 when the British drove Holkar to seek an asylum in the Punjab. Its main function, or one of its chief functions, was to choose a leader of the Khalsa armies, but on occasion it acted as a judicial body, deciding a case of disputed succession. Its meetings were conducted with religious solemnity. When the members were seated the holy books were placed before them and to these they bowed with the customary exclamations: "Wáh Gurújí àá Kadá na! Wáh Gurújí àá latex.

One account has it that cakes of wheat, butter and sugar were placed upon the volumes and covered with a cloth. After they had received the salutations of the assembly its members rose, the granthis or Akális prayed, and music was performed.

When the prayers were finished the granthis bade the assembly be seated, and the cakes were uncovered, to be eaten by all, whether Hindu or Muslim or man, high or low, as a token of union in a common cause. The Akális then proclaimed: "Sirdárs! This is a Gurúmáṭta," whereupon prayers were again said aloud. The chiefs then swore on the Granthis to lay aside all feuds, and proceeded to the business of the assembly. After this council ceased to meet the Akális lost much of their influence.

After the Gurúmáṭta had ceased to meet the army gradually came to be the representative assembly of the Sikhs, and it in turn was represented by a committee or assemblage of committees, termed panch or panchá-

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1 Cunningham, p. 131.
2 Macaulay, indeed, states that the Gurúmáṭta was established by Guró Har Govind (Calcutta Repr. 1851, p. 63), while Cunningham says that perhaps the first regular Gurúmáṭta was held in 1768 when the army of the Khális assembled at Amritsar (p. 108), but it is very doubtful whether the Sikhs were strong enough in that year to hold Amritsar in any force. This is, moreover, intrinsically improbable. The Gurúmáṭta, it is most likely, was founded by Guró Govind Singh in pursuance of his general and well-defined policy, especially in view of the fact that with him the line of the Gurú would end. In 1762 the Sikhs had no known democratic leader and their whole policy was on the verge of a complete reversal, from democratic theocracy to monarchy.

Khán Singh gives a very different meaning to the term Gurúmáṭta. He applies the term to a resolution passed by any assembly of 5 orthodox Sikhs, the Guró (Gurú Singh) having laid it down that whenever 5 such Sikhs were gathered together the Guró must be considered as present among them, and enjoined that all affairs of State or religion must be considered at such an assembly: p. 205. But he adds, "all State affairs were carried out by Gurúmáṭta (resolutions of a cabinet council) and the resolutions passed were strictly adhered to.

3 Lopen Orilla: *Law of Inheritance to Sikh Chiefs*, p. 50.
4 Murray's History of the Punjab, pp. 131-2.
yet, i.e. a jury or committee of five, composed of men selected from each battalion, or each company, in consideration of their general character as faithful Sikh soldiers, or from their particular influence in their native villages. Under this system, rude as it was, the relation of the Sikh army to the State had wholly changed: it was no longer the willing instrument of the Government, but looked upon itself and was regarded by others as the Khalsa itself assembled by tribes or centuries to take its part in public affairs. Even in the crude form of representation thus achieved, the Sikh people were enabled to interfere with effect, and with some degree of consistency, in the nomination and removal of their rulers, but in this large assemblage military license was sometimes added to the popular tumult, and the corrupt spirit of mercenaries to the barbarous ignorance of ploughmen.

The head of the Khalsa exercised both spiritual and temporal authority, and this office devolved by appointment, not by natural descent, until the demise of the 16th and last Guru. Thus Bhai Nānak bequeathed his spiritual office to Lehna, a Tribhūn Khatri, who took the title and name of Guru Angad. His two sons were not even initiated as Sikhs and his office descended to Amar Dās, a Bhalla Khatri, who had served him in the capacity of a water-carrier. Amar Dās left a daughter, on whose husband Rām Dās, a Saddi Khatri, he bestowed the bapta or apostolic virtue, as a reward for her filial love and obedience. It is also said that Rām Dās' wife obtained from Guru Amar Dās a promise that the sacred office should remain with her posterity. However this may be, the fatal principle that spiritual sanctity follows natural descent was now introduced and Arjan Dev, Rām Dās' eldest son, succeeded his father. Under him the customary offerings of the Sikh converts or adherents were reduced to a systematic tax, and the first attempts at regular administration were made. On his death his brother Pirthi Chand aspired to the succession, but his son Har Govind, although only a boy of eleven, was acknowledged as Guru. Har Govind was succeeded by his grandson, Har Rāi, the younger son of his elder son, Gurditta.

Har Rāi also left two sons—Rām Rāi, the offspring of a hand-maiden and Har Kishen. The latter was duly acknowledged, but died in childhood, and the succession passed to Teg Bahādur, the third son of Har Govind. From him it descended to his only son Govind, the tenth and last of the Gurūs. But on his death in 1708 the line of the Gurūs came to an end, for, in anticipation of his death, after he had been mortally wounded by one of Painda Khan's two sons, he appointed the Granth Sāhīb as his successor, with the customary rites of a Gurū's installation, and entrusted his Khalsa to the bosom of the ever-lasting Divine, declaring that the appointed ten had accomplished their mission.

Guru Govind organised the Sikhs as a militant democracy. He

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1 Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, pp. 235-4.
2 Pirthi Chand however retained a few followers, called Minor according to Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, p. 37 n. His descendants hold Gurd Har Sahib in Ferrosepore.
3 This is Murray's account—in his History of the Punjab, I, 97. Cunningham, however, speaks of the Mal as Guridita's younger son: p. 64 n.
instituted the *pahul*, a rite of initiation, on the one hand; on the other requiring his followers to break the Brahminical thread; and this rite was far from being merely religious.

The initiated Sikhs (*pahulis* or Singhs) formed the Khālas, the 'chosen' or 'elected,' the commonwealth or state of the Gurd and year by year the *saracet Khālas* or whole Sikh people met once at least at Amritsar during the Dasahrā.

This commonwealth was organised into a number of *mīls* or confederacies.

These confederacies were loosely organised and varied from time to time in power, and even in designation. They are usually recorded to twelve in number, but more correctly as eight, supplemented by four *dehras* or camps.

The following were the Sikh *mīls*, and the castes from which they were, at least mainly, recruited:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Capital</th>
<th>Possessions allotted in 1760</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>The Bhangis, so called because they were addicted to hemp (Bhang)</td>
<td>Jātī</td>
<td>Amritsar</td>
<td>Amritsar, Turā, Tāmā, Gujrāt, Wāstāndhāl, Sāhib, and Chintī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Nakūlās, or standard bearers, from sikhs, a standard</td>
<td>Kālīkās and Rangratīs, or converted Europeans</td>
<td>Amālā</td>
<td>Harjū, Ahmedpur, Bejāla, and Munkūrās; everyone on the Bāsā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Rāngpurīs, from Rāngpurī, a village near Amritsar</td>
<td>Todhī or Bhātīs (carpenters) and Jāti</td>
<td>Sri Harjū, Ahmedpur</td>
<td>Harjū, Ahmedpur, Bejāla, and Munkūrās; everyone on the Bāsā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Abhūārīs, from Abhū, a village near Lahore</td>
<td>Kālīkā</td>
<td>Kālīkā</td>
<td>Nūrānā, Telwāndi, Phagwā, Ramī, Phālā, and Harsā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Kanāvī or Ghanīs, from Ghanī, a village near Lahore</td>
<td>Kālīkā</td>
<td>Kālīkā</td>
<td>Kūlā, Sohānī, Nān, Surhā, Bohunī, Bāhī, Nānuk, Kālā, Pāhān, and Surhā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Pañalsurphīs, or Singhpurīs</td>
<td>Jāttī</td>
<td>Jūllīnā</td>
<td>Jūllīnā, Hālitpur, Pātī etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Sohā-Chakīs</td>
<td>Jāttī</td>
<td>Sohānā</td>
<td>Gujārnā, Hālitpur, Pātī etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Dāllāwāls</td>
<td>Jāttī</td>
<td>Dāllā</td>
<td>Nākōr, Talbānī, Dāllā, Bāhō, Bāhō, Phālō, and Lāhān etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 *Pahul* possibly means 'gate.' *Gāte* if this is so, the idea underlying the rite has some striking analogies with the modern *Pārād*. But a better explanation is that it means 'shutting,' as a blacksmith hardens soft iron.

2 *Khāla* for Khālas, A.: lit. pure, special, free. In India, its original meaning was apparently 'crown province' or dominion (Tābaqah-I-Nāshir, Harry's Translation, 31. pp. 745, 767 bis, 788 bis. Khālas was originally used to denote the followers of Guru Govind as opposed to the Khālasas, i.e., those of Guru Nanak, but this latter term has now fallen almost entirely out of use.

3 Cunningham, p. 112.

4 *Mīl* is also an Arabic word, meaning, literally, 'alike' or 'equal.' For the synonym among the Sikh Sirdūrs see Lawrence's *Adventures in the Punjab*, pp. 131, 132 (6).

5 This word is of obscure origin, and various etymologies have been proposed, but it is suggested that it is a corruption of the English word 'recurve.' It occurs at least as early as 1846 in Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* (pp. 75 n. and 379) but *landhar* (from number) appears to have been adopted quite as early by the Sikhs.

6 Not to be confused with the Dāllāwāls of the Turā Jāl.
Territorial divisions.—The Sikhs formed several territorial groups. The two principal divisions were, and still are, the Mānjhi and Mālwa. The former derived its name from the Mānjhi or "midland" and originally included all the Sikhs north of the Sutlej, while the term Mālwa was applied to all south of that river, though the Mālwa only includes the tract which lies between Sirhind and Sirsa. But besides these two divisions minor groups were distinguished. The Sikhs settled in the Sind Sāgar Doāb were known as Dhanigheb Singh, and those in the Chinnat Doāb as Gujarāt Singh. Those of the Rachna Doāb were designated Dharpi Singh, the term Mānjhi being sometimes confined to the Sikhs of the Mānjhi proper. The Sikhs in the Jullundur Doāb were known as Doāb Singh, and those of the country south of the Sutlej as Mālwa Singh.©

* Taxation.—From the tracts of country which the Sikhs subdued but could not hold, they exacted ṛakhī or the price of protection. This tribute was regularly levied and varied in amount from a fifth to a half of the revenue or government share of the produce.®

The Sikh military resources.—The great mass of Sikhs were horsemen and speedily became famous for their effective use of the matchlock when mounted. Infantry was used almost solely to garrison forts, and cannon, among the early Sikhs, was unknown. Very varying estimates were formed of their numbers. In 1783 Forster estimated them at 200,000, but others put them at 300,000 men! Browne reckoned them at 75,000 horse and 25,000 foot. Twenty years later Franklin declared they mustered 248,000 cavalry, but, apparently on George Thomas'

© Khāsā Singh justly describes this as a religious rather than a military body; p. 230. It was a militant order of Sikhsim, but not to be confused with the Akhāli or Nihang: as G. C. Nasang appears to suggest; p. 180. Founded by Dhīp Singh, Jāt of Pān in Amritsār: its most prominent member was Sāhī Bahādur Singh.

® Sometimes called, quite erroneously, the Nagarās.


+ Murray, I. 31.

© Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, p. 113 a.
authority, subsequently reduced their effective strength to 64,000, within 1890, only 40 field guns.

In later times the Sikhs enlisted Muhammadans in their light cavalry and they were called 

*Sikh quirts.*—According to Osborne the quoit is an arm peculiar to the Akāls. It is a steel ring, 6" to 9" in diameter, and about 1" in breadth, very thin and with its edges ground very sharp. The Akāls are said to be able to stop off a limb at 60 or 80 yards distance, but Osborne had a poor opinion of their skill.

*Rosaries.*—The Sikh rosaries are:

- All Sikhs ... *lohe ki māta*, of iron beads.
- Nānakpanthis ... *sphatik*, white crystal.
- Kūkas ... *un ki māta*, black (and white) beads of wool.

Sikhs also use a rosary of 37 beads and a head bead, black and made of iron.¹

*Sikhism in art.*—In art Sikhism cannot claim an exalted place. The Sikhs had indeed begun to counteract some of the tendencies of the later Muhammadan style. The Sikh wood-carving was their most characteristic medium. It is distinguished by elaborately lined and twisted foliage, with small grotesque figures of men and animals, and it retained the late Mughal pillar, pilaster and *mutčāb*, with flatness of relief, absence of undercutting, a free use of geometric diapirs, incised in line merely, in relief or in framed lattice-work.²

The following notes supplement the account of the Akāls (Vol. II, p. 9) and that of the Nirmala (III, p. 172):

*The Bibeks Akāls*—The strictest of the Akāls acquired the title of Bibeki (from a Sanskrit word 'meaning discrimination') or 'the conscientious' and engrafted on their own creed all the prejudices of Hinduism. With the Vaishnavas they would not eat meat or any article of food or drink not prepared with their own hands. To such an extreme was this rule pushed that they would not taste food cooked by their wives, eat fruit bought in the market or drink water which they themselves had not drawn from the well. They considered it a sin to eat bare-headed and would pay a fine to the temple if they did so inadvertently. They did not remove the hair from any part of their persons and in lieu of the Hindu *jāma* wore a sword. They were very strict in wearing the 5 *Ks* and will not drink water without immersing in it a knife or dagger. They added the word *singh* as an affix to all substantives and sometimes the other parts of speech, and they transposed all feminine nouns into the masculine gender. Thus they would say: 'place the inkstand *singh* on the table *singh*,' and *kangt* a comb became *kangā*.

Some Akāls call themselves Nihangs, from *nihang* 'a crocodile.' Their high-peak turban is said to have earned them this title from

¹*I. N. Q., IV, § 146.
²*Journal of Ind. Art, I, p. 39.*
Gurd Govind Singh, but another version has it that during one of Zaman Shah's marauding inroads they donned the high-peaked turbans of the Turki soldiers and so disguised attacked his force at night and destroyed it. Yet a third account is that the lofty turban of zambal ("high-tailed") was not adopted by them till Ranjit Singh's time when the example of Bhola Singh, a gigantic Akal whose height was enhanced by his high-peaked turban, induced them to adopt a similar head-gear.1

Authorities differ as to the origin of the blue dress. It is said to have been adopted in imitation of Gurd Govind Singh who escaped by donning the blue garb of a Muhammadan pilgrim to Mecca and personating a priest of Ush when he was driven from Chamkaur and pursued into the wastes round Bhatinda.

According to Maunsillie2 the Nirmals do not deem the pahul or rite of initiation of vital importance though they are baptised Sikhs. Many do not wear long hair and for the kach they substitute the loosely tied lungagha or loin-cloth of the Hindu jagir. Above all they wear the ochre-coloured bhagwa, a colour forbidden to all true followers of Gurd Govind Singh.

Some account of the Sanwal-shahis, an off-shoot of the Sikhs, will be found in Volume III, page 380 infra. The conjecture put forward in the Punjab Census Report, 1902 (page 135), that they are identical with the Chawal-shahis appears correct, since their founder Somán was an Ari of the Chawala section. The title of Shah was bestowed on him by Gurd Arjan as a reward for his zeal in helping to construct the Hari-mandar tank at Amritsar. To its cost he devoted his income. His descendants continued to serve the Gurú and when the tenth Gurú gave ari to his disciples Mihar Shah, a descendant of Somán Shah, was allowed to take it also. Hence the Gurú added the title of Singh to that of Shah and his descendants still bear the double title. The Gurú also conferred on him the right to levy sikhat in Sindh etc. and made him Gurú of those parts of India. He also bestowed on him 5 gifts, viz. a writ of appointment, a copy of the Granth in his own handwriting, a drum, a hammer and 5 sers of khichri. He was enjoined: (1) to keep alive the memory of kæl (death) and Akal (God); (2) to propagate religion and take peaceful measures for the public weal; (3) to rise in the last watch of the night in order to show humility by worshipping God; (4) to maintain the Gurú's langar; (5) to lead people to the right path; and (6) to cherish a sincere belief in the bavann (sayings) and bds (hymns) composed by the Gurú. Many people of all castes, Brahmanas, Achárajas, Bhats, Khatri and other Hindus became his disciples. His followers are to this day found in Kábul, Kandahár, Khost, Bangash and Dáwar, as well as over the Western Punjab. They pay an annual nazarud as well as dues at marriages and deaths.

3 Sikhí was equivalent to the jassaná or else replaced that title, the right to collect which had been abused by the manandás.
Mihar Sháh Singh’s son, Gharb Sháh Singh, followed in his father’s footsteps. Of his three sons, Himmat Sháh Singh, Samran Sháh Singh and Sanwal Sháh Singh, the eldest had a son Sundar Sháh Singh, whose descendants, found in Isá Khel, Lakhí and Bannu, are known as Sundar Sháhís. The descendants of the other two sons are found in Bhakkar and Dera Ismaíl Khán. Of them one family went to tábáil Rangpur and one to Odo-Sultán in Jhang. The Sanwal Sháhís must not be confused with the Bháí Khel, who are not Cháwalas but Hojá. They collect nárána in the Western Punjab and pay a fixed contribution to the Gurús of Gurú Koṭ and Har Saháí in Ferozepur but do not act as their agents, and if they cease to pay their quota they cease also to collect nárána. All affect the title of Singh, whether they wear the kes or not. The Cháwala Sanwal Sháhís take brides from the Utrádha Aroras and give them to be Bháí Khel and others.

SOME SIKH SHRINES.

The principal Sikh shrines are at Amritsar and in the Gurdáspur District. A description of them here would require too much space, but a few notes on the lesser shrines in Gurdáspur and elsewhere may be of interest.

In Gurdáspur the mandír at Dehra Bábá Nának is visited by Sikhs on the Baisákhi, on the púran mání in Káthak, the Diwáli, and from 21st to 23rd Phágán when the Chola Sáhib ceremony is observed. Built in 1744 S. the mandír contains the tomb of Gurú Nának. Its affairs are managed by an Udási mahant who is celibate and succession is governed by spiritual descent. A bhoj of kañh párvád is offered every morning and on fast days milk is offered as such.

At the Tábáli Sáhib mandír no fair is held. Bábá Sri Chand is said to have cleaned his teeth here with a dátan (toothbrush) and to have planted it in the ground. From it sprang the tábáli tree, after which the temple is named. Portraits of Gurú Nának and his son Bábá Sri Chand are painted on its walls. Its affairs are managed by an Udási mahant who is also celibate. Food cooked in the temple is offered to the Gurús. Another Tábáli Sáhib has a similar origin. It also is in charge of an Udási mahant.

At the mandír of Sri Chola Sáhib annual fairs are held on the púran mání in Káthak, Baisákhi, Diwáli and on 21st, 22nd and 23rd Phágán. It is called after the Chola Sáhib or ‘gown’ preserved in it. Founded in 1941 S. it contains a Gurú and its affairs are managed by Bábás, but its pújári is a Bedi who is not celibate and succession is governed by natural relationship.

Connected with this are some smaller temples in the town—all managed by the mahant. Another Sri Chola mandír is visited on 21st, 22nd and 23rd Phágán. Founded in 1947 S. it contains nothing but the chola. Its pújári is a Bedi who is not celibate A bhoj of flowers is offered in the morning.

A shrine of peculiar interest is the mosque (masjíd) of Gurú Har Gobind Sáhib. No fair is held here. An adversary of this Gurú in the
At the **mandir** of Manji Mátá Sáhib no fair is held. It is said that the mother (madé) of Gurmukh Bhág Singh, a descendant of Dhir Mal, performed her devotions on a bed where the present temple stands. The date of its foundation is not known. It contains the Manji Sáhib or bedstead. Its **pujári** is a Brahman, appointed by the Gurmukh of Kartápur. It is connected with the chief **mandir** in Kartápur.

At the Damdama Sáhib **mandir** a monthly fair is held every **púranmásáhi**, and once a year on the Baisákhí.

**Guru Har Gobind** used to walk along the bank of the Beas to practice archery. After his death it was revealed in a vision to Bhai Káhm Singh that the point of an arrow once shot had stuck in the tharra or platform which formed the Gurmukh’s seat. He was also directed to build the **mandir**. Founded in 1655 S., it contains no image, but a Granthi is kept in a báradari. Its affairs are managed by an Udásí sádhu. A bhog of kórdh parshad is offered to the Granth, a sacred lamp is kept lit and fire burning at all times.

The history of the Darbá Sáhib in Nichá Kalán in Batála tahsil, a **gurdwára** at which 4 fairs are held, on the Baisákhí, during the sáhích, on Mágíh 1st and the Aúkás of each month, is obscure. An old mat, it is said, had been given the power to work miracles by Guru Nának. He lived in the village of Rám Dá. After his death, one Sáhib Rám Kaur, seventh in descent from him and blessed with the same gift, was installed on the gudá. But of his four sons, Kishen Kaur, Mohar Singh, Anúp Singh, and Jawáhir Singh, only Mohar Singh succeeded him. He was on bad terms with his brothers, and so once when Sáhib Rám Kaur and Anúp Singh went out shooting they found themselves shut out of the temple on their return. By the advice of the neighbouring villagers they took possession of land in Nichá Kalán where after Anúp Singh’s death a **mandir** of brick was built—nearly 200 years ago.

At the **mandir** of the Darbá Sáhib in Dera Báká Nának fairs are held on the **shakhránt** or 1st of every Hindu month, and also on the **púranmásáhi**. Guru Nának’s wedding was celebrated here in the light half of Bhádon in 1548 S. His father-in-law was Mulá, a Khatri, and this **mandir** was erected in commemoration of the marriage. Maháraja Sher Singh began the masonry building but it was not completed till after his death, according to the **janamátkí**. The **Gránth Sáhib** reposes in its centre. On all four sides are rooms for **parkar-ádu** or circumambulation. On its walls are pictures of the ten Gurmukhs. Its manager is an Aroha of Batála, and his duties are to recite the **Gránth** and look after the **mandir**. The **mantras** for worship are **sháds** or hymns from the **Sákhdri** and **Gránth** Sáhibs.
Hindus and Sikhs offer cash, grain, clothes etc. At 9 A.M. kacha bhog or bhog is offered. A bhog of karah is offered on the sankranti, amavasya and parvanash, i.e. on the new and full moon days of each month. During the night lamps are lit. The masonry thara on which the wedding party of Guru Nanak rested is much respected by the people.

The Darbar Sahib fair at Barbata village is held on the Baisakhi-Bawa Sri Chand, its founder, came here to meditate on God. The Granth reposes on a Manji Sahib. The pujari is a Sarsut Brahman and recites the Granth daily. He also feeds all travellers lodging in the mandir. A bhog of food prepared in the morning or karah parshad offered by votaries is first laid before the Granth Sahib and then distributed among those present.

A curious feature of the Patshi Sahib at Lahore, which includes a number of buildings in a walled enclosure, is the fact that a sanad of Nag deela is found in it side by side with one of Bawa Sri Chand, and another of Kubha Diwan, the hump-backed accountant of Ranjit Singh, which no sanctity seems to attach.

The Guru Sar or 'tank of the Guru' at Khosa Kotla, in Zira tahsil, Ferozepur, lies near the village where the Manji Sahib of the 6th Guru, Har Gobind, is kept. It was founded nearly 100 years ago. An Udasi sadhu is in charge and a fair is held on the Magh festival. Visitors, both men and women, dig earth from the tank and make offerings of grain, gur, milk, cash etc., all of which the sadhu takes to the Manji Sahib before which they bow. Karah parshad or confection is distributed among them. Earth is also dug from a chhapar or pond of Babi Andehr, but no fair is held at it.

The sthan or sanctuary of Guru Har Gobind in Sanir village is also called Guru Sar. A fair is held there at the Magh and Baisakhi when the Granth is opened and read, Sikhs paying it special reverence and making offerings to it. The temple was founded nearly 150 years ago. Its pujari is a Soothe. The Granth is opened on the 1st of every Hindu month and verses recited. At the gurdwara situate at Takhtupura an annual fair is held on the 12th January. Most of the visitors are Sikhs who bathe and make offerings to the temple. The village was founded by one Takht. Babi Nanak is said to have honoured it with his presence, and so did Gurus Har Gobind and Gobind Singh. The tank near the temple was made by Ranjit Singh, and some small gurdwarae are attached to it. It is in charge of an Udasi.

The mandir at Daroli in tahsil Moga is called Mata Damodari, and two annual fairs are held at it, one on the Lohri, the other on the Baisakhi. Mata Damodari was a goddess and a disciple of Guru Har Gobind, and her tomb lies near the mandir. This temple was built in S. 1710. No Brahman is employed as the pujari is always a Sikh. He keeps the mandir clean, washes the chabutra or platform in the morning and lights a sacred lamp in the evening. Lastly a drum is beaten. At a maffri near the mandir a lamp is lit every evening. The maffri is also
washed in the morning. The temple at Sirai Mangha in tahsil Muktsar is known as Guru Nanak Ji ki Gurdwara and a fair is held there on the Baisakhi. While touring through the country, Guru Nanak came to this place and while resting on a mound used a dastar or toothbrush which he thrust into the ground. It grew into a tree which still thrives. Some 60 years ago one Bhai Bala raised a wall round the mandir. The mandir contains no image, but only a stone with Guru Nanak's foot-print on it. Its administration is carried on by the Bhai's descendants and they employ an Udasi, who keeps it clean, paints a lamp in the evening, and gives food and water to travellers from the langar. The servants of the mandir had always been sadhus, and succession had been governed by spiritual relationship until the death of Bhai Bilu whose natural descendants succeeded him as he left no disciple. At the fair the Granth is recited and kirtan kathād offered as bhog to it. Visitors make offerings and receive kathā parshad which they deem sacred. A lamp is always kept burning and Hindus also make offerings to the Granth.

The mat or monastery of Guru Angad is at his birthplace and people makes vows and offerings to it if their prayers are fulfilled. The pujaris take all the offerings. No lamp is kept burning.

The Gurdwara known as the Sri Darbar Sahib is the scene of a fair held from the 1st to the 3rd of Magh every year. It is so called because when Guru Gobind Singh fled before the Mughal army he took shelter here and recited the Granth on May 17th, 1707. Ever since then the fair has been celebrated. In olden times the tank here was called Isbar or Khandrana, but after the battle in which his followers fell and received mukt or salvation it was named Mukatsar or the 'pool of salvation'.

The mandir was founded in 1718, and was built by Sardar Udhe Singh of Kaithal. The Darbar Sahib contains a sword, disc etc. Its administration is carried on by a Bhandari Khatri, and by the 11 members of the Darbar Sahib.

Two of them are attached to the mandir to supply water and prepare and distribute food. The manager is responsible for all the expenditure. The members meet at night in the temple after the raat-i-ras or evening prayer, and before the distribution of food, some 10 loaves with pulse are offered to the Granth, a conch being sounded to inform those present in the temple that the food is ready. It is then brought out and distributed among them and they receive the loaves which are believed to be sacred. All that remain are taken to the langar. Offerings are made by Hindus in general as well as by Sikhs.

Other temples connected with this are:—the Shahid Ganj, Ttibbi Sahib, Mukh-manjan Sahib and Tamba Sahib. The Shahid Ganj is where Guru Gobind Singh's followers were slain and burnt. The Tibbi Sahib is where he fought the enemy. This sanctuary lies a mile to the west of the Darbar Sahib. From it the Guru went to the waste lands, west of the Tibbi Sahib, which are called the Mukh-manjan Sahib, because the Guru cleaned his teeth there. The Tamba Sahib is
so called because Gurú Gobind Singh pitched his tent there. It was founded by Mahárája Karm Singh, Chief of Patiála, in 1900.

The mandir in Gurú Har Sahí is called 'Pothi-Mála.' No fair is held here, but the Baisákhi is observed as a fair. It is so called because it contains a pothi or religious book and a mála or rosary said to have belonged to Gurú Nákán, and its foundation dates from his time. They are kept by the Gurú's descendants, who hold charge of the temple, in the house believed to have been occupied by him. Ten years ago a new building was constructed and the mála and pothi brought from Chúnán and placed therein. The gudá is always occupied by the eldest son of the family. When people come to do homage to these relics the pujári bathes and dons the topi, chola etc., which were worn by Gurú Nákán. He then displays the pothi and mála, provided a ushrána of Rs. 101 is laid before them. Karák parshád is offered daily as bhog.

When votaries in distant places, such as Bannu, Kohát, Pesháwar, Hazám and Kábul, dedicate offerings to Gurú Nákán at weddings etc. they are sent to this temple.

The temple at Chúnán in Lahore is connected with this mandir, and it is held by a member of the same family. An ordinary fair is held there on the Baisákhi.

At the samádh of Bhái Sarúp Dás at Bagáuká, a fair is held on the Baisákhi. Some 50 years ago the corpse of Bhái Sarúp Dás was burnt at this spot, where his disciple Páran Dás built a samádh in 1921. The administration of the mandir vests in Bhái Sáhib Dás, a disciple of the late Páran Dás. But an Udási disciple, who is employed in the mandir, lives in a separate house near the well attached to the main temple which he keeps clean and in which he lights a lamp. Only the Bairagi sádhus however officiates in the temple, and he receives all the offerings with a fee of Re. 1-1-0 at every wedding. On the Baisákhi karák parshád is offered as bhog and then distributed among those present. A lamp is always kept burning in the temple. All Hindus make offerings according to their means.

At the temple called Gupt Sar a fair is held on the Baisákhi. When Gurú Gobind Singh during his war with the Muhammádans reached this place his soldiers demanded their pay and he found a hidden treasure in a tank most of which he distributed to them. The balance, it is said, disappeared at the same spot. Hence the tank came to be called the Gupt Sar or tank of the hidden store. The temple possesses a chakkár (disc) and jhanda (banner). No Brahman is employed, but a lamp is kept burning and Hindus make offerings to it. Cash collected is spent on the upkeep of the mandir.

At the Gurúdwará in Ropána no fair is held. The people gather there on the Baisákhi and offer karák parshád. Gurú Gobind Singh threw away his used útan or toothbrush here and it turned into a green tree, a miracle which caused people to worship the place. In the temple are deposited a chakkár, nisháda (standard) and other weapons. Its administration is carried on by the present pujári, a Jat. No Brah-
man is employed. It rests with the residents of the village to employ any person whom they deem fit. It is said that once a Sikh Gurū visited this place, and after his departure it was held sacred by the Hindūs and Sikhs who bathe in the pond. The use of chāras and bhog is not common. A lamp is lighted at the temple.

At the mandir called Faqir Sar in Muktsar, taksil an annual fair is held.

At a pond in Bhondar village, a fair is held annually at the Baisākhi. As Gurū Gobind Singh's horse drank water from it people bathe in it every year, but no building is attached to it. Formerly a faqir used to live at the pond but after his death some 12 years ago, people simply collect on the day of the fair to pay homage to the pond and play sanuchi.

At the mandir of Gurū Gobind Singh at Haripur near Abahar, two fairs are held, one on the pūran muktīs in Kētak, the other on the Chetar chandals in Chet. About 800 persons, Bāgri Jāts etc., attend them. Charn Dās took up his abode in Haripur in S. 1927, and founded the temple in Sāwan S. 1943. When the people of the Bāgar began to worship the mandir he sank a well for drinking water. When he had got 1½ yards down, an iron box was found in which were an image of Nārsingh, an iron disc, a footprint of Gurū Nānak on a stone, an iron rod, a sword, a closed book etc. The image of Nārsingh is carved on a stone slab. These things were sent to Mr. Wakefield, then Deputy Commissioner of Sirsa, but they were brought back and placed in the mandir. Since then Hindūs frequent it to see the relics. The footprint on the stone is regarded as that of Gurū Nānak and a hand-print on the other side is supposed to be that of one Kirpāl Udāsī. The administration of the mandir is carried on by one Charn Dās. Its income from offerings is estimated at Rs. 125, excluding Rs. 7, the value of the grain offered, which is divided equally between Charn Dās and the Bishnūī faqirs. The former keeps the mandir clean and burns incense twice a day. Karah parshād is distributed among those present. The fair is patronized by Jāts, Aorūs, Sikhs, Bāgrīs and Bishnūs. It only lasts one day.

At the Gurū Sar in Bāzīdpur, taksil Ferozepur, a fair is held on the Basant-pauṇch. Gurū Gobind Singh rested here for a short time, so the place was held sacred. In the time of Ranjit-Singh a faqir constructed a gurdwāra. At the fair the Faridkot State supplies 50 manas of grain and one of salt for the requirements of visitors who are all fed free. Bāwā Sīlha Dās faqir, a Chhīmba, lives in the temple and recites the Granth in the morning. Disciple successed gurū. A kettle-drum is beaten at night. Chāras is not used nor is there any rite of bhog. Lamps are lit in the evening. The gurdwāra in Sayyidpur is connected with this.

In Ludiāna the Bhāi Bālā fair is held on the 10th sudd of Māgh in the waste land of Dad. Bhāi Bālā was a disciple of Gurū Nānak and at his samādī here about 10,000 people from the neighbourhood visit the fair. Hindūs offer grain, cash etc., which are taken by Masand Khatris of Kulhāni in Patlā. People also bring curds made the pre.
vious night, and after being presented to the shrine they are distributed and eaten. There is also a pond here, and people attending the fair consider it a religious duty to dig out of it seven handfuls of earth with their hands.

A temple in Kângra is:

| Mandir Pera Bâna Nânak | Udasi | None | Food cooked by the pujârî is offered as bhog, but on the first day of every month hâlî or confection is prepared and offered to the Grânth. A sacred lamp is lit daily. |

A Sikh gentleman contributes the following instructive note on Sikh ideals:

The Guru observed:—"All men are suffering in one way or another; the source of all misery is attachment to material things. Desire generates attachment; desire precedes illusion. Illusion is removed by the knowledge of the spirit; the spirit lives in every particle of the universe; it lives within us, without us and everywhere. God is all. Life, 'Knowledge,' and 'Bliss,' and to know God is to be God. Therefore happiness cannot be obtained in material enjoyment but in the knowledge of God. This is the essence of Sikhism. Until the soul has become free from desire of material objects, it has to suffer births and rebirths under the law of transmigration of souls.

The stages of practice.—The next question is how to become one with God and secure a stage of eternal happiness. The Guru says there are three stages:—(1) Discipline, (2) Meditation, and (3) Gâuna.

(1) Discipline.—The beginner must begin by keeping the company of good people (sâkâ-singha) and cultivate purity of character. Character (achar) supplies the soil for the sowing of the seed which is meditation on the name (Nâm) and gîna is the fruit (sukhphal). Discipline means total subjugation of the lower instinct (ausri gunas), of lust (kâm), anger (kârote), blind attachment (moh), covetousness (lobh), vanity (akangkâra); and development of the higher virtues (dauni gunas), such as the proper use of the bodily essence (sâh), contentment (santokh), kindness of all forms of life (dâya), faith in Divine existence (dhyâma), purity of body and mind (sach), charity and benevolence (dâna), toleration (dhruv), and thoughtfulness (vichâr). To discipline his mind one must always keep (sâh sang) the company of holy men and learn to live independently by earning an honest livelihood. True
discipline is cultivated not by living in seclusion but by leading a life useful in all respects. The Guru's tenet is: 'Fulfil all the duties of domestic and social life, but let not your heart forget your spiritual nature.'

(3) Meditation. — When the character-building is complete the adhikari is initiated into the society of the pure (khalsa). He is baptised (given amrita) by the 5 chosen Khalsa (Panch Guru Khalsa) and taught the method of meditation on the true name (Satnam). The message communicated to him at the amrita nishan: 'Henceforth you belong to the community of the Khalsa, your father is Sri Guru Gobind Singh (protector of the universe), your mother Sahib Devi (the supreme power), your abode Anandpur (the city of bliss), your caste Soth-bans (the family of the Lord). You will be bound to wear the 5 national symbols (rati of the five kesi). (i) The keshe, to preserve your brain in its normal condition. This is the sign of Yogi, implying abhorrence of all artificialities due to the desire to appear beautiful. (ii) Kach, meant to teach you the habit of using the life-fluid properly. (iii) Kirpan, to teach you the necessity of cultivating physical development and warn you against the danger of bodily deterioration. (iv) Kara to bind you to obedience of the Guru's law as given in the Holy Granth: (v) Kangha, as the comb keeps the hair pure, even so twice a day you should try to purge away all filthy thoughts from your mind. You shall also recite five hauis every day:—

1. Japp — Comprising the main principles of Sikh spiritualism, ethics and divinity.

2. Jap — Giving the attributes of God, personal and impersonal.

3. Sevayas — Inculcating the transitoriness of material enjoyments and emphasising the brevity of human life.

4. Rakirás — The prayer for peace.


You shall believe in the Guru as the 10 manifestations of one and the same Lord: and obey the commandments given in the Holy Granth.

You will have to meditate on the holy name with full concentration of mind every day in the early morning.

You must perform all ceremonies (saursaras) according to the instructions of the Khalsa.

Methods of meditation. — In the first stage attention must be fixed on the personality of the Guru by reading his life and by constantly thinking of the attributes to be cultivated. Afterwards, silent repetition of the name together with the understanding of the sense in the mind. By constant practice the name itself vanishes and the spirit makes itself manifest in the devotee's heart according to his conception.

(3) The giani stage. — Ultimately the individual soul enjoys perfect union with the supreme soul. In this stage the bhagat sees the one God
within, without and everywhere and realises that:—\(^7\) In Him he lives, moves and has his being.\(^7\)

Notable features of the Sikh ideals.—The Sikh believes that the supreme soul has fully manifested itself in the Gurū. He is therefore, the creator, the preserver; and it is he who is the destroyer of the universe. He thus concentrates all his love on the Gurū in a manner so earnest that he is ready never to flinch from the path laid down for him by the Gurū even at the risk of his life. History narrates that in the time of Furrukhsiar Rs. 80 were offered as a prize for the head of a Sikh with his kesha (hair) yet never was Sikh known to betray his faith for worldly gain, however much he was tempted. Day and night the Sikh meditates on the self-radiant point ever effulgent in his breast through the grace of his Gurū, and moves in the world self-poised, self-satisfied, and self-contented. He has full control over his temper and it is his object to make the most of the chances given him by serving others in all possible ways.

He has realised that as no form can endure he must one day pass away. The hour of death being uncertain he must use all his energy, wisdom and wealth in philanthropic deeds. Free from all vanity, he has totally resigned his will to the Gurū. He is indifferent to pleasure and pain and is heedless of eulogy or abuse. Gold and dust are equal in his eyes. Thus ever singing his master’s praises, he goes to the Home of Bliss after death, which he has really conquered in this life.

Growth of the Khāla community.—Gurū Nānak Deva spent his whole life travelling from place to place, sowing the seed of divine love wherever he met a true seeker of God. In the course of time millions in distant lands became his followers.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Gurū Nānak Ātth—Gurū Nānak did not receive any secular education. The following verses show that he did not attend to lessons taught in school. One day he was asked to write out some Arithmetical tables. He replied:

—Burn worldly love, grind its ashes and make them into ink, turn the superior intellect into paper.

Make divine love thy pen and thy heart the writer: ask thy Gurū and write his instructions,

Write God’s name, write his praises, write that he hath neither end nor limit, O Master! learn to write this account,

So that wherever it is called for a true mark may be found therein. There greatness is obtained, everlasting joys and everlasting delights,

They in whose hearts the true name have the mark of it on their brows, By God’s mercy men obtain it and not by idle words;

One man cometh, another goeth, we give them great names,

Some men God created to beg and some to preside over great courts,

When they have departed they shall know that without the name they are of no account;

As greatly fear thine anger, O God! my body plastr, and wasteth away;

They who had been called Kings and Lords are behold as ashes,
Guru Angad worked on his lines and devised a new Panjabi alphabet in which the lives, hymns, and sermons of the Gurus were written.

The efforts of Siri Guru Amar Das were mainly devoted to the abolition of caste distinctions. He taught that good actions are commendable to God and that all men are equal. He introduced the system of performing all ceremonies with the help of the Guru Bani and instructed the Sikhs to throw off the yoke of the Brahman priesthood.

The fourth Guru Ram Das began the Golden Temple at Amritsar as a centre for the Sikhs, to which they might come from all parts to unite themselves by the bond of brotherly love so essential to strengthen the national life.

Guru Arjan ordered every Sikh to set apart one-tenth of his income for religious and charitable purposes. He framed rules of devotion and collected all the hymns of his four predecessors into the holy scripture called the Granth to which he himself largely contributed. This new form of Sikhism raised up many enemies to the Guru, and so he instructed his son Guru Har Gobind to devise means of safety for his disciples.

Guru Har Gobind introduced military exercises and horsemanship among his Sikhs. In course of time they became good soldiers, and whenever their foes became aggressive they gave proofs of their valour, courage and military skill.

Nanak when men departeth all false affections are surrender'd.

Upon this the School-master acknowledged Guru Nanak as a perfect saint and did the homage to him."

The incident called the sacha sauda may also be mentioned.—Kain, father of Nanak, desired his son to embrace a mercantile life, so he sent him to Chahkana, now in Gobindswal, to buy articles for trade. Nanak set out with a servant and on his way met some holy men. He spent all the money in their service, and on his return home when questioned by his father he replied that he had done "true trade."

The Guru's condemnation of the rite of investiture with the jango (sacred thread):—

Pundit Hardial, family priest, was invited to perform this ceremony and when all the members of Kain's brotherhood were present, Guru Nanak enquired its meaning. The priest explained that the jango was the basis of the Hindu religion and without it a man would remain a Savda. Hearing this the young Guru uttered the following hymn in the Aa Duk Bac War:—

1. Make mercry thy cotton, contentment thy thread, continuance its knot, truth its twist,

2. That would make a soul; if thou have it, O Brahman! then put it on me;

3. It will not break, or become soiled, or be burned or lost;

4. Beleiv the man, O Nanak! who goeth with such a thread on his neck.

5. Thou purchasest a jango for four dautris and seald it in a square puttest it on

6. Then whispakest instruction that the Brahman is the Guru of the Hindu.

7. Man dieth, the jango falleth off and the soul departeth without it.

The Pundit was angry at this and the Guru then uttered the following:—

1. By adoring and praising the Name honour and a true thread are obtained,

2. In this way a sacred thread shall be put on which will not break, and which will be fit for entrance into God's court.
The story about Naina Devi has been wrongly represented in the text. The idea of the Guru was to show the Pandits and the people the hollowness of the cult of Devi. The first Gurus had already refused to accept the worship of any deity except the one Almighty God. Guru Gobind Singh was not bitterly opposed to Islam and the pahul or purit sastar was not for the purpose of retribution. The pahul in fact is a form of baptism, and the method of its administering proves it.

The Sikh View of Transmigration.

The following gives the Sikh conception of the manner in which souls emanated from God:

As from one fire millions of sparks arise, though rising separately, they unite again in the fire,

As from one heap of dust several particles of dust fill the air, and on filling it again blend with the dust,

As in one stream millions of waves are produced, the waves being made of water all become water,

So from God's form non-sentient and sentient things are manifested.

Springing from Him shall all be united in Him.

The Conception of Divinity.

'God is without passion, without colour, without form, without outline,'

He is without wordly love, without anger, without enmity, without jealousy.

He is without Karma, without error, without birth and without caste,

He hath no friend, no enemy, no father, no mother etc.'

The Definition of Khalsa, the Pure.

1. He who repeateth night and day the name of Him whose enduring light is unquenchable, who bestoweth not a thought on any one but the one God.

2. Who hath full love and confidence in God, who putteth no faith even by mistake in fasting or worshipping, cemeteries, places of cremation, or Jogi's places of sepulchre,

3. Who only recognizeth the one God and not pilgrimages, alms, the non-destruction of life, Hindu penances and austerities,

4. And in whose heart the light of the perfect one shineth, he is recognized as a pure member of the Khalsa.

The Ballad of Hari Singh Nalwa of Amritsar.

Lardi Sidhav Hari Singh Nalwa akhna Shahr Amritsarah.

1. Saun kund Ambar te, sona kund darbar:
   Sang marnar paitwar lagid chandi charhe humbar.
The Ballad of Hari Singh Naqvi.

1. Beautifully planned is the city of Ambarsar with a stately and imposing Darbār. In it white marble was used, and the doors are covered with silver.

2. Many lakhs worth of gold and a thousand lakhs of pearls were used. It is mainly inhabited by bankers, petty shop-keepers being few.

3. In the house of Mahān Singh was born Ranjit Singh, the great soul descended from Heaven. He had thousands of horses and maintained armies numbering a thousand lakhs.

4. In the Khairbar Pass war began, and swords flashed like lightning. Thither Hari Singh was sent in command of the forces.

5. ‘O Sikhs, I trust not Tejā Singh’s army. So my first camp will be on the hither side of the Ḍavī’s bank, and my second beyond it. My third halt will be at Pūl Kanjri and my fourth at Wazirābād.’

6. Patting his bay steed Ranjit Singh said: ‘Save my honour for the sake of my grey hairs.’

Translation.
The Legend of Bunda Sahib.

7. A small cloud arose and rain began to fall in torrents. The Sikhs drinking water from the ponds became anxious.

8. 'O my brothers, press on, for I am with you.' There has Hari Singh, commander of the forces, been killed.

9. Sirdar Tejá Singh has also been killed. One of the warriors went to burn Hari Singh Nailwa's body.

10. From Lahore set out the Firangi obeying the impulse of pride and marching stage by stage met the Sikhs at Ludhiana.

11. Posts were opened at every door, and a police station established in the midst of the city. The English defeated the Sikhs, for 't was the will of God!

12. Straight from Lahore came the Firangi with hat on head and employed many masons in metalling the roads, holding a stick in his hand.

13. 'Thy roads will be metalled by those who are unfortunate.' Trouble seized the Sikhs at last and none sided with them!

The Tale of Lachhman Dass; otherwise Banda Sahib, Disciple of the Guru Sahib, the Singh.

Awhál Lachhman Dass urf Banda Sahib, Chela Guru Singh Sahib.

Dohá.

1 { Abchal naqor hai Sri Ganga ke pás,  
Sádhe Lachhman Dás hai baśádi, bare niede.

2 { Khatri Sodhi-tans, sún, bhayo, baśádi d'e,  
Abchal nagri Gangaṭat, súdhe tóp ko jói.

Ohaupádi.

3 { Sundar Ráms bághíchá táqd,  
Sukh samkhá, dukh wírkháit bhadá.

4 { Anek bhánt phalt phal suhdá,  
Khag, miry, gunjáid, bahut sukh dái.

5 { Wó ke madh bani ámeá,  
Sukh-su-wád sab bhánt suhdá.

Dohá.

6 { Amrách ke bich ek polang bichá sukh-sár,  
Ohár dár oháu torf rahiye rakhwéde, baalák.
The Legend of Banda Sahib.

Chaurpâli.

7 { Aur koi bașîhe tahây fâî,  
    Pašâk bhâm mûreç so îdës.  
8 { Jo palang ko nere jâwât,  
    Phâr jâwât pûchhe nainî àwat.  
9 { Pûk pachhâc âge Gâgâ tâ,  
    Turt karaçe Amrâpur sës.  

Dohâ.

10 { Sri Gurâ ke pânth meç szâkal bhaye baîmîn,  
    Bàdâlâh dawâûh bhae Gurâ Gobînd Singh ûn.  

Kobit.

11 { Gurâ Nâmâk, Gur Anîâd, Gur Amandâs, Gurâ Râmâs, Gurâ  
    Aîjan dhâre,  
    Gurâ Hargobînd, Har Ré, Hari Krishna biçhôr,  
12 { Togh Bahâddar, bhayo, nûn dhur ek mañ lîne,  
    Subh gurâ updës dûn saqaj ko dénô.  
13 { Kâk dîr Gurâ Gobînd Singh bhae, amar bhae Kûtî meç sîkhi,  
    Jhunkî, bhayo, tîlîk meç bîrû, peç satgur hî rakhî.  

Dohâ.

14 { Sri Gurâ Gobînd Singhja dhâre àharm Autâr,  
    Mâlîchkën ke hât karne parbal, bhayo, balkár.  

Kobit.

15 { Asho ko aswâîr bhayo, Gurâ Gobînd Singhja savî sudhâyô,  
    Gâng ashmîn kiyo hit hîl, nûn bhayo, Lachhman. Dës ke bûgh meç  
    ûyo.  
16 { Palang biçhën bann ati sunâr baîsthât wîhphah bakkh, wîdhâyô,  
    Bû râha bale l'deî nà lôgat dhan, Gurûtî ko tej 'sowdâyô.  

Kobit.

17 { Lachhman Dës Sádha. Gâng ashmîn kar pûsî pûsh matât îp  
    amsûî ûyo hain,  
    Aye së Gobînd Singh baîsthât par pûnk nâmîn, àharm autâr  
    subhîr aîtî 'sowdâyô hain.  
18 { Nirkh chakrit, bhayo, aîrî baîsth haun ûyo, teî seî partâp jân bîmaç g  
    'sowdâyô hain.  
    Bûrû ko ûgîd, kar pûk ke pachhâc nar, aîrî ahamûrî buâk ûs kann  
    ûyo hain ?  

Chaurpâli.

19 { Bûrañ duk bhâêt bai lûyo;  
    Palang nahôs se 'sîko ûßhàyô.  
20 { Gurâ Gobînd Singh so abtàr,  
    Kûtî kareç bûreà bûlûr ?
The Legend of Banda Sahib.

Dohā.

21 { Phākhāt Gurā Gobind Singh tum ko sākhā kau n? At-parchand dītal tuke kū tā āhar bātīhe maun? 
22 { Sahīb ke bandā bhaye, sikh hampāro nām, Nīr dū jāpā de bātīhe Parmānāwar Sri Rām. 

Chauhpāt.

23 { Tum bandā sahib ko pyāro, Te jaa asi tap karnōndē. 
24 { Ab hao apne shaktar āhāro, Dharm kāt yeh baichan hamāro. 
25 { Malechhan, sun, jūdh rachā, Banda Sahib nām kabāo. 
26 { Lachhman Dās Ji sant ne tīko tega hār āhār, Mughlaq ko hat kārne lage karan dangār. 
27 { Wāhe Gurū ki fatah, so wāhe Gurū kā rāj! Gurū Gobind Singh amar hāti, kēh āhār nē kē kāj. 

Chauhpāt.

28 { Jūdh kara tūrkā sān bhāri, Mughlāq kā bhih em sanghāri. 
29 { Jang Sarāndā ānk bēdh bhayo, Tiāg deh Gur surpur gayo. 

Dohā.

30 { Dhājā Labāndā, bhayo, sikh Gurā kā jān, Ik shat mohar Gobind Singh dēnu thā mān. 

Chauhpāt.

31 { Dhūshe ko Gurā bāchhan sunēydā, Sēth Gurā kē bahut suhāydā. 
32 { Ab tum jāo apne gām, Kēd jē tuhā bārām. 

Kabīt.

33 { Gurā Gobind Singh kāhe Dhūshe kē: gām tumhāre āvēsge, Do unghi tumri kē apne pakar mishānī āvēngē. 
34 { Sēth apnā bhoj tujhā ko apne pār mangāvēsge, Tab jāne tum Gurā hamārā kē zau moharē pār āvēngē. 

Chauhpāt.

35 { Charā bōdā: Gur āvē gāhār, Dhūshe apne āvē dyē. 
36 { Bahut dēwās sēn phir kūhe lās, Gur ko chāran lāye āa. 
37 { ' Kab Gur āe des mac āwē, Do unghi mu kē pakātāwē;
The Legend of Banda Sahib.

Kabita

39 Oshander-Bhugá nadii binaa Banda te ko aay ko hai,
    Mahi se muitar bhulne ki dikh hi baish kahig suhi pia ro hai.
40 Desan ke bhupal deko sab ne mitho aay ko hai,
    Dhátho got Labhne Gur ke aay se laapay ko hai.

Ophaupá.

41 Dhátho aapne paa paa mangayyo ;
    Bandah Sáhib banchan sunayyo.
42 Da unglí tin ko phar aai,
    Ek saa mohar ném suniit.
43 Dhátho man maa pahram áchdháii,
    Dhan dhan karat chhim liptdhi.
44 Bhoor aapne ghar ko dyá,
    Sakal kufámb paa mangayyo.
45 Ek saa mohran thal bhavdya,
    Bhákon bístar sang sahdy.
46 Khán pán sakal pahánd,
    Sang ko parshar suvénd.
47 Bädan dhrii sang sakh-déé,
    Ndohéz Dhátho bhoor nhádi.
48 Níchité kúdak Gur pah kíwón,
    Muskh se gátii sahí subáwón.

Kabita

49 "Gur lálho re, Garú lálho re, Gur lálho, Gurú suháyo re,
    Jin Turka ko sée abáre, so Gur milii hamáro re.
50 Dhan Gurú Gobind Singh ájil dharyo dharm abáre re,
    Dhan Gurú Gobind Singh záhib 2 áb Dhátho ko tór re.

Ophaupá.

51 Wáh Gurújí bhad hamáre,
    Aj Gurú 2 mile píchar.
52 Tégh úthdhi Mughal jin sáre,
    Sakal Hind ko dharm sundháre.
53 Jo Gur aapne ko manáwong,
    Chhim gohe muktí pich baheong.
54 Gur ko chhim suháyo liptdi,
    Ama kál Gur hót sahít.
55 Dháth bason bahú, Dháth pich sahí,
    Prem bhurá bah dáham níchój.
The Legend of Banda Sahib.

56 { Nohat gisat Gur pah dyo,
{ Orn Gurdi ko sīr nisādyo.

Dohta.

57 { Bāghāh āsanee, bhago, Gurū Gobind Singh ṭyā;e;
{ Bādās Banda Sahib ji, tāro sikh sahēde!

58 { Chand-Bhadā Gāngā he nīkāt, nīvē sākā parhāl trikāth dākōr
{ sunder sūhāt hain,

Koāhān ka thamb okāpē bade, ko kahan ko mandar jori bahū bhānt hain.

59 { Ansk kā parkārān āē bājāt bājānt māhī gisat sabā nek bhānt ke
{ sūhāt hain,

Obār kḥant chalte āē nātho jāēē ko nivītā dhan Gurū Bāndāh
{ Sahib dharā ghat hain.

Kabīl.

60 { Des-ē des chale bah āsāt, koā hāsāōke sikh suhāwān,
{ Wāhe Gurā Banda Sahib ko bahām nām jāpē mukti phāl pāwē.

61 { Dūl mārdāng pahāwōk saṅg bājāwānt bade sabā fo gisāwē,
{ Utē des nīvē kāyō; Jo udū jāpē mukti phāl pāwē.

62 { Sri Gur Banda Sahib ko dharā pām suhāē,
{ Uṭhāl Ḍākām Bae ne sohāt kāhī bāṇāē.

TRANSLATION.

1 { Abchal is a town close by holy Ganges,
   { And in it lived a saint, one Lachman Das Bairagi.

2 { He was a Khatri of the Sodhi sect, but he became a Bairagi,
   { At Abchal town on the Ganges' bank he performed penance.

3 { In it lay a beautiful and pleasant garden,
   { In it (was found) every kind of pleasure, without pain.

4 { In it were countless kinds of fruits and flowers,
   { Birds and deer added pleasure to its delights.

5 { In it stood a summer house, just at its centre,
   { A pleasant dwelling which afforded joys of every kind.

6 { In it was spread a luxurious couch,
   { Which was guarded on all four sides by four champions, powerful men.

7 { If any one went to sit thereon,
   { They straightway threw him on the ground.

8 { Whosoever even approached the couch,
   { Never came back alive.

9 { They cast him into the Ganges,
   { (And) forthwith he entered Heaven.

10 { All the Gurū's followers became powerful,
   { Gurū Gobind Singh was the 10th King.

1 { Possibly an allusion to the four taahēs of the Sikh Gurūs.
Know them the Gurus:
Nanak, Angad, Amar Das, Ram Das, Arjan, Har Gobind,
Har Rai, Hari Krishna.

Teg Bahadur, who believed in the unity of God
Gave the boon of the Guru's teaching to his followers.

Guru Govind Singh was glorious, and in the Kali Yuga immortal,
His story resounded through three worlds, and he kept up the glories of his Guru.

Holy Govind Singh was an incarnation,
He showed his might in assaults on the Mlecchas.

Mounted on his horse Guru Govind Singh went forth,
Bathed joyously in the Ganges and so came to Lachhman Das' garden.

There he found the splendid couch and seated himself thereon with great delight,
In vain the brs (champions) put forth all their strength:
Blessed be the glorious Guru!

So Lachhman Das the saint, after bathing and reciting his prayers, returned to the summer house,
Where he found Govind Singh seated on the couch, (him) who was an incarnation of God and most glorious.

Seeing him he was amazed (and said): 'Who is seated here,?'
Seeing his glory and his splendour he was astounded.
(And) he bade the guardians (saying): 'Cast out this fellow, who is seated so arrogantly here!'

The champions exerted all their strength,
But the couch did not move.

Guru Govind Singh was an incarnation of God,
What could the mighty champions do?

Guru Govind Singh asked: 'What saint art thou?
Thou who art so glorious, why art thou silent?'

'I am the Servant of God, that is my name!
Day and night I repeat God's name.'

Thou art the beloved Servant of God,
Glorious one! and a performer of penance.

Take warlike weapons in thy hand,
And listen to my preaching.
25 { Attack the Mlechhas courageously,  
And earn the title of 'God's Slave.'  

26 { Lachhman Dás, the holy one, took in his hand the sword,  
And resolved to put the Mughals to death, in battle.  

27 { (His war-cry was) 'Victory to the Gurú! Thus shall be  
the Gurú's reign.'  
Gurú Govind Singh is immortal, he hath done works of piety.  

28 { He made fierce war on the Turks,  
Many Mughals were destroyed.  

29 { He fought at Sarandh with all his might,  
The Gurú gave up his life, and went to Heaven.  

30 { Dhúthá Labána became a disciple of the Gurú,  
And had a mind to offer him 100 gold mohars.  

31 { The Gurú exhorted Dhúthá,  
And he, the Gurú's disciple, was greatly pleased.  

32 { The Gurú said: 'Now get thee to thy village,  
And dwell there in peace.'  
Gurú Govind Singh said to Dhúthá: 'We will come to  
your village,  
Grasping two of your fingers we will make a sign.  
I shall call you to me through one of my own disciples,  
Then know that your Gurú will accept the 100 mohars.'  

33 { Ascending his (celestial) chariot, the Gurú went to Heaven,  
And Dhúthá returned home.  

34 { Many days he waited there,  
In expectation of his Gurú's coming.  

35 { (Thinking) 'When will the Gurú come to this country,  
And give me his two fingers to hold?  

36 { And ask me for the 100 mohars?  
Blessed then will be my lot?'  

37 { To the bank of the Chonab river came Banda to do penance,  
Seeing the great purity of its soil there he rested.  

38 { All the rulers of the land came to do him homage,  
Dhúthá Labána bowed his head to the Gurú.  

39 { He called Dhúthá to him,  
Bándá, 'God's Slave' spake to him.  

40 { He gave him his two fingers,  
And mentioned the 100 mohars.  

41 { Dhúthá was greatly delighted in his heart,  
Saying again and again 'Blessed one!' he slung to his feet.
The Legend of Banda Sahib.

44 { Then he returned home,
    And sent for all his kinsmen.

45 { He filled a platter with the 100 mohare,
    And a quantity of jewels and clothes.

46 { With food and drink and all kinds of sweetmeats;
    Taking his whole family with him.

47 { Drums were beaten for joy,
    Dhuṭhā danced before them from love.

48 { Dancing, leaping, he went to the Gurū,
    With his lips he sang his praises.

49 { I have found my Gurū, my Gurū, and he hath comforted me!
    He who had cut off the Turks' heads, he is my Gurū.

50 { Blessed be Gurū Govind Singh, who is an incarnation of God,
    Blessed be Gurū Govind Singh, who has saved Dhuṭhā!

51 { O! blessed Gurū, happy is my lot,
    To-day have I met with my beloved Gurū.

52 { Taking up the sword he has slain the Mughals,
    Restored religion to all India.

53 { Whoso believeth in his Gurū,
    And embraceth his feet, will get the reward of salvation.

54 { Let me remain clinging to the Gurū's feet,
    In the end the Gurū will save me.

55 { Many drums were beaten, and Dhuṭhā danced,
    Filled with love he danced fervently.

56 { With dance and song he went to the Gurū,
    And bowed his head at the Gurū's feet.

57 { Gurū Govind Singh appeared as the 10th King,
    The 11th was Banda, 'God's slave.' Save thy disciples!

58 { He made his abode by the Chenab's holy stream, where is
    the goddess, most powerful and ever glorious has golden
    pillars.

    Numerous hymns are sung there with musical instruments
    which are pleasing to the ear,

59 { People from all directions come and pay homage there. Blessed
    is the advent of Gurū Banda Sahib in this world.
People from all countries and Sikhs from thousand fold come there and repeat the name of Waheguru Banda Sahib and obtain salvation.

They sing the hymns there with different kinds of drums.

Banda has taken up his abode in the northern country, he who will repeat name will obtain salvation.

All should deeply love Guru Banda Sahib and see how Hakim Rai praises the unique being—The Sublime.
CHAPTER II.

RIGHTS AND CEREMONIES.

SECTION I.—HINDU PREGNANCY OBSERVANCES.

The first menstruation after marriage.

The first menstruation after the marriage has been consummated is the occasion of a strict tabu in Mandi. The wife must touch no one, and should not even see any one, to secure which she is shut up in a dark room. She must not use milk, oil or meat, and while she is still impure the following rite is performed:—On a day chosen as auspicious by a Brahman, all the wife’s female relatives assemble, and kinswomen wash her head with gandhara. Then after she has bathed, five cakes of flour, walnuts and pomegranates are put in her lap, with a pretty child, in order that she too may bear such a child. Looking into its face she gives it some money and cakes, and then the family priest makes her worship Ganesa. In return he receives a fee in money, with the things offered to the goddess. The women spend the ensuing night in singing.

The earlier observances in pregnancy.

If a woman’s children all die, she procures, in the third month of her pregnancy, a piece of iron, taken out of a sunken boat, and from it has a kari or manacle made. This she wears on her right leg, and it is believed to prevent her future children’s premature death. [Dera Ghazi Khan District.]

In Fuzilka an observance, now nearly extinct, is observed by Hindu Aroras in the third month of a first pregnancy. It is called the aksh salat; because after it the wife ceases to apply antimony to her eyes. Her parents send her rice which is distributed among her kin.

In Siakot the observance of the third month is called thakait. Dried dates and pieces of coconut are given to the wife, and of these she eats a little, the rest being distributed among her kinsmen. In Hoshiarpur a similar rite is observed; loaves of wheat flour fried in ghir are distributed among the brotherhood, and both husband and wife put on new clothes and worship the family god.

In the extreme south-east hardly any observances during pregnancy are reported, though in Hisar the kani rite—described below—is in

1 In Patiala if the woman eats real pearls in her mess, she will also give birth to a male child.

2 But in Gurdaspur the rite known as thakut (clearly—thakuit) is said to be observed on the first day of the sixth month. The woman on this date washes her head with curd and puts on new clothes; satisfies various beasts, such as pahar, mukkat and guroo, by vermillion being distributed among the north-east. The thakut is followed by the great rite, held early in the sixth month, which is a religious ceremony. The woman’s parents send her presents, and she washes her head six times in the thakut. But a padati is called in and performs certain religious rites. The women of the family also sing certain ritual hymns, and the occasion is one of great rejoicing. Pausanias, defined by Pindar (‘Inscriptions Dictionary, p. 370) to mean “causing the birth of a male child—the first of the essential ceremonies of Hindu initiation—held on the mother’s first perceiving signs of a living conception,” is now obsolete in the Simla hills. So, too, is the veena, which used to be performed in the sixth month.
vogue in some parts. But elsewhere such observances are usual and somewhat elaborate. Thus in Jind during a first pregnancy (jetha-hamal) we find the mlthá bahid, a social ceremony, in which at the end of the third month a basket full of sweets is sent to the woman by her mother, with a suit and a half of clothes, and Rs. 5 in money. At the fifth month a second similar ceremony, the sidh, is observed, the mother sending her daughter two and a half suits of clothes, one and a quarter manuds of sweetmeats, and Rs. 7.

Later observances.

During the seventh month occurs a rite of a religious character, called the hvidú kí bhojú bharná. This consists in the woman's offering four and a quarter sera of rice to the bhíś or spirits, in ten shálts or plates, of which one is given to a Dúmi, another to a land-holder's wife, a third to the husband, a fourth being allotted to the woman herself, and the rest to other relatives.

The pregnancy rites, however, which are, strictly speaking, religious, are the garbh sanskár, and foreshadow the jarn, múdán and jano sanskár or rites at birth, (first) tonsure and initiation, which will be described in due course.

The garbh sanskár includes two distinct rites, the akht or lesser, and the bharí rité or greater rites, which are observed in the fifth and seventh months, respectively, of the pregnancy throughout the Central Panjab. In the former the woman bathes, her hair is plaited and she is dressed in clothes presented by her parents. Her neighbours and kinswomen also assemble to sing songs and fill her lap with grain and cakes made of grain flour fried in ghí. Her mother-in-law is also congratulated, and similar eatables distributed among the husband's brotherhood.

At the commencement of the seventh month the husband's parents celebrate the bharí rité; but first of all the wife's parents send her a new tewar, a coconut, dried dates and money, together with a present of clothes to her husband's parents, who on their part present her with new clothes. On a lucky day chosen by the Brahman, the husband and wife, dressed in new clothes, sit side by side and revere images of the gods drawn by the Brahman on the floor. The husband's mother then places a coconut and dried dates in the wife's lap, and congratulations are exchanged. Huge loaves of flour fried in ghí are then distributed among the brotherhood.

In Pernoopur these rites are replaced by the jór bharnéki and bhog bharnéki observances. Of these the former simply consists in making kachchi pinít or rolls, of which two are marked with saffron and given to the wife, who either eats them or divides them among young girls and the brotherhood. The second rite is however far more elaborate.

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2. Sidh, s.f. lit. "a half."
3. To these four sanskáras should apparently be added a fifth, the adá ñarna or naming which precedes the múdán.
4. Êg. by the Lahoria Khatriis, but the Banújá Khatriis are said only to observe the bharí rité.
5. Tewar or tewr, three articles of clothing; a tunic consisting of a gown, shawls and shift (ghsbhí, doputta and burtá). The bharí consists of two articles only.
6. The pinits are made in the following proportions, rice flour 51 sera, sugar 24, and ghí 1 sera.
The wife's parents send her a double tewar, with a shawl and turban for the husband, and other things. Then, on the day of the new moon, the wife visits each member of the brotherhood in her house, and gives him some rice as a summons to the rite. Before the kinswomen assemble a corner of the eastern wall of the house is plastered, and seven hand marks made on it with rice-flour mixed in water. A wooden plank is also set up before the wall and a lamp lighted. The kinswomen bring with them some of the grain and rice given them the previous day, and scatter the rice near the lamp, piling the grain in a heap close to it. The plates are then put in one place; twenty-two sers khām of rice are then boiled, with five of sugar and two and one-half of ghī, the mixture being divided in precisely equal portions on the plates among the kinswomen, who object if one gets more than another. The idea, doubtless, is to convey equal fertility to all.

The clothes presented by the wife's parents are next put on her, and her skirt tied to that of an unmarried kinsman. The pair then walk round the plates seven times, and are asked to bow to the lamp. It is believed that the boy will thus soon be himself married. Their skirts are then untied.

A vessel is now placed in the wife's hands and each kinswoman gives her a little rice from their plates, which she eats. Her husband's mother is then congratulated. The grain brought by the kinswoman is shared equally by the Maihru? (waterman), and her Brahman priest.

**Mid-pregnancy.**

It is clear that the adhīrāt rīdān are observed at or about the time when half the period of gestation has elapsed, and indeed the rite is called the adhī gābh in Amritsar, Gujranwala, and in Bahawalpur. In Hoshiarpur it is not known by that name, but it is observed on the second evening of the lunar month in the fifth month of pregnancy, and a second rite corresponding to it is held on the second day of the ninth lunar month. In Jhelum it is observed on an auspicious day in the fourth or fifth month. The wife bathes, and is dressed in new clothes, her hair is plaited and her hands stained with henna. Her kinswomen sing songs throughout the night. All this is supposed to prevent miscarriage. Her parents also send her some sweets which are put in her lap. In Sialkot the adhī gābh is also said to be observed, but not by the Jats, and is described as simply consisting in the distribution of pāpars, paksars etc. among the brotherhood.

In Sialkot the mid-pregnancy rite is called the pūn bhār or the heavy feet. In Rājanpur tahail a rite called chilādā from chilha, 'loin', is commonly observed among Hindus as well as Muhammadans. After six months in every conception the pregnant woman is required to bathe.
under the direction of a dātī (midwife) who ties bands round her loins, thereby completing the safe completion of the conception and easy labour.

The seventh month: kausī.

Corresponding again to the barī rītā, described above, is the kausī, which is usually observed in the seventh month, though sometimes postponed to the ninth. It is very generally observed, except in the extreme south-east, but it varies in details and often bears no distinctive name.

In Hissar it is observed in the seventh or ninth month, and among the Bāgrīs the wife’s parents send clothes for herself and her husband.

In Hoshānpur this ceremony is called rīt, and is observed on the first of the lunar month (seventh or eighth). The present wife’s parents send her ten to twenty loaves fried in ghī, pīpāra and pāhūran, clothes for herself, and her husband, one or two ornaments, and from one to seven rupees in cash. Food is also distributed to the brotherhood and munials, Brahmans being also fed in the name of ancestors. In some places the wife’s parents feed Brahmans, giving them wheat-flour and barī. Or again the wife’s parents send her clothes and money, after which she bathes, and then both she and her husband pray that the child may be a boy.

In Amritsar the kausī is observed in the seventh or ninth month, by all castes but not in all parts of the district. In Ajnāla it is called rītā.

In Gujranwāla the kausī or rīt is very similar. It is observed in the eighth month, and is sometimes held in the house of the wife’s parents.

In Gurdāspur a wife, when pregnant for the first time, is sent to her parents’ house in the seventh month, and presented with a sar of jaggery, as an intimation to them of her condition. Her parents give her clothes for herself, her husband and his mother, and other presents, with which she returns to her husband’s house. On the rising of the

1 Apparently kausī is a kind of sweetmeat: Hoshānpur.
2 Made of gram flour and curds fried in oil.
3 But in Ramanā, a town in the Gujranwāla District, it is said that no rite is observed in the seventh or ninth month, only the nīsā-gāhī being observed.

In Mumālāpargi no special rite is observed during pregnancy by Muhammadans, but Hindus usually observe the maḥārāt and kausī during the 6th and 8th months, when a woman is pregnant for the first time. This is occasion for feasting and rejoicing. The parents of the pregnant woman send her clothes and other presents at the kausī; she bathes, washes her hair, and puts on her new clothes and ornaments. This ceremony is intended sar dī to make the fact of the first pregnancy of a bride public, or at least well-known in the brotherhood. A particular custom among Muhammadans of good family is called pahūrā. It is performed at the end of the 8th month. The dātī brings the pregnant lady a basket of fruits and having washed and dressed in red from head to foot the lady takes the fruit in her hands or handkerchief or other cloth. The dātī then divines the sex of the child and generally informs the mother of it.

In Jind tahfil during the seventh month among Hindus Chhīmas the pregnant woman performs the rite of bāīg kūnī offering 101 or 51 sar of rice to the Bhīsū or spirits, while rice with sar is distributed among the brotherhood. Among Muhammadans the same is done. During the seventh month the woman’s parents send her a suit of clothes which she puts on, and a feast is given to the brotherhood.
new moon in the seventh month, a Brahman is called in, and the husband and wife are seated side by side, with their near kinsmen. A jar (tumbā) is then filled with water, and a lamp filled with ghī put over it and lighted. The Brahman makes an idol of Gānesh out of flour, and worships their ancestors. The garments of the pair are then tied together (a rite called gand chattriwā), and their pedigrees to the third degree recited, their ancestors’ names being also written on a sheet of paper which is hung up on the wall. Rice is next distributed among the brotherhood. A small gold ornament, presented by her parents, is also hung round the wife’s neck, and this is eventually given to the child when born.

In Sisulkot the rite is not very dissimilar. The wife’s parents send her presents, and on the appearance of the new moon, i.e. on the second of the lunar month, she is bathed and dressed. Ancestors are worshipped. This rite called šīt in Panjābī, bhore in Lahore, bhora in Montgomery and simanat in Sanskrit, is known as sawām in Jammu, in which tract the Dogras celebrate it by feasting kinsmen.

In Jhelum the rite is kept in the seventh or ninth month. The wife’s parents send her sweets and fruits, and these are put in her lap. After this she must not leave her house. Both at the kasji and adh-gābā in this district the wife bathes, and then receives a gift of clothes from her husband’s younger brother, or other young kinsman, in whose face she gazes before she puts them on.

In Talagang the kasji or šīt is observed on an auspicious day in the seventh month at the house of the wife’s parents, and all males are excluded from it, and not even informed of it, though boiled rice is distributed to the brotherhood on this occasion. In Hazro this šīt is observed at 4 p.m. on the day of the new moon in the seventh month, and the priest’s wife conducts it. Some jaggery is cut up with a knife and a portion given to her, while the rest is distributed among the near kin.

The Dewā-dhāmī.

Another ceremony, with which the husband’s parents are closely associated, is the dewā-dhāmī.2

In Montgomery this rite is observed in the seventh or eighth month, The family priestess lights a lamp fed with ghī in a corner of the house, making a hearth and seven cakes of earth, and covering the latter with vermillion. Before these things the husband and wife prostrate themselves, and big leaves of flour fried in ghī are then distributed among the brotherhood. Until these articles have all been removed, the women of the family do not spin or do any other work. The things are then collected and given to the parents, who in return present the wife with a trewar, a rupee and a half seer of jaggery. This rite is observed three days before the kasji ceremony. But in Gujranwala it is said to

2 Dewā or deōw, a lamp; dhāmī, not given in the dictionaries, is possibly to be derived from P. dhām, i.e. a feast.
3 Trewar - trewar: see note 8 to p. 732 supra.
be held at the same time as the rīt, and it must be held in the lower storey of the house, by night, the lamp being lighted in the southern corner.

In Hazro, the ādevā-ṭhāntī is also held on the same rīt, by the kinwomen and the priest's wife—all males being excluded. The priestess begins by kindling a lamp and causing the wife to worship Ganesha. Sweetened rice or bread is then distributed. Next morning rice is boiled or ḫalwa made; and the wife is bathed and dressed in the clothes sent by her parents. Another woman is then seated by her to represent her husband, and on her knees are put all the clothes received for him. Seven vessels and covers of cow dung are then made, and cardamoms, rice, barley, wāng (pulse), pīwə and two copper coins are placed in each. These vessels are then put between the two women, and the wife removes the covers, which the other woman replaces. This is done thrice. Then both dip their fingers in milk and water and each tries to seize the other's fingers thrice. Both then chew cardamoms, which they spit over each other, and finally the rice or ḫalwa is given to the priestess, who also gets five annas or Rs. 1½. Next day she is called in again and lights the lamp, which she extinguishes with milk and water. This ends the rīt.

In Bahawalpur, on the other hand, the ādevā-ṭhāntī is performed by the husband's father, who lights a lamp in a corner of the house, making an effigy of Ganesha and worshipping his ancestors, with his face turned to the north or towards the Ganges. While worshipping he must unloose the string of his cholta or shirt, or the gods will not accept his devotions.

In Mandi the rīts of the fifth and seventh months are not observed at all, but in the beginning of the eighth month the atāwahādy is celebrated by putting an idol of Ganpati on a red ṛauki; and this the wife worships for a month, during which period she must not bathe, change her old clothes, or cross a river. In the beginning of the ninth month follows the bāraṇwās, at which the wife's kinwomen assemble to bathe her, make her put on new clothes and look at a handsome boy to ensure her own child being a son. This boy is dismissed with a present of money. Then the wife is made to stand up, and a kerchief is tied round her waist, cakes, money, gold and silver, flowers, a coconuts, a pomegranate, and a mixture of rice, sesamum and sugar, sent by her parents, are put in her lap. Of the money, part goes to the priest, and the rest to the midwife. On this occasion her nearest relative also gives the wife money and ornaments for her own use. Then the wife reveres Ganpati, and a vessel (kulas) of earth, brass or copper is put in an octagonal jantar (diagram), and in it is placed a coconuts, with an image of Vishnu. The wife is then directed to worship the kulas and after that a ḥāna is performed, a he-goat being sacrificed to appease the fire deity. Brahmins and near relatives are then fed, and the kinwomen sing songs and make merry all night. This rite is observed in every pregnancy.

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1 The Sanatk, pān sar. In the parent State of Suket the atāwahādy is observed in the eighth or ninth month. The woman's parents send her clothes for herself and the child. The clothes are perfumed. A rope is also sent. They also send one or two garments for the husband's mother.

2 Or variously a coconuts, which is split into two pieces.
The final observances.

The eighth and ninth months.

If we exclude such of the foregoing observances as are postponed till the eighth or ninth month, there are few which are necessarily held in either of these two months. In Hissar the kanyāj is observed in the seventh or ninth month, and in some places the adhgarh is actually said to be deferred till the ninth month. In parts of Hooghlypur there is, however, a distinct rite in the ninth month, on the second day, thus corresponding to the rite in the seventh. A corner of the house is plastered, and the wife is seated there, with her face to the east, and made to worship Ganesh. A coconut and a rupee are also put in her lap by way of shagun or good augury, and boiled rice is set before. Sweets etc. sent by her parents are distributed among the brotherhood. In the northern part of the same district it is said that the rīt is held in the ninth month, and consists simply in the distribution of karīt (gram flour cooked in whey) to the brotherhood in order to proclaim the pregnancy.

Athwānds.

At the commencement of the eighth month the Shaikhawat Rajputs observe a rite called the athwānds. The wife's parents send her clothes, ornaments, fruit, money, and on their receipt all her kinswomen assemble. Brahmins then worship the gods and the wife bathes, after which she puts on the new clothes. With this the following custom among the same people appears to be connected.

After birth a child of either sex is bathed in the blood of a he-goat and a necklace of its flesh is put round the child's neck. Then it is dressed in a blue kūrti and cap, with a belt of blue silk round its waist. These clothes are worn for six or seven months, but the necklace is retained for two years and the belt worn till it reaches the age of five.

Māwalī.

All Hindūs who believe in the god Māwalī perform the following rite in the seventh month: a mixture of rice, mung and barley is made and an earthen vessel sent for from the potter's house. This is marked seven times with three things, henna, black and red colouring. Then boiled rice and the dish described above are placed in her lap seven times, some cooked mung being also put in the middle of the vessel. Lastly, a red thread is put in it and taken out by the midwife, who deposits it under a ber tree. All the members of the family then eat the food.

1 In Pālakha the kanyāj is said to be held only in the ninth month. In Gujratāwāla it is observed in the seventh or eighth.

2 Adhgarh = aadh-garh.

3 The Bālwos Brahmins observe this rite in the eighth month, and feast the whole brotherhood, males and females, on this occasion, great quantities of curd and sugar being given them.

4 It is also said that the rīt in this part varies in different states, and that it is repeated several times. It is specifically described as being observed three times in the fifth month (when kanyāj and pūjan are distributed); in the seventh (when boiled rice and pulse are sent round), and in the ninth (when meat, gram and jaggery are distributed among the brotherhood). It is not stated that all three rites are observed by the same caste.

RRRR
Hindu birth observances.

The following rites are observed during pregnancy in Chamba:—The woman should not go near a dead body, even of a near relative, nor cross a stream, especially in the evening, lest the water spirit exert an evil influence on her, nor should she visit a woman newly delivered. In all these cases the danger feared is abortion from the influence of evil spirits. If a snake appears and is trying to escape the people believe that the shadow of a pregnant woman falling on it will cause it to crawl slowly.¹

Eclipses in pregnancy.

During pregnancy the parents are both peculiarly susceptible to the effects of an eclipse, and it is safest for the wife to keep her bed and not even see the eclipse, in Ambala, but the father is not under any such necessity. In Oera Ghazi Khan, however, either parents must avoid applying antimony to the eyelids, or a tilak to the forehead, during an eclipse, lest the child be so marked. Both should also avoid looking or unlocking a lock, lest its fingers be bent and powerless. If they cut wood with an axe, the child will have a hare-tip; or if they break anything, such as a piece of wood, its fingers will be marked. In short, anything such as stamping or printing done during an eclipse is liable to leave its impress on the child's body.²

Abortion.

If abortion has ever occurred, or is feared for the woman, yogaus or wizards prevent it by giving her (i) a piece of wood from a scaffold on which a man has been hanged, or (ii) a piece which has been thrown over the bishwa or hearse of an old person, or (iii) a tiger's flesh or claw. The idea in each of these charms is to increase the vitality or prolong the life of the child.

SECTION 2.—HINDU BIRTH OBSERVANCES.

I.—Observances before and at birth.

Lucky and unlucky births.—The auspiciousness—or the reverse—of a birth depends upon several factors, such as the season or time of its occurrence, its sequence relative to preceding birth in the family, and the child's position at birth.

Premature birth.—Birth in the eighth month of pregnancy is attributed to a cat having entered the mother's room in a former confinement. A child born in this month will, it is believed, die on the eighth day, in the eighth month, or eighth or eighteenth year, after birth.

In Kangra in the eighth month of pregnancy the pregnant woman is seated inside a chamber in which betel-leaf leaves are placed and in which a small lamp is lit. Puja is done to Ganesh. This is called adhikhol.

¹ During an eclipse of the sun or moon a pregnant woman should lie with her body straight, lest the child be born crooked. Every morning she should be careful to look first at her husband's face, so that the child may resemble him. If any one else is frequently seen it will take after him. If her husband is absent she should look at the face of her other children or at her own face in a looking glass, or at her sister's face, but not at her brother's.

² For the significance of the sequence of births, see Folk Lore, vol. xiii, pp. 53–67, and pp. 270–280.
Lucky births.

Hence the number eight is never mentioned in speaking of a child's age, $am$-ga$nāt$ or 'uncounted' being used instead; thus, $am$-ga$nāt$ $du$m = eighth day, $am$-ga$nāt$ $ba$hā = eighth year.

The athwākh. — In the Dera talwil of Kangra a child born in the eighth month is called an athwākh (fr. ath, 8), and is regarded as unlucky to both its parents, foreboding the father's death. As a remedy a spinning-wheel is passed thrice round the mother's head, and then given to the midwife.

In Kangra a child which dies at birth, or immediately after it, is inauspicious, and its nose is bored, for a gold ring to be inserted, in order to avert its evil influence.

Monday is an unlucky day for birth, and as a remedy the child's nose or ear is bored. In some parts, e.g. among orthodox Hindus in Bahawalpur, Ferozepur and Mandi, the following remedies are used to counteract the evil influences of the various planets:

Saturn: seven kinds of grain, or anything black, such as iron or a black buffalo, should be given away in charity.

Mars: articles such as copper, gur, cloth dyed red, oil etc.

The Sun: reddish things, such as $gīt$, gold, wheat, a red-coloured cow etc.

The Moon: white articles, such as silver, rice, a white cow, white cloth etc.

Mercury and Venus: green articles such as mūng (a kind of pulse), green cloth or fruit, such as oranges etc.

Jupiter: yellow things, such as yellow cloth, gram-pulse, yellow sweetmeats ($nikhīti$ and $kudū$), gold etc.

To avert the evil effects of Rāh (or ascending node): cocoanuts, $gīt$, sugar ($khando$) and $māsh$ (a kind of pulse); and that of Kret or typhon (the descending node): $samōsa$ (a kind of sweetmeat) and bleck cloth are given in charity.

This is termed $gīrah-pījā$ (or worship of the planets).

A birth which occurs during the pancho period will, it is believed, be followed by the birth of three children of the same sex.

The gandes are five days which fall in the dark half of the lunar month, and a child born on any of these dates bodes ill to its parents. Accordingly, the father must not see the child until, in the recurrence of the nakshatra in which it was born, he has worshipped the gods, or until five dolls have been made, put in a copper vessel and anxiously propitiated. Fruit is placed before them, as they are believed to eat; and Brahmins recite mantras. Lastly, an earthen jar is pierced with twenty-eight holes and filled with water and various drugs. It is then hung up some distance from the ground and the water allowed to trickle on to the parents' heads. After this the Brahmins are rewarded.

1 But the same writer (S. Gardhi Singh in J. A. S. Bengal, iii, Pt. I, p. 205), says that a child is never said to be so many days or months old, but so many years, e.g. chdr barha = four days or four months old, as well as four years.
Lucky times for birth.

As we have already seen, eclipses affect the parents during pregnancy. So too a child, of either sex, born during an eclipse brings ill luck, to avert which the following observances are in vogue, at least in Kāṅgāra:—

The image in gold of the deity connected with the asterism in which the eclipse occurred, and one of the sun (if it was eclipsed), or of the moon (in the case of its eclipse), together with an image of Rāhu, are reverenced. A havan is also performed, all wood being used if the sun was eclipsed, or, if the moon, palas. Like other unlucky children, a child born under an eclipse is weighed every month, on the sankrānti day, against seven kinds of grain, all of which is given away.

A child (unlike a calf) born in Bhādona is lucky, while one born in Kāṭak is inauspicious, and the mother of such a child should be turned out of the house, though she may be given to a Brahman and then redeemed from him. Children born under certain asterisms are peculiarly liable not only to misfortune themselves, but to cause evil to others, and various rites are performed to avert the consequences of their birth.

A child born in Kāṭak must either undergo symbolical birth from a cow (goparaś), or also both it and the parents must bathe on the first sankrānti after the end of Kāṭak in water drawn from seven wells and mixed with turmeric, sandal, ginger and other drugs. These are termed sarbokkadi, and are placed in an unbaked earthen jar, with 1000 orifices and a lip, the appropriate mantras being duly recited. Water from seven wells or rivers is then similarly purified by mantras. The parents, with the child in its mother's lap, are then placed under a sieve, through which the water is poured. Havān is then performed, and lastly a tray of ghee is given away by the parents in charity.

A child born when the moon is in the sixth or eighth zodiacal sign is ill-omened, and to avert its influence the following rite is observed: On the twenty-seventh day after the birth a basket made of bamboo is filled with sixteen sets (thirty-two lbs.) of rice, some camphor, a pearl, a piece of white cloth and some silver and given away in charity, together with a team of white calves yoked, and vessels of milk and ghee. Worship, in which white sandal-wood and white flowers figure, is also performed. This, however, is an orthodox rite, and in Kāṅgāra the popular idea is that a child born in the ghāṭi-chandra-mañ, i.e. when the moon is inauspicious, is not ill-omened.

The unlucky titih or lunar days for birth are the umāvas, or last day of the dark half; and the chatuṛdashi (vulg. chando) are fourteenth, the last day but one. Children born on the former day are unpropitious to the father, those born on the latter to the mother. To avert their evil influence an idol of Shiva is made of silver, and in an earthen jar are placed leaves from various trees, mango, palas, pīpal etc. A coconut is then placed on the jar, which is covered with a red cloth; and on this is put the idol of Shiva, after it has been purified by mantras. Havān is performed with sesame, pulse (mūk) and white mustard. The idol is given to a Brahman.
The following thirteen *muhūras* are unlucky:

1. Asauni, 7. Grahan (eclipse), 13. Bhadra,
2. Rauati, 8. Atepat, 12. Amawas,
3. Maghān, 9. Shankrānti, 11. Chaudas,
4. Shelkhān, 10. Gand, 5. Mūdan,

especially 1 to 6—each *chara*² having special influence of its own. Thus in Shelkhān the second *chara* is fatal to wealth, the third to the mother, and the fourth to the father.³ In the Keshtā asterism, which is divided into ten *charas*, each of six *gharias*, we have the following scheme:

Birth in second *chara* = father, Birth in first *chara* = mother.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother, fourth <em>chara</em> = brother, third <em>chara</em>.</th>
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Elder brother, eighth *chara* child, to itself if born in fifth *chara*;
1. the "members of its family," if in sixth or seventh, to its father-in-law
2. in the ninth; and to everything in the tenth.

In the Mūl asterism the first *chara* is unpropitious to the father, the second to the mother, and the third to wealth.⁴

² In NaGrūn tale-di of Kāṅgāra the evil influence of a birth in any unlucky *muhūras* is averted by bathing the parents and child with water from a jar, containing 1000 holes, into which leaves from 108 male trees (mango, *pīpal*, tamar, are male; while adhā, 'pear,' and berī, 'plum,' are feminine). Children born in the remaining seven of the thir
3. *muhūras* specified are not very unlucky, and the planets are merely worshipped by more rigid observers of Hindu precepts.

⁴ Special attention may here be directed to the position of the mother's brother in
5. astrology. The part played by him in weddings may conceivably have an astrological basis. He is curiously affected by his sister's child cutting its upper teeth first; see Indian Antiquary, vol. xxxi, 1902, p. 292.

⁵ To avert the evil influence five earthy jars, filled with water and leaves (*pīpal* etc.) are covered with a red cloth, and the golden image of a serpent placed on them and worshipped. The person to whom the birth forebodes evil gives alms, and a *kānasa* performed with *ghāṭ*; Kāṅgāra. In *kara* the five jars should contain gold images of Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh, Indra and Varuna.

⁶ The rites are the same as in the case of a Jēṣṭa birth, except that the idol made is a gold one of a *śikākāśa*; Kāṅgāra.

Among Hindus in Ambāla astrologers are consulted about the auspiciousness of the birth. If the child was born at an inauspicious time, called *pandur*, 27 days after the birth the child and its mother are bathed in water containing drugs in solution. The water is poured on them from a pitcher with a hundred holes bored in it. In some parts if the child is a male the father gives certain incantations recited over food which is given to the poor so that his ancestors' souls may benefit thereby.
Lucky children.

The Gonds.—The fourth charan in the Shukhan Jeezhthu and Reoti asterisms, and the first in the Mul, Ashwini and Maghru are called gonds, and a birth in these is unlucky: if it occur by day, to the father; if by night, to the mother; and if in the morning or evening, to the child itself.1

But all these refinements are hardly known to popular astrology, and the general practice is to regard births in Jeezhthu, Mula, Ashlekh and Maghun asterisms only as unlucky.2

In the Simla hills the evil influence of a birth in the Krishnpak chandras is averted by propitiating the nine planets. A birth at the end of a month and in the Jamgandhjag, Kailajag etc., is unlucky to the parents etc.; and they should not see the child's face until alms have been offered. Triples portend the speedy death of parents, and to avert the evil, havan is performed, alms are given to the purukhit and the shonti wankat is read.

The couvade.

Repeated inquiries had hitherto failed to elicit any trace of the couvade in these Provinces, but Mr. H. W. Emerson, C.S., has now found it in Mandi where 'the man goes to bed when a son is born; either the mother or the father must be on his back for three months and as the mother does most of the work the father does most of the lying-in.'

The first-born.

Speaking generally, the birth of the first-born child, provided it is not a girl, is the occasion for special rejoicings—and in Kângra a pilgrimage is made to the family god (kul-deota), and a he-goat; called the kunh vasd, is set loose in his honour, another being also sacrificed at his shrine, and a feast given.3

In Saraj a few people of the village visit the parents' house in fire off guns. The father feasts them, and gives each guest a small turban and a rupee; the village deota and musician also receiving each a rupee. This money is called sgdhda ka rupbda, and it is all deposited with an honorary treasurer, and when enough has been collected a great feast is held.

In Hamirpur the panjdb rite, which consists in giving alms to the poor, is observed on the eleventh day after the birth. Brahmans and the kinsmen are also feasted, menials also receiving gifts. A good deal of money is thus spent.

1 The rites resemble those in the Jeshtthu or Mul case, but a cow is also given as alms in the child's name: Kângra.

2 In the Veda talash of Kângra the rites observed on such births, or in those which occur under an inauspicious (ghotu) moon, are simple. Images of Brahman, Indra, Sûrâ (Sun) and the Moon (Chandrama) are placed in four jars, with the leaves of seven trees; the jars are then filled with water and covered with a red and white cloth. Mother and child are then sprinkled with the water.

3 A great many Hindu women who have never had children, or been unable to bring up any, propitiate the deity by vowing that their first-born, if preserved, shall, till he comes of age, or of a certain age, serve in the procession of the Turia as a water-carrier, or in some other capacity; and such sons always wear the green mantles till they attain that age during the Muharram, and serve as their mothers have vowed, they shall serve, but return to Hindu rites and ceremonies as soon as the Muharram is over, without prejudice to their caste or reproof from their associates. MS. note in a copy of Steeman's Rambles and Recollections (I by the late Mr. Carr-Stephens).
Unlucky children.

The first-born has always held a peculiarly sacred position, especially if born to parents who have long been without offspring in answer to a vow, in which case sacrifice of the child was common in India. The Mairs used to sacrifice a first-born son to Mata, the smallpox goddess, while Muhammadans throughout Northern India believe that first-born children can stop excessive rain by certain rites. On the other hand a first born son will in Telingana attract lightning. A first-born child (Jeṣṭh) must not be married in Jeṣṭh: P. N. Q., III, § 10. Twins, as is well known, are peculiarly uncanny.

But many remarkable ideas cluster round the third conception or round a child of one sex born after three children of the other sex. Thus in the South-West Punjab on the borders of Sind the former superstition prevails and its results are thus described:

Trikkhāli is the third conception after two births (without regard to the sexes of the former children). It is a Ṣatki word, meaning 'third' and implies contempt. This conception is considered unlucky among Hindus, especially in Jampur tahsil. Every effort is made to effect abortion, and in many cases it undoubtedly takes place. It is also suspected that the third child is killed at birth if the attempts to cause abortion have failed, but fear of the law prevents any attempt to kill it if it survives its birth.

The Trikhali.—This however appears to be a local variant as the other superstition is far more prevalent and its effects and the measures taken to avert them are thus described:

A child of one sex born after three children of the other sex is called, in Punjabi, trikhāli, as, for example, a boy born after three girls. Such a child is considered unlucky, and its birth portends—(1) the death of a parent; (2) loss of wealth by the parents; (3) the taking fire of the house in which it was born; or (4) some other calamity, such as lightning or snake-bite.

If this child grows up without its parents suffering any injury, and is taller than the parents, they are benefited instead of injured by the birth, their lives are prolonged, or if poor they become rich and are protected against all misfortunes. Many Hindus also believe that the children born after a trikhali cannot live long.

The following remedies are adopted at the birth of such a child to avert its evil effects:

(1) The father pours a quantity of ghṛ down the gutter of the roof of the room in which the child was born

1 Moore’s Hindu Infanticide, pp. 198-9.
2 Sherring: Hindu Tribes and Castes, III, p. 66.
3 P. N. and Q., I, §§ 116 and 469.

But in Dahomey a boy born after twins has a special name (dora), according to Barton: Mission to Gelele Kins of Dahome, I, p. 30, Memorial Edition.
Unlucky children.

(2) A brass tray is broken in the centre and the child passed through the hole.

(3) A horse-shoe is painted with samār (red oxide of mercury) and scented with guyal (a drug) and attached to the bed of the mother. The shoe is repainted with samār and scented every Tuesday.

(4) If the third day after the birth be a Sunday, a ceremony known as trikhal shānti (or propitiation of the trikhal) is performed. Green leaves from seven trees are collected and put in an earthen pitcher with 101 holes in its bottom. Another pitcher is filled with water taken from seven wells. The mother, with her child, sits under the drain of the roof of the house in which the child was born. A pandit recites to her a katha from the trikhal shānti shāstra while a kinswoman of the mother holds a sieve over her head. The pitcher containing the green leaves is placed on the sieve, and the father pours the water of the seven wells down the drain of the roof, so that the water passing through the pitcher and the sieve may trickle slowly over the mother’s head.

(5) If the charm, whose figure is given below, be set in gold and tied to the neck of the mother all evil is avoided:

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Teti jun me yun jun mun mone khaone ko jagah de.
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This belief relates chiefly to the first trikhal born in the family; it applies to boys more than to girls (and indeed it is said in Kasār that a girl after three boys is not unlucky at all) and evil is to beseeched by both parents but principally to the parent of corresponding sex. Moreover, a boy born after three girls is also apt to be himself unlucky.

The ceremonies used to avert the ill-effects are often those employed when a child is born under an evil nakshatra but for a trikhal—

Five earthen pitchers filled with water containing gold images of Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh, Indar and Rudar are worshipped, whereas in the case of a birth under the asterisms of Jesta, Mula, Ashelkân and Magan, the leaves of 7 trees* are used as described above and in the case of Amritsar a girl is born is called ‘badkhat’ or lucky child: ebd, II, § 824, also § 336 (in Bombay).

* They should be male trees (katha, mār, tāl etc.) according to an account from Jhelum.
of a child born in Káttak—

Four images of Brahma, Indra, Rudra and Súrya are placed in 4 pitchers covered with red and white cloth and a little of the water sprinkled over the mother and child.

Lastly for a child born during an eclipse—

Three gold images, one of the nakshatra of birth, another of Ráhu and a third of the sun or moon (as the eclipse may have been), are worshipped.

Another name for the trikhal is trelar (said to be derived from Skr. tī, 3 and uttar, enemy), and in Hoshiarpur the performance of a fire sacrifice with the aid of a Brahman after the natal period is usual. Fula wood is burnt and sugar etc. thrown on to it.

In Karnál and Rohtak a son born after three girls is usually called trelar (or named Tela Ránu) and in Rohtak various ways of averting the evil he may bring are described. In one the parents sit on a plough and bathe from an earthen vessel containing 195 or 101 holes with water from the Ganges and 27 wells, 108 medicines and milk. The water is passed through a sieve, but in some places a sieve is held to be unlucky. In another ceremony the parents bathe in water (passed through a sieve) drawn from 27 wells and in which stones from 27 places and leaves from 27 trees have been placed. This must be done 27 days after the birth. 27, 14 or 7 Brahmins are also feasted. After these ceremonies a pair of snakes are made of precious metal and given with 7 kinds of grain to the Dakini Brahman. In another right a horse-shoe, painted with vermilion figures, is burnt on the third or tenth day after the birth. It is lucky if this day falls on a Sunday.

The superstition appears then to take various forms and the rites practised are very diverse, those used to avoid other unlucky births being often resorted to, though it appears that strictly speaking special rites should be performed. It is said to be confined in Sirmur State to immigrants from Hoshiarpur. It is possibly connected with the astrological doctrine of trines but the powers of the first-born are not thereby explained. The belief and rites are said to be described in the śástras. In 1885 a Sanskrit book called Trikhal-shánti was published at Lahore giving an account of the belief. The sage Pushkar asks Bhargat how a trikhal can be propitiated. The reply is that it should be abandoned as it will cause the death of its parents and maternal uncle within 7 months and also destroy itself.

The eighth child.*—The eighth child is very unlucky if a son as he is sure to cause his father's death. But in Karnál the 8th child is regarded as peculiarly dangerous to the mother. The remedy is to pass a charāka or spinning wheel thrice round the mother and give it to the midwife. The charāka must be in perfect order.

* The part which the maternal uncle plays in marriage rites is well known. He is in grave peril if his sister's child cuts its upper teeth first.

* Connected apparently with the eight names of Rudra. Moir's Sanskrit Texts, IV, pp. 383, et seq.

New York Times,
Omens in children.

Dhún sira or '2 heads.'—Mr. W. S. Talbot writes that in Jhelum trīkhal is drilled with 2½ holes—a local expression meaning 2 holes in one ear and 1 in the other, or 1 in each ear and 1 in the nose. In Musaffargarh a dhún sira, mula or sal sira is a child whose head has not been properly shaped.

There is no objection to twins. But in Káugra if a boy and a girl be born together it is sometimes regarded as unlucky.

In Karnál different classes have different ideas about twins. Among both Hindús and Muhammadans some consider them a good omen while other Hindús think they forebode ill-luck. Women do not consider their birth evil and they have a proverb that the woman who gives birth to twins goes straight to paradise on her death.

In Ambála twins being weaker than single children frequently die, and so they are considered ominous. It is believed that if at intercourse air gets in it splits the seal in two and thus gives rise to twins. It is also said that if a pregnant woman eats a fruit which has grown in a pair, she will give birth to twins.

In Hoshiāpur a child which first teethes from its upper jaw is considered unlucky to its maternal uncle. To remove the evil effects its mother goes beyond the limits of her village on the path leading to her parents' house. From the opposite direction comes the maternal uncle of the child, bringing with him a white brass tray, 1½ seers of rice, 7 pice, a yard of cloth and 4 iron nails, all except the tray and nails, knotted in the cloth. The maternal uncle drives the 4 nails in the ground in a square, touches the child's teeth with the tray, and then puts the tray and the cloth with the other articles wrapped in it within the square between the nails and returns home. The uncle and his sister must not talk or see each other's faces. The sister sits with her child clinging to her shoulder, her veil drawn and her back towards her brother, and he returns in silence after the ceremony, which is called dānton ka thakna or 'the charm of the teeth.'

In Karnál when a child of either sex cuts the front teeth of its upper jaw first it is a bad omen to the maternal uncle. His sister, the mother of the child, sends him word of the event. On receiving the message the maternal uncle takes a bronze cup of medium size, a quarter of a seer of kašár or ronjīt (wheat flour baked in pith and mixed with sugar) and half a coconut in a piece of red cloth (khárwa) and proceeds to his sister's house without informing her or any other person in the house of his arrival, which is kept strictly secret. He goes quickly on to the roof of the house in which his sister lives and puts the cup &c. on it, or if there is no staircase he throws them upon it. After this ceremony he retraces his steps silently without speaking to, or even seeing the face of, his sister and returns home. When it is known that the ceremony has been finished the things are taken from the roof and used without scruple.

It is performed differently in villages situate in the neighbourhood of Pátiála. A time is fixed and a place appointed for the ceremony. The child's mother goes to the place, which is always fixed beyond the
limits of the village on the road to her brother's house. He starts
from his own village and halts a mile from the place till he gets news
of his sister's arrival. He brings with him an old three-pie coin
(Maundri paas) with an iron nail, but nothing else. When he is
informed that everything is ready, he proceeds to the place. His sister
takes her child up in her arms so that its face is towards the way her
brother is coming; she herself standing facing the village whence she
came. The brother comes silently and opens the mouth of the child,
touches its teeth with the paas and iron nail, without showing himself
or seeing his sister's face and after burying these things on the spot
returns to his village.

Place of confinement. — It is a very general, but by no means uni-
versal custom for the wife to return to her own parents' house for her
first confinement.

A child born in the house of his udas, or mother's father, often
receives the name of Nának.1

Care is taken not to let the fact that the pains of labour have
began be known abroad, lest publicity increase their severity. And if
the pains are severe a tray (thali), on which a charm is written, is shown
to the patient in order to remove them.

It appears to be the universal custom for delivery to be effected on
the ground.2 But after it is over the mother is usually seated on a mat
or cassock. It appears to be almost the universal custom to tell her that
she has given birth to a girl,3 in the curious belief that if she were to
learn that she had become the mother of a son, the after-birth would not
come away.

As a rule the umbilical cord is cut with a sharp knife, but in Ludhi-
áná it is tied with the āsna of an elderly man belonging to the family.
This is also the usage in Hoshiárpur and Sialkot, but in these districts,
if the child be a girl, the cord is tied with the thread of a spinning-
wheel. Any other method is supposed to injure the child. In Gujrán-
wálá the cord is not cut till two or three hours after birth.

Disposal of the after-birth. — In Pérozepore the seconds are
buried in a corner of the house.

In Mandi the after-birth is buried at the spot, where the child was
born, after the eldest matron of the family has made the mother worship
it.

Death in child-hod. — If a woman die within thirteen days of her
delivery it is believed that she will return in the guise of a malignant
spirit to torment her husband and family. To avert this a shudhi is per-
formed at her funeral; a piece of red cloth and the grass image of her
child being placed on the bier. Some people also drive nails through
her head and eyes, while others also fasten nails on either side of the
door of their house.

1 Of Temple in Proper Names of Panj. bis, p. 50.
2 In Hoshiárpur delivery is said to be effected on a choti pothé.
3 And if she has given birth to a girl, she is told she has borne a stone.
Post-natal practices.

In Hoshiarpur a woman whose child has died within forty days is called a *parakhvāndas*¹ and she must not see a woman in confinement during the first forty days after birth.

II. — Observances subsequent to the birth.

The observances after birth are manifold, and their character complex, so that it is as difficult to distinguish between the religious and social observances, as it is to say what usages are based on magic and what on the first glimmerings of medical skill. Nevertheless, under much that is barbarous and puerile there are traces of more rational ideas regarding cleanliness, and even a kind of primitive anticipation of antiseptic treatment. One important point to note is that the observances are far less elaborate in the case of a girl child, and this is, that the birth of a girl is a misfortune, re-acts injuriously on the mother, less care being bestowed upon her, and every observance being hurried over and many stunted, if the child is not a boy. Thus in Rawalpindi the mother of a son is carefully tended for forty days, but if the child is a girl for only twenty-one.

The period of impurity. — The period of impurity is most commonly called *ašāk* but it is known as *cīhāt*, especially in the north-west of the Punjab.

It's duration is, in theory, ten days among Brahmins, twelve among Khatri, fifteen among Vaisya and thirty among Sudras, thus varying inversely with the purity of the caste. But in practice it is eleven days among Brahmins and thirteen among Khatri; or only eleven or thirteen for all castes.²

Among the Jats of Hoshiarpur, who may in this connection be regarded as typical of the Hindus of the Punjab proper, the following is the method of treatment after birth:

The midwife washes the child in a vessel into which silver has been thrown, before she gives it to the mother. But the child is not suckled for one and a half days.


² In Rohat and Lehār it would appear to be only ten, expiring with the *dasi* of In Gujranwāla it is said to be thirteen days, for Brahman and sixteen for others.

In Patiala it is generally believed that death in child-bed is ominous for the other women of the family who may yet bear children, and more or less so for the husband also should he take a second wife, because the dead woman's evil spirit will vex her; the prophylactic measures, generally undertaken, with slight modification in different localities are—Just after the death 4 iron nails are driven into the ground round the corpse, and when it is taken from the house-door to the burning-ground *rape-seed* is scattered all the way behind it, and a wizard follows it reciting incantations. Meanwhile the bearers set the body on the ground and 4 more nails are driven into it. On reaching the burning-ground it is cremated without any ceremony, but on the 3rd or 4th day when the ashes have cooled the *muhur* horns are picked up and the ashes collected into a conical heap on which the lower part of a band *four-nail* is placed while two iron nails are driven towards the head and two towards the feet of the body as it lay when placed on the pile, and the wizard reading some incantation completes the ceremony. After all this the husband still has to go to the priest where he undergoes purification under the guidance of the Brahman of that place.

In Sarsaul the *Gopāthī maṇḍara* is recited by a Brahman when a woman dies in childbirth among the Nals, to prevent her becoming an evil spirit. The swamps drive an iron nail in the ground for the same purpose, and the *Johara* send for a *Qar*i to recite some verse called *kīla*. No unusual treatment is practised among other low castes in this tahsil.
Post-natal precautions.

The pap must be washed by the husband’s sister before the child can be fed. For this she receives a fee.

As on all auspicious occasions, oil is thrown on the ground and under the mother’s bed, beneath which green dakh grass is also placed, as it is a sign of prosperity; and as such some is also presented to the child’s father by his friends:

To prevent mischief to the mother or the child, a number of precautions are taken:

(i) Fire must be kept in the room, as must also
(ii) Grain close to the bed, as an emblem of good luck.
(iii) Water must also be kept there, as it is a purifier; and
(iv) A weapon should be placed close by the mother.
(v) Under the bed should also be kept the handle of a plough.¹
(vi) There should be a lock on the bed, or else it should have a chain round it. This is termed bel marda.²
(vii) On no account should a cat be allowed in the room, nor should the mother hear one call, or even mention the word ‘cat.’ It is most unlucky for her to dream of the animal, and if one is seen in the room, ashes should be thrown over it,
(viii) The house should not be swept with a broom—lest the luck be swept out of it.
(ix) No small drain into the room should be left open, lest ill-luck enter by an aperture which must be uncleans.
(x) A lamp must be kept burning all night, and allowed to burn itself out in the morning. A son is called ghar ka did, so if the lamp were blown out, he too would be destroyed.

Neither mother nor child must come out of the room for thirteen days.

On the thirteenth day the mother gives her old clothes to the midwife, who sometimes shares them with the naïa. The latter brings some cow’s urine in a thikra or jar, with green grass, a sapra, and a saherad, or nail-parer. She sprinkles the cow’s urine over the mother with the grass, burns some incense, and pares her nails for the first time since her confinement. Then the mother must put on the naïa’s (the naïa’s husband’s, not the naïa’s) slippers, and walk out of the room carrying the child. The naïa sprinkles oil on the ground outside the door,² and there the jhikarī, or some other priest, stands with a

¹ Probably because the plough turns the soil which produces grain, and so witches will not come near it.
² In Panjabi haddā or velna—to press or roll; also to strike the bridegroom’s hand at a wedding. Bel marda is not translatable in the Panjabi Dictionary.
³ In Hind the naïa makes a naga (a mark said to be like a croc) on the wall near the door, and receives a rupee and some rice; and the mother eats some khichri (rice and some pulse, soaked) on this day.
pot of water and some green grass. Both she and the nais are paid for their services.

In the outer room Vidhāta (vulg. Bidh) Mātā is worshipped, no men, not even a Brahman, being present. The women make an idol of gobhar, covering it with a red cloth and offering to it the food cooked for the feast. Drums are then beaten, Brahmans and relatives fed, and the members of the household congratulated. The idol is kept for one and a quarter months and then deposited near the well.

The period of confinement lasts forty days, and the mother must not stain the palms of her hands with henna, nor wear clothes dyed with kasambha, until the ancestors have been worshipped and kinsmen feasted. On this occasion the dhādiās, or girls born in the tribe, must also be fed, fed'd and reverenced.

Third day.—On the third day the observance called bārā is current in Rohilkhand, and, as the name denotes, the mother on this day comes 'outside' from the room in which she was confined, at an auspicious hour fixed by a Brahman. The women of the brotherhood assemble at her house, each bringing half a pāda of grain. The nais makes a chauk on the ground, in which are depicted the planets. The eldest woman of the family then puts five sars of grain, some jaggery and oil on the chauk, and all the others follow suit. Then the mother comes out of her house and touches the grain, which is divided, with the jaggery and oil, between the nais, the Brahman and the midwife. A khajāk of jaggery is then given to each female of the brotherhood present, and songs are sung. Menials also get their dues, and, when the mother comes out of the house, the nais waits at the door with a naktāndā with which he touches the boy, for which he gets a rupee. He also puts blades of dakh grass in the turbans of the child's forebears, in order that they may multiply like the grass. For this he receives a second rupee.

In Hoshiarpur the mother in some places is bathed on the third day, if she has given birth to a girl: a function postponed to the fifth day if her child is a boy. In Sirmāur, too, she bathes on the third or fifth day; and in Mandi a rite called the tirphul kā gontar is observed.

1 Or dhādāas or dhādi, a sister or daughter. The term is used by Brahmanas, mārdeśī etc., in addressing the daughter or sister of a patron.

9 This rite is thus described: The courtyard of the house is swept, and circles drawn on it with mud. These circles are called bākalā. The threshold of the house is painted red. The person who sweeps the yard gets pārdī for (rice, sugar, cloth etc.). Then the mother is bathed in hot water and made to worship Gānsūkṭī, whose idol is put on a yellow chauk, and offerings made to it. A Brahman now makes pānech chaukā, mixing it up in a jar with a blain of dakh grass. He gives three spoonfuls of this mixture to the mother and thus increases her longevity. He next receives his fee in money, and then places a ball of cow-dung, containing gold, silver, a pearl, and a head of coal, near the idol. This ball is called bālākāti and is worshipped like the goddess. After all this, the mother's breasts are washed, and she suckles the child. Then balls of boiled rice are placed daily in the chauk for three days — until the impurity has been removed — and are then given to the midwife. The mother's brother then goes to the forest with a Brahman and a musician, and cuts four branches from a dhakā (Euphorbia Royleana), and these he is made to worship by the Brahman, who receives a fee for this from the mother's brother. Of these four branches the Brahman places two, one on each side of the door of the house in which the birth took place, and sticks two in cow-dung near Gānsūkṭī's chauk. They are then covered with leaves. The mother's brother then washes the child, and the nearest kinsmen are fed. Songs are also sung. The eldest matron of the family also gives the mother rice mixed with salt, a drink of tākhālagra. (Pīchhēī = rice water.)
on the former day. In Râwalpindi the mother bathes on the third, fifth or seventh day, and châri (baked bread, sugar, and gîlî) is then distributed among the females of the brotherhood. In the evening of the same day she puts the child in a winnowing basket and takes it outside the village gate—accompanied by the midwife.

Fourth day.—As a rule the mother bathes on the third day, or on one bearing an odd number after it, but in the Dasûya tahâl of Hoštiârpat she is bathed on the fourth, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-first, thirtieth, and forty-eighth days.

Fifth day.—Excluding the bathing already mentioned, the rites of the fifth day are confined to Jhelum, in which district the pânjâda or fifth-day observances simply consists in a bath, and Hoštiârpat. In the latter district a foster-brother is made for the child out of cow-dung, and grain, sweets and bread placed beneath it. A red cloth is then thrown over it. All these things are the midwife’s perquisite. The rite is performed both for a girl and a boy. The mother also bathes on this occasion, and her head is washed with milk and cow’s urine. Elsewhere in this same district the mother is bathed on the fifth or seventh day, and the wâîm pâts her hair. Then she is brought out into the courtyard, wearing the wâîm’s doppâta or shawl. The yard is previously plastered with cow-dung, and in it the mother is seated on a stool, and given cow’s urine and Ganges water to drink. She then re-enters the room in the house, which has, in the meanwhile been re-plastered with cow-dung. Inside she sits by a wall, close to which is placed some grain on which a lamp is lit. Each of the kinswomen takes some grain and money and puts them by the lamp. Then rice, loaves and wâîm are distributed among the brotherhood, the grain and money brought being divided by the midwife and the wâîm.

Sixth day.—The ceremony called the châshî was doubtless originally, as the name implies, observed on the sixth day, but it is now extinct (in Sîrmûr), or else held on the sixth or any subsequent date. Only in Mandî must the rite called châshî gosîr actually be held on the sixth day.

Elsewhere the châshî is known as the ihramâna, and is held only in cases when the child was a boy.

1 In Gurmâria the châshî is described as being observed on the fifth day, on which day the child is named.
2 This resembles the terphanta. The house is swept, as before, and Ganpaî is again worshipped. Then images of a cow, a calf, and a gardener are made of dough. These are known as dâdâ vaçcha, and are placed near the goddess’ bâd. Panîgîthâ is given to the mother. The females of the brotherhood assemble and sing songs. They are regaled on milk grain, and red thread is then sent to the mother’s parents, a custom called dort dasa, or ‘giving the thread.’ In return they send money and sweetmeats. In Mandî is also performed the third or last gosîr. On the evening preceding the day fixed for this rite, the house is swept. All the near kinswomen are invited, and they spend the night in singing, while the priest makes the mother worship Ganpaî. Alms are also given to avert evil planetary influences. On the following day the priest performs a Âsana (Asna), in much the usual way. The mother and all the members of her family are then purified, and finally a bîgâsh of cow-dung is made, and the mother is instructed to clean her teeth with twigs of a fragrant plant. These twigs are struck in the bîgâsh and preserved as long as the child lives, being worshipped at its birthdays. The bîgâsh, with the twigs struck in it, must, at this gosîr, be set afoul on a river or stream.
When the mother goes to her parents' house for her confinement the chaiśi is observed on her return to her husband's house, and in Ferozepur it is in this case postponed till the twenty-first day.

In Ludhiana the rite is simple. The mother is bathed (chati ki ashnā), and boiled rice and sweets are distributed among the members of the brotherhood. The mother fasts all day until sunset, when she is given starch to eat and then she is brought out of the room by the midwife with a lamp burning in the winnowing basket. After the sixth day the mother is not so carefully looked after.

In Amritsar the chaiśi is said not to be observed by Brahmans or Khatri, but only by Arobas.

In Montgomery the chaiśi is termed satī, and the Brahman suggests the boy's name — no such observance being required for a girl.

In Rohat and Loharu it is said to be the occasion on which the goddess of fortune will visit the house and partake of grain and water therein, so water is set forth, and pen, paper, and ink placed ready for her to record a happy future for the child.

The kinswomen and the priest's wife sing songs all night, the idea being that the goddess will record a better fate for the child if they are awake and a lamp is kept burning. After this the mother is allowed to eat grain, and the child is dressed in a kurti and cap, and ornaments are put on it. If it is a boy, mango leaves are hung on the door of the house, and vāhpā or hand-prints made on either side of it in the corners, with henna.

Special care is taken that the sounds of mourning may not reach the mother's ears if a death occurs in the neighboring houses.

Dhama.—In the Hazro tahsil of Attok the term dhama is applied to the custom whereby the mother keeps her bedding on the ground. On the first Sunday or Thursday after the birth, mother and child are bathed and dressed in new clothes. They are then placed on a chāpā. Sweet porridge is also distributed among the brotherhood on this day. If during the dhama period thunder is heard, a pewter vessel is beaten, lest the sound of the thunder reach the mother's ears.

Seventh day.—The sitiag, or seventh-day observance, is only known by that name in Jhelum and Rawalpindi, in which districts it consists merely in a bath—as in Hoshiarpur—in lieu of or in addition to those previously taken.

Tenth day.—The tenth day is not generally marked by any special rites, in spite of the fact that it gives its name to the dasśīha (lit. bathing on the tenth day after childbirth), in Sirmur it is also called sandha, and is observed at any time before the child is five years old.

Dhama.—In Sialkot the dhama rite is observed on the eleventh day by Brahmans, and by other castes on the thirteenth, i.e., after the satī is over. Four copper coins are placed under the mother's feet, 1 by corruption, apparently.

1 In this district, the dhama appears to be observed, as a distinct rite, on the first Sunday or Wednesday after the birth.
2 Accordin g to the Panjab Dictionary, dhama or dhamaḥ in octohari means 'the period of childbirth.'
3 Platts, sub voce.
and an idol made of cow-dung. After bathing and putting on new clothes the mother worships a lamp, placed before the idol on a pile of grain (which is the midwife’s perquisite). Each woman of the brotherhood then gives her a coconut and five dates. She is then taken to the kitchen, where a Brahman administers the panchan, receiving a fee of annas four or eight, and a meal. Lastly the idol is taken away outside the village and placed under a plum tree. On this same day the child is invested with the taragga, a thread on which are strung a cowry, an iron ring, another of green glass, a tiger’s claw, and a piece of the child’s umbilical cord, cut off after its birth. The kinwomen are also feasted on this occasion. In the Dogar country this thread is made of silk.

Thirteenth day.—The thirteenth day is important, because the sūtak period very commonly ends on that day, and it is therefore signalised by rites of purification. Very generally the mother is bathed, all the earthen vessels in the house are broken or replaced, and those of metal cleaned. Clothes also are washed, and the house plastered. Brahmins are sometimes fed, and occasionally the child is named on this day or dressed for the first time.

Twenty-first day.—The twenty-first day is merely marked in Hoshiarpur by bathing the mother and purifying all the vessels used by her since the birth by fire.

Thirty-sixth day.—The thirty-sixth day is only the occasion for a bath, in Hoshiarpur.

Fortieth day.—On the fortieth day the mother bathes for the last time, and then ceases to be even ceremonially impure, and can take part again in the duties of the family kitchen. Strangers also can now take food from the house.

The chaṇḍa karam.—In Mandi an observance called the chaṇḍa karam or jorolan is held in the third or fifth year of the child’s life in Māgh, Phāgan, Baisākh, Jēth or Hār, which months are auspicious for it. Two children must undergo the rite together. All their relatives are summoned the previous day. On the day fixed a chaṇḍa is painted red, and over it is placed a platter, made of cow-dung, and containing four hollows, one of which is filled with cold water, another with hot, a third with milk, and a fourth with curds. In each a little Ganges water is also poured, and a bundle of daṇḍ grass is placed on the platter. A little oil is then dropped on the children’s heads, and their bodies are rubbed with bāndh. They are next bathed, and the eldest matron of the family passes sweets round their heads to avert evil spirits from them. Then they are made to reverence Ganpati, and the priest part: their hair into three, tying each with red thread. A young girl is then told to apply all the contents of the platter, with the daṇḍ grass, to their

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1. Take the ṭagadhri, in some parts of the Punjab, and probably, the aṭhar in Amritsar, the taragga appears to foreshadow the jantak, and to be a stop-gap for it during childhood, until the child is of an age to be invested with the sacred thread. For taragga, cf. taradah or taradh (tara-also), which means a string tied round the waist; a string or silver string worn round the waist of men or boys, especially Māruwāris (Punjabi Dictionary, p. 1106).

2. This is not done in Amritsar, in which district the ron is simply cleansed.

3. Hindi ṭafon, a paste made of meal, turmeric, oil and scent, used to clean and soften the skin.
Brahmans are then fed. Next day at dawn the priest makes the two children worship the nine planets, and then he receives his fee in money. Oil is then poured on their heads and the barber cuts their hair, which must fall into the mother’s skirt. The barber is paid his due. The mothers offer the hair at the temples of their family goddesses. Then the children are bathed and dressed in new clothes, their brothers’ wives, or their sisters, painting their eyes with antimony. A goldsmith then bores their ears and puts gold ear-rings in them, receiving a he-goat and some cash as his fee. Copper coins are finally distributed among the poor, and a feast given to the Brahmans and near kinsmen.

Well worship.—In Rohatig, a month or so after the birth of a boy, a rite called doghr prāja is observed. If the mother is very weak the other women of the house place a jar of water by her, and they themselves visit the nearest well, singing songs as they go. The well is worshipped, rice and dūbb grass being offered to it. On their return copper coins are given to the menials. Or if the mother cannot perform this rite herself, it is observed at home. In Ferozepur the mother goes, on the twenty-first day, to a well, and there distributes boiled barley amongst children.

Suckling.—Suckling the child for the first time is the occasion for a curious rite. At sunset the midwife washes the mother’s breasts with water, using some blades of dūbb grass as a brush. They are again washed by the child’s sister or some other female. The midwife gets annas two or four, the sister a rupee, for this. Next day the midwife brings some green sarf leaves and ties them with a rāuli thread to the house door—a fee of annas two or four being paid her for this also. In Ferozepur the child is not suckled till the evening after its birth, and then the mother’s breasts are washed by a young girl, who gets a rupee if the child is a boy, but only annas two or four if it is a girl. Jaggery is applied to the child’s lips before it is given the breast. If the milk does not flow freely the child is given sheep’s milk.

Fosterage.—Fosterage is not very common in the Punjab, and sometimes it is a mere concession to superstition, as when a Brahman declares that it is inauspicious for a mother to see her child if it is put out to nurse, if the parent can afford it.

Head Compression.—For some notes on this practice in the Punjab reference may be made to “Ceyx, 1901, No. 2.

Chula.—The ceremony of clothing a child for the first time is usually called chula, and is held on various dates. In Râwalpindia a Brahman fixes a day; in Amritsar also this is the usual custom, but often Aroos and Khatri hold it on the thirteenth day.

In Ferozepur the chula ceremony is elaborate, and is thus described:—A part of the house is plastered and a figure of a cow made by the midwife—both with cow-dung. This image is covered with red cloth and designated the Bīdh-mātā, or ‘goddess of fortune.’ Next the barber rings cow’s urine in a cup, in which he also puts some blades of dūbb grass. Then the mother puts on the barber’s shoes, and, holding his skirt in her hand, she reverses the Bīdh-mātā, her children sitting on

*This rite is called jora somāna.
her lap. Two copper coins, the barber’s perquisite, are also placed beneath her feet. The barber now applies the cow’s urine to the child’s lips, with the stubb grass, and then gives it to the mother, who is thus purified, as is the child. If the latter is a boy the parents place a rúce in the cup, but if it is a girl annas two or four suffice. Vínjíri and lumps of parched wheat are distributed to the brotherhood, and the females belonging to it place grain before the image of Jitič-máta. This grain is divided between the barber and the midwife. The mother is given strengthening food after this. The ceremony 1 appears to be usually observed on the thirteenth day, but this is not always the case.

In Montgomery the chola also takes place on the thirteenth day, but if the boy was born on one of the six unlucky asterisms, the observance is postponed till the twenty-seventh. In Gujjánwála, however, the chola is held as early as the first day, i.e., immediately after birth, or on any day till the thirteenth. Speaking generally, the customs connected with the rite are social rather than religious, but in Hoshiárpur the family god’s temple or some Muhammadan saint’s shrine is usually visited.

Chhúchak.—In Rohtak the mother’s parents send her clothes and ornaments for herself, the child, and her husband. This present is called chhúchak, and it is sent in response to the hudas (vide supra).

Festivals.—The Louñ following a birth is observed with special pomp, copper coins and cowries being given away to the poor.

So, too, the next Diwáli is celebrated by a grander illumination than usual, sweets being also distributed among the brotherhood.

Tonsure.—The first tonsure of a child is an important rite, but it is known by various names and celebrated in various ways by different castes, and in different localities. In the south-west it is known as the jhánd 2 and elsewhere as the múañ or húañ. 3 If the mother has made a vow prior to the birth of her child to observe the rite at a certain shrine or temple, it is duly carried out there; otherwise it may be done at home. 4 An auspicious hour should be fixed by a Brahman, or the rite should be performed on the marriage of a near kinsman, or on the Baisákhi or Dasehra. In Hoshiárpur a boy’s ees are bored on this occasion, and some people smear his forehead with goat’s blood.

In Ludhiana the rite is, like the birth observances, described as the múañ sanskár, and it is unlucky to shave a child’s head until it has

1 The accounts of the chola rite are very confused, because chola literally means a cloak, and the child is dressed in that garment on other occasions, e.g. on the fifth, seventh, or ninth day; when the mother is bathed the child is dressed in a yellow chola. A boy, born after several successive female children, is dressed in one made of cloth, which must be given by a friend (Feresung). But in Bhopalpuri the cloth is got from a friend or the mother’s relatives under any circumstances.

2 The Hindu Bráhmans of Maharáj in Feresung have a special time for the rite, e.g. the Khamá Brahman observes it at Dijálpur. In Bhopalpuri, most of the Khatri’s observe it at home, but not so the Jaggé and Awal sections, and some families observe it at Bades in the Baisákhi or at the Jogi shrine at Koth Sarrung.

3 Jang, lit. Mango, or down, is the hair on the head of a new-born child.

4 Múañ = mean, to shave. Húañ, ann = shaving.

5 Some sections have fixed places for the observance of the rite, e.g. the Khama Khatri observe it at Dijálpur. In Bhopalpuri, most of the Khatri’s observe it at home, but not so the Jaggé and Awal sections, and some families observe it at Bades in the Baisákhi or at the Jogi shrine at Koth Sarrung.

The practice in the district is divided. In the Khamá district a distinct line appears to be drawn between the cutting off of the jang, which is removed at a thak or under a jang tree, before the child is three (though o. by a few families observe this rite), and the regular húañ, which is performed at a jhánd or gar jhánd between three and five years of age, and is often celebrated with considerable pomp.
been performed. The menials receive fees, and the brotherhood is regaled with sweets at the first tonsure, after which bōdi or tuft of hair is allowed to grow, but it is more usual to let the bōdi grow after the marriage of a near kinsman.

As a rule the rite is performed between the ages of one and a quarter and four years, or, in Ferozepur, as soon as the child has cut its teeth. Sometimes the rite is repeated once or twice. In Gujarānwałā the observance is called rīl and is held in the third or fifth year.

In short, the observance is essentially a domestic usage, varying in its details according to the ancestral custom of the caste, section, or even family. Sometimes women vow that a child's hair shall never be cut (Montgomery), and a girl's hair is never cut. Among Sikhs the rite is not very common, and, if practised, is observed when the child is only two or three months old. In a well-to-do family the rite is the occasion for a feast to Brahmans, otherwise Brahmans appear to have no part in it.

The jāne or sacred thread. — We are accustomed to talk of the jāne or sacred thread of caste, as if it were invariably worn by the three higher or twice-born castes, and not by the fourth or Sudra caste, and as if the sacred thread were the same or only slightly different for all the three higher castes. But an examination of the facts as they stand not only shows the extraordinary variety of form which the jāne takes but also proves that it is inaccurate and misleading to call the jāne the thread of caste. At the present day it is not always worn by the higher castes, while on the other hand the so-called Sudra castes not infrequently wear it.

As a general rule we may say that the form of the jāne varies in every caste or group or sect. It will thus be most convenient to deal with the form of jāne as worn by each caste.

The tagāḍhri. — It was formerly customary among Hindus for children to wear the tagāḍhri before they reached the ages at which the jāne could be worn, and in some parts of the Punjab the custom still survives. The tagāḍhri is worn round the waist, and is made of munj or, if the parents are wealthy, of silver.

Making the jāne. — Pure cotton is purchased in August, and on the 15th day after the new moon it is spun into thread by a Brahman girl (Juhin), or by a married woman whose husband is alive (Gujrāt), never by a widow. The cotton should be picked from a field free from thistle.

A jāne may consist of one or two agras.

The making of an agrā is thus described:—There are three lines on the fingers. The Brahmans should wind the single thread over the upper line 96 times, the Khatris over the central line 80 times, and the Vaisyas over the lowest 76 times. The thread is then made into three folds and twisted on a kāth, a special tool used in preparing the jāne. It is then

1. Boddh, m. awnus or rākhā.
2. In Ferozepur the bōdi is allowed to grow on the Pālākhā or Pandhara, and in Bāvāl, pindī on the seventh day after the jhong.
3. One account gives the minimum age at five months (Ferozepur).
4. It is stated that in this district some people shave the child on an auspicious day without informing the parents. If this is so, comparison may be made with the idea that unlucky children should not see their parents.
The making of a janeo.

folded in three folds a second time so that there are now 9 threads in the cord. To make an *agra* it is again folded thrice, making 27 threads in each *agra*. The number of *granthis* or knots in a *agra* depends on the number of *parvavas* or famous ancestors in each *gotra*. One *agra* is allowed to a Brahman in the Brahmehari or discipleship stage, the second being added when he reaches the second, the Grihasthasram or house-holder stage. The first thread should be twisted from right to left, the second from left to right, (and so on).

The second *agra* is made in the same way. When two *agras* are worn they are knotted together by three or five knots.

The most usual or orthodox rules appear to be that the material, length and age of initiation for each caste or *varna* should be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uarna</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Ages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>Cotton 96 chappas</td>
<td>8th year up to 16th</td>
<td>after conception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhatri</td>
<td>Hemp 95</td>
<td>11th</td>
<td>22nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisya</td>
<td>Wool 94</td>
<td>12th</td>
<td>24th</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A *chappa* is four fingers' breadth. The first year in each case specified above is called *mukhā kāl*, i.e. the precise or proper time. After that *janeo* may be put on in the *gana kāl*, i.e. up to the last year specified, after which the man is anadhànā or disqualified.

There are, however, modifications. Thus if a Brahman wishes to become learned in the Vedas, he should assume the *janeo* in his 5th year, if a Kshatriya desire strength, in his 6th year, and if a Vaisya desire success in cultivation, in his 8th year: *Manu Smriti*, Chap. II, 36 and 37.

The Khatris's *janeo* should, according to one account, be of silk thread, and the Vaisya's of *pashmān*. In Benares a *janeo* of silk fibre is made into which certain *sautras* are interwoven. Sometimes in Sirmur it is made of fibre from the bark of the *gaddā* tree.

The rules as to material are not now observed at all strictly. As we shall see the *janeo* of wool is now characteristic of certain religious castes. But the rules as to length are still very generally observed.

E. g. the Gaddis of Kāngra have four social groups:

1. Brahmanas with a *janeo* of ... 96 chappas
2. Rājputs                      ... 95
3. Khatris                      ... 94
4. Rathis                      ... 94

The ordinary *janeo* is of three kinds:

Brahmgandh

1. with 5 knots for the higher grades of Brahmanas.
2. with 3 knots for the lower grades of Brahmanas.
Vishnugandh, with 1 knot, for all other castes.

*Initiation.*—The ceremony of initiation should take place at an auspicious time.
When the ceremony is performed the boy's head is shaved, only the shikha, boli or choti (the lock of hair on the top of the head) being left. He then bathes.

He is then seated on the skin of an animal (deer, sheep or goat according to his caste), and is given a stick or staff of a particular tree. Or according to another account he must don a deer-skin (mrig shuras), take a salwa tand, or staff of dhik wood, in his hand, and put on podakas or kharas (wooden shoes). The rites in ancient times included various burnt offerings made in pits (hawan-kund), over which a wooden frame (bofit) was placed. The 9 planets were also worshipped.

Then the gurud seats the boy on his left side, and after making him promise to obey the orders he will receive, covers both their heads with a long cloth (sadja), and amidst the beating of drums and sounding of conches (to prevent others hearing what he says to the boy), whispers in his right ear a mantra which is never revealed to any one but himself.

Then the boy goes to his mother and first begs alms of her, subsequently begging of all the women of the assembled brotherhood. Alms, consisting of rice, money, both small silver and copper, silver rings, etc., are thrown by them into his sholi or pilgrim's wallet. These are offered to the gurud, who then puts the janeo on the boy.

The modes in which the janeo is worn.—The janeo is ordinarily worn over the left shoulder, across the back and chest, and under the right shoulder.

But in worshipping the gods there are three distinct ways in which the janeo should be worn:

(i) nar-yashabih: in worshipping the gods the janeo is still worn on the left shoulder, but is held across the palm under the thumb of the left hand. The right hand is kept over it forward.

(ii) ap-yashabih: in naming the pitris the janeo is worn on the right shoulder, and the libation of water made with the fingers of the right hand, the palm being kept above them so as to pour the water to the left. This is the worship of pitras or ancestral wanes.

(iii) In worship of the visis the janeo is placed round the neck and allowed to fall like a necklace. The libation is made with both hands so as to pour it inwards towards the chest.

The janeo of the Jogis.—All twelve parthas or orders of the Jogis wear the janeo, which is made by certain special members of the sect and not by ordinary Jogis or by Brahmins. 16 strands, each 9 cubits long, are taken. These strands are divided into 8 parts, each of 2 strands, and each part is then wrapped round a stick and twisted to the right. All 8 parts are then twisted into one rope, which is again divided into 6 strands. These are finally knotted together by a Brahm knot, and to them is attached a pamitra: (a ring of gold or rhinoceros horn), and to this again a mad, also of the latter material. This janeo should be of black wool, and is worn like a necklace.

The Kalit-sutar.—Besides the janeo, Achary Brahmins, Vaishnav and Bairagi sadhaks wear a kalit-sutar, or thread round the loins, made of wool or sumi.

1 This Mantra is called Gajarat and runs —
Tat Swastir Bryce anga dyausmas De mahe shi yo yo uch prabhadaya. "Let us worship the supreme light of the Sun, the God of all things, who can so well guide our understanding, like an eye suspended in the vault of Heaven."
SECTION 3.—MUHAMMADAN PREGNANCY OBSERVANCES

Charm against miscarriage.

Among some tribes a woman who has previously miscarried wears a charm, such as a thread or amulet, on her navel; others wear a sorcery on that part to avert the child's being born dead. The charms are blown upon before being put on, the fee paid depending on one's means.

Satudhin.

In Ambala the observance in the seventh month, or satudhin, is said to be confined to the towns. It simply consists in the parents sending sugar, rice etc. to their daughter on her first pregnancy; a woman related to the family also drops fruit into her lap.

In Sirmur the woman's parents try to arrange for her to be sent to their house, but if this cannot be done they send her presents of rice, sweets, fruit etc., with clothes for herself and the child. This is called kioba.¹

In Kangra on the commencement of the seventh month the woman's parents bring her presents consisting of red clothes, dry fruit, henna, scented oil, and misri, with other perfumes and an ornament, preferably one for the arm. These gifts are brought in a procession, musicians and singers accompanying it. On arriving at the husband's house, they make their daughter sit on a stool, while the naïn dresses her in the red suit and dyes her hands with the henna. She is also garlanded with flowers, and her lap filled with dry fruits, such as coconut, dates. These are all eaten, apparently by her husband's parents, she herself not being permitted to partake of them. Then the husband's parents make kārūhi of flour, sur and ghi, and this is eaten by people of the gotar but by no others. Persons not belonging to the gotar are feasted separately. Prior to this observance a pregnant wife may not wear new clothes or ornaments. After it she must not go to her father's house until forty days have elapsed from her confinement.

In Kapurthala the parents first send their daughter clothes etc. in the sixth or seventh month, and then she is taken to their house, the sweets sent by them being divided among her husband's kin. Similarly in Ludhiana it is thought that the first confinement ought to take place in the woman's own house. In Maller Kotla the Muhammadans, especially the dominant Pathan families, observe two distinct customs on a first pregnancy. As a rule the first, the satudhau, takes place at the husband's house. The woman's mother is formally notified of the fact that her daughter is in the seventh month of her pregnancy, and she comes to the house, bringing a suit of clothes, sweets and dried fruit. Towards the end of the seventh month the woman bathes and puts on new clothes brought by her mother, perfuming herself with scents. Fruit is then put in her lap, and she then sits on a floor which has been plastered while a muhámmam sings the appointed eulogies, called sebha, of Shaikh Salir Jahán, to a drum accompaniment.

¹Kioba, not traceable in the dictionaries.
Moslem pregnancy rites.

Throughout this performance the woman sits with her head bent down, and her hair unloosed, but combed and oiled. Occasionally, she falls into an ecstasy under the influence of the Siaikh, who often makes her his mouth-piece. Sweets are then sent round to relations and neighbours, and the nurse dismission with her fee. In the evening the darweshes are fed at the mother's expense, and next day she takes her daughter home, if the husband's parents agree to this.

In Lahore the rit is observed in the beginning of the seventh month, as follows:—The kinswomen assemble and eat out of a tray, the matrons of the family giving the woman fresh fruits as an auspicious omen. The mothers of the couple are also congratulated. Then the kinswomen are feasted, and a Dümni sings songs. After this, the woman is dressed in coloured garments, and puts on ornaments of flowers. At night her hands are stained with henna and the girls of the family sing. This observance is only held by the lower classes of Muhammadans, such as the Kakeens (distillers), Qasáb (butchers), Aráns (market gardeners), Döbis (washer-mens) and maháds or weermen. Among all classes the woman's mother brings her to her own house at the commencement of the ninth month, and on the day of her arrival sends for the almonds, dates, saffron etc. required on or after her delivery. Patásas are distributed among the family, and also among the women of the quarter, a rite called sauda by the women.

It is a very general rule among all Muhammadan castes in the north of the Punjab that the woman should avoid eating fruit, wearing fine clothes, or any kind of adornment until the rit is performed on the commencement of the seventh month. This rit consists merely in feasting the brotherhood, but it is also not uncommon for the woman's parents to send her a present of a tsemar, and to boil rice which is eaten at a feast in the name of their ancestors. The tsemar is then given to the husband's sister or the daughter of his nearest kinsman. After the rit the woman may use scent. Wheat, too, is parched, mixed with jaggery, and made into balls, which are distributed among the brotherhood.

In Rawalpindi a pregnant woman avoids the use of antimony, or dandás. She also avoids the shade of the dharek and the shadow of a woman suffering from akhr, i.e. one whose children die in infancy.

In Fatehjang rit is observed in the seventh month, kahwá being distributed among the brotherhood. This is done either in her parents' home or in her husband's home.

1 Dandás or walnut bark is used as a toothpick (the literal meaning of the word), or for chewing, in order to redden the lips.
2 Dharek (the Mentis Azedarach).
3 Akhr (i.e. a head—the word does not appear in the Fauji Dict.). An ukhraoni is a woman whose children are born prematurely and usually die. A head, which changes its colour, is believed to counteract the effects of akhr. This head is rare and is sold by gipsies at fancy prices. It is also tied to the leg of a new-born child as a talisman against shab and ukhri ka sauda means one of a changeable, volatile disposition (sauda = head in Faují).
Moslem pregnancy rites.

house, or in her husband's, but in the former case the consent of the husband's parents is necessary.

The satwānsa.

Muhammadans in Hānsi observe the satwānsa in the seventh month of pregnancy. Seven or nine jars of water are brought from as many different wells, and the woman bathes in the water thus brought. Some Muhammadans take the woman to the nearest mosque with the jars on her head, and make her draw water from the well attached to the mosque. Her nearest kinswomen accompany her and the observance is often held at night. Others simply give the woman a hot bath. ¹

Friday, at the time of the Asar prayers, is an auspicious day for this ceremony, in connection with which alms are given in the names of ancestors and the Prophet.

Some castes send the woman a suit of green clothes, red bangles, a nāhera, some mehandi, and a silver vessel. The clothes and bangles are worn by the woman, but the henna is used not only by her, but by her friends as well, if they are desirous of offspring, while the nāhera and silver vessel are kept for the chhuti. After this one and a quarter pan of sugar are sent to each relative and friend. Some families boil rice with sugar, and with it feast the woman and seven others who are also married, some being also given to faqirs. After this the woman is given vegetables and sweets.

In Sirsa the rite is called satwānsa and simply consists in the parents sending their daughter a gift of clothes, henna and dried fruits in the seventh month of her pregnancy. In Rohtak the satwānsa is held at the beginning of the seventh month. The woman is dressed in red, and sugar also put in her lap. The Dām woman, who sings on the occasion, gets a rupee or two.

In Rohtak among the more orthodox Muhammadans there are no regular rites during pregnancy, but the barber is sent to announce it to the mother's parents, and he takes them a rupee as til chāwali. ² In the seventh month one or two men, and several of the women, bring parched unhusked rice, pāthā, and fruit, with some red cloth, to the woman, with cloth for her husband's parents and near kinsmen. The woman puts on the red cloth, and the rice etc. is thrown into her lap. The menials also get certain dues. This ceremony, however, is not universal.

The determination of sex.

If the milk in the woman's breasts before birth be thin the birth of a Hānsī boy is anticipated, otherwise a girl is expected. Or sometimes some of the milk is put in a shell and fire applied to it; if it dries up completely, a girl is expected, otherwise a boy.

¹ The Hānsi of Hānsi have a curious custom, which looks like a relic of the cossacks. The woman's parents send her a present of six x, a suit of clothes, some scent and a comb. After bathing she puts on her husband's trousers, and a chaplet of flowers. Dām women also sing songs on this occasion. Rohtak rice is distributed among the brotherhood.

² Til chāwali is simply rice and til mixed; it is used as a food.
In the city of Delhi, where Muhammadans of good birth are numerous, many elaborate customs connected with pregnancy survive. The craving for tart, savory food has given rise to the polite phrase: *kā ḍhīṭe-ṁīṭe ko ji ḍhīṭā hoṛ, lit. 'her heart yearns for bitter-sweet things,' i.e. 'she is pregnant.' Other phrases are *pōo ṣhārī ḍhōna* (to be heavy-footed), *do-jīya ḍhōna* (to have a second life), *āṁ ḍār āṁ* (to dawn), *wōo ḍōna* (to have hopes) etc.; and women friends say *mūḥārāk ṑaṁāmat!* i.e. 'may you be blessed and the child be safe!' to the expectant mother.

**The saṁāsa in Delhi.**

When the seventh month begins the woman's parents bring her *sādhār,* a Hindu custom. This *sādhār* consists of kinds of vegetables, dried fruits, cakes etc., and at 4 P.M. the woman's lap is filled with these things; then she bathes and is dressed in coloured garments, with a red sheet over her head, and flower ornaments are put on her—to make her, as it were, *again a bride.* Her husband's sisters then fill her lap with the seven kinds of fruit etc. and receive presents of money in return. They get the vegetables, dried fruit, the head sheet, and the rupees of the *ṣeg,* all the rest being divided amongst the other members of the family. A coconut is then broken in half; and if the kernel be white the woman will have *ṣeg ṣūrī* or white fruit, i.e. a boy. This coconut is called *ʃaṁdula,* or 'hairy,' just as a new-born child is so called.

**The naṁāsa in Delhi.**

At the beginning of the ninth month, the woman's parents send her various presents, including a red veil, seven kinds of fruit, *ṣeg* for the husband's sisters, and rupees to buy the *pānsīri,* which must be made at the woman's house. Her lap is filled, as in the *saṁāsa,* by the husband's near kinswomen. The midwife at this stage rubs the woman with oil, and receives a fee, to which all the women contribute. The fruit is the perquisite of the husband's sisters, together with the *ṣeg* and the red veil, as before. The midwife gets the nail-parer, one of the presents given by the woman's parents, and the silver oil-sup used for the oil. The woman now goes to her parents' house—an observance called *pōo pherūn,* or turning the feet, with some *pānsīri,* and returns some six or seven days later, bringing with her fresh fruit and sweets. After the *naṁāsa* is finished, the midwife goes to buy the *kīka* or various drugs required for the confinement.

In Bera Ghāzī Khān some Muhammadans have the Hindu superstitions regarding the effects of an eclipse on the fetus, if either parent undergo violent exertion.

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1 *Sādhār* is said to mean seven things in Hindi. In some families it is brought in the fifth month.
2 *ṣeg* is any customary present at weddings etc. made to relatives or to servants: v. Shakespeare's Hindustani Dictionary, s. v.
3 In songs a new-born child is often so termed: cf. *nāyār.*
4 *Pānsīri* consists of five (whence the term) ingredients, viz., dry dates, gum, water-milk and coconut and ginger—all mixed with *ṣeg* or meal and fried in *pīt.*
5 *Cf.* supra, p. 722; the word seems to have a different meaning in Shirāz.
SECTION 4.—MUHAMMADAN BIRTH OBSERVANCES.

When the birth-pains commence, Bibi Mariam ka pani, a leaf whose shape resembles that of a hand, is put in a jar of water. As delivery approaches, the leaf opens out, and as it does so the birth takes place. This observance also, it is believed, facilitates the delivery.

Sayyids and fakirs also indite charms, which are tied round the patient’s waist, or sometimes a Muhammad-Shahi rupee, on which is inscribed the kalima, is put into water, which is then given her to drink. In Kánya, the dán, or call to prayer, is pronounced in the room set apart for the confinement by one of the men of the family, the call being a prayer used in any time of trouble.

Birth ceremonies.—As among Hindus, delivery is usually effected on the ground, the mother being made to lie on a quilt with her head to the north and her feet to the south. She thus faces Mecca, and if she dies in childbirth she expires in the posture in which Muhammadans are buried.

If the child is a girl, the parents give some grain in an old black hadd (an old used pot) to the midwife. But if the child is a boy, they give her a rupee, and the relations also give her money, called the mel, according to their means.

Whether it be the hot or cold season, the mother remains in confinement for one week. If in good health she is bathed on the sixth day, provided that it is a Friday or Monday, the latter being the day on which the Prophet was born.

During the actual confinement only those women who are closely related to the patient are allowed to be present, but her mother is sure to be one of them. Some stand in the courtyard in the open, with outstretched arms, and, looking upwards, pray; Ḥāsh! Ḥāsh! in ku mushkil āda khā! (‘God! grant that her trouble may be lightened!’); others vow dana (sweets put in cups made of folded leaves) to Muskik-kusha. Meanwhile the midwife tells the mother; Jhē ḍo, jhē ḍi, i.e. ‘bear down.’

A child born feet foremost is called a par’el, and women believe that a few gentle kicks from one so born will relieve pains in the back.

As soon as the child is born the mother is told that she has given birth to a one-eyed girl in order that the heat engendered by this ill news may force out the after-birth quickly, and that the joy of having given birth to a male child may not retard it.

Immediately after the child has been born its umbilical cord is tied up with kalāna, a bit of thread dyed red and yellow, and severed with a knife, the thread being thrown round the child’s neck until the rest of the cord falls off. The part actually cut off is buried in a pot inside the

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1 This leaf is said to be imported from Arabia. But one account speaks of it as a kind of grass or piece of wood shaped naturally like a hand, obtained from Arabia.
2 But in some parts, e.g. in Hind and Kashmir, she is allowed to lie on a bed.
3 All, the son-in-law of the Prophet, is so-called on account of his humane qualities.
4 This is also done in Lahore.
Moslem birth observances.

house, a charcoal fire being kept burning on top of it for six days until it is all burnt up. Into this pot the near kinswomen put annas two or four, as a present to the midwife. Some betel-leaf and silver are also placed in it, and when buried, turmeric and charcoal are thrown in to keep off evil spirits. The cord of a pahlawathi, or first-born child, is invariably so buried, but if a woman's children do not live she has it buried outside the house. The midwife now gets her adi kaddi or fee, for cutting the cord, in money; but among the wealthy the mother's parents and her husband add gold or silver bracelets, according to their position.

In Amritsar and Gujrát the parents' or mothers' formal permission to the severance of the cord must be obtained by the midwife. But in Rawalpindi the eldest and most respected woman of the family takes up the child as soon as it is born in order to communicate her own virtues to it. She also buries the second line on the spot where the birth has taken place, and cuts the cord, which is preserved with great care. The Ghebas do not use a knife to cut the cord, but a narna or nilla or 'spindle,' obtained by the midwife from a weaver's house. With this the midwife cuts the cord, after pressing it with her feet, and then buries it in the ground.

After birth a child is bathed, its head being pressed to give it a round shape, and tied up in a gadda or handkerchief folded in a triangle. The nose also is pressed to prevent its hardening on exposure into a bad shape.

The nilla is next sent for without delay. He repeats the subah ki zugân in the child's right ear, and the tadbir in its left. Batâshâ's chewed, or something sweet, are also applied to its palate.

1 People are believed to be deeply attached to the spot where their navel-string is buried, so that to say to a man: Padhe to say to nakhé gura, la jine ko nikhâ khâ nakhé lela? 'Is your cord buried here that you do not even talk of going?' is equivalent to saying that nothing will induce him to budge.

2 The first-born child is supposed to be peculiarly susceptible to the influence of genii, evil spirits, lightning and the evil-eye.

Throughout the south-east Punjab the umbilical cord is carefully buried, often with the after-birth, in an earthen vessel (khdâr) in a corner of the house. In Hissâr, neither parent should touch the cord. In Kangra, the midwife cuts the cord on the coin which she gets as her fee. Besides this she receives presents from the kinswomen etc. and these are called mir kaddi. Among the Kashmiris only the second line are buried, the piece of the cord cut off being kept to cure the child if it gets sore eyes. In Amritsar the midwife places the cord on the head of the house-doors. In Multâ it is buried where the birth took place.

This is also done in Hissâr, but neither there nor in Delhi is any vessel used to force the head into a round shape.

...
The *mulla* receives a gift. After bathing, the child is made to lick honey, and then the *ghutti* is administered.

After the *ghutti* has been given, i.e. on the third day, the child's father's sister washes the mother's breasts with milk or with water squeezed out of kneaded flour, and then her hair, in which some green blades of grass are woven. The following song is sung by her or on her behalf:

*Bhârâ, bdiya, main teri mā ki jāi,*
*Holâ sunkar, badhâma lekar ūi,*
*Bhârâ, bdiya, main teri mā ki jāi;*
*Châttâ dhulâi katori lângi, to lat dhulâi rupaiyã,*
*Pûnâ dhulã ko echeri lângi ; to khaâm chha, hun ko ghûrã.*

"Brother! I am thy mother's own daughter, and hearing that a son has been born to the family, I have come to felicitate thee. For having washed the breasts, I expect a silver cup as a present, and money for washing her tresses. I will accept from thee a hand-maiden to wash my feet, and for my husband a horse to ride."

For this observance the father's sister receives a *seg,* varied according to her brother's position, but not less than Re. 1 as. 4.

From the time the child is born a knife, sword, or piece of iron is kept under the mother's head, to ward off evil spirits.

On the next or a subsequent day the husband's sisters make and distribute the *achhãwâli* amongst the kinfolk and receive a present in return; but amongst the poor the mother alone is given *achhãwâli.*

For six days the mother is never left alone, partly lest she overlay her child, partly to keep off evil spirits. Amongst the well-to-do a lamp is kept burning continuously for forty days (but only for six among

*His fee varies, depending mainly on the child's sex. If it is a boy he gets a rupee or more, with some flour and sugar; if a girl, only an anna—in Hindoos. Sometimes he whispers the call to prayer through a *aara* or tube; and, if the child is a girl, he sometimes whispers the *takbeer* in both its ears, not the *bâhag.* If a *mulla* is not available, any man of reputed piety may perform the rite, receiving some sweet stuff only, not a fee. In Kàrâk a man of good repute is called in to perform on the third day, and he receives no fee, but sweets are distributed. Or the eldest male of the family may perform it in lieu of a *mulla.* In Kângra this duty devolves on the child's uncle, or any pious member of the family. In Mâler Kołla the rite is administered with considerable solemnity. A woman stands with her back towards Mecca, holding the child so that it may face the Qibla. As the *mulla* repeats the azâds he turns its right ear towards him, and then its left as he recites the *pârâ bah.* Until the azâd is thus repeated, the belief is that the child is convulsed with fear. In Jûnd some juice of the date is poured into the child's mouth, if it is a boy, to ake of welcome.

*She is called *dhiyâni.* But in Sûlzb the breasts are washed by the *aara* for six days. A cup of it is sent to every home in the brotherhood on the day of the birth (Heeas), but not universally. The *chhâwâli* (*chhâ*—in Surur) = candle. Plata, a r., where it appears to be traced back to *ajwâna.* It may, however, be derived from *chhâ,* six. It is given to the mother for six days. A cup of it is sent to every home in the brotherhood on the day of the birth (Heeas), but not universally. The *châwâli* (*chhâ*) is also distributed among kinsmen and neighbours, in Mâler Kołla, and in return they send money to the midwife, according to their means. It is also given to the mother, but only for three or four days. Its ingredients vary, and for delicate women *usadâ* or jujube is substituted.
the poor), and a stove is kept alight, in hot weather or cold. Wild rue is also burnt for six days, to keep off the evil-eye and purify the air. Let the mother sleep on, and her blood so stagnate and gets cold, women take it in turns to sing: *jachâgirî* or lullabies, of which the following are examples:

1. *Mere bâbal ko likhio sander, jhanâlîa aî hûd:*
   
   Bâbal hamâre râjâ ko châkar; birâî râle bhees:
   
   Jhanâlîa aî hûd.

   "Tell my father that his daughter has borne a son; my father is a servant of the Râjâ, i.e. he is well-to-do; and that my brother is yet a child: the young one was born this day."

2. *Aj janm kî lîsû mere râj dulare ne, pûlnâ bhanângî, ri, pûlnâ bhanângî!*
   
   Ghi khîchî, bheji, bâbal,
   
   Hubrang, sugkar jachâ ko maîn tare
   
   dîkhângî, ri, pûlnâ bhanângî!

   "The beloved of my kingdom, my prince was born to-day. I will make a cradle for him to sleep in, dear women! I will assuredly make a cradle for him! My father, having heard this news, has sent *gî* and *khîchî* for me. Hubrang (the poet who wrote this song), says "I will show the stars to this accomplished mother, i.e. I will perform the ceremony of the *chhatî.?"

3. *Jachâ, merî kâhe ko rûthi, maîn terâ ihr, khilâwan ri!*
   
   Kaho to jachâ râni, dîî ko bulû dûn—kaho kone pûlûng baâkâ
dûn—kaho thâl thai mâchàng.

   *Chorus—Jachâ merî ęc., ęc.*
   
   South maîn bhûl ûgd, ab la dûngû, ri!—hûth meîn kûndû,
   
   baâl meîn ől dûgû, ri! south bhûl ûgdû, ri!

   *Chorus—Jachâ merî ęc., ęc.*
   
   Tore kolar ki naukar, ae began, maîn terâ naukar, terâ
   
   châkar. ri, south maîn bhûl ûgdû ri!

   *Chorus—Jachâ, merî kâhe ko rûthi, maîn terâ ihr, khilâwan, ri!*

   This is a comic *jachâgirî*—as if it were made by, and sung for, the husband. The husband addresses the wife and says: "Beloved *jachâ*, why are you sulky with me? I am in truth your scented toy: if you require a midwife, I will send for her; if you desire a bed, I will make one for you in the corner—should even this not please you I will dance *tvât khoî* to amuse you. I confess that I forgot to bring dry ginger for the *sachâ-khânû*, but I can go for it immediately and bring it quickly—my hand was employed bringing the *khîndî* (stone mortar), and under my armpit I had the *soûdâ* (a heavy wooden
Moslem birth observances.

4. Albele ne mujhe darad diya—sawalgya ne mujhe darad diya:  
Sawalyga ne mujhe darad diya, pata lagi ne mahe darad diya:  
Jae kaho larke ki bavna se, únche naubat dharáo re!

Chorus—Albele ne ye.  
Jae kaho larke ke nána se, sang bhari khechtí lóo re!

Chorus—Albele ne ye.  
Jae kaho larke ke mamá se, hulí, kare gharkhão, re!

Chorus—Albele ne ye.  
Jae kaho, larke ki khélá se, burló, topí lóo, re!

Chorus—Albele ne ye.  
Jae kaho larke ki bavna se, bhánd, bhagatí nachão, re!

Chorus—Albele ne ye.

“The fine, beautiful, nut-brown, slender child, to show his beauty in the world, has given me the pains of childbirth: go, and tell its father that he should proclaim its advent by a naubat (music on the upper story or roof); have a saifi played, so that I may be rewarded for my pains by its soothing melody: and tell the mother’s father of the child to arrange to bring the khechtí with all due magnificence, for the ekhatí (sixth day) is given by him: go, and tell the mother’s brother of the child also to make ready the halsí (necklet) and hurá (wristlets), i.e. give orders to the goldsmith to prepare them: go also, and tell the mother’s sister to have ready the kurti (shirts) and caps, for these are supplied by her: warn the farther also that on this joyous occasion he must give us a dance by the bhánd and bhagatí.”

This last song, though it is in reality the psalm of joy sung by Deokîji on the birth of her son Krishna, is still sung among the Muhammadans.

The clothes worn by the mother at her confinement are given on the day of birth to the midwife, and are replaced by new ones on her ekhatí or chila.

It was formerly the custom that the lobe of that side of the ear by which the child was born was pierced, the object being that the child might live—women having a belief that the piercing of a vein in the ear is a preventative of mortal disease (presumably convulsions); further with the same object, the end of the nose was also pierced on the same day and a nose-ring inserted: but this custom is now rare among the lower castes.

From the day of birth, the naftí (‘nose-cut,’ or noseless one, i.e.
the cat) is not allowed in the mother's room, in the belief that she is possessed of genii, or more probably in order to protect the buried umbilical cord from any possibility of injury, and she is kept out till the chhaft or chilla.

It is also worthy of remark that a hajri (eunuch) goes daily to each mahallah (street) and cries Huđe teśa? Kann sø ghar jöga? (i.e., Has a son been born? Which house has awakened?) Some child, or the sweeper of that quarter, informs him of the family in which a son or a daughter was born; going to that house he gets two pies for a daughter and four for a son, and informs all the bhandis, bhandolas etc. (players, actors, buffoons, etc.) from that time the bhandele zanane, hajre, thak tayam-str, chum-daligas, and bhand, bhagatas of the town, all those whose business it is to sing, dance, play, or amuse, begin to coming after, singing or acting for an hour or two demand their presents and go away, only to come back again on the chhaft.

Thikri.—All the females in the house at the time of the birth drop some coins, from one pice to two annas, into a thikri, the lower part of an earthen jar, the first to do so being the patient's mother or mother-in-law. If any near kinswoman is negotiating a betrothal, she drops a rupee into the jar, and this renders the agreement irrevocable. This is called the thikri ki aqad. The money dropped into the jar is the midwife's perquisite.

The aqqa or tonsure.—The aqqa is an orthodox Muhammadan rite, consisting in shaving the child's head for the first time, on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, twenty-eighth, or thirty-fifth day after birth, and sacrificing two goats or sheep for a boy and one for a girl. This simple rite has, however, been confused with, or influenced by the observances proper to, the jhand; in places, it has never been adopted, or if adopted has become obsolete. As a rule the aqqa is celebrated within seven days of the birth.

The child's head is shaved, and the weight of the hair in gold or silver given away as alms.

6 The meaning of the word aqqa is disputed. It may mean (1) the hair on a newborn child's head, like jhand; or (2) a derivative of the root aq (to cut or sacrifice). Even amongst orthodox Muhammadans the observances vary, cf. the Musbalat-ul-Masih, Mathews, II, pp. 413-14.

7 In Bhawal it is only observed by well-to-do people, never by the poorer classes, but in the chaff the child's head is shaved. Occasionally a vow is made that the child's head shall not be shaved unless and until it can be done at a specified place. Or part of the hair is left uncut, to be subsequently shaved off in fulfilment of the vow. In Sidh it the aqqa is displacing the old jhannu rite.

8 It is very commonly held on the chaffi, or on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, or twenty-eighth, in Hauri; on the seventh or tenth in Bhawal; on the seventh, fourteenth, or fortieth, in Sirmur; at any time within six months in Kandha, very commonly on the fifth, or in Nainpur, on the eighth; in Indore and Kota on the sixth; on the seventh, eleventh, or twentieth in Lahore; it is also very common in the central Punjab to perform it on the sixth, thirteenth, etc. day, e.g. if the birth occurred on a Monday, it would be held on the following Sunday, and so on.

9 In Delhi, and some other parts, this is the barber's perquisite.
Mostem birth observances.

The hair itself is carefully buried in the earth. For a boy two he-goats are sacrificed and for a girl one. The bones must not be broken, but carefully buried in the ground. The flesh is distributed among the brotherhood uncooked; or else they are feasted on it.

But the child's parents, and its parents' parents must not eat of the flesh. Such are the main outlines of the rite.

Beri barhana.—A blue cotton thread, called beri, is tied to the left foot of a child in the name of Mu'in-ud-Din Chishti of Ajmer, and when it is three or four years old it is taken to the shrine of that saint, and the parents there make an offering of five and a quarter 'sers' of maleddi, two pice and a trouser-string.

Bindi bandhana.—If a man's children die in infancy, he puts a bit of bindi or silver wire in the left ear of his next child.

Petā chāhānā.—Women desirous of offspring often vow to offer petā to the shrine of Dāna Shor at Hisār, if their wish is granted. A little of the petā is given to the custodian of the shrine, and the rest is distributed among the brotherhood.

The chhaṭṭi or sixth day.—The religious observance of the aiqā is closely associated with the chhaṭṭi, the chūchuk, and the naming of the child, three observances which will now be described.

As among the Hindūs, the chhaṭṭi, in spite of its name, is not necessarily held on the sixth day of the birth. Thus in Delhi the mother and child are bathed on the Monday or Wednesday nearest the sixth day, the former being an auspicious day because the Prophet was born on that day, the latter because: Budh it ligi hi sub kām sudh ho, i.e. 'Wednesday, in order that all things may be right,' and thus all subsequent children may be sons.

1 But in Delhi it is often over to the washerwoman, to be thrown into the river; in Hisār it is carefully preserved; in Mālo Koṭha it is kept wrapped up in bread; in Bāwałpind the hair is caught by the sister, or father's sister of the child, test it fall on the ground, and kept in the house with great care.

2 In Kānpur the goats must be young and free from blemish, and of a uniform colour for a girl; the latter is the only essential condition.

3 Or as carefully preserved; while the head and feet are given to the barber, and the skin to the waterman or the sulladh (Hāndil). In Kānpur, the bones are buried within the house. In Amritsar, a portion of the flesh is given to the midwife, and the rest distributed among the brotherhood; both bones and blood are buried. In Shāhpur the flesh is given to the poor, and the bones are buried in the graveyard, after being placed in an earthen jar. In Dāna Gūlu Khān, both bones and blood are carefully preserved (buried) at separate places.

4 If the flesh is thus distributed it would appear that the bones need not be kept intact (Ludhiana).

5 Only the grandparents, the great-grandparents apparently not being debarked.

6 In Rohitak the thread is described as black, and as being tied on both feet. The child's hair is also allowed to grow until the period of the vow has expired, when it is cut at the shrine.

7 Maleddi, thick hand-made bread broken or pounded, and then mixed with sugar and ghee.

Petā intestine.
Moslem birth observances.

The mother sits on a stool while her husband's sisters pour milk, or water squeezed out of flour, over her head; green grass or a thin slice of betel-leaf are put into the water or milk. In return the sister-in-law receives presents (neg). Then the mother bathes, and taking the child in her arms, puts on her nose-ring and sits on the bed. The guests, mostly women—though among the higher classes near male relatives are also invited—come in. Outside the men are entertained by cunuchs, bhânsa, Shâh-siyan-tays, and dancing-girls; while inside the house Donna and chûrewâlân give displays of dancing. The mother, with her head wrapped in gold lace, sits enthroned like a queen, the child's head being also enfolded in a kerchief. Mubârak bâdîn or congratulatory songs are sung, such as:

Jami jam shâdîn, mubârak bâdîn;
Hâve sa zamand salâm, salâm-salâm.

“May you be ever blessed with such happiness; may, may you, with your son, ever enjoy peace.”

Or—

Naurang chûre-walân, meri jachh rûxân;
Suhâ jorâ pahâ suhâgan moti bharti rûnân;
Naurang chûre-walân.

“Our Zecha queen, with bracelets of many colours and robe of red, a wife whose lord is alive, and the parting of whose hair is decked with pearls, yea, she is our bride.”

In Hissâr the chhattî is observed on the sixth day, the mother and child being bathed, the brotherhood feasted and the mother dressed in new clothes. Her father also sends the cheorchak, or gift of clothes, and the aqîqa is observed on this day. If a man does not observe the chhattî it is said:—Chattî na chhîlî hogaya.

Like the Hindûs, Muhammadans imagine that on this the sixth night the child is peculiarly subject to demoniacal influences.¹

In Lahore the mother and child are bathed on the first Thursday or Sunday: this is called chhattî kâ ghusak, and food called sudak kâ khânâ ² is sent to all the women of the family.

The chhûchhak.—The chhûchhak is very commonly observed on the chhattî, but it may be postponed to the fortieth day, and indeed there appears to be no absolutely fixed day for its observance. In the central Punjab the first confinement ordinarily takes place at the house of the mother's parents, and in this case the mother, if the child is a boy, brings back with her some gold and silver ornaments for herself and the boy on her return to her husband's house. These gifts are called chhûchhak. In the south-east the first confinement is arranged for at

¹ Among the zamindârs of Bahâwalpur and Ahmâdapur a ceremony called the doyân is observed on the sixth or eleventh day after birth; phûlûre or small loaves, also termed mahtâla, are cooked, dipped in syrup, and distributed among the brotherhood.

² Sudak.
Moslem birth observances.

her husband's house, but the mother visits her father's house some four or six months later, and then brings back the chhuchhak.1

Generally speaking, the chhuchhak appears to be used for any present sent to the mother or child on the shahi, adla etc., by her parents or other relatives, or even by relatives of the child's father. In Rohilkhand, indeed, the term appears to be limited to the presents made by the father's sister of the child.

In Hissar mention is made of a gift called jamawana, made by the mother's parents to her. It consists of gum, gh4 and sugar, with clothes and ornaments for the child, and would appear to be distinct from the chhuchhak.

Wehau.—Closely analogous to the chhuchhak is the wehau observance, which is widely spread throughout the submontane and southwestern districts.

In Lahore the wehau is, among well-to-do people, a link in a chain of elaborate observances. On the shahi, or fortieth day, the women of the family assemble and make presents to the mother and child, who are then taken to a shrine. Chhuri is then distributed among the women, and the kinswomen of the mother's mother are also given food from her house. Her mother then sends her clothes and ornaments, for herself and the child. These gifts are called wehau. The observance is only observed on the birth of a first-born child. Poor people also observe it, but on a smaller scale.2 After it, the midwife is dismissed.

On the day after the mother goes to her parents' house and returns with her child and the wehau presents, the women of the mahalla come to view them, and the child's grandmother distributes sweetmeats and ganjiri to the brotherhood. In return the women each give the child a rupee, or less.

In Amritsar the term wehau is applied to the presents made by the mother to each of the kinswomen assembled on the fortieth day.

In Bahawalpur the parents give her on the eighth, twenty-first, or fortieth day, when she bathes, pinate,3 and a trewar for herself and her child; together with other clothes for it, according to its sex. If wealthy they also give a silver bracelet, or hasti, a silver necklace or a gold mohur for the child.4

1 Platta, sah voce, says chhuchhak is the ceremony observed after childbirth (when the mother visits her father—generally forty days after childbirth—and returns with presents, so the presents made on this occasion. The derivation of the word is obscure. In Hissar it takes the form chhuchhak.

2 In Kapurthala the observances are simple. On the third day the father sends a son of chakri to his wife's father, and in, on the eighth day, sends in return, plauiri, clothes and ornaments for the mother.

3 Pinate are rolls made of gh4, flour and pwr, and weighing about half a pao each.

4 In Rohilkhand the parents send their daughter gh4 and sugar on the same day, with or without pinate, to recruit her strength. They also send clothes for the midwife, as well as to the mother and child, and an ornament for the latter. Well-to-do people also permit the ornament to be given by the father's sister.
Moslem birth observances.

The treatment of the mother.

In theory the mother is bathed on the tenth, twentieth, thirtieth and fortieth days, as in Rohatka, Hisar, Karnal, Ambala and Sirmur; but for this rule there are numerous exceptions.

The bath on the fortieth day is called chhilla (lit., fortieth), and that on the tenth dawda, on the twentieth biswda, and on the thirtieth tiswda. But in the Karnal District these three earlier baths are called chhsa chhilla; and in Delhi, the dawda chhilla (tenth), biswda chhilla (twentieth), chhsa chhilla (thirtieth), and bara chilla (fortieth) - a curious instance of the confused use of precise terms in Indian observances.

Showing the stars to the mother.—On the night of the chhilla, mother and child are both dressed, their heads being enclosed in three-cornered embroidered bands (qasaba), and the mother is seated on a low stool placed in the courtyard of the house. Two women, holding naked swords in their hands, bring her out; the midwife carrying a chaunak to light the way. Standing on the stool with the child in her arms and the Qur'an on her head, the mother looks towards the sky and counts seven stars, while her companions bring the points of the swords together over her head, forming a crescent so that jinnas and parsa may not pass over her, and from this day the danger that they may overshadow her ceases.

Meanwhile the father goes to the mother's bed, and standing thereon repeats the bismillah in full. He then shoots an arrow into the ceiling, at the muraq. Hence this observance is called the muraq muraq, and the wife's mother gives her son-in-law a neg on the occasion.

Once on the birth of a prince in the family of Bahadur Shah, King of Delhi, the poet Shafi Nazir of Delhi, described this custom thus:

Wati phir shah na yeh raam ki wa'ay:
Chhaparkhat par yadam rath, ho ke shaddam,
Adda ke hufiN 'Bismillah', kuri,
Kaman-o-tili lekar murg mara;
Nambdar is toh ke sagr may tir,
Pulak par kakhdayi ki jasa tahir.

(As well as on the sixth chhilla.)

E.g. in Sirsa she is said to be bathed (only) on the sixth and fortieth days. Or on the fifth, seventh, or tenth (Karnal), every eighth day (Kapurthala). In one account from Hisar. It is said that the chhilla is only given on the fortieth day if it falls on a Friday. In Lahore the seventh, eleventh, twenty-first and thirty-first are said to be the days for the baths; or according to another account, on the first Friday (chhilla ke ghana) and on the tenth (on both these days the midwife gets dues), on the twenty-first (when pasjiri is distributed and a feast held in memory of the ancestors), and on the thirtieth and fortieth days. In Siddikpur the mother is bathed on the fifth, if the child be a girl, and on the eighth, if it is a boy.

1 See chaunak, i.e. ‘with four mouths.’ It is made of dough, in the shape of a four-cornered cup, to hold four wicks and is fed with phir.
"Forthwith (while his consort was viewing the stars) the king observed the rite, standing on his wife's bed with a bow and arrow in his hand, and after repeating all the *bismillah*, his arrow shot by him into the roof looked like the Milky Way in the firmament."

After seeing the stars the mother returns and sits herself on her bed; a table-cloth is spread in front, the stool being used for a table, and on this is placed food, including seven kinds of vegetables and various dishes. The *zakhā rānī* or 'queen-mother', together with seven other women, whose husbands are living, takes a little from each dish, and the only words heard are *mubārak! salāmat!* Songs are also sung:

\[ Jāchā jāb dekkhā ko dē tārē, \]
\[ Chhāttī kī dhūm ājo pahunchi salāk tāk, \]
\[ Sāhare charkā-s-gardān na utērō, Qamar aur mushārā donōn pukārē, \]
\[ Huṇā farzand yēk sab ko mubārak : Khudā ne kya khushī donōn ko dē kai : \]
\[ Kaha, lāre khā bāwā, mīrg māre : Dāmūme bāj gae—gījāje naqārē. \]

"When the mother came out to see the stars, the revolving heavens were pleased, and showered stars upon her head (showered stars over her, like the money thrown at weddings etc. upon the chief character in the ceremony). As the child that was born will be a blessing to all, tell his father to perform the *mīrg mārād*, whereby his courage may be proved. When the sounds of rejoicing at the *chhāttī* reached the skies, the Moon and Jupiter cried: 'What joy hath God bestowed on both (the parents), that the drums have thundered forth their happiness."

Some rupees are now thrown into the *chaumak* as a present to the midwife.

In the imperial family another custom, called *Bigir-bachchā*, also prevailed, and the other Mughals of Delhi also observe it with slight variations. A big, sweet loaf was made of *54 seer* of flour, baked in the ground, and the middle portion taken out, leaving only the rim; on top of this naked swords were placed, and on the right and left arrows stuck into it; seven *subāqans*, three in front of the loaf and four to the left of it, stood in line; one woman passed the child through the hole, saying, *Bigir-bachchā, 'take the child'; the next one would say, Allāh nizahān, baccha, ' God is the protector of the child'; and, passing the child between her legs, would say to the third *Bigir bachchā*. In this way, each of the seven *subāqans* passed the child seven times through the loaf, and between her legs. This is the only Mughal custom foreign to India, all the others being similar to those prevailing in it.

This observance is very widespread, but there are several interesting local variations. Thus, in Ludhiana the Jāts, Gujars, Arains, Dogars etc. observe this rite on the third day, and the mother goes to the door of the house accompanied by a boy who has a *pāīla* (ploughshare) over his shoulder and a *pariv* or ox-goad in his hand. In Mālār Koṭla the rite is called *chhāttī ke tāre dekkhā*, 'to show the stars of the sixth.'
The mother comes out attended by the midwife and a woman carrying a lamp. A man of the family carries the Qurān, out of which he reads certain passages to the child. In her mouth the mother has some uncooked rice, and in her hand an iron weapon or implement, while in her lap is some uncooked khechri. Thrice she spits rice out of her mouth to the right and thrice to the left. The reader of the Qurān gets a silver coin and some gur, and the midwife takes the khechri. On this day, the sixth, the mother isidden to eat her fill, otherwise the child will have an insatiable appetite all its life.

In Kānpur the mother sees the stars on the seventh day, unless it fall on a Friday. She bathes and observes the chief points described above in this ceremony, but the sword is held over her head by her husband, and a woman reads the Qurān. In Gujrat the Chīth Rājput have an observance of their own. On the third, fifth, or seventh day the mother leaves her room. A square is made with whitewash or rice-flour in a wall, and red lines drawn across it diagonally. At their intersection a picture of the new moon is made, and a sieve placed over it, at which one of the child’s near kinsmen shoots seven arrows.

Sardān karne ki raaz.—Just after the tāra dikhāna the families of the old Mughal dynasty performed another called the sardān karne ki raaz: which is also observed by people of the city of Delhi, but not necessarily on that date, as any time before the child teethes will do. Women believe that if a child which has not teethed be lifted above the head, it will pass white motions, for which this observance is a preventative, or, if the disease has begun, a cure. It is performed thus:—The ropes used to tighten a native bed are loosened, and two women, who must be mother and daughter, are called in: one of them gets on the bed, with the child in her arms, while the other sits on the ground towards the foot of the bed. The former then passes the child through the opening in the loosened ropes down to the latter, and she passes it back again to the former. This is done seven times. The two women receive the same gifts as are given in the bigir baachha ceremony. In Delhi city this observance is called shirdān, and is only practised if the child actually gets ill. The woman add the question shirdān gayā? They reply gayā each time they pass the child through the ropes.

Menials’ offerings.—Offerings made by menials to the child play an important part in the observances in Rāwalpindi and Gujrat. In the former district a boy is presented with a totā by the tailor; with a chaplet of dhārek and siris leaves by the flower-woman—this is hung on the outer door as a safeguard against the influence of women who have miscarried; the washerman daubs the wall near the outer door with stuff from his washtub, as a charm against the evil eye; the maḍhlī makes a net and casts it over the child, as an angry that he may remain dutiful and obedient; to parental control; the sweeper (musulī)...

Because if she bathe on a Friday she will be barren for twelve years! Tuesday and Sunday are the lucky days for the bathing.

Sardān; possibly a contraction of sar-gardon, i.e. that which is passed over the head; shirdān clearly from shir, milk.

A toy made of several pieces of cloth of all colours, strung on a thread like the tail of a kite. This is hung on to the roof of the house but without any express meaning. This is also done in Gujrat.

* This is done in Gujrat by the Arāfān or flower-woman and she receives a ropes.
brings a small bow and arrow, placing them near the boy's head, so that he may be manly; the shoemaker presents a deerskin; and the kamāgar or painter brings a paper horse. Each of these dependants receives his customary dues in return.

In the villages of Gujarāt the family Brahman of a Muhammadan family makes an imitation pipal tree, before the fortieth day, and receives from rupee one to five, according to the family's position.

Dhaman. — The dhaman rite is observed among Muhammadans in Siālkot and Gujarāt. In the latter district the mother bathes on the fifth or seventh day and puts on new clothes. Bread with kalād is distributed among the brotherhood. This is called dhaman kurnā. 1 In Siālkot the observance merely consists in the kinswomen assembling a few days after the birth, and in distributing kalād and chapdīs among the brotherhood.

Pichhāwān. — The belief in the evil effects of the shadow (pichhāwān) of a woman whose child has died young survives among the Muhammadans of Gujarāt. Every precaution is taken to prevent her getting access to mother or child, and green savī leaves are hung over the outer door to avert the pichhāwān. Certain tanks are believed to have the power of curing children who are affected by pichhāwān and to waste away, if bathed therein.

Kunštah. 2 — A curious custom, not very clearly described, is observed in Siālkot by certain tribes. During the first year, if the child be a boy, the wives of the family prostrate themselves before a heap of sugar, which is spread out on a blanket and divided into as many shares as there are proprietors in the village, invoking the elders' good-will. The daughters of the tribe are strictly forbidden to use this sugar, when it has been distributed among the brotherhood, presumably because they will on marriage cease to be members of the tribe or of the village community.

Portage. — In well-to-do families a wet nurse (anud) is chosen from some decent family, with a nurse (madī) to dress the children; a dādī to bring them up, and a girl (ehochko) to wash soiled clothes, and to play with the children, under the mother's supervision.

In the morning the ehochko plays with the children, humming the following verses:

For boys.1. Mīnu ñcē dāron sc,

Ghorā bāndhān khanjāron sc.

"My master has come from a far country;
I will tie his horse to a tall palm tree." 3

Among the Gujarāt the Brahman actually comes in on this day and makes a chāmka in which a lamp of flour is lit. Huge leaves of bread, each weighing a topa, are given to the mendics and the Brahman himself gets a topa of flour. In well-to-do families a special kind of kalād is made and eaten by the members of the got, but no one else may partake of it. Even married daughters cannot eat this kalād because in marriage they cease to be members of their paternal got. On the other hand a share is sent to a son's wife if she is absent.

Kunštah means apparently, 'hell,' 'younger,' 'of the lowest degree,' in Fmujādi.
2. Mian uthe daur ke.
Dushman ki chhate tor ke.
"My master comes dashing in, after smashing in the foe's breast."

"Master comes with a rush;
Giving the foe's breast a crush."

Orr 3. Jug, jug, jug, jug, jina karo,
Dudh malda piyaa karo.
"Long, long, may you live on;
Milk, crushed bread with butter, live on."

When the dadda washes the child's face she sings:

Chhateh chhichi kaawe ko khau;
Dadda bharti nanna khade.
"The dirt, the dirt, the crows may eat;
Milkie, risie, tiny will eat."

At noon, the aasad sings the following lullaby (lori):

A jaa, eti nusunye taa hyang na jaa?
Mere badda ke ankhon mein, ghul mit jaa.
Ati hua, bies, ati hup;
Do, chhar, badda khilati hup.
"Come, Lady Sleep! why don't you come?
To the eyes of my baby, O come!
I am coming, Lady, coming!
Playing with a few children—I am coming!"

Or Taa so, mere badda!
Taa so mere bhole!
Jah tak badda hai mad:
Phar jo pargah taa danyaa ke dhanda,
Kaisa hai jhula?
Kaisa hai minidh!

Chorus.—Taa so, mere etc. etc.

Khel, tamdehe, kar le taa bhera; kahtii huaa tujh se, ankhon ke tire!
Zindii hai maan bhi, bap bhi bhera; kar le taa dram savyad piyaa.

Chorus.—Taa so, mere etc. etc.

Khel tum aise khelnaa, talnaa! jin sann ho map bap ka jatnaa:
Danyaa so dhar, dhar, sahhabal-kar chalnaa; sakri hai ghulii, vaste phulinda.

Chorus.—Taa so, mere etc. etc.

"Sleep, my babe! my innocent babe! while to the child there's sleep,
Cought up in the whirl of (life's) business; where is thy cradle, where thy sleep!"

* Hindi for an age, epoch, period, long time, always.
Moslem birth observances.

Chorus.—Sleep, my babe! etc. etc.

All fun and frolic, go enjoy: I am telling you, my dearest boy!

Your parents are living yet; Sayyid, dear, take the rest you can get.

Chorus.—Sleep, my babe! etc.

Play such games, my dear boy, as your parents won't annoy:

Walk the world in fear, in careful mode; narrow its vale, slippery its road.

Chorus.—Sleep, my babe! etc.

At night, on seeing the moon, he is thus amused:

Chandā māmān, dār ke.
Būr pākāwē, bār ke;
A]< kādun thāli nae,
Ham ko deung pīyāli nae;
Pīyāli gai tūt,
Chandā māmān gae rūth,
Pīyāli dī nae,
Chandā māmān de daur.

"Uncle moon afar, fries fritters of saw-dust; he himself eats off plates and gives me (food) in small cups: the cup broke, and uncle moon was angry: another cup came, uncle moon came running."

Sometimes the nurse sits near the lamp, and, reaching out her hand to the flame and: passing it close to her face and eyes, repeats:

Akkho ! makkho !
Mere mīyān, Allāh ! rakho.

"Akkho ! makkho !
God! preserve my master."

When the child is just able to articulate, she sits him on her knees, and swings him, resting on her back, and moving her knees up and down, while she sings:

Jhūjjhū ! Shōte, jhūjjhū-jhū;
Jhūjjhū kī dāli jham pārī;
Mīyān ne chun, chun, god bheri.
Pakē, pēkē, mīyān kēdha;
Kachche, kachche nankar kēdēn.

Jhūjjhū = jujube or her tree. The purport is that her little master is supposed to be on a swing, hung on a tree, which are her legs, and that as the branches swing, the fruit drops down, the child fills his lap, eating the ripe ones himself, and the servants the unripe ones. Afterwards she puts up her legs as high as they will go, and says:

Khābardār rakho, dūrīyā ! rājā kā koṭ gīrā hās : Ayā! rā! rā! dham !

"Look out, old woman! the king's fort is tumbling down: crash, crash! down! thud!"

WWW
Moslem birth observances.

If it is a girl, she amuses her thus:

1. *Bivī rī lā bāt, change din āī.*
   *Jisev tere bāp aur bāhāī!* 
   "Miss, you are princess; you have come at a nice time.
   May your father and brother live long."

2. *Bivī, bētyān, chhaparkhat meu letyān.*
   *Māre magrūrī ke jawāb na detiyān!* 
   "Miss daughter, you lie in a mosquito curtain.
   Through pride, you don't answer me."

   "Akkho! Makkho! O, God! preserve my lady!"

If, while asleep, the child smiles, they say that *Bīhāī* is making it laugh. *Bīhāī,* or *Bah Mābā,* is a Hindu goddess, who, it is believed, makes the child smile at times, and at others weep, by whispering in its ear that its mother is dead or alive.

*Rat-jagā* or vigil.—The name *rat-jagā,* or vigil, is applied to any merry-making which is kept up all night by the women. A vigil is kept on the occasion of a *chatti dūdē-kutāī,* *sūl-pirāh,* *bismillāh,* or wedding. The frying-pan is kept on the fire all night, and fritters are made, *Allāh sitiīn ko rahm*¹ being also baked. This is done to ensure divine favour. At the same time, the *bābī li tźūx,* or offering to *Fātima,* daughter of Muhammad, is also made. Seven kinds of fruit and vegetables, in plain or sweetened rice, are served in new earthen vessels. On this offering are also placed some *miśī,* *phūel* (scented oil), *sumī* (antimony), henna, *kālāwa* (coloured thread), sandal-wood and five annas as *chirdāghī* or lamp fee. Formerly it was also customary to put some slaked lime in a small plate, into which the *pāk-dārwanā* or chaste wives, who partook of the food offered in the *tźūx,* dipped their fingers, and licked off the lime which adhered to them, in the belief that blood would thereby be caused to flow from the mouth of those who were unfaithful.

*Circumcision.*—Around so primitive a rite as circumcision, cluster, as might be anticipated, countless local and tribal usages, accretions on the orthodox observance. This is simple. Though not even alluded to in the *Qurān,* the rite is held to be *sunāt,* i.e. founded on the customs of the Prophet, but no religious observances appear to be prescribed in connection with it.

¹ A kind of biscuit, flat and round, made of a kind of khāla prepared from a rice and flour, kneaded in phū and sugar, and in which are mixed dried fruits.

² The proportions being 50 parts of rice to 21 parts of sugar and 21 parts of curd.

³ See article in *Houghton Dictionary of Islam.* In the *Punjab* the rite is commonly called *khatūc,* cf. *khatāluk* or *khillād;* but the term *tākār,* i.e. *tākār* (purification) is also used.
Moslem birth observances.

Circumcision should be performed between the ages of seven and twelve, but it is permissible on or after the seventh day after birth. It is very commonly done in the chaiti.

As a rule the operation is effected at home, but in places the boy is taken to the mosque, and it is done in front of the door.

The keynote to the observances connected with the operation lies in the fact that it is regarded as a wedding—indeed, in the south-west of Bahawalpur it is actually termed addal. In accordance with this idea the boy is treated like a bridegroom, dressed in yellow clothes, and mounted on a horse. Before the operation the brotherhood is sometimes notified, sugar or dates being sent out to its members.

On the day itself the brotherhood is feasted, and entertained with dances. The women sing songs, and sometimes domnis are employed to keep the singing up all night.

It is not unusual to half intoxicate the boy with ma'fûn, so that he may not feel the pain.

As a rule the barber operates, but in Kangra the Abdāl is sometimes employed, and in the west of the Punjab the Pirbain. In Bahawalpur the boy is told by the guests to slap the Pirbain, who gets as many rupees as he receives slaps. Naturally as the father has to pay, he urges the boy not to slap the operator.

In Kangra the boy is seated on a basket, in which is placed a cock, the barber's perquisite. In Lahore he is seated on a stool, to which his hand is tied by a piece of mantī thread, and unless a companion in suffering has been found for him, the top of an earthen vessel is simultaneously cut off.

The barber receives a substantial reward. He puts his katori, or cup, on the stool in the midst of his assembled guests, and each of them puts a coin into it.

In Māler Kōla the boy is ceremoniously bathed on a wooden stool, and then his mother's brother ties a kanga of thread, called khamani, on which are strung a betel nut, an iron ring and a piece of liquorice. After the operation the barber bids the uncle take the boy away, and he does so carrying him in his arms.

In Bahawalpur the boy's mother stands by with a Qur'ān on her head during the operation, her women friends standing round her while she dips the hem of her petticoat in a vessel full of water.

The foreskin, when removed, is generally buried, but sometimes it is thrown on the roof, or even attached to it with a piece of straw, in Hissār. In Bahawalpur it is called khel, and is carefully preserved, being sometimes buried in the floor, which, being near the water pitchers, always remains wet. In Delhi it is tied together with a peacock's feather to the boy's left foot, so that no one's shadow may affect him; but this custom is falling into disuse.

In Rawalpindi the operation is often carried out on the same day as the aṣgu. The child's sisters and his father's sisters are presented with clothes, and they sing:

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<th>Harid ni moye Harid</th>
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<tr>
<td>Harid te bhāgi bhārīa</td>
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<td>Jīs ghar ch beśrā jāmīd</td>
<td>Jīs ghar bhāgī bharīa</td>
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Ohā ghar bhāgī bharīa,
Moslem birth observances.

"Oh, mother! How blessed and peaceful is that house in which such a son has been born! Mark well that daughters alone have been useful on the occasion."

Vows.

A vow (H. *osmanat*, in Punjabi *sanaat*) is not infrequently made by a barren woman that she will offer a cloth, light a lamp, and have her child’s first tonsure performed at a specified shrine if offspring be vouchsafed to her. The period for such an observance is always specified in the vow, but it is usually limited to a time before the child attains the age of twelve years.

*Baddhawa.*—Another type of vow is to place a silver necklet round the child’s neck every year, or to make him wear a *hama’il*, and add one rupee or more to it every year until he attains the age of seven, ten or twelve, when the accumulated silver is sold and the proceeds given to the poor. If the necklet is sold at the age of ten the observance is called *daasaadkh*. The necklet should be put on the child’s neck on the last Wednesday in Safar, the second month of the Muhammadan year. In Amritsar this is called Baddhawa Pir Sāhib.

In Sialkot the term *baddhawa* is applied to the custom of putting on the *hama’il* and adding a rupee year by year. After the twelfth year it belongs to his wife, but the vow may stipulate that a certain share of the value shall go to a certain shrine, and the number of years may vary. In Ludhiana the sale-proceeds are often supplemented by further gifts, and go to feed the poor. The object is to invoke God’s favour on the child.

*Half-heads.*—(In fulfilment of vows) in Ludhiana, some people shave only half the child’s head at a time, every week. The right half is first shaved, from back to front; then the left. This is done for some years, and then a *miás* is offered, and the whole head shaved.

Imám-on-ka-paík.—During the first ten days of the Muharram, some people get their children made messengers of the Imám (imám-on-ka-paík), thus: ten yards of muslin are cut into four equal parts, lengthways, and two are dyed green and two black. One of each colour is then taken and made into a sheet, giving two sheets, of which one is wrapped round the head and the other round the waist. Some ten or fifteen small bells are then strung on a cotton thread, which is also tied round the

1. In Sialkot and Baháwalpur the *hadd* or *hama’il* becomes the property of the boy’s wife when he marries. In Hissáar the sale-proceeds are sometimes spent in sweets, which are distributed among the brotherhood. In Kapúrthala the necklet are sometimes sent to the shrine to which the vow was made, and sometimes they are divided among the near kinsmen of the child’s mother.

2. *Dasanadkh*, lit. a tithe, also a votive offering made at the age of ten, see P. Dictionary, and see *dasanadkh*. Sometimes a rupee is simply put by each year till the child is ten.

3. *Baddhawa*—lit. increase, growing. But in P. Dictionary it is said to mean the ornament put on a child’s neck in fulfilment of a vow.

4. In Sialkot this custom is modified: only children whose brothers and sisters have died, or whose parents are old, are treated thus—half the head being shaved, and the other half left, in order that the Angel of Death may pass them by as too ugly. This is equivalent to giving an omen of happiness to the child.
Moorem birth observances.

waist. The boy goes barefoot, but his paati is adorned with feathers. On the tenth day of Hasan’s martyrdom, rice and milk are cooked and distributed among Muhammadan households.

Jhand — In contrast to the religious rite of agiqa is that called the jhand, which is done either in accordance with an express vow, or which may be regarded as the fulfilment of a tacit vow. In Hissar the rite is said to be extinct, but other accounts appear to contradict this.

The jhand is commonly observed within the suhna, or forty days from the birth, but it may be deferred till a much later age. In Kapurthala the agiqa is called jhand utara, but in Maler Kotla, if the agiqa is not performed, the jhand, i.e., a lock of hair is left on the head and cut off generally at shrine of Shaihk Sadr Jahán, a vow being made that it will be done if the child live a certain time, generally twelve years.

The jhand rite is not confined to boys, but is observed in the case of girls also—the only difference being that the barber’s fee is diminished by half in the latter case.

In Kangra the hair is mixed with flour, baked into a loaf, and thrown over running water; but as a rule the hair is weighed and its weight in silver given to the barber. In Lahore, however, great importance is attached to the jhand or first tonsure. It is generally removed on the fortieth day after the suhna observance is over, but some people do this on the agiqa day. In either case the hair is scrupulously preserved, and sometimes placed in a silver amulet or always carried about with one. The hair is deemed sacred, and kept by one on commencing any new work. Women believe that no evil influence can prevail over one who has it near her. But some people tie the hair to the child’s bed. The barber is paid from rupees one to five, and other menials get dues from the mother’s mother. Jhand, too, is very often performed on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first or fortieth day, and silver equal to the weight of the hair is given away in charity, the hair being then buried in the ground. But if a vow has been made the rite is carried out in fulfilment of that vow, and the jhand, or a lock of the hair, removed at the specified shrine. There, too, a ha-goat is sacrificed, and some people even sacrifice a ha-goat every year until the child attains the age of twelve or twenty-one. Besides which bracelets are put on the child until he is twelve.

Among the Chibb Râjpâta of Gujrat the first tonsure must be performed within seven years at the shrine of the martyr Shah, ancestor of the tribe, and until it is done the mother must abstain from meat. If the hair is cut a lock must be left. This lock is called Râbî Shahid. At the shrine a goat is sacrificed, the mother eats the liver, and the rest is given away as alms.

In Shâhpur the jhand is observed on the seventh, eighth or ninth day, a chahri of bread, gati, and gur being distributed among relatives

1 If the boy be a Shaikh his remaining garments will be black; if a Sammi, green.

2 Vows appear to be made at the shrine of Dina Sher of Bliana to cut the jhand there at a specified age but this seems to be regarded as part of the agiqa.
or friends. But a lock of hair called *lit* is kept and removed some years later at a Pir’s shrine; but the observance is not common.

In Rawalpindi the *jhau* is removed between the seventh and twelfth days; the sister or father’s sister holds the child in her lap and catches the hair. The Ghebas keep three locks or tufts of hair—called *sach* *bodi*—which remain until the child is circumcised.

In Rawalpindi, when a child has been shaved on the seventh day, a lock of hair is left, to be removed at the shrine of a saint at the time fixed in the vow. Other people, in accordance with a vow, place a *hanul* on the child’s neck and sell it at the end of the seventh year, offering the money to the shrine. Other but similar vows are made, and in fulfilling them the parents put on new clothes, fast, and feed the poor with the food specified in their vows.

**Maruda or maruda.**—When the child is about five or six months old its mother’s mother sends some maruda, and these are distributed in the family. The maruda are balls made of wheat or parched rice mixed with sweets, or else of *ma"l chut he ladhu ming si dili* mixed with syrup, together with poppy seed or boiled wheat. The balls are made by closing the fist (*mauthi ke bando hrene ae*), and are sent because at this age the child begins to open and close its fists.

**SECTION 5.—HINDU BETROTHAL OBSERVANCES.**

*Shastric ideas on betrothal.*

A Hindu friend has furnished me with following account of orthodox Shastric ideas on the subject of betrothal, and I prefix it to my notes on *Hindu Betrothal Observances in the Punjab,* as it contains many points of interest.

The relatives who can give a binding promise of betrothal are:—the father, paternal grandfather, brother, a sakulga, and lastly the mother. But if any one of these disregard the *prikrai* or *kalachar* (family custom) he loses his or her privilege and it devolves on the next in order. E.g., if the father is inclined to sell his daughter, the right to betroth devolves on the grandfather, and so on.

Betrothal being governed by various considerations, it is no hardship on a boy or girl to betroth them in infancy. The guardian of the girl should not only see the boy’s body, but have regard to his conduct, family means, education and repute. He should choose one whose age is double that of the girl, but not treble her age or more. The boy should be sound in body and in mind, and his family should be free from hereditary disease. He should not live too far away, he constantly

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2. Pundit Shih. Zim. Dha, a Brahman of the Dunghar section (Bash’et goira) of Bijnor’s states, whose family was originally settled in the Jhang District.
3. The sakulga, i.e. one of the same *kal* or family.
Hindu betrothal observances.

engaged in war, or an ascetic, and, apart from these general considerations, he should have the following particularized qualifications:

Broad or deep should be his chest, face and forehead, his navel, voice and *satya* (inherent power).

Short his throat, back, male organ and legs.

Fine (*sukshham*) his hair, nails, teeth, flesh and the joints of his fingers.

Long the distances between his eyebrows and his breasts, his arms, his nostrils and his chin.

Red should be his palate and tongue, the soles of his feet and the palms of his hands, and both the corners of each eye.

Countless other points of palmistry have also to be considered. Thus, a boy with no lines, or too many, in his hand will be poor and short-lived. Lastly horoscopes have to be consulted, and it is important that neither party should have been born in the *mangal* ras, or house of Mars, because, if so, his or her mate is doomed to an early death.

On the other hand the girl should be *aspinda*, i.e. not related to the boy within the following degrees, thus:

She should not be of the same gotra as the boy. (The got of the maternal grandfather is also sometimes avoided.)

She should be a virgin, beautiful, young and free from disease. She should also have a brother, for otherwise, according to the marriage contract, her first-born son would have to be given to her father, in order that he might become her maternal grandfather's heir. Various other qualifications are prescribed; health, good repute, a swan-like gait, fine teeth and hair, delicate limbs and soft red-soled feet without prominent joints. Her fingers and toes should be separated, and the palm of her hand shaped like a lotus for luck. Her shape should be fish-like, and on the soles of her feet there should be the marks of a goad and barley-corns. Her knees should be round, her legs free from hair, her forehead broad and prominent, her navel deep, with three deep wrinkles in the abdomen, the nipples round and hard, the throat like a lion's, the lips as red as a *trisha* fruit, the voice soft like a cuckoo's, the nostrils evenly matched, and the eye like a lotus. Lastly, her little toes should not touch the ground lest she become a widow; the second toe should not project beyond the big toe lest her character be lost, and her legs should not be long and thin, for that, too, is an omen of widowhood. Hair on the legs presages misfortune, and a prominent abdomen lasting sickness and sterility. Her eyes should not be a reddish brown, nor like those of a cat, for the latter denote easy virtue. Hair on the nipples will bring misfortune on her husband. Dry hair and everted lips show a quarrelsome temper, and so on.

*Some of the Pashtu verses descriptive of good looks popular in Kurram say:

*Nin mein a it dollars echi yatsi ther gudna*

*Narot madd sarinda sulf hekuma*

*Nin mein a Udalla ding girdan wermva*
Hindu betrothal observances.

Suturistic law classifies women into four groups; Padmani, Chitarni, Sankhani and Hastini.

When all these points have been investigated and the betrothal decided on, an auspicious day is fixed for its celebration, which should not take place in the month of Poh, Kálik or Cháit, when Venus and Jupiter are on the wane, during the śrāvakas, annual or general, dwitiik (intercalated month), or the antra, when Venus and Jupiter are in the same rāśi, and so on. Sundays, Tuesdays and Saturdays are also to be avoided.

Betrothal was generally observed during the following Nakshatras (asterisms):

Phalguni.

Utrán and Parhán
Kharán.

Bhadrapadán.

Also in Rohni, Kritkán, Mrigshár, Maghá, Hust, Śváti, Utrádhán, Kután and Beota.

On the day appointed for the rite the boy's party go to the girl's house and both parties are there seated, while Brahmans recite the mangho-chhān or benedictory prayers, and Shri Ganeshji is worshipped.

Zi ghan jaa thaa maa la dā la bhāra
Chok wikhitlaia chok naikona foragaduna
Khālāi thi míakhān foraí thaa suratuna
Thaa udrāi githi mālikhā ko pustakthi
Thaa sarō ni khundā laalo pa khamaa sari thāi
Samandai jāun la anlateg surī thāi
Khālāi māhrān thi foraí thaa saraīna
Thāa khānuari lata hajā thithıhān thāi
Thāa dīng garān khat eis mar ta mastāy thāi
Thāa maymon urko nakh ki sārī sufar thāi
Bakhlāwar thāi eki khāri khārdi sarānu
Nia mera ehi pēm okro dīng garān māsālu nos
Dīng sarō peam pa makh ki tajätā lāi
Kawam yam bhakhlawar thāa zanāi pa khami ki
Shīrā ač kthi mar oh thāi dīr eka khāmā
Mahamā Ali Khan dair guṇyādwar thāi hīla mālāi kādi
Paroonda tiyr lāli o lidāla māri dāna
Bhāl lāi sīnā thāa bhuwō sūrān na ēpīna
Munjā thāa nakh ki rākhī eka potar armanāda

The complexion should be fair, the face and brow broad, the chin round, the nose thin and aquiline, the eyes black, and (one regrets to say) inful. The hair, eyebrows and eyelashes should all be long and black, the teeth white and the lips red; the charms of eyes, cheeks are enhanced by a black or a green mule; the neck should be long, the fingers tapering and the waist slim.
in a brass dish (thāl); rice is thrown on Ganeshji and the boy's party, and sometimes red-coloured water is also sprinkled over them. The girl's guardian then announces that the girl, daughter of so-and-so, is betrothed to the son of so-and-so. This is called the nedda, i.e. 'the dawn or gift by word of mouth,' and is the essence of the betrothal contract. It is now irrevocable, and there is a very strong feeling against breaking it.

When once the promise has passed the lips of the girl's father, it can only be withdrawn for grave causes. A Sanskrit adage says: -

Sakrit pradivat kanyā, 'a girl is given but once.' Formerly, in respectable families, a betrothed girl whose fiancée had died could not be married, and if such a marriage occurred it brought social discredit on the family. A Mirotra Khatri family in Multān is still looked down upon because it once contracted a marriage of this kind.

Then a σανास, or sacred thread, fruit, flowers and some clothes are given to the boy by the girl's brother or Brahman. The girl's Brahman applies the tilak to the boy and his kinsmen. The boy's parents and kinsmen make gifts to Brahmans and distribute money among them, an observance called nāwāde (lit. name).

The boy is next taken to his father's house when a morsel of bread, butter, sugar and khīchri is given him. This rite is called Grāhīn ādāna, (or gift of a morsel of bread). The females also distribute khīchri to the brotherhood, who, in return, give them presents. Till far into the night, songs are sung by the women.

Betrothal thus effected creates a kind of relationship, so that if one of the parties to it dies, the other is counted impure for three days.

In some families par and a rupee, five pieces of turmeric, some supāri (betal-nut), rice and fruit are thrown into the laps of the boy's party at the betrothal.

Taking money for a girl is strictly forbidden by the Shāstrās, and one who takes it goes to hell.

A proverb says: -

Kanjār te Qashī, chāt udd chāt waṭāi—meaning that low-caste men are divided into (i) Kanjars who prostitute their girls; (ii) butchers, who kill them; and (iii) those who exchange their persons.

Modern Hindu observances.

Amongst the Hindus betrothal is a contract, and is, as a rule, an indispensable preliminary to the marriage of a girl, though a woman once married cannot again be betrothed according to the ceremonies of a first betrothal. 3

Betrothals are of three kinds: -

(i) dharma or pus, in which the girl is given by her parents as a quasi-religious offering to her future husband.

3 This is the custom in the Jhing Distriet.

4 Punjab Civil Law, ii, p. 118.

5 dharma or pushe in parts of the South-West Punjab.
(ii) *watta catta* (exchange), in which two or more families exchange brides.

(iii) *takke* or *takhdo* di pachdr, in parts of the south-west Punjab, in which a bride-price is more or less openly paid.

(4) The *dharm* or ritual form of betrothal is a religious rite. In it the initiative is almost invariably taken by the girl's parents.

Thus in Gurgaon her father sends his family, barber and priest to search for a suitable boy. When they have found one they return, and, if horoscopes are kept, compare those of the pair to see if they are in accord. If the girl's father approves of the match he sends the two delegates again to the boy's house with the signs of betrothal called *tika* or *sitka*. If the boy's father approves of the match, he calls his kindred together and in their presence the delegates place the tokens in the boy's lap, and some sweets into his mouth, simultaneously proclaiming the girl's name. The girl's barber or priest also makes a mark (*tika*) on the boy's forehead with his thumb. During the ceremony the boy is seated on a wooden plank (*chaunti* or *patra*) slightly raised off the ground, on which, after it has been swept and smeared with cow-dung, a square (*chaunte*) has been traced with flour.

The signs of betrothal vary, but in the South-East Punjab there is almost always a rupee, often a coconut and sometimes clothes.

Elsewhere in the Province the coconut is replaced by dates, usually five in number, but often two or seven; thus in Gurdaspur the girl's father sends seven nuts (*chhowra*), one or more rupees and some clothes as a *chugan* or conventional gift to the boy. These are made over to him by the *ldgi* (a priest, a barber, or a bard) at his parents' house in

*Watti di pachdr in parts of the South-West.*

*Such a betrothal (or the price paid for it) is said to be called *dowghah* in Lohriana. This betrothal is confined to the higher castes, and instances rarely occur among them of the initiative being taken by the boy's people. Indeed, the instances noted are all from the Western Punjab, where the Hindu element holds a subordinate place under the Muhammadan tribes. Thus in Shaipur, among most of the Khatri and Arora, the boy's father takes the first step, but among the Khokhrain, or upper class Khatri, the girl's father does so (xx, pp. 22-3). In Murafargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan, on the Indus, the boy's father always appears to take the initiative (xx, pp. 14-15; xvi, pp. 2-3), but this is not the case in Peshawar (xvii, p. 29).*

*In Hindi a betrothal is called *apasi*, in Punjabi *sangvar* or *sangdi*, from *sangad* 'to beg in marriage'. *Kapadi* is a term widely used, especially in the Punjab. In Murafargarh (South-West Punjab) *pachdr* is the term used by Hindus. *Repan* is also used in the Eastern Punjab for betrothal, but it literally means the present (of seven dried dates etc.) sent by the girl's father to the prospective bridegroom.*

*Also called *repan* (in Sira). The use of the term *tika* (*tika* in Punjab): in this sense is unusual and apparently confined to the South-eastern Punjab. Thus in Ifnai the girl's father sends a barber with a rupee to the boy's house, and the barber gives this rupee (which is called *tika*) to the boy. In Jhelum *tika* is used as equivalent to *tik.*

*No public inquiry is made about the girl, but the woman find out among themselves.*

*Called *seg* as entitled to *seg* or *ldgi*, i.e., *dasa*, in the South-East Punjab. It is a commoner term in *ldgi*, i.e., one entitled to *ldgi*, *dasa.*

*This mark is more correctly and usually called *tik.* It is usually made on the boy's forehead by the girl's Brahman with turmeric and rice. Occasionally her barber affix it. In Jhelum it is affixed during the reception of the *chugan.*
the presence of his kinsmen, and in return he sends the girl a shagun of ornaments and clothes.\(^1\)

In the Western Punjab the rite is quite as distinctively religious. Thus in Muzaffargarh, although the boy's father and kinsmen take the initiative and go empty-handed to the girl's house,\(^2\) they are there met by her father or guardian with his kinsmen and presented with gur, fruits or clothes, and the Brahman, if present, performs the worship of Ganesha and recites the gobarachdr. The gur and fruits are taken to the boy's house and there distributed.\(^3\)

This rite is held on an auspicious day and must be solemnized at the girl's father's house or pleasure-house, but not at the house where his women-kind live,\(^4\) and after it the boy's father is called putreta and the girl's dheta, the relationship called soth or soor henceforth existing between them. This relationship prevents their visiting each other or eating together, while the future son-in-law (jawaib) may not even speak to his father-in-law (sothra).

Thus betrothal in the South-West Punjab is a solemn rite and the tie it creates is irrevocable, so much so that it can only be annulled owing to impotence or incurable disease, and even when the boy or girl is thought to be dying the tie between the pair is solemnly cancelled by the following rites:—

In Muzaffargarh, where the rite is called pani pilawum (i.e. giving water to drink), the boy is called to the girl's death-bed and made to stand by her pillow and drink some water. The girl also drinks, and then the boy says, 'Thou art my sister.' This, of course, dissolves the betrothal, but it is understood that if the patient recover the tie will hold good. In the event of the boy's not arriving till she is dead the girl's body is not burnt until he has looked upon her face, or if the body has to be burnt before his arrival some cotton is smeared with blood from her forehead and thrown into his house. Every effort is however made to prevent the cotton being thus thrown into the house and a watch is kept over it, the belief being that, if the cotton is thrown in, it will bring ruin upon the dwelling. After four days the blood-stained cotton cannot be thrown in and the house is safe.

In the adjacent State of Bahawalpur a very similar ceremony called mutkh langwan is performed to cancel the betrothal. Thus, if the girl be at the point of death the boy goes to her and standing by her death-bed gives her some sweets, saying haan bhi mitha gham, 'dear sister, take this sweetmeat,' and she must reply lita bhuraw, 'brother, give it me.'

\(^1\) P.C.O., xii, p. 3.

\(^2\) They say they have come to arrange for the punakdr (betrothal) of so-amoi so chowdhr's (notable's) son. The reply is that the girl's father will consider the proposal (sicheh kauna), and it appears to be etiquette for him to promise a reply in a week or a fortnight's time, when the boy's people again approach him.

\(^3\) P.C.O., xx, p. 16.

\(^4\) In Jhang there is a survival of this rite, a girl being shown her betrothed's bier, if the latter die before their wedding; or she breaks a clod of earth at his door or behind his bier, and, having washed her clothes, returns home.
This cancels the betrothal, but if the sick child recover and the parents of the couple agree to the renewal of the contract the betrothal ceremonies are again performed by the parties.

The **mathe lagDWan** must be done at the house of the sick child, but his or her parents do their utmost to prevent it as it brings calamity upon their family. If they knowingly permit it no other Kirar will contract an alliance with them. Consequently guards are posted at the door of the sick child’s house to keep out the intruder who makes every effort to get in. Both sides resort to violence, so much so that sticks are sometimes used and serious affrays ensue. Disguise is even sometimes resorted to in order to obtain access to the sick child; for instance, the garb of a sweeper etc., but if this too fails it is sufficient for the betrothed to strike his or her forehead against the wall of the sick child’s house. This knocking the wall, which is termed **samwet**, must be performed within four days from the sick child’s death, after which it is of no avail. If a child fails to perform the **mathe lagDWan** or **samwet** he or she cannot secure a second betrothal, being regarded as ill-starred, but if the ceremony be duly performed he or she is considered purified, and can readily contract a second betrothal.¹

(ii) Betrothal by change is further divisible into three or more varieties, viz.: (i) **ama sukshata or simple exchange**; (ii) **tanasaj or threefold barter**; (iii) **sokwet or fourfold**, and so on, in Multanagah. In all these the parties concerned meet at one place by appointment, and enter into the contract of giving the girls, one to the other, after which each girl’s guardian gives *gur* or fruits to the guardian of the boy to whom his girl is betrothed. Then the Brahman, if present, performs worship of Ganesa and recites the *gutrookar*. The *gur*, or fruits are taken home and distributed.

In Jhang exchange betrothal is called **ama samse**, a term which in Multan is applied to direct, as opposed to *tarain wati*, or indirect exchange. In Ludhiana betrothal by exchange is called **kalbh**.

In Ludhiana exchange marriage (bhatte ká bigá) sometimes takes the form called **kalte ká bigá**, in which a girl of say, eighteen years of age is exchanged for one of five. In such a case, a kind of disparity fine (**kalák**) has to be paid to the party giving the adult girl.

Among the Gaddis of Chamba, marriage by exchange is called **hola**, and the first of the rites observed resembles those described below in a *dharma-pasa* betrothal. But when all the boy’s people go to complete the alliance, a grindstone, pestle and *oil* (mortar) with three or five lumps of *gur*, **supário dhanu**, and **rohit**, are placed before them, and the **parokhi** taking the **supário** etc. in the fold of his garment puts them in the mortar, receiving a fee of four annas from the boy’s father before grinding them. He then mentions the names of the betrothed pair, and pounds up the spices. Then the **supário** etc. is put in a dish with the *gur* broken into small pieces, and distributed among the guests, the boy’s

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¹ The **mathe lagDWan** is also observed in the villages of the Multan District.
² In which three betrothals are arranged in connection with one another.
³ P.C.L. xx, p. 15.
father first taking a piece. The elder members of the bride's family do not take any, as that would be contrary to etiquette. Then the boy's father puts one rupee four annas in the dish, and from this silver the girl's parents have an ornament made for her. She also presents herself before the boy's father, and he gives her a rupee. The rest of the ceremony resembles that observed in a dharma-puna betrothal, but the coins put in the vessel come out of the boy's father's pocket. The whole rite is repeated in the other family's house, but not necessarily on the same day. Tuesday, Friday or Saturday is an unlucky day for these observances.

(iii) In betrothal by purchase the essential difference is that the initiative is taken by the boy's people, who go to the girl's house and there make the bargain. Then the girl's parents send their teqds (or more usually one man, the adi) to the boy's house where the ordinary rites are gone through.¹

In the north-eastern (Himalayan) corner of the Punjab, the initiative is usually taken by the boy's people. After certain preliminary negotiations, they go to the girl's house with their priest (parohit) to perform the rites. In a dharma-puna betrothal the girl's father gives the parohit some dabh grass, with at least four copper coins, which are to be handed over to the boy's father in token that he accepts the alliance. All remain the night at the bride's house, and after a meal, her father gives eight copper coins to the boy's father. These he puts in his dish as a perquisite for the man who cleans it.²

In Kulu, among the higher castes, the parohit fixes a day for the rite and is then sent with one or two men, with a present of clothes, ornaments, and money to the bride's house. There he takes the girl worship Ganesh, and she is then dressed in the clothes and gur is distributed among the villagers or neighbours. In return her parents send a sacred thread and a betel-nut for the bridegroom, in whose village also gur is distributed on the parohit's return.

Among the Kacats, the local god fixes the auspicious day for the rite, and on that day, the boy's father or brother, with two companions, takes the clothes and ornaments to the bride's house. She puts them on and gur is then distributed without any worship of Ganesh. The lower classes have the same rites, but among them the boy also goes to his father-in-law's house at the betrothal.

When the initiative is not taken by the girl's father, it is fairly safe to assume that the parties are of low status or caste, and that the contract was not puna. Thus in Siállót, among the Chulhás, the boy's father goes to the girl's house with a female kinsman, and is then feast- ed, giving her father two rupees. Next the visitors are given an ordinary meal, and the girl's father gets another rupee. After this a blanket

¹ P.C.E. v (Ludhiana), p. 49. But in Muss eradg, Ganesh is not apparently worshipped in jaffa betrothals, xx, p. 19.

² The above are the customs in vagas among the Gaddis of Chamba, but in the Churbi sub-division of that State the custom is for the boy's father or brother to place eight copper coins or as much as a rupee in the dish from which he has eaten. This is called jaf, and the act jafá dikt. On the following day the betrothal contract is made.
is spread on the ground, and the girl's father, in the presence of his kin, brings a flat dish into which the boy's father puts the betrothal money, which varies in amount but is always considerable, sometimes amounting to fifty rupees.¹

Briefly, the essentials of a valid contract of betrothal are the public acceptance of the match, feasting and the exchange of gifts, the religious rites, if any are observed, being of secondary importance, even indeed if these are necessary to the validity of the contract.

It may be said generally that a contract of betrothal is irrevocable, except for certain definite causes, or in cases when it has become impossible of fulfilment. Even when its literal fulfilment is impossible owing to the death of the boy, there is a widespread feeling that an implied contract subsists to marry the girl to another member of his family. Instances of this custom are found in the Gujar, Bors and Jats of Kaithal,² the tribes of Sires,³ and in the Shahpur District, where the general feeling is that the girl is a valuable piece of property, and that betrothal is a contract to transfer her ownership to the boy's family, when she reaches a marriageable age, but the boy's death cancels the contract.⁴ It would appear that the castes or tribes which allow widow remarriage have a strong feeling that the betrothal duty effected gives the boy's family a claim on the girl's hand, so that, in the event of her original fiancée's death, she may be married to another boy of the family. In Jhelum, on the other hand, the contract is revocable unless the formality observed be the waq, which is to all intents a marriage.⁵

Thus the advantages of the contract are all on the boy's side, in having secured a valuable chattel, little is thought of the girl's claim on the boy, only very exceptional circumstances would make the boy's family refuse to find another match for her in the event of his death. If the girl die the contract is void, her family having contracted to transfer a specific article, to wit a particular girl to the boy's family, and as that article no longer exists the bargain cannot be fulfilled, and her family has no claim to marry another of its girls to the boy.

The causes which justify a refusal to carry out a contract of betrothal are mainly physical (e.g., leprosy, impotence, blindness, or mortal disease in either party). Lunacy on the part of the girl is generally also a valid cause. As a rule, immorality on the boy's part is not recognized as a cause for refusal to carry out the contract; and, speaking generally, the contract is considered much more binding on the girl's relatives than on those of the boy, so much so that among the Jats of Lahore this principle is pushed to an extreme, and it is alleged that the boy can break off his betrothal at pleasure, whereas a girl cannot.⁶

A betrothal is also said to be revocable on other grounds, e.g., on the discovery that the parties are within the prohibited degrees of re-

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¹ P.C.L., xiv, p. 5.
² P.C.L., loc. cit.
⁴ P.C.L., pp. 24-5.
⁵ P.C.L., xix, p. 18.
⁶ P.C.L., xiii, p. 4.
Hindu betrothal observances.

A marriage, or that they belong to different tribes, and apostasy would also justify its revocation.

As a rule, among Hindus, priority of betrothal gives the girl a social, though hardly a legal, claim to be married first, i.e., to be married before the fiancé takes another wife. The reason is that in a Hindu household the first married wife occupies a more or less privileged position.

The ages of betrothal.

The age at which betrothal may be effected is not fixed, and it varies among different tribes and in different localities, so that it is impossible to generalize regarding it. Thus in Kaithal the Rajputs assert that betrothal cannot take place before the age of ten, and girls are certainly betrothed at a much later age among Rajputs than among other (and lower) tribes, so much so that it is common to defer a Rajput girl's betrothal till she is fifteen or even twenty. In Ambala, the Gujars of Rupar put the lowest age of betrothal at five weeks; many tribes putting the maximum age at forty years, but it is not usual below five. Similarly in Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Shahpur, Jhelum, Pora Ghazi Khan, and Muzaffargarh there is no restriction as to age, but the actual customs differ greatly according to circumstances. Thus there is a tendency to defer betrothal among the higher castes to a somewhat later age than is usual among the middle castes; e.g., in Labore, Jats betroth from four to six; and Rajputs from twelve to fourteen, in Shahpur, Hindus betroth from eight to twelve, and in Jhelum, before ten. Generally speaking in the Western Punjab girls are betrothed at a very early age, much earlier than is customary among the Muhammadans, but boys are often not betrothed till puberty or later. The feeling that it is a disgrace to have a grown-up daughter unmarried is very strong among Hindus. Throughout the Punjab pre-natal betrothal is unusual, but not unknown.

Some observances subsequent to betrothal.

These are purely social and of little importance. In Hinduthe boy's father sends sweets etc. for the girl on festivals. These she returns with some money. Later the boy's father sends her ornaments—called baha. These, too, are returned with some cash, oil and clothes added, only three or four ordinary trinkets being retained.

1 P.C.L., x, p. 4.
2 P.C.L., viii, p. 2; x, p. 4.
3 P.C.L., x, p. 4; xii, p. 4; xiv, p. 6; xix, p. 18; xx, p. 16.
4 Whereas among Muhammadans the four wives are, in the eye of the law at least, absolutely equal.
5 P.C.L., viii, p. 2.
6 P.C.L., x, p. 5.
7 P.C.L., xii, p. 3.
8 P.C.L., xiv, p. 3.
9 P.C.L., xiii, p. 3.
10 P.C.L., xiv, p. 20; xix (?), p. 17.
Hindu betrothal observances.

In Multán and Murzaffargarh, there is a similar custom called subhā, which consists in the exchanging presents of sweets at festivals. Clothes and toys are also sent. These presents, too, are sometimes returned by the girl's people. This custom is spreading; it is said, into Sirmīr.¹

Murzaffargarh also appears to have some distinctive local customs in the subhā or snat wadawas, which consists in the girl's father sending the boy's a request for subhā (vegetables).

The request is complied with and fruit of any kind in season sent. After this the fathers may have dealings with each other—a thing wholly forbidden to them before this observance. After it too comes the snat subhā, in which the girl's father sends the boy's fresh fruit or green stuff. In both cases the fruit etc. is distributed among relatives and neighbours.

In Multán the betrotheds' fathers do not even salute each other when they meet, after the betrothal has once been effected, until the Rāmak observance has been duly performed. For this a lucky day is chosen, and then the girl's father with some of his kinsmen takes some sweets and Rs. 1-1-0, Rs. 3 or Rs. 5 in cash to the boy's home, where he finds the latter's kinsmen also assembled. He presents the boy's father with the sweets etc. and salutes him, saying 'Rām Rām' (the usual Hindu greeting). After this the two fathers may salute each other if they meet.

In Jhang some time after the betrothal an observance called pūrīdesa is in vogue. The boy's kinsmen with some of his kinswomen visit the girl's home where they receive sweetstuff or a rupee each, and the women of the boy's party are seated on a pūrī.⁴

¹ Very similar to the subhā observance, yet distinct from the observance called guṛ in Multán. It consists in sending guṛ (jaggery), fruit and vegetables with two rupees (lakhwālpur coinage, which is cheaper) to the boy's father, 'some time after the betrothal has been completed.'

⁴ Betrothal among Hindus in large towns is arranged by the womenfolk, the mother, grandmother or some other relative of the boy visiting the girl's mother till she gives her consent or refusal. Betrothal is formally announced by the girl's parents sending a lamp of guṛ with a rupee to the boy's. In well-to-do families this ceremony, which is called shagha, 13 to 22 rupees with 100 fands (sugarcane) are sent. In the case of a saññā (a widower) of good social status and well-to-do the amount often rises to Rs. 500 or even Rs. 1000.

After the betrothal comes the pair pānā (to put in one's foot) ceremony. At this the girl's people send as many as 61 trays of ādīṇ, nākha and other sweets in the boy's party, followed on the same day by a formal visit paid by the women of the boy's family (neighbours and friends are also invited, but not sisters) to the girl's. Some ladies are served with light refreshments and among well-to-do families the boy's kinswomen get a cup of milk with a rupee each. The boy's mother takes the girl in her lap and a servant of Rs. 1-1-0 is done. When the boy's party have left, the girl's in turn go to his house, where the girl's mother takes the boy in her lap and gives him a māka or a half māka. One rupee each is given to all the other relatives of the boy, but his father and grandfather get a whole or half a māka accordine to the status of the family. The girl's party are not served with refreshments. The boy's parents then celebrate the ḍākī. In the case of a saññā there is no pair pānā, strictly speaking, nor is there in that of a saññā (second wife when the first is still alive). In the latter case as much secrecy as is possible is observed by the boy's people.
Among Hindus marriage is of two kinds, regular and irregular. The former is a sacrament and in theory indissoluble, so that formal

A few days before the wedding on an auspicious day the daham and sulli ceremony is observed. On this occasion too the girl's people send 51 trays of badhe &c., with a big chali full of dahis (wheat) to the boy's house. No females accompany, these trays, only males doing so. They are met in an open space by the men of the boy's party, assembled there for the purpose. The sulli (= to meet) is now performed, the girl's party standing on one side and the boy's on the other. To begin with the girl's people present money to the boy's through their porad, commencing with Rs. 3 and rising by odd numbers, 5, 7 &c., to Rs. 17. Then the girl's people present jewellery and this is followed by the sulli, which involves the gift of a rupee by the girl's relatives to each of the boy's. At the sulli, the kinnan formally meet one another, and the boy his father-in-law to be. On the wedding night the girl's people send a mare to the boy's house to fetch him. After the necessary puja in his house, he does a mahop and then he and his ardabila (a boy under 10 years of age and closely related to the bridegroom) don clothes specially prescribed and march out of the house after the torch has been taken. The boy carries a sword in his hand. The boy then mounts the mare with the ardabila behind him. The mare is fed on dal. The boy's sister then holds the reins of the mare and refuses to release these until she gets some money as song phardal (= to catch the reins). She sings the following song:—

Ki kuchh dea vird wo jharni
Ki kuchh vird dal chariri.

'Brother dear! how much would you give me for catching the reins?
Dear brother, how much would you give me for feeding your mare on dal?'

The boy and his ardabila then ride off to the girl's house accompanied by a couple of friends and a servant. On dismounting at it he is beaten with thin sticks (teli sidar) by little girls who sing:—

Sao phandri, jawaat oor oor kahara,
Ji kha phand vih sehra.

"The mother-in-law asks: 'who is my son-in-law?'
One with a pind round his wrist and a garland of flowers on his head."

This done the girl's relatives try to put a khañgha (an old skirt) round the boy's neck, but he resists in every possible way, being helped in this by the friends who had accompanied him. If the girl's relatives succeed it is anticipated that the boy will always remain obedient to the girl, otherwise it will be the other way round. This over, the boy goes into the house marching under a cloak with a lamp in it which he keeps over his sword. He is then accommodated in a room till the time for the londe comes. In this room he is surrounded by girls and other females of the bride's family, who jest with him getting him to bow down before an old shoe of the girl wrapped in red cloth which is represented to him as the bride, but the boy does not always submit to this as he has been warned by his mother, sister &c. against such tricks. When the time for the londe draws nigh, he goes to the bed, and is seated on a khor tied upside down with the girl similarly seated alongside him. Here too a number of small girls behind him try to test him with tiny wooden houses called gabbides; surad and annoy him with various tricks. He tries to snatch them as many of the gabbies as he can.

The wedding rite having been gone through the khatpujyak is performed. In this the bride and bridegroom are seated on a bed with everything that forms a part of the dowry on it. The boy is asked by the bride's kinwoman to recite some ophanda, and for those he is paid a rupee each.

The ophanda are:—

Ophanda paronge di jati ophanda padhe benar.
Sas meri Paripi, sauha meri Parooshar.

After this the girl is taken to the doli, but before doing so the following song, which moves every body to tears is sung:—

Loi challe bhalal hai challe wai,
Maino Nhi pa bhakhe bhalal hai challe wai.
Bhak hai bhalal rahe hai wai,
Maino rahe hun dhiben chal.
Hun ki bhalal jera dawon,
Was jand bhama dawon.
Hindu marriage observances.

divorce is not recognized. The latter is a civil as opposed to a religious union and is often dissoluble in practice. Thus there are, as it were,

"Father dear! they are taking me away!
Father dear! the kahres are taking me away in a goli!
Father dear, father dear! Keep me with you, do keep me with you.
Keep me a little longer!
Father dear! you can claim me no more!
I belong to someone else, your claim now is false."

When the bride has been selected in the goli often with a little girl beside her, she goes on crying. The goli is carried a few paces by her nearest relatives and then by the kahres, the bridegroom going in front of it.

A few days before the marriage singing parties are invited to their houses by the parents of the pair. They consist of females only and sing at night when they are served with light refreshments. The songs sung at the girl's house are called sodiy and those at the boy's ghori's.

Sonā,
Dhan du vijā gop chhaqīā, mahlān vdi sāi,
Pattī bhāān tir chhaqīā, chhaqīā mahāp pahār.
"I am leaving now my father, king of many a kingdom, and my mother, queen of many a palace!
I am leaving my dear brother who writes on pattīs. I am leaving the whole family."

Ghomā,
Sir tera naurangia chāhīā, bākhi di njāh bahār.
Pāir tera makhāl di juli turnā yāhār, de bhār.

THE LOHRI FESTIVAL.

A month or so before the Lohri small boys and girls go from house to house begging for wood and cow-dung cakes which they collect till the Lohri night when a big bonfire is lit and the girls sing:

Sotī sotī wai lokari sotī sl,
Rah deevi Mohan Lāl tainī, wanta sl,
Lai wantī dī cai māhātī sl,
Ghar kothāyā nāv sakhi bhārī sl di sl.
Pāh mēi dā kae kuttī nāy, se dā,
Kādī kādā dā duānā, terāy, jināy majhī dārī.
Mohmāti de ke jā dāhri phīn pāntā ho jād,
Dāhri teri hari bhārī, motāā, nāl fortī bhārī.
The boys sing:
Sut ghoā, bāh khoāy.
Sut lakaor, bāh shakār.
Iśa O! Iśa khoā bāh khatā.
Bhāna O! Bhīna, ni kē bhīna.
"If you cast cow-dung cakes you will get khoāy to eat.
If you throw wood you will get sugar to eat.
Brother dear! open your purse!
We won't move till we get something!"

Saltātī dān ni mātī lāmpāt.
Sāhī chāhā kha ni mātī lāmpāt.
"Give us our turn! want fox!
Eat up our rats! want fox?"
degrees of marriage, with something like corresponding degrees of legitimacy.

Of the eight ancient (so called) forms of Hindu marriage traces still survive. Thus in Gurdaspur it is said that the Brahmana form is still observed by Brahmanas and Khatris, while among Jats marriage generally takes place according to the asura form, in which a penuntary is struck. 1 In Bahawalpur also the Brahmin bidh in which the bride’s father so far from receiving a price for her gives her as much as he can afford is in vogue among the higher classes, while among the lower the asur bidh is practised. In the latter the girl’s father receives a consideration, no doubt, but neither in Gurdaspur nor in Bahawalpur does there appear to be any real difference in the ritual of these two kinds of marriage. Both are called bidh in Bahawalpur, and such differences as exist are matters of caste, i.e. social and not ritual.

In the hills the names of one or two of the old forms are said to be still in use. Thus in Kulu marriage is said to be of three kinds: (1) bori bidh, the ordinary Hindu forms; (ii) ruhi mandi, 4 or 5 men go from the bridegroom to the bride’s house, dress her up, put a cap on her head, and bring her home to the bridegroom; (iii) Ganesh pujja, the form used by Brahmanas, Khatris, Sunars (goldsmiths, etc.) in marrying a Kanet girl. 2 But another account distinguishes the three forms as Brahmu, gandharb and gharbidh, and a third classifies the usage in vogue thus:—

(i) Brahmu
(ii) Arsh (asura) 

(iii) Gandharb, by low castes.

Side by side with these are current four forms of customary marriage, viz.—

1. Ghar-bidh, performed at the house of either party.

2. ruhi mandi, in which the bridegroom accompanied by 4 or 5 kinsmen goes to the bride’s house and brings her home.

3. madhavna, concubinage.

4. randoi, widow-remarriage.

These four forms are more or less observed in all tribes. In Nos. (iii) 1 and 3 Ganesh worship is necessary; whereas in Nos. 3 and 4 a goat or sheep is sacrificed and kinsmen are feasted. The inconsistencies in these accounts show how fluid the customs in Kulu have become, and before describing any of the forms it will be convenient to glance at the classifications in vogue elsewhere in the hills.

1 P. C. L., ii. p. 7.
2 P. C. L., ii. p. 185.
Hindu marriage observances.

In Chamba the Gaddis recognize only three forms, *hid', i.e. regular marriage, *jiydpukha,* and *jhunjxura* or widow-remarriage. But in the Churah *wizdat* of that State regular marriage would seem to be either (1) *fand* or (ii) *st gaddi;* corresponding to the *jiydpukha* is the *man-marzi* or marriage made by a couple of their own free will; while widow-remarriage is called *bandha baza.*

The term *Jhanjxura* is used for the remarriage of a widow in Kangra and Kulu as well as in Chamba. But in Sirmur 'regular' marriage is termed *jhara,* in contradistinction to *hil* or marriage with a woman purchased from her former husband — the *madhula* of Kulu; but the *jhara* is not the orthodox Brahmanical marriage, which is all but unknown in the Saibari-Giri part of Sirmur. *Jhara* is in fact solemnized without the *ghera* and is thus performed: After the betrothal the bridegroom's father or in his absence any near relative with two or three other persons goes to the bride's house, taking with him a *nath,* some dresses, and as many ornaments as he wishes to present to her. The pandit reads certain *mantras* at an auspicious moment and the women sing the wedding songs. Then the pandit puts the *nath* into the bride's nose; and after that *gur* or sugar is distributed among those present. When this is over the bride puts on a red dress and follows the visitors to her husband's house, one or two relatives accompanying her. At an auspicious hour fixed by the pandit she enters her husband's house in which a pitcher of water has been placed, with quaint figures painted on the walls and an (earthen) lamp put near them. The bride and bridegroom are made to sit in front of these and incense is burned. *Gur* or sugar is then given to the bridegroom and he puts it in bride's palm and she eats it. In the same manner the bride gives *gur* to the bridegroom and he too eats it. This completes the marriage and the custom is called *gharasu.* Two or three days after this the bride's father goes to the bridegroom's house, accompanied by his friends and relatives to the number of 300 to 400, and the party are entertained there, first with sweet food and then with meat. No entertainment, however, is given if the bride's father has taken compensation for bringing her up. The whole ceremony is called *jhara.*

Apparently then *jhara* means 'putting the *nath* or nose-ring in the bride's nose,' but to the west, i.e. in Kulu and Kangra the term has come to be applied to widow-remarriage.

It appears to be also called *gur phaka,* and is accomplished by burning a *marshi* or *falsawal* bush, i.e. by setting light to the bush and tying the end of the bride's sheet to the bridgroom's woolen girdle and going round the fire eight times. This form is only permissible in the case of an educated girl marrying her paramour, or when the bride's parents will not consent to the marriage though they gave their consent to the contract of betrothal. It is celebrated by the mutual concurrence of the bride and bridegroom; and no priest or relations are required to attend its celebration.

At a *jandi* wedding 5 or 7 men accompany the bridegroom to his father-in-law's house and there give the members of the bride's party Rs. 3 and a ha-guns (in a *st gaddi* double that amount is paid, but not always accepted, and the bridegroom is only accompanied by 3 men). In both forms a *rungs* is given to the bride for her *bandha,* an ornament.

*Jandi* appears to mean presents; in Kulu it means presents made to members of the *bisht* or wedding party.

*St gaddi* means 'plating the hair,' and is an incident in formal marriage.

*Bandha baza,* lit. to put on the *bandha,* the ornament which distinguishes a married woman.
Ritual marriage in the hills.—In Kulu the parohit is sent for and given sweets and money. He then fixes an auspicious date for the wedding and prepares a laknotari or programme. This he takes to the bride’s house and expounds to her family. The day once fixed cannot be changed even if a death occur in either family. In Chamba among the Gaddis after the parohit has fixed a day two men are sent to the girl’s house with some ghot and if her people approve of it messengers from both sides go to the parohit and get him to prepare the laknotari.

2. Naming the day.—When both the parties are ready for the wedding an astrologer is asked to examine their horoscopes and fix a propitious time for the ceremony. The wedding is generally celebrated at night but in special cases it is performed during the day (hathlewa).

3. Immersion with the sacred thread.—In the twice-born castes (Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaisya) the boy must be invested with the sacred thread before the wedding can take place.

4. Peta.—This is the first of the wedding ceremonies. Peta is made of mith or pulse, finely ground, called pithi. The bridesgroom takes his seat on a wooden plate and the help of the principal deities is invoked, especially that of the goddess of wealth, who is represented by a current coin. This coin is used in every rite and is carefully preserved. After the marriage is over these deities are represented by images made of flour. Pithi is distributed among all the relative and friends, with a sweetmeat made out of it.

5. Lagan.—The bride’s father sends to the other party clothes, jewels, cash, and cattle according to his circumstances. Among the Hill Rajputs these presents are made by the bridegroom’s father.

6. Sāhā chitti.—A letter fixing the date for the wedding and settling the number of followers in the bridal party is despatched by the bride’s father.

7. Mecha.—A barber is sent by the boy’s father to measure the girl for her wedding garments.

8. Brahmacbhoi.—Sweetmeats and cash are distributed among the Brahmanes of the place. The distribution is three-fold, (1) per head; (2) per family; (3) per branch of that family.

9. Del.—A distribution of money among Brahmanes and barbers, each of whom receives so many dels or shares according to the number of relatives he may be connected with, in some instances one man getting as many as 60 dels. Barbers get half as much as Brahmanes.

1

Among the Khatri and Brahmanes of Gurkaspur along with the ‘sāhā chitti’ are sent some cash, from Rs. 1 to Rs. 250 in amount, ornaments and clothes for the karpunii (boy’s mother): also a karora (cup) resembling a tabalbata, some miari (refined sugar), a coconut and a pipe for the boy. These articles are known as the pithi. The boy’s parents give the bearer of the chitti a bag containing bits of coconut, almonds, dried dates &c. weighing at most 2½ srs. They also give the bearer a bid (gift) for the girl.

2

Now-a-days in Gurkaspur the girl’s boy’s parents with the sāhā chitti send the boy’s parents a small basket of sweets or for the preparations of the girl’s garments.

3 These offerings are made not only at weddings, but on all auspicious occasions of a similar nature.
number of dels is fixed at 253 altogether.

The minimum rate per del is a quarter of an anna and the maximum one rupees among persons of ordinary means; and the bridegroom's father is put to ruinous expenditure on that ceremony which arises solely from a desire for ostentation. (This custom prevails generally among the Kaliks.)

10. Hath bhrā, chhāk ulanza.—This ceremony is observed by the women only. The bridegroom's mother or in her absence his nearest kinswoman, after bathing, dons new clothes and passes over the place where her son has performed the rites mentioned above. She then effaces the flour images used in them and stamps her handprint over the house door. It is considered a disastrous omen if any one save the mother or nearest kinswoman pass over the place in question.

11. Mātha.—The bridegroom after performing the usual religious rites is made to sit on a wooden stool. The near relatives rub perfumed oil and a fragrant substance called batāa over his face, and he is supplied with a weapon to guard himself from sudden attack; he is girt with an auspicious thread called the kanga, and from this time he is never left alone till the wedding is over. On this day too four small earthen vessels are hung up by a string in the middle of the courtyard of the house, and in these some medicines &c. are placed to purify the air and to protect the house from evil spirits or enchantments. In Gurdaspur the kinswomen assemble and 5 or 7 of them whose husbands are alive oil the bridegroom or bride, as the case may be. This ceremony is also called tel chharhānd, 'to apply oil.' Wāṭa or batā is also rubbed on their bodies. On the same day pokands (lumps of flour) sweetened and fried and rice are distributed among the kindred, and the kanga or gāna, a coloured thread, is tied round the bridegroom's right wrist.

These ceremonies are performed by both the families concerned.

12. Chakhi chung, kothi dū tī ḍī.—The special millstone which is to be used to prepare the marriage feast is tested by some women of the family, who join in grinding a little corn in it in order to ensure that it is not impregnated with any poisonous substance. They in like manner examine the place where the flour and corn to be used in the wedding are kept. These are precautionary measures for the safety of the guests invited on the occasion.

There are also some other minor ceremonies observed by the women.

In Gurdaspur 3½ ears of wheat are ground on an auspicious day. The flour being put in an earthen vessel (kothi) which is also decked with a thread (mauli), and some of it is mixed with the flour meant for use of the wedding party. The hand-mill, in which the wheat was ground, is also decked with a mauli.

13. Sāna.—This ceremony is performed on the morning of the wedding day. The bridegroom takes sah, and the help of certain deities is invoked, so that no misfortune may befall during the continuance of the marriage. He dons a gorgeous red dress with a crown (saṅkaṭ) and a garland of gold or lace on his head. All his kinsmen and friends pronounce blessings on him and money, called sān, is distributed
among the Brahmans present. A boy relative of the bridegroom is made his sarbādā, and if the bridegroom die the bride is wedded to the sarbādā, as her marriage must never be postponed, under any circumstances whatsoever, when she has once gone through the ceremony of jāt chathānā.

14. Ghori charhna, jandī kāṭud.—In the evening the bridegroom proceeds to the bride's house with his sarbādā riding on a horse, the whole wedding procession following him. On his way he cuts a branch of a jandī tree with a sword. Āphāt is made on this occasion.

In Gurdāspur after the boy has mounted the mare the women sing songs and some cash (as sirāwidra) is waved round his head and then distributed among the jāgra etc.

The first day in the bride's house.

15. Jāthā tikha.—While the barāt is waiting outside the town this rite is performed. A line (tikha) is drawn in saffron on the bridegroom's forehead, the residue being sent for the use of the bride. The object is that she may always remain obedient to her husband. Then some respectable persons of the town proceed in token of respect towards the barāt to conduct them to the place appointed for their residence. Āphār is now made.

16. Bāteri.—On the first evening some uncooked food and sweetmeats are sent by the father of the bride for the bridal party's dinner. A small quantity of sweetmeat is sent back to the bride after the bridegroom has eaten of it.

17. Māntī.—At twilight the wedding party goes to the bride's house, some of whose inmates approach and receive it with due respect. First sarasūdrā is interchanged between the parties, and then an elderly kinsman of the girl presents a sarār to the boy's father or other kinsman; sometimes a horse, cow or she-buffalo is given. This occasion is celebrated with fire-works and dancing, and the front of the house is illuminated. This done the bridegroom enters his future father-in-law's house, and the rest of the party return to their abode.

The real rite according to the chāstra is that the girl herself should come forward and present a sarār to her lord as a mark of obedience. But this custom is not now observed, as the marriage is celebrated in her childhood.

18. Chānī jorna.—An examination of the bridegroom to see whether he is an expert marksman or not. A chānī with a lamp burning in it is hung in the middle of the doorway, and the boy takes it out with a sword.

19. Ghōst.—Before the bridegroom enters the house the bride is brought outside the door where she meets him, kneels and makes him an obeisance as a token of homage. Under the existing custom she is wrapped up in a blanket and taken under the bridegroom's horse.

20. Jhīlīādu.—Some married women go and bring water from a neighbouring well, singing wedding songs. With some of this water they make the bride bathe, and the rest is put into small mud vessels with which they make the bridegroom undergo certain ceremonies, intended to test his physical dexterity and capacity. The boy is further made to
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utter some rough verses called śūnda, for each of which he is given presents in cash by the kinswomen of the bride.

According to religious doctrines either the girl's brother or a learned Brahmān should be present to examine the boy at the betrothal, and he should then address these words to him in presence of the assembly: "My father or yatādras (as the case may be) will bestow his daughter on you in marriage subject to the following conditions:—
(1) that you bathe before the nuptial rites in order to prove that you are free from all dangerous diseases; (2) that there is no defect in any of your organs; (3) that your manners are gentle and your life blameless; and (4) that you are not impotent."

This custom, however, is now dropped.

21. Sāhāy-pattāri, satavāch.—The bridegroom sends the following articles for the bride as a first gift:—

(1) A looking glass; (2) a comb; (3) perfumed oil; (4) saffron; (5) jewels; (6) a shawl.

This is to signify that in future she will have to adorn herself only with what he may from time to time provide. Some sandalwood, medicines and spices are also sent with them, to express the hope that she may enjoy worldly pleasures with him in perfect health and happiness.

22. The nuptial fire.—In the courtyard of the house is erected a quadrangular structure of young trees framed in a square and prettily decorated with split and festooned leaves. This is called beth and this rite is performed under it.

A priest, conversant with the Vedās, ignites the sacred fire and pours into it with due mantara a libation of clarified butter. Then the father of the bride welcomes the bridegroom in the prescribed form by offering water to wash his feet and by the well-known oblation called the arghya. He then gives his daughter's hand to the boy thrice, reciting a holy mantar. This time both the boy and girl are installed on two separate stools, and for the first time see each other's faces. The boy afterwards worships according to the ordinance the fire compound, and taking his wife's hand by general invocation prays to the principal deities that they both may pass their lives in comfort, faithful to each other, and that their union may be blessed with healthy children. Both then walk round the nuptial fire, the wife holding the hem of her husband's garments, to call to witness that all their joint actions are performed for every quarter of the globe, that neither in thought, deed or word will either swerve from the path of duty. The husband then sprinkles holy water on his wife, and invokes that element that she may ever remain chaste and gentle and that her eyes, heart and mind may be his and his hers always.

A number of Vedic mantara are recited on this occasion, invoking the help of the Natural Power, personified in different gods, as well as beseeching the one Universal Spirit pervading all to bless the married pair. From these mantara it appears that marriage among the Aryans is not a civil contract, but a spiritual union of two souls for
their worldly happiness, the propagation of the race, the performance of the sacred sacrifices, the attainment of true knowledge of the secrets of nature, and the final absorption of the soul in the Absolute Soul, the source of all existence, conscientiousness and bliss, marriage for the mere satisfaction of lust being held abominable. It was for that reason that the Arya Shâstrâs prohibited remarriage of widows, for ties once consecrated by Vedic ceremonies were considered indissoluble for ever.

23. Lâsî pair.—At the time when the nuptial rites are being performed, the mother of the bridegroom in her own house, in company with other relatives of the same sex, puts her feet in water mixed with milk. She then asks the old women to give her son and daughter-in-law their blessings that as the milk is mingled with the water so they may ever live in loving kindness one with another.

The second day in the bride's house.

24. Mîtha bhat.—In the afternoon the marriage party is entertained with a feast worthy alike of the guests and the host. Various kinds of sweetmeats are laid out in an oval form over a white chaddar. Before they commence eating a senior male relative from the girl's side presents a nazar and sweetmeats to the father or a near kinsman of the boy. (This custom is not practised among the Hill Râjputas.) Each of them eats separately out of pattals made of leaves. At night supper is supplied.

The third day in the bride's house.

The bridal party is entertained in the same manner as before.

25. Vârâ vâti.—In the evening costly costumes, beautiful gold and silver ornaments, prepared for the bride, are sent to her, as well as some hennâh, almonds and cocoanuts. The pomp displayed on this occasion is proportioned to the wealth of the family. The parents of girl keep some of these articles for immediate use and the rest are sent back.

26. Khat (dowry).—Under the existing custom parents supply their daughter and son-in-law with all household furniture, such as clothes, kitchen utensils, cash, jewels, bedstead, razâles, carpets, cattle,—in short with every necessary article. These are kept outside for some time for the public view. The boy and girl are then made to sit on a bed, when with an eloquent and clear voice the fathers of both the parties pronounce blessing on the girl in these words:—"Be thou unto thy husband as Sîta unto Râma, Rukmani unto Krishna, Damodri unto Râwan, Sachi unto Indr, &c."* &*

* In Gurdaspur this vâti is also called kârdî. The rest of the sweets is given to the bridegroom's barber. Similarly on the second day the bârdî is entertained with sweets called bâhî bhat, the rest still being given to the bride's barber. The sweets served on the third day are called dânsa.

* These heroines were famous for their chastity and attachment to their lords.

* At the khat in Gurdaspur the bridal pair are seated on the couch given to the bridegroom in dower, and Ganesha and the nine gavahars are worshipped. Then the bride's father presents (as anokalp) the bridegroom with all the ornaments, clothes, utensils, sweets, etc., which he means to give his daughter in dower having regard to his means. Then the heads of the pair are made to touch each other (a usage called sir fari) and a rope is wound round their heads and given to the barber. The bârdî or wedding party then departs.
27. Dâkhila.—When the bridal party returns home, on their arrival in the town the procession moves slowly through the bazâr with great splendour. The boy mounted on a horse proceeds first and the wife is borne after him in a doli. Among the Hill Râjpuâts the girl is carried first. Apsâhar is made at this time.

When the couple approach the house some women of the family receive them with due honour. The mother waves a cup of water seven times round her son and daughter-in-law, which she then drinks. This means that she, with pleasure and for her son’s love, takes on herself every misfortune that may in future time befall either of them.

28. Til khelna.—The senior relatives of the boy in succession put a handful of sesamum into the hands of the girl, which she returns to them at once.

This ceremony signifies that they wish the bride to bear children as numerous as the sesamum seeds which fall to the ground. Then the women sing:

\[ Jitne dharti til gire, \\
Utne dushti put janae. \]

* May the bride bear as many sons as sesamum seeds have fallen to the ground.*

29. Bari hâth dâlma.—A purse containing money is made over to the wife. She is at liberty to take any amount out of it to spend at her pleasure. The signification of this rite is that the husband entrusts to the care of his wife all his worldly goods. She then promises that she will spend nothing without his knowledge.

30. Got lâde lake kô (to adopt a son).—A little boy is made to sit in the lap of the newly married girl, as a sign that she may also be a mother of sons. She then presents sâzâs to the elder relatives of her husband, and in return gets presents and clothes from them.

31. Got kisdâl.—To convert the new girl into her husband’s got all the women of the family, including the girl, eat together rice and sweetmeat out of the same dish.

32. Sat kordâ.—The mud vessels that are hung in the middle of the house are now taken out.

33. Kangna khelâ.—The sacred thread with which the waists of the husband and wife are encircled are now taken off and put into a large dish, when each of them tries to take possession of it and to achieve victory over the other. This is the last rite of marriage.

34. Mukhâlâm.—After a stay of few days the girl returns to her father’s house. The husband with some servants after a period varying from one to three years from the date of marriage goes to take her back. His father-in-law on this occasion supplies him with some clothes and jewels.

* In Bardâpur this observance is also called upalat or returning and the rite of waving the cup round the boy’s and girl’s heads is known as pand udran.
SECTION 7.—MUHAMMADAN BETROTHAL OBSERVANCES.

Terminology.

Among Muhammadans 'betrothal' is known as manguwā, mangī, mangan (and other forms of that word), which literally means 'asking' or 'begging'). It is also called sagat, especially in the south-east, and aymūr. Another term is ropnā, which literally means the present or token consisting of seven dried dates and various other things sent by a (Hindu) girl's father to his prospective son-in-law at or before the betrothal. It corresponds to the shagun among the higher castes, e.g., in Hoshiārpur. The Arabic word nabat is also used, chiefly in the towns. Another common term is sadā or sadā, which has a somewhat derogatory meaning, so that sadā denā means to give girl in marriage, an admission of inferiority in status. The bridegroom is styled manguadar or manguadar, a term also applied to a betrothed girl, while bādhdā is used in the south-east. In the north-east he is called dole, or dulhā, or nandhā; nangha, nandā, or nāndho being variant forms of the latter word, and in Gujranwālā lārd is also used. In the Talagang tahsil of Jhelum he is called notha and his bride is kari, literally a girl or a virgin. In the south-west ghōl is in common use.

The bride is correspondingly bādcāgi, dulhān, or kārā in the south-west, and after she is married nothā or balā. The latter term means literally son's wife.

In the Pashto of Peshāwar betrothal is called koyiddān. The bridegroom is called changhāl and the bride changhālā. During the days of marriage the changhāl and changhālā are respectively called khānand and nāwī.

The boy's father is particularly, and the boy's kinsmen are generally, called patrēta. Similarly the girl's father or party is dhata.

Preliminaries in betrothal.

In Arabia, it is said, marriage is usually adult, and it is not regarded as indecent that the bridegroom should see his future wife, but the seclusion of women in India renders this impossible, at least among the better classes. In consequence a maškāta or go-between is often employed to spy on the girl and report on her looks etc. to the boy's people. These go-betweens assume various disguises, such as cloth-sellers, in order to obtain access to the girl's house, while, on the other hand, a girl is not infrequently substituted for the one seen and reported.

* E.g. manguwā in the Rājānpur tahsil of Āna Gāhā Khan.
* Fr. hār, 'a relation of marriage.'
* Or shagun, lit. 'an Owen.'
* Mag ge aṭa, from mag ye aṭi is also used.
* This word appears to mean 'new king.'
* See Maya Singh's Punjabi Dictionary.
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by the go-between. Unpleasantness not unnaturally frequently results from such a deception. In theory Muhammadan law attaches great importance to mutual consent in marriage, but in India the practice is very often opposed to allowing even grown-up girls to express any opinion on a proposed betrothal. In fact, among the Muhammadans of Delhi there is a custom of pre-natal betrothal which is called *thikari ki mung,* because, if a girl be born according to anticipation, the boy's mother drops a rupee into the girl baby's bath or mixes sugar-candy in the *ghuffi* given to her, as an earnest of the betrothal contract thus ratified. In Rohtak a boy's mother or any near kinswoman may drop a rupee into the vessel used by a midwife, and by so doing apparently bespeaks the new-born girl for her son. The betrothal is there and then announced and congratulations are exchanged.

Contrary to the usual practice amongst Hindus, the proposal among Muhammadans comes almost invariably from the boy's side. The term *baldand bat-fanda,* to propose, is used when negotiations are opened by the boy's people. When both sides are satisfied as to the suitability of the match a day is fixed for 'sweetening the month' (*maňh maňhe karne kā āden,*), and on that day a number of women, with a few men of the boy's family, go to the girl's house to perform the betrothal rites. In the Sangrāl tahsil of Jind the request by the boy's father is called *dakh* and he visits the girl's father in the evening. The *dud-i-khair* is then observed, the senior member of the boy's party commencing the prayer.

In Dera Ghazi Khān the negotiations which precede a betrothal are called *sawdī* or 'request,' and may take place a month or more before the betrothal is solemnised.

The negotiations are, however, not infrequently opened by the girl's people among the rural classes who are converts from Hinduism. Thus among the Meos of Gurgaon the girl's party first visits the boy's father, and reaches his house on the evening of an auspicious day in the lunar month. If they find the boy to their liking they are feasted, after giving a rupee each to the boy, his father, brother, father's sister, and his *mirāsī* and barber. The party is also feasted on the 2nd and third days, after which it sets out for its home, giving the boy's parents Rs. 11 or 22 as a farewell gift. Of this sum a rupee is left in the vessel in which it was presented; the barber and *mirāsī* take one rupee and the balance is given to the poor. The girl's father in turn gives a rupee to the boy's father. This is called *miñap.* Among other Muhammadans the observances vary. A ring or two is often sent to the boy, with other presents, and the rings are put on by the boy amongst his assembled kinsmen. A ring is often presented in sugar, and the kinsmen feasted with more or less ceremony.

1 *Fr. ghūru, an earthen vessel. Māng, asking.*
2 This paragraph applies to Delhi city.
3 *The barber is given rice, gā, and sugar, but nothing containing salt should be offered him on this occasion.*
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When such a negotiation is initiated by the girl's father certain special observances may occur. Thus in Sialkot a miriś, barber, or even a Brahman, is sent to the putreta or boy's father, and when he reaches his house a little oil is dropped on the threshold before he enters it. This observance is called tel dhalud. The putreta's ḍagī also assemble, and the akhel's ḍagī is given some sugar in a plate, from which he takes a little in his mouth. This observance is called mūh juthādwā or juthād or juthādana = to dosie: P. D., p. 522. Then the ḍagī is given khichri. He eats some of it and drops a rupee and some copper coins in the plate. These are distributed among the putreta's ḍagī. Next day the boy's kinsmen feast the ḍagī on rice and sugar or mutton and bread. At the suḥr prayer carpets are spread in the boy's house and the whole brotherhood assemble. The boy is seated in front of the ḍagī, who gives him from Re. 1 to Rs. 5 as well as a date or sugar candy to eat. Then he exchanges congratulations with them and observes the stiyat khaīr. After this all present congratulate the boy's father. The akhel's ḍagī presents a sum varying from Re. 1 to Re. 11 for distribution among the boy's kamīns. The boy's people also distribute ṭapadas of sugar among the people on this occasion. Some well-to-do Jats and Rāiapūt families also send a camel, a horse, and ornaments such as bangles or buukiān for the boy's mother. This is called tikka bhojā. On this occasion drums &c. are beaten in the boy's father's house. The persons present on the occasion give a rupee each to the boy's father to be given to the ḍagī. On the ḍagī's departure the boy's father gives them as waddiū from Rs. 4 to Rs. 8, which is divided into four shares, three being given to the ḍagī named above and the fourth to the ḍagī of the maternal relatives. No mention is made on this occasion regarding the date of the wedding.

A very few wealthy families in Gujranwala also observe this custom of sending a tikka, but in a slightly different way. It consists in sending a barber, a miriś, a Brahman, and a tailor, with a horse, a camel, clothes for the boy and his parents, a gold finger-ring for the boy, Rs. 21 in cash, five lumps of candy, and some dried dates. On the arrival of the ḍagī named, the boy's father invites his kinsfolk to his house and displays the gifts mentioned. Congratulations are then exchanged and ṭapadas distributed among those present. Rs. 2 to 5 are given to each of the bride's ḍagī, and they are then sent back. Various intermediaries are employed in the preliminary negotiation. Thus in the Bhakkar tahsil of Mianwāli, on the Indus, a Sayyid, manlavi, faqīr, or any respectable elder, is sent to the girl's father by the boy's to make a request (shukwā) for her hand. If it is meant to accept it an ambiguous answer is given until the proposal has been repeated four or five times. Meanwhile the boy's kinswomen begin visiting the girl's family with presents, and finally the offer is accepted provided the parties be related or the boy's father promises compensation or a girl in exchange. In the Leihā tahsil of this district among the leading families, almost all Sayyids and dominant Baloch, the first step to take when a boy reaches a marrying age is to send a ghuk or embassy of picked members of the family to the girl's father. His refusal will be definite.

*Buḥk, a gold coin worth Re. 5 = P. D. p. 100.
Moslem marriage observances.

Two days before the marriage a few women on behalf of the bridegroom go in the afternoon to the house of the bride's father. They take off the bride's jewellery and make her sit in a corner of the house and some γυνα is distributed. This ceremony is called keanawat hitdana (in Hindki). Next day in the afternoon many women on behalf of the bridegroom take fried jawar, grain or γυνα to the house of the bride's father. This is called khausai.

Before the starting of the marriage the bridegroom and his friends are made to wear a garland, called aur in Pashto, which they tie on their turbans. The marriage party usually starts in the afternoon and arrives at the bride's house in the evening. Ornaments and clothes for the bride are taken by the marriage party with them. If the house of the bride is in a different village from the bridegroom's, then the marriage party is fed by the bride's father, but at the expense of the bridegroom. Jewellery and clothes are given to the bride as dowry by her parents. The bride is taken away in the evening. The father of the bridegroom then feeds the whole marriage party in his own house.

On the 3rd day after the marriage the mother or sister of the bride with some other women goes to the bridegroom's house to take the bride back. This is called orazma (3rd day). The same day at night, the bride's father gives food to the bridegroom and his relations and after keeping the bride for a day in his house sends her back with the bridegroom. On this occasion the bride's father gives a cow, or clothes or jewellery to the bride which is called biakka, share.

Pathans of Isa Khel.

In Isk Khel tahsil the terms used for betrothal are the Persian khulwastgiri and the Arabic khhulba. Some of the boy's kinsmen go to the girl's father by day or night regardless of the date. They generally take with them a woman's garment with two rupees, one for the barber and one for the mirdal, from 11 pous to 14 of sors of mehdi, jaggery, a silver ring, a gold dubbi, a kurti, and an orkhani. The girl's father serves them with sharbat and coloured water is thrown over them. Well-to-do people however take with them various ornaments of gold and silver, cloth and clothes. Some people also send Rs. 1-4 or 2-8 for the barber and mirdal by way of chan tara or sehri. The girl's father in return gives 1½ or 2½ sors of jaggery.

Mungh chehrdwan.—After her betrothal the girl keeps parda from the boy's relatives. A few days after the khulwastgiri the near kinswomen of the boy go to the girl's mother and each gives a rupee and a basketful of sugar to the bride. On receipt of this she discontinues her parda. This ceremony is called mungh chehrdwan.

Tahdi baran.—After the munghi the boy's father's party send chan tara, i.e. 25 plates of h台sed, each also containing 10听到 or baked loaves. Besides these they send a sehri or 30 plates of h台sed. The h台sed &c. is distributed by the girl's parents among their relatives.

Waren—On each festival day after the munghi, such as the 'Id-ul-Fitr, 'Id-ul-Zuha, the last Wednesday of Safar and the Shab Barat, the boy's parents send the girl's gift, sugar or sugar candy, rice, flour or baked loaves, a kurti and a silk orkhani. But respectable families do not accept these things.
Khumani-piwan.—Some poor parents with a daughter accept wheat or money on account of the price of the he-goat or buffalo for feeding the girls who sing songs and live with the bride. Out of this money they feed the wedding party at the marriage, but respectable families do not accept such gifts as they are not lawful according to religion.

The Wazirs of Banas.

Among the Wazirs, the preliminary bargain is effected by the father or other near relative of the boy. When this is arranged, 10 or 15 men of the boy's party with the boy go at bed-time to the girl's house, having sent beforehand sheep, wheat and other necessities for a feast. Singing and dancing go on all night, a distinctive feature being that the old women of the bride's party come out with a coloured fluid like that used by Hindus at the time of the Holi and throw it on the men of the boy's party. The bride-price is paid in the morning, if it can be managed. The various murders, blood feuds and other wrongs lead sometimes to very young girls being betrothed to the aggrieved party, or else one is betrothed to a man on either side in order that peace may be made.

The price of the girl cannot in all cases be raised at once. For instance an uncle will promise his daughter to his nephew when they are both quite small. One informant stated that he paid nothing at his betrothal, but gave Rs. 100 a year after it, Rs. 200 two years later and that the marriage did not take place for another three years.

At the betrothal, which the Wazirs call kojhot, the girl's father gives her a large ring and a silk worked handkerchief.

The bridegroom does not go to the wedding (saddi) but only the men and women of his family and acquaintance. Very serious resistance is sometimes offered to his party on their arrival at the other village, which is timed for dark. There is then a feast in the girl's house, after which all the males go to the chaut and begin singing and dancing. The women of the bridegroom's party attire the girl, dress her hair like a married woman's, and put mehndi on her.

There is next an interchange of small presents, the young boys of the bridegroom's party being given red ropes, and the girl's silken braids by the parents of the girl. Each dancer is presented with a handkerchief. In the early morning the bride is taken away.

The brother or, if there be none, the father of the girl returns with her to her husband's house, but no other member of the girl's party. On arrival most of the villagers disperse, but near relatives remain and are fed at the expense of the bridegroom. The men also get a pagdi each and a rupee each is given to the women. At bed-time the orthodox nikah takes place and is followed by consummation. People say that it is a sign of the degeneracy of the times that patience is not observed, and that in the old days modesty used to prevent consummation for a long time. The brother is present during the nikah and leaves next day. Three nights are spent by the girl with her husband and then she goes back to her parents' house with her father or brother, who comes to
Moslem marriage observances.

fetch her. She steps away ten days or so and is again brought back by a relative of the husband. Her father is supposed to give her a second departure. Slight differences may occur in different sections. The points to notice are the presence of the bridegroom at the betrothal, his absence from the wedding, and the accompaniment of the girl by her brother to the husband's house. The Dīm plays little part except as a musician.

Note A.

The full expression is ہدیہ یہ گاندنا مہنا مہنا کھادی محارم کارا اور in Multan it is thus described—On any date in the daytime the boy's father's party visits the girl's father, and he demands some wheat, a he-goat or heifer, cotton and cash. These articles are however only given by the rich, the poor giving nothing. They simply fix a date for the wedding and return. After this a tailor is sent for to make clothes for the boy who gives him Rs. 1. The date is fixed on any day between the 6th and 10th of the lunar month.

Note B.

The variations in the observance of گانڈنا مہنا are of course numerous. Thus in Shāhāpur, یہ گانڈنا مہنا is called گانڈ پاڑن. Gaddapār, a body of 20 or 25 persons of the boy's party goes to the girl's house taking 6 to 4 rupees of sugar. On the first night of their visit they are fed and the boy's father gives them Rs. 6 to 10 to 12-5 in his dinnerplate which the barber takes away, getting 4 rupees as his fee. The rest of this money is returned by the girl's parents. Next day the boy's party is fed again and in the evening the girl's parents invite their kinsfolk. Each party sits separately and then the girl's parents present clothes for the boy, with a ring. All these clothes are sent in a basket, and 6 to 8 rupees of sugar go with it. Taking these gifts the boy's parents drop Rs. 20 to Rs. 50 into the basket which is returned to the girl's parents through the barber. They pay the barber their dues according to the custom of the village and remit the balance. Each lot of the boy's party also gets a rupee on this occasion. The females of the girl's party too distribute sugar among their kinsfolk. Then comes the گانڈ, the date for the wedding being fixed between the 11th and 17th of the lunar month as the nights are then moonlit.

In Jullundur where the گانڈ ہوا, as it is called, occurs a month or two before the wedding date for it is fixed at an assembly held in the girl's house and care is taken that neither the departure of the wedding party from her house nor the گانڈ ہوا fall on the 3rd, 8th, 13th, 18th, 23rd or 28th day. The best dates for the wedding are the 10th, 14th, 20th and 25th.

In Šāhāpur گانڈنا مہنا is called گانڈ پاڑن. The barber goes to the boy's party with a ہوا کی کھادی which consists of ہوا کی کھادی, ہوا کی کھادی and ہوا کی کھادی, i.e. for the girl. The boy's mother or aunt. A little oil is dropped at the threshold on his arrival and his first meal consists of ہوا کی کھادی. Then the kinsemen are invited and the girl's father gives the boy a rupee some copper coins to his idar. The ہوا کی کھادی is then shown to the kin and given to the boy's party. In return it gives a bundle of maunds, ہوا کی کھادی, dates, dried raisins, cowpeas, 11 rupees of jaggery and 11 rupees of sugar besides rice and sugar, for the girl. The date of the wedding is fixed on this day.

Gandhārī:—Thus the parties send گانڈナی, i.e. گانڈی ہوا and گانڈی ہوا to گانڈی ہوا to inform them of the date of the marriage and invite them to give گانڈی.

Gandhārī:—The father of the boy, uncle or his father and uncle with him گانڈی ہوا یا گانڈی ہوا, visits the bride's father and after consulting him fixes date for the following ceremonies:

(1) the گانڈی ہوا of the hair;
(2) the گانڈی ہوا, the day on which ہوا is rubbed on the bodies both of the boy and girl, and on which the گانڈی are tied; and
(3) the گانڈی ہوا of the date of marriage.

These dates are generally fixed at some interval, thus if the 11th is fixed for the گانڈی ہوا the 14th and 17th are fixed for the گانڈی ہوا and گانڈی ہوا respectively.

Another term applied to fixing the date for a marriage is گانڈی ہوا. It is used in Jullundur and on the day when it is held the boy's father summons his kinsfolk, male and female, and enquires among sugar, and copper coins being also distributed. Apparently this observance is different from and supplementary to the گانڈی ہوا.

Round Multan the گانڈی must be done on the 11th, 14th, 17th, 21st or 25th of the month.
Modern marriage observances.

In the eastern Punjab, in the valley of the Jumna, the ceremony of fixing the date for the wedding is called lagun. Thus in Amda when the girl's father wishes it to be solemnised he summons his kinmen to fix the date for the nikaah which must not be any date in the lunar month excusions to marriage according to Muhammadan Law or custom. As a rule the nikaah is never solemnised in the same month as that in which the date of the lagun was declared. The girl's father then sends the boy's a letter intimating the date fixed and with it a lump of gur, 5 or 7 cers of sugar, a handkerchief, ring and a few rupees, from Rs. 2 upwards according to his means. This is the usage known as lagun.

On the barber's arrival the boy's father invites his kinmen to view the presents. The letter is opened and all are informed of the date of the wedding, which is hardly ever changed. Some of the sweetmeat is then eaten by the boy, the rest being distributed among these present. The ring and the handkerchief are taken by him and he puts on the ring while all congratulate the boy's father or guardian. The barber is entertained for 2 or 3 days and then sent away with a gift for himself and an answer to the letter. This done both parties invite their relatives to attend the ceremony.

In Gwalior when a barber, a master of both goes to the bride's house to fix a date for the marriage on behalf of the bride's father, they take with them a Owen which is called the gandhi ko lomar.

Note (a)

But in some parts, principally towards the west and centre, other ceremonies precede the bafa. Thus:

In the Chakwail bhangi of Jhansi before the majese a male or female barber takes oil in a vessel and stands by the boy. His kinmen then put all on his head with their fingers. They also throw copper cobs into the vessel of oil and these are taken by the barber. This ceremony is called tel bala. The majese is then begun. The boy's party invite the kinmen by sending round jugglers, and some mills are set up in the boy's house for grinding flour. Females who have received juggery go to the boy's house and grind corn on his behalf. This is called chakki chas. On the day the parties distribute the oil to their kinmen and if the boy's father be wealthy he proclaims by beat of drum in the village that no one should cook anything in the day before the wedding. On the wedding day a feast of mutton, bread and bafa is given to every one in the village. This is also called chakki chas. People incur very heavy expense in connection with this feast and many families have ruined themselves over it.

Similarly in Jullundur majese is preceded by the tel chakki which is performed a few days before the wedding. A little oil is rubbed on the girl and boy. Both are seated on khaddar and bafa is rubbed on their bodies. Genda are tied to the right hand and feet of each. A gandhi is also called bafa. Henceforth they are considered to be in majese till their wedding. The boy is prohibited from leaving his house from that date. The bafa is ground by seven females (whose husbands are alive) in a mill. This grinding is called chakki chas. Both bride and bridegroom wear dirty clothes from this date. On the day of the wedding the bridegroom again sits on a khaddar and breaks chakki. He is also asked to put card on his hair and wash his head with it. Thereafter the chakki chas is observed and a garland of flowers hung round the boy's head. The wedding party starts at about 8 A.M. if the bride's house be in the same village, but otherwise it starts at such a time as will enable it to reach her house at or about evening. The bridegroom rides a horse and the party follows him on foot. It is put up on an open site or in a house selected for this purpose. Among some tribes the chakki is performed at 2 A.M. and by others at daybreak. A rabbi and two witnesses go to the bride to ask her consent to the contract and she gives it expressly or impliedly. After these formalities the nikah is solemnised in the midst of the assembly as ordained by Muhammadan Law. The barber distributes sweetmeats or dates on this occasion.

This usage is called elsewhere chakki and it is followed by a period during which the bride is said to be in majese. Thus in the Bhawalpur State from the date of the chakki ceremony till her marriage the bride wears dirty clothes and is said to be in majese, which the bridegroom also observes. The besting of drums, etc. begins from the very day of the chakki. On the day of the chakki the bridegroom mounts the khaddar (a basket) and breaks some chakki (small earthen pots for pitchers etc.).

In Chakwail Muhammadantes preserve a curious Hindu custom. One day before the wedding party sets out the bridegroom proceeds to be dressed with his family and goes to some relative or friend's house. His father goes to parry him, accompanied by the womenfolk of the family. He promises to give his son something and the master of the house also gives him sweets and clothes. Thence the father returns with his son. This is called Nautik run.
Moslem marriage observances.

The marriage procession starts in time to enable it to reach its destination at the time of the sukk (the second prayer, recited between 1 an 2 a.m.), or in the first quarter of the night. Villagers prefer to receive the party at the sukk time, while townpeople prefer the night.

Drums, trumpets &c. are carried on the back of a camel along with the marriage procession, and on arriving at the bridegroom’s village the bridegroom and his best man (aheda or orbella) are made to stay apart in a hut (ahad) where they remain till the sikhah. But this custom is more general in villages than in towns. In Dera Ghazi Khan it is, however, not in vogue. In that district the bridegroom is the subject of a common practice. On the chosen day a sword or iron of some kind is placed in his hand and one of his kinsmen is told off to accompany him. This man is called a ban or “iron man” and for his services he gets a handkerchief or a rits. In this district too the rites of pulaand and pula ekasa are observed. In the former the boy’s sister ties his shirt at her waist and receives as a gift of Rs. 1 to 50 for doing. In the latter a mirch can places some cotton in the boy’s hand and he puts it in the girl’s—this being repeated 4 or 5 times. Then follows the sirmali when all the women quit the house leaving the bridal pair inside. For 2 or 3 days after this the bride keeps her face veiled from her husband’s father in the house where they give her a rupee or so she abandons her parada before them. This is called ghulal khalat di.

The sikhah ceremony is observed to its fullest extent in Kángra. On day before the wedding it is prepared at the girl’s house being mixed with water and made into paste, in which wax-candles are stuck. These are all the boy’s parting gifts and show all that he can afford. The girl’s part is also all placed in a paste. Some of these articles to the boy’s house in the evening, but females alone take part in this ceremony. The girl’s sister goes with them and applies the mehl di to the little finger of the boy’s right hand, and some is also applied to the sikhah’s. A bit of cloth is taken to tie over the mehl di. When applying it the girl’s sister drops Rs. 3 to 5 into the bridegroom’s hands and he returns this sum with the addition of Rs. 2 or 3. The women take their foot at the boy’s house and return home at night, the bridegroom’s mother-in-law or his elder brother’s wife accompanying them. Mehl di is applied to the girl in the middle of the night by all the women whose husbands are alive. They too drop some money into the girl’s hands, and then return home. The sikhah is performed next day.

The sukk period or condition is closely connected with the tying of the ghulam, but the connection is does not appear. Thus in Gujranwala 3 or 4 days before the wedding the boy and girl are placed under sukk and the ghulam are tied. In this period those bodies are rubbed with huns and mehl di (myrtle leaves ground and mixed into a paste) is applied to their hands and feet.

Among the Sardau and Kizirlahs Patsháns of Hashtarpur the sukk is unknown or has been reduced to a simple observance called huns or mehl di in which one day before the wedding the bridegroom’s father sends dry huns for the bride. Some, however, of her party, including her younger sister or any other little girl of her family, go first by family to apply saturated huns to his right finger and he pays his sister-in-law to be a few rupees for her trouble as an act of courtesy. The remaining huns is sent back for the bride to dry her hands and feet with.

In Síkht the sukk is called mehl payed. A few days before the wedding the bridegroom prepares a paste called ghanamul, boiled wheat, to his kinsmen after applying oil to the bride’s hand in this way—The boy or the girl is seated on a khada (basket), below which a lamp is lit. The womenfolk sing and sukájan (women whose husbands are alive) apply oil to the heads of the boy and girl. They also put a little mehl on their hands and rub the remainder on the body. A ghulam is then tied to their hands and from that day a knife is carried in the boy’s hand in that he may not be over taken by demoniacal influences. He is also precluded from bathing or even going to a lonely place at any distance from his house. The girl’s father also puts an iron bangle on her hand. Singing and beating of drums begin from the day of the sukk or mehl, by intruders who sing such songs as the suggi challo, Beli, Bhojja, Chetwala aumarmi and Sasse as sung by Manvari, Ghumki, Rohl. One day before the relations assemble, i.e., on the day the bride and bridegroom’s hands are painted with mehl di, which is also distributed to the kinsfolk. All the kinsmen too apply mehl di to their hands. After the ghulam are tied to the mill, stove, smoking basket, water-pitchers &c.

In Síkht a rite called ghara phardal khara is performed after midday in the following way—The brother’s wife of the boy or some other woman puts a pitcher on her head. Some bread is placed on the pitcher and covered with a piece of red cloth (saláh). This wine is accompanied by rice, beans and their vessels are tied together. Accompanied by several other women they then go to a well and the boy’s sister-in-law takes the
Hindu death observances.

Section 9—Hindu Death Observances.

Death observances in the Punjab are said to be based on two distinct schemes of ritual, one Vedic, the other based on the GâÔûc PurâÔûnas.

In the Vedic ceremony the body of the deceased, washed and clothed in new clothes, is taken to the place of cremation on a bier. There in the saÔûstrus saÔûstr (place of cremation) a vedâ (a rectangular pit for sacrificial fire) some 2 feet deep is dug, and the funeral pyre, of dhâÔûk, piper or, in the case of the rich, of sandal wood, is set up in it. On the pyre the body is laid and more wood placed over it. When the flames rise high, four men recite mantraÔûs from the Vedas, and at the end of each mantraÔû, at the syllable swâÔûha, each casts into the fire an oblation of ghi mixed with camphor, saffron, and other aromatics. The weight of ghi, if thrown into the fire in the oblations, numbering 484 in all, must equal that of the corpse or at least 30 ser. When all the oblations have been made, and the dead body is completely consumed, all the deceased's friends and relations bathe in a tank or river, and return home. After expressing their condolences, some return home, others help the survivors to clean and purify their house and perform a great havan; which being over, all the members of the household and their friends offer up prayers to the Almighty on behalf of the deceased's soul and themselves. The havan may be prolonged a few days, in order to purify the air of the house. On the 3rd or 4th day the ceremony of tathâÔûkshaya is performed, and in this the bones of the deceased are picked out of the ashes and thrown into a river.

After this nothing is done for the deceased. But if the members of his family are people of means, they give money in alms to the poor or to some charitable movement or start a school, orphanage, sâÔûta varâÔû etc., at their own expense, to commemorate the memory of the departed.

pitcher from her husband's head and places it on the ground. The waterman then draws water from the well in this pitcher and renews it by varying from 2 mome to 4. Then the husband puts the pitcher full of water on his wife's head and returns to the boy's house. The song sung at the ghora ghoraôûs runs as follow:

With moh shah ped dhad and
With moh to dhad and
With moh at phal fue and
With moh at nathded Nata do
With moh at phat tori do
With moh at nathded goot do.

When they reach the house the barber's wife takes the pitcher, pours a small amount of water on the head of the barber, and the barber's wife pours the rest into the vessel containing the end. A rope is also placed under the baby's bed and this too is taken by the barber. All the women contribute meal on this occasion. The other manna also gets meal. After the boy has bathed the barber's wife dresses him in salas and thus a phatôûhi round his loin instead of a cloth. He then jumps from the khâÔûdôû and breaks some chops. The head is then received and the barber is paid his dues. Thereafter certain persons join the washing procession. When on his departure to his father-in-law's house the bridegroom mounts the mare, his brother's wife puts incense into his eyes and his sister seized the mare's reins to exact their dues. The song sung on this occasion is:

Kî kujh daÔûn vie wrote wîg pharapôû
Wîg pharapôû ghori daÔûn chhardôû.

"Oh brother let me see what thou givest for taking hold of the mare's reins in order to feed her with gram."
Hindu death observances.

The other rites, observed by all the Hindus in general, follow the Gātika Purāṇa Tāṇa Patvā Śrutis and other suritis, which are believed to be based upon old Hindu books, such as the Grihyā Sacras and Brāhmaṇa Granthās. In this, the popular ritual, the body is washed, clothed and taken to the crematorium as in the Vedic rite, with only this difference that a pañca rataś (small pieces of gold, silver, brass, coral and pearl) is thrust into its mouth, while it is being washed, and four pindas (balls of flour or boiled rice) are offered at four different places, while it is being carried from the house to the crematorium. A son or near kinsman of the deceased is singled out to go through all the death ceremonies, and in common parlance he is called kārti-kārmi. He has to go barefoot and sleep on the ground for 11 days. When the body has reached the burning place the pyre is built generally of dhātuk wood, without the vedī, and the corpse is burnt without going through the havan described above. The kūpā kīrīya or breaking of the skull is performed by the kārti-kārmi. After it all return, wash their clothes and bodies at a tank or well and offer up hānulī (an offering of water mixed with sesame seeds) on behalf of the deceased’s soul.

But the kārti-kārmi has still to go through many other ceremonies. He places a gūtext for a male, and a chāḍī for a female, on a pipal tree, supported by its trunk and two branches, with a hole in the bottom which is loosely stopped by a few blades of kusha grass, so that the water may dribble through. This pot he has to fill with water twice daily for 10 days. Besides this, he has to go through two other daily ceremonies; the pinda or offering balls of boiled rice in the morning, and that of lighting an earthen lamp and placing it on a tripod of three small kūsā or reeds in the evening. On the 4th day the ceremonies of asthā kānakāyā and the chātarīkā śrīadhik are performed. Food with dākṣāna is given to a Mahā-Brahman and the deceased’s bones are picked out of the ashes and sent to Hardwar to be thrown into the sacred Ganges.

The dākṣāh or shaving of all the members of the family and washing clothes is gone through on the 10th day.

The kīrīya kāmkā and pinda śhāh ceremonies are performed on the 11th day. In the former, pindas are offered on behalf of the soul, and food and āṣaṭs, which consists of a cot, a pair of shoes, an umbrella, some pots and ornaments, are given to the Mahā-Brahman for the sake of the dead. In the pinda śhāh, the pindas or balls representing the deceased’s soul is cut into three parts and each is mixed with three other balls representing his father, grandfather and great-grandfather if they are dead. It should not be performed if he died without male issue or unmarried, but some people do not observe this restriction. The bāhūk is performed on the 12th day. In this ceremony 12 ghārās or chāḍīs (as deceased was a male or a female) filled with water, and each covered with a small piece of cloth, a mathā (a large cake of wheat flour cooked in gītr or a gītārūd (a large cake of sugar) and some pīs is given to Brahmanas.

The brāhma-kājā is performed on the 13th day in the case of a Brahman or Kshatriya and on the 17th in the case of a lower
Hindu death observances.

If the family of the deceased is well-to-do, it gives a Brahman food every day in the morning only for one year; or else distributes about the number of some pieces of dakshin among the Brahmins. Hindus believe that the soul of departed has to walk a long distance for one year to reach the court of Dharma Rāj.

Observances before and at death.

When a person is in extremis he should be made to give away some grain, money, and a cow in charity, and a pandit is sent for to recite verses from the Bhāṣaṇa Sahasra-vaśu and Bhagavat Gītā.

If the sufferer should recover after all this has been done he is asked what he desires and his wish, whatever it may be, is scrupulously fulfilled, if that be possible. If, however, he shows no signs of improvement, a space of ground near his charpī (cot) or some other place, is smeared with cow dung and some daś grass scattered over it. On this grass a sheet is spread, and the dying person laid on it, with his feet to the east, and his head resting on the lap of his or her eldest son or next-of-kin. Some Ganges water is very commonly dropped into his mouth, together with one or two tāla leaves, and, especially if he is a man of advanced age, a little gold. When death ensues, the corpse is covered with a cloth and its face turned towards the Ganges. It is extremely inauspicious to die on a bed and in Rohitk it is believed that the soul will in that event be re-born as an evil spirit.

In Jind the dying man is laid on the ground and grain, money, a cow &c. are given away in alms according to his means with his own

1 The orthodox alms are (a) the gītāda or gift of a cow, whose horns are ornamented with gold or silver rings, while her neck is girdled and her body covered with a piece of new cloth; and (b) in the case of a female, copper vases are placed at her feet, and she is led up to the dying person who gives her to a Vaiśā缭 Brahman who prays that she may lead the dying man by the tail to the next world. The donor also pours a few drops of water into the Vedas' hands. This ceremony is called gītāda gift of a cow; or ṛudārā, viṣāla. Subsequently (b) the ṛakṣa or gift of soup, alms, alms, barber, and other necessary of life, is given to the Vedas. Lastly a dīva, a funeral lamp, containing a silver or gold oil is placed in the palm of dying person, and after the parasā, or scaffold is given to the Vedas. But this rule is not observed in all parts of the Ganges. This account comes from Silket. In Kānga it is believed that he who dies with the cow and in his hand, through the help of the dīva (Rājārā) crosses the deep Bārānā river or Ganges, and which is supposed to exist between this world and heaven, and which it is difficult to cross without the aid of a co. The cow is afterwards given to Brahmins. After this a lamp called dīva drāynyā is lighted and placed by the head of the deceased, with a wick, which must last for 10 days. No new wick may be put in it during that time: and it burns out it is considered a bad omen.

2 In Jind when a child over 27 months of age, a grown up person or an old man is dying the ground is first ploughed with cow-dung. Then kṣaṭik grāvan is spread and on that again a cloth is laid. On to that the dying person is taken down from the cot so that his feet point towards the south, i.e., the Leela or Ceylon. This is called the Ārūdha mārtaṇa rātikārta.

3 Or Ganges water, with gold and a tiny pearl, are put in his mouth as a passport into Swarga: Karnāl. In Multan a little before death a small piece of gold, a pearl and a porcelain bead are put into his mouth so that the deceased may be distinguished. Any or anything given by gītāda is also placed in his mouth.

Note.—A Hindu must not be allowed to die on a bed or even on a mat, as it is supposed that the soul in separating itself from the body in which it is incorporated, enters into another body which leads it to the abode of deities destined for it, but if the dying man were to expire on a bed he would be obliged to carry it with him wherever he went, which it may be easily supposed would be very inconvenient.
Hindu death observances.

This is called the akhára dān or akrīr dān (last gift) and is supposed to avert the agonies of death so that the dying person either recovers or dies without further suffering.

In Kulu, according to a highly idealised account which can only apply to the highest castes, when a man is on his death-bed 7 species of grain, sal, long, iron, wool, salt and money are put before him, and he is made to give these articles as his last alms or ant-dān; a cow baitams is also given. The scriptures already mentioned are read. If the sick man recovers the alms go to a Brahman, otherwise they are taken by the family akhāra, whose office is hereditary. Where it has no akhāra, the dān is given to a Nāṭh and the cow to the local god. When dead, a dipak dān or a gift of lamp is made and a pañch-ratan (a collection of 5 metals) is put in the mouth; a sakhā (conch) is blown to make the death known to the neighbours, and the near relations are also informed.

Functions of the chief mourner.

The next of kin or nearest agnate of the deceased is, it may be said, ex-officio his chief mourner. In Ambala he is commonly called the karmi dharan or in Sialkot bhanjaidū. After the death he shaves his head, beard and moustache, leaving only the bhati or scalp lock, bathes, as already described, puts on a clean loin-cloth and turban, and for a period of 14 days eschews leather shoes but not those of cloth or jute.

In theory the chief mourner is a Brahman until all the rites due to the dead have been completed. It results from this his status that he must avoid several ceremonially impure acts, such as sexual intercourse, eating more than once a day, and taking medicine. He should bathe at least twice daily, and practise other ablutions. He should also avoid sleeping too long and, more especially, sleeping anywhere but on the ground. Lastly he ought to abandon secular business for a time and meditate on God day and night.

If the deceased has left a widow, she loosens her hair. Moreover she is, for a time, ceremonially in pure and must not sleep on a bed or touch any household utensil. For 13 days, and until she has bathed in the Ganges or Jannā, she may only eat once a day.

3 The bhanjaidū or chief mourner (a person who is most nearly related to the deceased or who by common usage has the right to perform this function) dons his clothes, gels his head and face shaved clean and then bathes in order to purify himself from the defilement of the barber's touch. All the younger male relatives of the deceased also get their hands and faces shaved in honour of his death. The bhanjaidū then puts on a dhatu, turban of pure white cloth and a sacred thread, and performs āhara (a sacrifice to the) and 6amai or giving a few alms to the akhāra who appears at the lamentable scene of mourning.

In Multān the body is bathed having its head towards the north and feet to the south. Then it is shrouded in white cloth if a male and in red if a female. A Maukat coin is tied to the shroud.

The corpse is then washed and wrapped in a piece of ceremonially new cloth, is placed on a kind of state bed called sāmita. Several other costly coverings of silk and muslin are placed over it in order to show the high social status of the bereaved family. In the case of the death of an elder the sāmita, or litter which is constructed of a plank of wood and several strips of bamboo, is decorated with artificial flowers and birds. Before starting all the women of the household, in particular the daughter-in-law and grand daughter-in-law walk round the litter and do obeisance giving alms to the family harka.
In Ambala 2 copper coins wrapped in red cloth are thrown over her husband's head to indicate that her married life is now over. In Montgomery garments of red cloth (given by her own parents) and 2 of white (given by her parents-in-law) are put on by the widow on the 11th and 13th days respectively.

In Jind directly after death has ensued the deceased's son sits down on the ground near him and places his knee under his head—an usage called gold dead. In some places a lighted lamp is also held by the son. He then 'sits in kirti' (kirti baithad), changes all his clothes and puts on fresh ones which in the case of well-to-do people are of wool.

Before cremation all the sons and grandsons of the deceased get themselves shaved—bhuddar kurna—In Jind, Bhakkar and elsewhere, but the usage is not universal. Thus in Gurgaon only the eldest or youngest son may shave or one of his kinsmen may do so, but in some villages all the sons shave. In this district the hair shaved off is placed underneath the cloth spread on the arthi and taken to the burning ground.

If, in Gurgaon, the deceased's wife is alive she breaks her bangles in token that she has lost her suhag on her husband's death. This is called suhag utrad. These bangles are also placed on the arthi, like the hair. In Karnal she also unties her knot of hair, breaks and throws the pieces of her bangles and her nose-ring on to the corpse, with which they are wrapped up in the shroud. The other females of the household also discard their ornaments.

Soon after the death the body is washed, a man's corpse being washed by men and a woman's by women. The water for washing the dead should be drawn in a particular way; the chief mourner ought to take a pitcher and rope, go to a well and bathe. Then, without drying his body or changing his waist-cloth, he should draw a second pitcher full of water using only one hand and one foot, and carry it home to wash the corpse. If the deceased was a man of high caste, the khab is applied to his forehead, a jheero placed round his neck and a turban tied round his head. The body is invariably clothed: a man being dressed in white, and a married woman, whose husband is alive, in a red called shundri. A widow is also shrouded in red cloth, but no ornaments are used, whereas a wife whose husband is still living is decked in all her finery, a new set of bangles being put on her wrists, her teeth blackened with must, her eyes darkened with antimony, her nails stained with henna, and a bindi fastened on her forehead. The old are dressed with special care. If the death occur too late for the body to be burnt before sunset it is kept in the house for the night, during which some 5 or 10 of the deceased's kinsmen watch the corpse.

1 So, for example in Bann before the cremation all the deceased's children and grand-children get their heads, noses taches and foreheads shaved and very often the men who perform the karya get all the hair of his body shaved. In Baddi if a father or a mother dies, all the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons get their moustaches, beard and head shaved, but the eyebrows are not shaved at all. Only the eldest son is allowed to perform the karya. If no other brother or uncle dies without issue only he who performs his karya gets shaved.

2 With the right hand alone—Karnal.

3 With 7 silver ornaments; and the gold nose-ring, if a wife; the latter being removed by the husband at the burning.
Hindu death observances.

In Kula if the death occurs early in the day so that the cremation can be effected that same day, a bier is made at once and after the corpse has been bathed and the arati (death-bed) and dwarapal (door) pinda have been offered, it is placed on it, and a shroud put on the body. Four of the nearest male relatives carry the bier to the burning-place, and midway the bier is put down, a bārdha (cast) pinda being given and the mat on which the man died burnt. All the way grain, fruits and pies are thrown over the corpse, which is then taken to the burning-place where the fourth pinda is offered. A funeral pyre is then made, and when the corpse is put on it the 5th or chitā pinda is given. On the corpse are piled big logs of wood to press it down and the pile is then set on fire, first by the karm-bharti or man who gives the pinda and then by others. All the near relations and neighbours, especially the brothers, sons etc. of the deceased should go with the arthī. When the body is nearly burnt the skull cracks and the pali sprinkles water over the pile: this is called kālī śušh or kāpal śīrṣa. The shroud is given to the sādhu and the other white cloth is given to the musicians or Dāgas. When burnt to ashes, some on the very day of the burning and others on the third day wash away the ashes and take out the aśīs (bones of the teeth and fingers) which they keep carefully and send down to Hardwar by one of the family or some reliable person. Some rape-seed and iron nails are spread on the burning-place.

As a general rule, death is swiftly followed by cremation among the Sikhs and Hindus, but there are many notable exceptions. Thus, the members of several religious sects and orders are buried, as also are very young children, and in certain cases exposure, especially by floating a body down a stream, is resorted to. But whether destined to be burnt or buried the treatment of the corpse is much the same.

The bier (pajñi or arthī) is made of the pieces of the bed on which the deceased lay prior to his death, or of bamboo or fardah wood. Upon it is laid the hair shaved off by the next of kin, together with the Sepals' hangers if the deceased leaves a widow. Over the hair is spread a sheet on which the body is laid. For persons of great age or sanctity a hauka replaces the arthī.

The carrying out of the corpse.

After the body has been tied on to the bier, the first pinda is placed on the deceased's breast, before the bier is lifted up. The bier is then lifted on to the shoulders of four near kinsmen of the deceased, the body being carried feet foremost. As soon as it is taken out of the door of the house, a second pinda is offered, the third being offered when it has passed the gate of the village or town, and the fourth at the

1 By metathesis for arthī (Pāṭṭa).
2 Sanskr. sādhu.
3 The 3 pinda are all made of coarse flour, gai and in Jind they are prepared at the time by the Sātān or barather's wife and carried in a dish, theā, by the Mahā-Brahman who also carries a jar filled with full of water.
4 Head foremost in karnal in which District, it is said, the bier is merely halved at a tank and pinda again placed on it. Then all the pinda are hung into the water and the body taken up again feet foremost.
gharðhān or viśhmrādag or 'half way' between the gate and the burning ground. Before this fourth pīṇḍ is offered water is sprinkled on the ground and the bier is set down, the first pīṇḍ being replaced by this, the fourth. This rite is called bhūtā, 'dead,' or the 'rest giving,' and the place of the halt is termed bikāda, or 'the rest.' Here too the bier is turned round, so that the head of the corpse is now in front, though the same four kinsmen continue to carry it. The fifth pīṇḍ is offered at the burning ground. These offerings are supposed to pacify the deities of Yāma (the messengers of the god of death). The bier is set down at the burning-ground, and the eldest son plasters a piece of ground with cow-dung and writes the name of Rāma seven times to invoke God's help for the dead. On the same ground the chūkha, funeral pile, is raised and the body being placed on it a panchrātan (five metals) of gold, pearl, copper, silver and coral put in its mouth. In the case of a woman this is done at the house.

**Cremation: The pyre.**

The purest wood for the funeral pyre is sandal wood, which is, however, rarely used owing to its cost, pipali dāk or jauṭ being used instead, but a piece of white sandalwood is if possible placed on the pyre. Sometimes the wood is carried by the mourners themselves.

A pyre should be so constructed as to lie due north and south, in a rectangular pit some 2 feet deep, resembling the vedī or pit for the sacrificial fire.

When the pyre has been completed the fifth and last pīṇḍ is offered and any valuable shawl or other cloth removed from the corpse, and given to a sweeper or a Mahā-Brahman.

The body is then unfastened, the cords which bind it to the bier being broken with one hand and one foot, and laid on the pyre. The body is laid supine upon the pyre, its hands being placed behind and so underneath it to prevent its being asura in the future life.

The shroud is torn near the mouth, and the paniṣṭhāsa inserted in it, while chips of sandalwood with some tulsi leaves are placed on the deceased's breast.

A man then takes the burning grass in his hands and walks once right round the pyre, keeping it on his right hand, and then turns back until he reaches the feet. Here he halts and throws the burning grass on to the pyre. As soon as it is ablaze all present withdraw out of reach of the smoke until the body is almost consumed when the chief mourner draws near again and pulling a bamboo out of the bier with it smashes the deceased's skull. The smashing of the skull is said to be due to the idea that the life of man is constituted of ten elements, nine of which cease their functions at death, while the action of the tenth (dhamjī) continues for three days after death, causing the body to swell if it remain unhurt. The seat of this, the tenth, element is in the skull, which is accordingly smashed in order to set it free. Finally

1 In Mūlān the gharādhān is considered essential. Midway to the crematorium, the bier is placed on the ground and the deceased's eldest son or the one who is to perform the kriā walks round it three and breaks a pitcher full of water, which he has brought with him from his house. This is done so that if the deceased is in a trance he may regain his senses on hearing the noise.

2 So that it may see the sun." in Mūlān.

* He then throws the stick over the corpse beyond its feet.
Hindu death observances.

he pours over the skull a cup of ghṛṭa, mixed with sandalwood and camphor. This rite of smashing the skull is called kāpāl kiritā or 'the rite of the skull.'

Kār dana.

After this all the members of the funeral party take a piece of fuel and cast it on to the pyre; and as soon as the body has been completely consumed one of them takes the bamboo which was used to smash the skull, and with it draws a line on the ground from the head of the corpse to its feet, keeping the pyre on his left in so doing.1

Mourning.

After this line has been drawn all the deceased's kin stand at his feet with clasped hands and the next of kin raises a loud cry of sorrow—dāh mārnā.

Tilānjāli.

After the dāh all the men go to a river or well, where they bathe, and wash all their clothes, save those made of wool. The deceased's kinsmen and others now take a handful of water and facing southwards, cast it on the ground, saying his name and got. With this water sesame is mixed, whence it is called tilānjāli. Or a little water mixed with sesame is distributed in the name of the deceased.

In former days a śītapā or mourning assembly lasted 10 days, but now a-days it is held only for one day, when the women beat their breasts. But on the death of a full-grown man it lasts for several days, and the wife of a Bāhī laments the mourning, and for this she gets a fee which may vary from an anna to Re. 1-4-0.1

In Śālakot cremation is called saṃskāra and when the corpse is laid on the pyre its face is bared in order that the women of the family may have a last look at it. After pouring ghṛṭa and paśkaratū into the mouth the face is covered with the shroud. A piece of wood is then thrown over it from west to east and several logs of wood and splinters of sandal wood are placed on it. Before applying fire to the pile, the bhūngaṭḍālā performs a havan under the directions of the acharaj. Then a lighted torch is brought to him, but before he takes it, it is customary for him to show his grief by uttering mournful cries, and following his example all the near relatives present also weep. Then taking the torch the bhūngaṭḍālā sets fire to the four corners of the pile and walks round it four times throwing pieces of wood into it while the acharaj recites mantras. His example is followed by near relatives of the deceased. The women now leave the scene and collect on the banks of a river or tank to bathe, but the rest of the processionists wait until the skull cracks. This is called the kīmpāl kīrṭā ceremony. After it they proceed to make their ablutions, but only at a few yards from the burning pile and they sit down again to perform the straw breaking ceremony.

In this the acharaj recites aloud a mantra ending in the familiar words yatṛa de tatra gachhatethence he came, thither he goes. At the end of this mantra every one takes a straw, breaks it in two and

1 A somewhat similar rite is found in Mūnān. There they walk round the pyre three times and return home. On their way back at about 30 or 40 paces from the crematory they sit with their backs towards it and each draws a circle before him. Then the acharaj recites some mantras and they break a straw or bid farewell to the deceased for ever.
Hindu death observances.

throws it backwards over his head. But the bhugwadā throws his straw without breaking it, thus showing that some connection still subsists between himself and the deceased.

After purifying themselves of the pollution of having carried a corpse they all return to the door of the deceased’s house, though no person may enter it as it is still defiled. Finally everybody taking leave of the relatives of the deceased returns to his own house, where it is usual to sprinkle water upon the clothes in order to completely purify oneself.

It is not until all these funeral rites and formalities have been accomplished that the people of the house are allowed to take any food, for they have neither eaten nor drank anything since the moment that the deceased expired. All these practices are most rigorously observed.

After the above ceremonies the deceased’s relatives spread a carpet or mat on the ground publicly and sit on it the whole day. Friends and acquaintances of the bereaved family come from far and near to sit on the mat in order to express their grief at the death as well as to console with the relatives. This is called phuṇḍ pānd or carpet spreading. The same course is followed by the women of the family, but they spread a carpet in their own house and perform stāpā, in which a hired woman of some low caste (stāpā ki adā) sings dirges and the women joining in the chorus beat their thighs, naked breasts and heads in measured time.

At night several caste-fellows of the deceased sleep on the ground in his house in his honour. Every day for 4 days early in the morning all the males of the family utter loud cries which are followed by the weeping of the women.

If the death takes place late in the evening or at night then all the funeral ceremonies are postponed till the next morning and the corpse is kept indoors. But a stick just as long as the length of the deceased’s body is placed beside the dead, in fear, perhaps that the corpse may not get longer.

On returning from the burning-ground in Jind the members of the party bathe at a tank and wash all their cotton clothes to purify themselves, while the Naī gives them aśe leaves, which they put in their mouths. On arriving at deceased’s house they sit in front of it in two rows through which the Naī passes pouring out water, which is also supposed to effect purification. Then they return to their homes.

As a rule no food is cooked in the deceased’s house on the day of death. Those who have married sons and daughters receive food from them. But elsewhere, as in Jind, any relative may supply the family with food, kāchri (rice and pulse), flour and phī in case the deceased was an adult and sugar and rice also in case he was an old man. This provision is called kaurāre āuda or bitter food and the remains of it are not kept but distributed among the poor. In Gurgan if the deceased was a Brahman uncooked kāchri (a mixture of ḍhāl and rice), pulse and flour are brought by his jāmāns and if he was a Mahārājan they are purchased from the bazar. If the deceased was a man of any other tribe this food is sent by some of his relations. When it is cooked a gaugarde

Lit., a woman of the Naī or barber caste.
(some leaves of bread given to a young cow) is given. After this the man who has performed the funeral rites takes his food and is followed by other members of the family.

The man who has to perform funeral rites cannot wear woolen clothes but only a dhålī (waist cloth), nor is he allowed to wear leather shoes. He spreads a cloth before his house door and sits there for the whole day. Those who come to pay a visit of condolence stay with him for a short time and then leave him after expressing sympathy with him and the other heirs of the deceased.

A little before sunset this man goes for ghat bhāرد a second time. He fills a pitcher after taking a bath and then returns to his house, but it is not necessary that a pandit should accompany him in the evening. In the evening an earthen lamp is lighted on the place where the deceased breathed his last. The wick of this lamp is made so long that it may be sufficient to last for ten days.

In Banna after burying a child or burning a person when the people return home they call a Machhāni or waterman’s wife to the door and give her a heap of corn. This ceremony is called herī bhrī. By it the right of crossing the river in the lower regions is secured to the deceased.

Nīm kī patti chabāṇā.

The funeral party now returns to the village, accompanied by the Nāî who has plucked a branch of a nīm tree. From this every one takes a leaf before he enters the village, and this he chews, and then spits out as a token that all contamination has been removed; or to accept another explanation, to invoke a curse on those who wilfully failed to attend the funeral.

The actual funeral ceremonies are closed by a chaudhri or other elderly man saying, after the members of the party have sat for a time close to the deceased’s house, Bhāsya dhāt svabhāva, ‘Brothers, change your clothes.’

After the men of the house have returned from the funeral, the women headed by the deceased’s wife or mother (in the case of a man, or, in the case of a woman, by her daughter-in-law) or by her nearest female relative, go to bathe weeping and singing mournful dirges as they go. After bathing they return in moist clothes to the deceased’s house and leaving his heir there go to their own homes. There they take a śuddh ākāṣaṇā, bath of purification, and then resume their ordinary duties.

The Nāî now obtains from a Kumhār all the articles required for the gśet, together with those required for burning the lamp at the spot where the deceased died. These articles include some dub grass, ḫordūn, sesame, milk, Gaina- water, an earthen jar, and taśā-caves. The chief mourner accompanied by a Nāî takes these to a well by which he hangs a jar, full of milk and sweet water or simply water, in a chāhtī kāp. She also takes with her the grass which was spread under the deceased’s death-bed and the earthen vessel used in washing the corpse, and casts these away outside the village. This is called pāṭha pāṭha.

* A ṣārī is in the case of male, and a ḍāṭī in that of a female. Ambāī. In Ċāray this jar is called skānsa and is hung on a stake of pāṭha wood fixed firmly in the ground in front of the door.
or net on the trunk and two branches of a tree, which the spirits are
supposed to haunt. A small hole is made in the bottom of the pitcher
and stuffed with sat grass so that the water may trickle slowly to the
ground. Hence it is called abhadrā (from abhād: a stream) in Jind. In
Gurgoán certain trees are set apart for this rite, which is known as ghat
mārdū and for which certain mantras are prescribed.

A little before sunset this jar must be refilled, after the chief
mourner has bathed, but the pandit need not accompany him. The jar
has to be filled thus twice daily for 10 days. In the evening too a lamp
has to be lighted at the place where the breast of the corpse was or near
the spot where the death occurred. This lamp must be furnished with
wick enough to last 10 days, and it must be kept burning day and
night for that period, to light up the path of the departed spirit through
Yāma-Loka. A small fire must also be kept burning there.

At the same time a lamp is lighted and placed on the ground out-
side the dead man's house. Close to it but on the public road must
also be placed a tikoni or tripod of reeds, tied together in the middle, on
top of which is placed a cup full of water and milk but with a hole in it.
All this is done while a pandit recites mantras. This is repeated on the
two following days, a new lamp and tikoni being required each day.
In Ambala this observance is repeated daily for 10 days.

Next day the karman-kartā (one who gives the pinda), after bathing,
cooks some rice to make three pindas on which pieces of betel nut and
black wool are placed. A jar containing water, milk and gāt is placed
on some sand in the compound on a tepsi; and a very minute hole
made in the bottom of the jar to let the water out slowly, and kuska
(sacred grass) is put in the jar. In each of the nine subsequent
days only one pīdā is given and more water is poured in the jar
to keep it full. A lamp is kept burning for nine days and the
Guru mantra is read by the priest to the audience, who offer money
to the lamp, which goes to the priest. On the tenth day the lamp
is taken away by a Nāth who gets Rs. 4, and the other things
are thrown into a river or stream, everybody has his head shaved and
washes his clothes; on the 11th day the pīdā karmī is performed: a
bed, umbrella, shoes, a cow, cooking utensils, a suit of clothes and
jewelry being given to the acharnā.

In Multān on the day after the hirā some more wood is thrown
on the pyre so that any part of the body unburnt may be completely
excruciated.

Saharāi.

Kaneta and other low castes give one pīdā every third day, putting
the pīdā in a hollow piece of wood and taking it to the river, where the
karm-kartā holds it by one end and a carpenter by the other, the latter

1 When it is called abhadā dīmā or 'breast lamp': Jind.
2 In Kānpur this lamp, called the abhadā dīmā, is said to be placed by the head of the
corpse and the wick must not be moved; it is inauspicious if it fails to last the 10 days.
Both this lamp and the tikoni are taken at the expiration of the 10 days to the river
side, or to a spring, or placed under a bāg or pipal tree.
3 Called the dārā in Jind.
cutting the wood at the middle and thus the pind is dropped into the water. Water is brought from the river in a pot, with which to knead some flour which is given to cows. Then a goat is killed and relatives and neighbours are fed. This is called sarñavá.

After the funeral a pandit is sent for in Gurgaon to ascertain the sobarnt and terant days.

The sobarnt, also called astót pancha¹ (or in ordinary speech phul chugud) is performed on the third day after the death, provided it does not fall on a Bráhman, panchas, a Saturday or a Tuesday, in which case it is observed on an appropriate day.

The deceased’s kinsmen go in a body to the pyre and there cook rice and pulse, each in separate vessels. A pind is then placed by the deceased’s skull, and eight bolis² set round it in as many different directions.

The bones of the deceased, which are universally called phul,³ are now picked up with an elaborate ceremonial. First of all the chief mourner picks up three, using only his thumb and little finger. These he places in a platter of leaves and then all those present collect the remaining bones. Secondly, the ashes are collected with a wooden lute. Then the bones are washed in a kare (the lower half of a pitcher) with milk and Ganges water. Lastly eight stakes are driven into the ground on either side of the pyre.

The bag in which the remains are placed should be of red cloth for a woman and of white for a man. But in Jind only the bones of the hands, toes and the teeth are gathered into a theš, a purse of silk or of deer-skin, and then taken to the Ganges or Pihewa tirath. In the Kurukshetra and Devadharti on the Jumna this rite is not observed.

The rest of the ashes are collected into a heap, about which 4 pegs are driven into the ground, and round these cotton thread is tied.

The bones are carried by a kinsman, a Brahma or a Kahár.

But in Montgomery the bones are not picked up until the 4th day and they are then sent to the Ganges, while the ashes are cast into any running water. On the other hand in Rohtak the Játs if well-to-do are said to despatch both bones and ashes to the Ganges while those of people dying of leprosy are cast into the Jamna,⁴ while round Tohána in Hisar the ashes are merely piled up in the crematorium.

Hindus dwelling in the Kurukshetra do not send the bones to the Ganges but bury them in an earthen vessel after they have been washed with milk and Ganges water. This is a purely local custom.

¹ Astót anvacháya in some parts.
² The bolis consists of a little rice and pulse put in a dhan or platter of leaves.
³ The only exception is in Multán where the bones are called gola. To ‘pick up’ the bones is shungu in Panjábi.
⁴ Distance is not a factor in the matter since in Shukhár all Hindus send the bones to the Ganges.
In Kulu among the higher classes the asthi (bones) should be taken to the Ganges within a year of the death. The man who takes them eats only once a day, because the patak is considered to have been renewed at this time. These bones are taken from the place of cremation and in an earthen pot put in a hollow of a tree or wall. When despatched they are wrapped up in silk cloth and hung round the bearer's neck. If he is not one of the family, he is paid about Rs. 5 as remuneration in addition to the fee for the dan-pun at Haridwar and his expenses on the journey. On reaching Haridwar the bones are cast into the river and alms are given. Some water is taken home, where it is called Gangajal and worshipped. Brahman is fed on his return and some cloth, cash and grain are given to the parohit.

The pinda.

In addition to the 5 pinda offered during the actual funeral, other pinda, which are believed to constitute the body of the dead man, are subsequently offered.

After the bones have been sent to the Ganges all the kinsmen return to the spot where the ghat is hanging. Then a patch of ground is plastered over and as many pinda offered as days have elapsed since the death. And from this day onwards a Brahman is fed at this same spot, or given 10 days' supply of uncooked food.

After the patak chhunna is over in Jind, the eldest son or he who performs the kritā karm has a katha (reading) of the Garār Purāna recited by a Brahman at the deceased's house for 10 days among Vaisyas and for 13 among Brahmanas, Kāyasthas and Jāts; and some money is spent on this kathā by the members of the family and kin.

Of patak or impurity.

Corresponding to the sūtaḥ or ceremonial impurity which ensues on birth is the patak or bhit, sometimes erroneously called sūtaḥ which ensues on a death. In theory the period of this impurity is 10 days among Brahmanas, 12 among Khatris, 15 among Vaisyas and a month for Sudras, but it is now in practice 13 days among all classes, or less according to the degree of relationship; e.g., the death of a kinsman in the 4th degree involves patak for 10 days, and that of one in the 10th degree for 1 day only.

Patak extends in theory always to kinsmen of the 7th degree.

These rules are, however, subject to many variations. For instance in Siālkot the bhit lasts only from the day of death to the 11th day and no outsider ventures to eat or drink in the deceased's house during this period.

But in Bahawalpur the family in which a death has taken place is held to be impure for 13 days, and other Hindus do not eat or drink with any of its members. The impurity extends to all the descendants
of the common ancestor for five generations; thus if \( F \) dies, all the descendants of —

A

B

C

D

E

are ceremonially impure. After the 13 days the members of the family remove this impurity by bathing, washing their clothes or putting on new ones, and by re-plastering their houses. A person affected by the bhūṭ or impurity is called bhūṭal.

In Bhukkar taluk the rules are the same, but the period is only one day on the death of a child of 6 months, 3 days on that of one of 5 years, 6 days if he was 10 years old and 13 days in the case of all persons whose age exceeded 10 years. It is removed by breaking old earthenware, as well as by washing clothes &c. On the last day an achara is fed and after taking his meal he recites mantras whereby the house is purified. But in other parts of Mysore a family in which a child dies is impure for 2 days; and in all other cases for 11 days among Brahmins, 12 among Khatris and 13 days among other Hindus.

In Banni the rule is that the pollution lasts for as many days as there were years in the dead child's age. If one more than seven years dies the pollution lasts for 13 days, and affects the descendants of the four higher generations.

The kārīḍā kārm is performed, at least in theory, on the close of the period of pollution. Thus in Gajranwālā it is performed by the eldest or youngest son on the 13th day, as the family is deemed to be in sūtrāk (state of impurity) for 13 days. This impurity affects the kin to the 3rd or 4th generation. So too in Kapūrthala the kārīḍā kārm is performed among Brahmins on the 11th day after death, among Khatris on the 13th, while Vaish observe it on the 17th and Sudras on the 31st day after death.

In Shāhpur, however, the family is considered impure for only 12 days. This impurity affects all relations up to the 7th degree. On the 13th day it is removed by donning new clothes and plastering the house. A person affected with impurity is called marutak.

In Rohtak the sect of the Sat-Nāmi sadhūs does not mourn or perform any kārīḍā kārm after death.

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*But the period of bhūṭ is also said to be as follows:—*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of deceased</th>
<th>Duration of bhūṭ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over 5 months, up to 2 years</td>
<td>1 day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5 years, up to 5 years</td>
<td>3 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 6 years, up to 10 years</td>
<td>6 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 10 years</td>
<td>11, 12, 13 days according to the caste.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is in some parts a tendency to simplify the full rites. Thus in Kōhāt after the body has been washed and five valuables put in its mouth it is carried on a bier by 4 men who are relieved from time to time on the way. There appears to be no adhāmarg and the pīnd kārīnād (as it is termed) is only performed thrice, once at the place of death, once at the outer door of the house and lastly at the burning ground. After this the man who has offered the pāṇḍit carries a pitcher full of water round the body, breaks it and spills the water. The body is carried out with its feet towards the burning ground, but on reaching it is turned round so that its feet are towards its house. On the way raisins, dates and pice are thrown over the coffin, and if the deceased was a very old man flowers too are cast upon it.

At the burning ground the body is washed a second time and ghee is put in its mouth. After the kapāl kārīnād the man who is to perform the kārīnād kārām circumambulates the fire 6 times, being joined by all the other members of the deceased's clan in the 7th round. Then all those attending the funeral withdraw. A short distance from the pyre on their way back all collect and each picks a few blades of grass while the aćhārāj pāṇḍit (sic) recites some mātras and on their completion all men except the one who is to do the kārīnād kārām cut the blades into pieces and when they come to some water bathe and wash their clothes. Then all the clansmen take water in their hands and putting sesame in while the aćhārāj recites mātras, throw it on the ground. The deceased's family then gives the aćhārāj sweetmeats and 1½ yards of cloth are given to the man who is to perform the kārīnād kārām for his turban or bānumt. After prayers all may now depart or accompany the deceased's family to their house which the kārīnād kārām man enters, but he or some other relation presently comes out and bids them adieu. When they reach their own houses they stand at the door while some one from inside sprinkles water over them before they enter.

A lamp placed in a small pit dug at the place of the death is kept burning for 10 days during which the pāṇḍit recites the Āśvāt Purāṇ by night or day. In the morning a pāṇḍit and in the evening tārkāksha is offered during these 10 days outside the door of the house. The kārīnād man bathes twice daily, but eats only once, though he is given good food. Very early on the morning of the 10th day the lamp is taken to a spring or river where the pāṇḍit kārām (sic) was done on the first day and put into the water with its face to the south. While so doing a naked weapon is placed on the kārīnād man's head and the same day all the deceased's clansmen bathe and the boys get shaved. The kāthā or reading ends on this day and the pāṇḍit is given some cloth and cash. The relations give turbans to the kārīnād man, who is thus recognised as the deceased's representative. Some cash is also given him and his kinsmen console and encourage him to do his work. Brahmans perform the kārīnād on the 11th day, Kuţris on the 13th and Bārons on the 15th. At this rite the aćhārāj makes figures of the deodā (god) on the ground with dry flour and then reads mātras. After he has finished a bed with bedding, ornaments, grain, a cow, some cash &c. are given away in charity in the deceased's name. Another rite called khorāsā very like the kārīnād is held on the 16th day when Brahmans are
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fed. Until the khorja is done, the deceased’s clansmen are considered impure (suikhi) and other people will not eat or drink from their hands.

On the 4th day after death the bones are picked up to be thrown into the Ganges, but the ashes are collected and cast into the nearest river. On the 10th day khetra (rice mixed with pulse) is cooked by a man not belonging to the family and distributed among the kinsfolk.

For 10 days the females assemble together and mourn.

Children dying under 5 are said to be affected by akrāh, a kind of disease.

In Gurgiaon from the time the bier is taken up until it reaches the burning ground all the mourners keep saying in a loud voice Rām nām sat kus—sat kore gat kus ‘The name of Rām (God) is true and will last till eternity. He who meditates on His name will get salvation.’

Kāraī or Kāj.

The kāj or din ceremony is not performed on any particular day in Gurgiaon but care is taken to perform it as soon as possible. In villages the people cook rice with ghee and sugar, while Baniās and Brahmanas in the town fry ladus and besan baris. All kinsfolk whether living near or at a distance are invited and the people of the village, as well as Brahmanas, Jogis and beggars are fed with sweetsmeats. Some only entertain people of 36 castes on this occasion, while others invite men of every caste. The relations who are precluded by kinship from eating from the bereaved house are given pūtal or a separate share, and travellers visiting the village are treated in the same way. Others in addition to inviting kinsfolk in this way give Re. 1 and a ladu weighing a quarter to each man of the tribe which does not disdain to receive alms. Some people have been known to spend about a lākha of rupees on an ancestor’s kāj. Relations invited on the occasion are on their departure given cash as well as sweetsmeats. Those who are bound by relationship to pay something give money when the deceased’s heir binds his tarban.

Among the Bishnois the dead are buried at a place called aggrā where cattle are tethered. It is believed that the deceased will not turn into an evil spirit by reason of cows’ urine always falling on it. In the absence of such a place they bury the dead in a burial-ground or crematory. No ceremony is performed in the case of a child. But in that of a young or old person they perform the thā or kāj ceremony on the 3rd day after death. The ceremonies connected with the 13th and 17th day are not performed. The kāj of a youthful person is on an ordinary scale, i.e., only 20 or 22 kinsmen and 5 or 6 Brahmanas are served with food. Recitations from the sacred books are continued for three days. The kāj of an old person is celebrated with great elation, large sums of money being spent on it. An ordinary Bishnoi only feasts all his villagers but rich folk spend thousands of rupees. A cow and the clothes of the deceased are given to a Brahman in charity.

Pātrān bhārnā.

The food prepared on the kāj day is at first placed on the deceased’s tomb in the leaf of an ak plant together with a cup of water. It is believed that it is more auspicious if this food is eaten by
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crows than by any other bird. The period of impurity of pātālī is limited to three days. The actual members of the family are alone considered to be impure. An observance peculiar to this sect is that the marriage of a daughter or granddaughter or great-grand-daughter of the deceased is celebrated on the bāj day.

Barnī bathāṇḍ in Gurgaon.

This observance depends on the pscnaiary means of the deceased's heir. On the sabarit pāndita are sent for and made to recite the Gāyatrī mantras about 125,000 times for the deceased's benefit at a place fixed by the owner of the house. All the pāndita rise early and after bathing recite the mantras till 8 p.m. when they take food. If one of them has to make water while reciting the sacred verse, he may do so but cannot resume his place without washing. Smoking is also forbidden during this time. On the 11th day all the pāndita assemble at the ghāt to perform a hānas. After this they are dismissed with some daṅkaṇā or remuneration.

Banjūr chhorād.

This rite is performed on the ekādashi or 11th day after death if the heirs are men of wealth and position. It consists in marrying a cow with a bull. The duties on this wedding are as usual given to the menials concerned, and after it the cow and bull are spotted with makdi and let loose, to run wild, but the cow is generally given to a Mahā-Brahman, while the bull is branded so that it may not be put to work. Agriculturists will not harass a bull so branded. It is fed by the deceased's heir until full grown. Further, it is never tethered with a rope or confined in any house. This rite is also called banthatar chhorād or aku chhōndā. It is not necessary that it should be performed on the death of an old man, but it may be performed on the death of a young one, and generally speaking it is done in the former case also.

Ganghas jārnād.

This is only performed when the banjür chhorād has been duly observed. It consists in planting a long bamboo (about the height of a man) in the ground outside the village with a human head dyed red on its top.

The erection of chhattās.

Rich men and those of good position often raise a fine building to the memory of a deceased ancestor at the place where his body was burnt. In the middle of it they erect a structure of the shape of an umbrella. Beneath this in the second storey they have the deceased's foot-print carved. These are always marked on hard ground whatever be the height of the building. Some chhattās in Gurgaon have cost Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 12,000 each. They are handsome buildings containing decorated staircases &c. They serve as shelters for travelers. Some people raise these chhattās to a considerable height so that they may be seen from the roofs of their houses.

The following superstitions are current in Gurgaon:

(1) One who joins in funeral procession to the burial or burning ground abstains from eating sweetsmeats or drinking milk for that day.
(2) Those who raise a funeral pyre for the first time do not drink milk or eat sweetmeats for three days.

(3) If any one dies in the panchat, his death will be followed by another and so a panchat shati is performed.

(4) The man who takes the remains of a deceased to the Ganges does not re-enter his house without going to the deceased's burning place and sprinkling Ganges water on it.

(5) If the death of a young person occurs on some festival it is never celebrated until a male child has been born in the family on the same festival.

(6) A man is considered to be very lucky if he has a great-grandson at his death, and it is believed that he will go straight to the Paradise. But it is considered unfortunate if he leaves a great-grandson at his death as he will then go to hell. A body is watched till the satarai so that no one may take wood or coal from its pyre as it is believed that if this be done the spirit will fall under the control of some evil person.

Fruit of some kind is given to a husband and wife in halves on the death of a child so that they may soon be blessed with an another one.

The shroud of a child dying of mārān (a wasting disease) is brought back to the house and carefully kept after being washed. On the birth of a second child it is laid on that shroud, the main object being that it may not die of that disorder.

A death is considered suspicious if it occurs during the aman and tamaṭ days, and it is believed that a man dying during those days will get an exalted place in Heaven.

If a man dies at a place of pilgrimage or while on his way to it intending to pass the rest of his life in meditation he is believed to have secured a place in Heaven.

In theory Hindu mourning lasts a year, during which period many rites have to be observed. The principal ones in Sādākot are: (i) the pindav offering:—On the day after the funeral, the bhuktiwāld rises early and bathes, puts on a pavitra (a straw ring), performs a kavan, offers one pindav (a ball of boiled rice) and goes out to water a sacred pipal. All these practices are repeated every morning and evening up to the 10th day under the directions of the acharī, The number of pindavs, which are regularly placed side by side in water at a fixed locality, is increased until it reaches 10 on the 10th day. (ii) The chaṁbā:—On the 4th day, after performing these rites in the morning, as usual, the bhuktiwāld with his friends and relatives goes to the cremation ground for the bone gathering (phal chaṁbā). The bones are generally picked up on the 4th day, but if it falls on an ill-omened day the rite is performed on the 3rd. Provided with panch savina and other viands, he performs a kavan there, and taking an earthen pot full of water and milk, sprinkles it over the ashes. He sits on his heels with his face to the east, performs the sambala once more, stirs the ashes with a small wooden spade, looking for any bones that may have escaped the flames, and puts them into an earthen pot reciting a sāmāra meanwhile. Taking up a portion of the ashes he throws them into any river near by.
The remainder he collects into a heap covering it with a piece of cloth supported on sticks, like a canopy. Then he offers a sacrifice to it. These mementoes of the deceased he brings home and they are buried in a corner of the house to be thrown one day into the sacred waters of the Ganges.

In Sháhpur on the 4th day after the death all the bones and ashes of the deceased are thrown into the Ganges in the case of a rich person, but in that of a poor one only one bone from each limb is thrown into that river. The ashes however are always thrown in a stream.¹

In Míraváli the remains are also collected on the 4th day. The bones washed with milk and Ganges water are put in a bag made of deer skin and thrown into the Ganges with some gold or silver while the ashes are thrown into any running channel.

In Isá Khul some kinsmen accompanied by an acháraí visit the crematory on this day to pick up bones which are put into a new earthen vessel while the ashes are thrown into a stream. The vessel is sent to the river Ganges. But if a stranger die on a journey both ashes and bones are thrown into the river. In this tahall Gaurí Paríš is also recited on the 4th day.

The tenth day after death.

This day is known by various names. In the eastern districts it is called the dasdhi and in Jind two rites are observed on it: (1) all the kinsfolk (both men and women) of the deceased go to a tank and bathe there, but only the members of his family have their heads shaved as well; (2) his eldest son distributes 10 chháhnáts (pieces of cloth) with 10 piece and 10 laddás of rice, each wrapped in a chháhná, and cooked gram among the Nái, Bhíwar, Brahman, and relatives of his family. This observance is called dasdhi ke laddá sindhá. The kinsfolk do not take these things home, but give them to the poor, merely tasting the gram and throwing the rest away. This is said pátak mánína, 'to avert the impurity,' or evil influences of the death.

The dasgáitar.

The 10th day after death is theoretically one of ceremonial importance. In Gurjón it is known as the dasgáitar, and upon it the first sejá is offered. During the 9 preceding days the qhat has been kept filled and a single qínd offered daily, but on the 10th day all the deceased's kinsmen go to the place where the jar hangs and there the next of kin, with some other (near) relatives, is shaved; and after bathing they give to a Mahá-Brahman all the necessaries of life.

This ceremony takes fully six hours, and is concluded by giving away 361 qínds, and lighting 360 lamps. In addition 16 special or khosí qínds are given and tiláñjali is also distributed 360 times. After this the qhat is untied, and the spot where the deceased died is plastered with cow-dung, mixed with cow's urine and Ganges water, and is thus purified.

¹In Sháhpur on the 4th day an effigy of the deceased is made and sweetsmeats and copper coins distributed.
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In Kulu on the 10th day after death a goat is killed and relatives feasted. This is called sorda. The ceremonies of jowāshā etc. are not observed. The higher classes perform the shadā or purificatory rites on some auspicious day, and the lower on the 3rd, 5th or 7th day after the death. In this rite Brahmans, neighbours and relatives are feasted and sometimes a sheep is killed. The Kanets of Lang drink lagris or sur (hill beer) on this occasion, while the Dāgis kill a sheep or goat on the 3rd day. The following table shows after how many days the various tribes are considered to become purified after a death in the family:

- Lower castes, Dāgis, etc., 3 days.
- Kanets, 3, 5, 7, 11, or 13 days.
- Brahmans, 11 days.
- Rājpūts, 13 days.
- Khatris, 15 days.
- Mahājans, Bohrās, Sūds and goldsmiths, 16 days.

In Śālākot the 10th day or its ceremonial is called the dasahra. And after the ceremonies usual on it, the friends and caste-fellows of the chief mourner meet on the banks of a tank or river for the final ablutions. He and his near relatives are shaved on this day, shaving not having been allowed during the preceding 10 days. Having finally purified themselves the deceased’s relatives hold a funeral feast to which all kinsfolk from far and near are invited. They stay two days in his house and then the women wash their clothes and hair with curls and soap. The earthen pot of water and the lamp which was kept burning day and night are also cast into water. But according to another account the purification is not attained or complete until the day of the kirāt form, the date of which varies.

The rites in Isa Khel are much the same, but in addition a few members of the community put a burning lamp before sunrise on a bundle of khās or khāṭāsh and set it afloat on a river or pond. All the members of the family shave the head, moustaches and beard, and bathe after their return home. They also pour 360 pitchers of water at the root of a pipal tree with the aid of the achādraj who recites mantras all the time. The women also wash their heads and all the clothes worn in performing the above ceremonies. In the afternoon all the members of the community gather together, and the Brahman finishes reading the Gādī Purāṇ the same day, receiving some cloth and a little money as his fee. But of late in the towns the Brahman have not completed the Gādī Purāṇ till the 14th day instead of the 10th, because the pollution is absolutely removed on the 14th and also because almsgiving to Brahman is most proper when no impurity remains. On the day when the kirāt ceremony is finished, the achādraj is offered a bedstead, a quilt, a coverlet, a few ornaments and a sum of money and is then dismissed.

After-death ceremonies.

On the third day some of the relations of the deceased go to the crematory for the purpose of what is known as phal chhaugd
(collection of fragments of bones of the deceased) which without being brought over to the town are despatched to be thrown into the Ganges through a relation, a Brahman or a Kshatrîya. The house is impure (pūta) for 18 days. On the 10th day the household perform daśādhī, i.e., they go to the tank, wash their clothes, shave and offer pānḍal. On the 13th day a number of Brahmins are fed; the walls and the floor are besmeared with cow-dung; the earthen vessels are changed; the clothes are washed and thus the house is purified. If the deceased left sons the eldest performs the kīrṣa kām. This Sīkot ceremony is performed on the 11th day among Brahmins, on the 13th among Kshatrīyas, and among Vaiśyas on the 16th. Among Brahmins the ceremony is observed by the eldest son, among Kshatrīyas by the eldest or youngest son and among Vaiśyas by the agent of the deceased. A family in which a death occurs is considered to be impure until the kīrṣa kām has been performed.

The bhūnpāhāl rises early to make his ablutions. The achārājar draws a chānḍ (square) showing therein the symbols of various gods and goddesses on the ground and constructs a pānḍal over it in his courtyard. Rice is boiled and several kinds of flowers, vegetables and scents provided. Indeed many other things are prepared which are indispensable for the sacrifices and offerings which he is to make. The kīrṣa kām lasts for several hours and the ceremonies connected with it are too complicated and numerous to be detailed here. It is supposed that from this moment the departed is divested of his hideous form and assumes that of his forefathers to live among them in the abodes of bliss. This ceremony is observed by Kshatrīyas and other castes excepting Brahmins on the 13th day. On this day, too, many Brahmins are summoned to a feast to be eaten by proxy for the deceased. Popularly the day is called Bārū din or the evil day and on it the widow’s parents send her clothes, ornaments, and cash according to their means in order that she may pass her widowhood in comfort.

Randepa or widowhood.—The same afternoon at the conclusion of the kīrṣa kām, the randepa ceremony is observed. The deceased’s widow, after performing ablutions, decorates her body, puts on her richest garments and bedecks herself with all her jewels. Married women surround her, clasp her in their arms, and weep with her beating their heads and breasts in measured times crying and sobbing as loud as they can. Now too it is customary for the deceased’s relatives to give his widow valuable clothes and ornaments in token of their sympathy with her. But she then divests herself of all her jewels and rich garments which are never to be donned again in her afterlife, thus showing her fidelity and devotion to her departed husband.

On this day at the death of an elder splendid feasts are given to his daughters and grand-daughters’ husbands and their relatives. Ghī and turmeric, the use of which is strictly prohibited during the preceding 10 days of mourning, are now used in the preparation of diverse dainties for the entertainment of the guests. The bhūnpāhāl puts on new clothes and turban bestowed on him, if married, by his father-in-law.

The eleventh day after death.

The rites on this day appear to be either the kīrṣa kām or
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survivals of the full kirya rite. Thus in Jind on the 11th day after death a Brahman performs the pinda-dun. The pinda consist of rice, flour, ghi and sugar, and mantras are read by the Brahman. A bedstead, clothes, utensils and grain are given in the deceased's name, according to his means, in lieu of an achāraj, who is supposed to satisfy the desire of the bhuta or ghost body by means of his mantras &c. This observance is called the kirya of jyāvat ceremonial of 11th day. The eldest son who has performed the kirya kara now changes his clothes and puts on a coloured turban.

In Bhiwānī the gūrmia is solemnised on the 11th or 12th night after death. Sweet-scented things are burnt in fire to the recitation of verses from the Vedas, and all tribes except the Sarasitas give the achāraj clothes, cash and utensils on this day.

The twelfth day after death.

Pārāū.—In Ambala and Karnāl, the 12th day after death is observed as follows:—Twelve ghōnda (or chātisa in the case of a female) are filled with water, covered with a small piece of cloth, and with a mātha (a large cake of wheat flour fried in ghi) or a gōndra (a large cake of sugar) and some pice, given to Brahman.

Duaūlīka.—Four pinda, one for the deceased, and one each for his father, grandfather and great-grandfather are prepared on the 12th day at the place where the death occurred. The deceased's own pinda is cut into three parts, with a piece of silver or a blade of dāh grass, and each part kneaded to one of the other three pinda, to typify the dead man's re-union with his forefathers. At this rite a Gujarati Brahman is seated and fed. A gift of at least two utensils, a cup and a jar (tilia) is also made to him.

In Jind this rite is called the pīndi kara. It is observed on the 12th day by a Brahman, and four pinda, money and food are given to a Bīsā Brahman.

Hamaun.—In Gurgonaut a hamun is performed at the spot where the death occurred, and at night a fire of dūchh wood is lighted and on it is thrown a mixture of ghi, barley, sesame, dried fruit and sugar, by means of a stick. The deceased's house is now deemed purified.

The thirteenth day after death.

Brahmabhūja. Brahmans and Khutris celebrate the Brahmbhūja on the 13th day, other castes on the 17th. Food, with a fee of at least 2 pice, is given to 13 or 17 Brahmanas.

Taravīra.—On the 13th day at least 13 Brahmanas, one of whom must be a female, if the deceased was a female, are fed. The second veja dān, which is precisely like the first, is also offered on this day, but it is the perquisite of the pāvohit, the other 12 Brahmanas each receiving a vessel of water covered with a bit of cloth, a cup full of sweetmeat, a nut, kōmal gatta, and a pice.

This ceremony is sometimes held on the 12th day or, in Delhi postponed to the 17th day after the death.

But in Bhiwānī on the 13th day only one Brahman is fed, the
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house plastered and cow’s urine and Ganges water sprinkled in it. It is then considered purified.

**Dastaar Bandi.**—The ceremony of installing the heir, of which the dastaar bandi or tying on of the page.amazon is a notable, is held in the afternoon of the 18th day after death. In Montgomery if the deceased had a shop his heir is made to open it.

The 18th is in a sense an auspicious day, auspicious that is for the performance of rites designed to secure future happiness. Thus in Gujarat a widow is made to don fine clothes and ornaments on the 18th or kirya day after her husband’s death and clothes and money are given her for her support in the hope that she will pass the rest of her life in resignation. Nevertheless the donors weep over her on this day. In order to secure future fertility to the bereaved family some vegetables and water in a new pot are brought into the house on this day.

In Jind on the 18th or 17th day after death, the whole house is plastered and a hawan performed, so that the house is purified. In the case of a wealthy man 12 bronze *paalas* (small pots) with cover filled with the water are upset and in the case of a poor one as many earthen ones are filled and upset. 13 or 17 Brahmins are feasted and the parohit given a bed, utensils, clothes and money according to the donor’s means. In the case of an old man, the family if wealthy of the deceased perform a *jay*, called the *buna karna* or *making known* rite. A man of average wealth gives food to all the Brahmins of his town, and a rupee to each with a feast to his brotherhood. A very wealthy person gives a *jay* to 20 or 30 villages in the neighbourhood. This custom, still prevalent in the villages of Jind tahsil, is also called *haj* karna or *hajana karna*. The Neola ceremony is also practised at this time.

After this some wealthy men feast a Brahman daily in the deceased’s name, while others give him two leaves and an earthen pot filled with water every month.

**Sataara.**—On the 17th day some food, clothes and utensils are often given to a Brahman, as in Montgomery.

The satar or 17th day in Sialkot is the occasion for just as many elaborate ceremonies as are performed in the kirya karna, but the gifts offered now go to the family parohit. In this district it is also called *sataara* and on it the period of impurity ends although the kirya karna is performed some days earlier according to the deceased’s caste.

On or after the seventeenth day the ceremony of *dharam shanta* is observed in Ias Khel and the Brahman is again offered clothes and little money. The family also invites not less than 17 Brahman guests and offers them food of all kinds but especially *khir* and *haima* or sweetmeat.

Some ceremonies are also observed on the 28th day or *maha* but it is needless to detail them here. (Sialkot.)

*ofi* the exchange of *page* or pageant.

*The number of villages varies from 1 to 101.*
Hindu death observances.

Monthly commemoration.

The dead are commemorated by Hindus every month during the first year and thereafter annually. This monthly commemoration consists in feeding a Brahman (or a Brahman if the deceased was a female) on the day titi in each lunar month corresponding to the date of the death. In Kāngra this is called mānak, and consists in giving some flour and dāl to a Gujātī Brahman, hence called Māhku or he who receives the monthly offerings. Elsewhere the monthly gift consists of a pitcher of water and some food, or of necessaries of all kinds. The subsequent commemorations are really a continuation of the observances on the lunar date of the death.

Thus in Kulu the death of a man is commemorated by performing the yearly śraddhā during the kānigats. In these śraddhās priests and Brahmans are fed according to the position of the performer. Some also observe the sambatari śraddha, which are not confined to the kānigats, but on the contrary are performed on the lunar date of the death.

Annual commemorations.

The annual commemorations are the harsādhi or harsī or first anniversary, the khiabi or recurring anniversary, and the chaubarti or fourth anniversary of the death. The harsī and chaubarti consist in the offering of a sefaddān, and in feeding Brahmans and the poor. After the chaubarti, the annual commemoration may be said to be merged in the general commemoration of the dead ensured by the observance of the ganaga, but the khiabi is said to be observed every year until the heir goes to Gya and celebrates the rite there. The khiabi, as the term implies, merely consists in feeding a Brahman or his wife.

Generally speaking all the ceremonies hitherto described are modified or liable to modification to meet various contingencies. For instance in the event of a death occurring just before the dates fixed for a wedding all the funeral and other rites which are usually spread over 15 days can be completed in 3 days or even 3 pahārs of 3 hours each.

But still more important are the modifications due to the age of the deceased, the circumstances under which death occurred, such as its cause or the time at which it happened.

The death-rites of children.

Very common are the customs in vogue in Bahāwalpur in which State if a child of less than six months dies it is buried under a tree, and a cup of water is put beside the grave at its head. But in Shahpur if a child of six months dies the body is thrown into a river or running channel and in some cases it is buried, but no cup of water is placed near the grave. A child over six months but under five years of age is buried or thrown into a river. But these rules are subject to endless variations. Thus in the towns of Hind children dying when under 27 months of age are merely taken down on to the ground and then buried. There is no maulūd recited. Children in villages dying under the age of 6 years are similarly treated.

In Kāngra the offerings at the harsādhi still go to the achādī of those of the chaubarti to the pachādī of the family.
Hindu death observances.

As a general rule children are buried and not burnt, if they die before attaining a certain age, which is very variously stated as being 6 months or a year in Gujranwala; 1½ years or even 8 years in Hissar; before the 1st tonsure at 22 months in Kangra; 2 years generally in Siolkot, Gujranwala, Montgomery; 3 in Gujrat and in the Zafarwal tahsil of Siolkot; 5 years among Hindu Rajputs, Jats and Mahajans in Rohtak; 2½ years in towns among the higher castes, but 6 years in villages among all castes in Hind; up to 10 years, if unmarried, in Gurgaon; after cutting the teeth in Kapurthala.

It is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to say why the ages reported are so discrepant and what the causes of the discrepancies are. In Kangra stress is laid on the mundan sanskar or tonsure. If a child dies before that rite it is buried under a tree or behind the house; but if it dies after it is burnt. It is generally performed before the child is 22 months old, and only in the case of a male, but a girl child is also buried up to the age of 22 months. All persons more than 22 months old are said to be cremated in this district. So too in Multan children exceeding the age of 5 in general and those whose hair-shaving rite has been performed in particular are cremated. Elsewhere no such rule is known or at any rate reported. Thus in Rohtak among Mahajans, whose children are generally buried if under 5, those under 2 are carried to the burial-ground in the arms but those over 2 are borne on a bier. A child over 5 is cremated. If a child die of small-pox it is set afloat on the Ganges or Jamma. Hindus are especially careful that a child does not die on a cot as it is believed that one who dies on a bed transmigrates into an evil spirit. A dying person is therefore laid on the ground a little before death.

In Siolkot although children over 2 are cremated no kriya karm is performed for those under 10 and both the bones and ashes of such children are set afloat or buried. In Zafarwal tahsil they are interred in burial-grounds. Children who die after these periods are usually burnt in Hissar, though sometimes the body is set afloat on a canal or river— in Rohtak this is done only if the death was due to small-pox, and in Gurgaon victims to that disorder are not burnt even up to the age of 12, but are set afloat on the Jamma or the Ganges, because Sitas

1 In Hissar the custom seems to depend on the parents' position or caste. As a rule a child under 2 years is buried with a cup of milk at its pillow. But among Tohawa children are buried in burial-grounds up to the age of 8, except in the case of pandit families when they are cremated after the age of 8. As a rule only well-to-do people send the remains to the Ganges, but it is indispensable that those of a married person should be cast into that river.

2 But another account says that if a child dies less than 6 months it is buried but not under a tree and no cup of water is placed beside its grave except in the Doogar where the custom of placing the cup beside the grave does prevail.

3 But in the Khangah Dogaon tahsil of this district it is said that a child dying under one year is buried near a bush, while children over that age are cremated and both bones and ashes thrown into a river or canal. Only the bones of those dying when over 11 years of age are sent to the Ganges.

4 But another account from this same district says that among Hindu Jats children under the age of five are generally buried. If a Hindu boy between five and ten years dies, townsmen as well as rich people in villages set the body adrift in the Jamma, while ordinary villagers bury it in the burial-ground. Persons above the age of 10 are cremated. Jats are not townsmen and the account is not easily reconcilable with the one given in the text.
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would be displeased if they were cremated, and the disease would spread. In Amritsar all children dying under 5 are said to be cast into a river or tank, or if that is not possible buried, and if less than one year old buried under a jang tree. Further, it is said, those exceeding 5 years of age are cremated and their kirya karm is performed on the 4th, 7th or 13th day, with reference to their age. In such cases the funeral pile is made of the reeds or sticks on which the body is carried to the crematory.

In Isak Khel children under 1 are buried near the banks of a stream or watercourse, but those who die between 1 and 5 are set afloat on a stream, with a jar of sand tied to the neck so that they may be eaten by fishes. And in Gujarat this is also done, but a second jar, filled with rice and sweetstuff, is also tied round the child’s neck.

Townsmen, and in villages the well-to-do, prefer to set the body of a child afloat on a stream, but villagers as a rule bury their children up to the age of about 10 in Rohtak; but in Montgomery children over 2 but under 5 (or even under 10 among the poor) are set afloat on a stream, those under 2 being buried in pits in a grove of trees. Similarly in Mianwali children under 6 months are buried in pits near the bank of a stream or under the shade of a tree and on the following day a cup of milk is placed near the grave.

Though cremation of children is not unusual, it is not the rule to vouchsafe them all the rites if they die before the age of 10, or even 14. But in Siakot the rule is that up to 2 or 3 children are buried, from 3-5 they are burned and their ashes cast into a running stream, but their bones are not taken to the Ganges unless their age exceeds 5. In Kapurthala the body of a child which has cut its teeth but not reached puberty is cremated, but instead of the kirya kaum only the dasgâtrī is performed. This merely consists in both men and women bathing at a well or river.

In Dera Ghazi Khân the kirya kaum rites of a boy of 10 are brief and only extend over 4 days, and it suffices to cast his bones and ashes into the Indus.

After marriage or attaining puberty the rule is that the body of a child, at whatever its age it may have died, should be cremated.

Children are buried in a place specially set apart for that purpose (called the chhur-gada in Gurgan), and maaid in Jampur.

In Gurdaspur an infant under one year of age is buried under the bed of a stream, if there be one within reach; and a child under two is buried in a lonely spot far from the village and all paths, among bushes and preferably near water.

1 But in Dera Ghazi Khan only men and boys, young or old, who die before the Sital puja is performed, are said to be thrown into a river.
2 In Gujarat it is said to consist in giving an akhira a suit of clothes, which would fit the dead child, on the 4th day when his bones and ashes are cast into a stream. To cut observed on that day it is called the dasgâtrī.
3 Not traceable in dictionaries.
4 Cfr. Ph. Dey, p. 797. maaid = maaid = burning-ground.
In Bahawalpur the body of a child under 6 months is buried under a tree.

The rites at the burial of a child are very simple and have already been noticed incidentally.

A cup of water is often put beside the grave at its head, and in Hissar a cup of sweet water is put by the head of a male child which was not being suckled at the time of its death. Sometimes a cup of milk and some sweetmeats are so placed.

It is a common custom for the relations to bring back on their return from the burial the leaves of a tree or vegetables and cast them into the mother’s lap, in order that she may continue to be fertile. A similar idea underlies the custom in Gujrat, where on the 13th day some vegetables and water are brought into the house in a new earthen jar, to ensure the continuance of the family’s fertility.

In Kapúchala one of the ornaments belonging to a dead child is re-made into a foot-ornament which the mother puts on in order that she may bear another child.

When a child is buried and its body is interred by jackals, there is a widespread belief that the parents will soon have another child, if the marks show that it was dragged towards their home; otherwise, their next child will be long in coming.

Another widespread superstition is that when a child dies its mother should take hold of its shroud and pull it towards her, in order that she may have another child; sometimes too a small piece of the shroud is torn off and sewn on to her head-cloth. After burying a child the relations bring leaves of vegetables (ṣāḍa) and put them in the lap of the mother, in hope that she may get another child. These beliefs are found in Bahawalpur and in Kángra and with variations elsewhere. Thus in Tohána the father or some other relative of the dead child brings green dashh grass and casts it into the mother’s lap. In Isá Khel the mother is forbidden to walk openly in the streets after the death of her child until she has menstruated a second time.

If a child aged between 6 and 8 die leaving a younger brother the parents take a black thread or a red thread equal to its height in length, and tie it round the younger boy’s leg where it remains until he has passed the age at which the elder child died. It is then thrown, with some sugar, into a river. This thread is called ṭāṭā.

In Bahawalpur if a child aged 4 to 6 years who has a younger brother dies the parents take a red thread, touch the body with it and then fasten it round the leg of the younger boy, and it is not removed.

1 In parts of Múnowál this is done by an Árānā.
2 In Pers Ghal Khán they are put into the father’s lap, and he places them in the child’s cradle. If a Hindu child dies in Bahawalpur the mother gets one of its ornaments re-made into one for her own feet, but the custom of dragging the shroud is extinct. Instead of putting greens into the mother’s skirt something such as sweetmeats is put into it.

3 To prevent this fire is kept burning at the grave for 3 days; Karnál. But in Gujrat just the opposite occurs, for the mother places bread on the grave in the hope that it will attract dogs to it and that they will disinter the corpse.
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until he has passed the age at which his elder brother died. This thread is called ḍātī. In Amritsar a child dying in such case is not buried until one of its ornaments has been put on the younger brother and a thread touched by the dead body tied on his right foot. When the younger brother has passed the age on which the child died these are both removed.

Effects of death on the mother.

Care is taken that the shadow of the dead child's mother does not fall on any other woman until the milk disappears from her breasts, lest the other's child pine away and die. When the milk has disappeared from the mother's breasts she is taken to a place outside the town, and there made to bathe and put on new clothes. On her return some green vegetable is put in her skirt.

Effects on subsequent children.

If an infant whose parents are greatly attached to him dies and another child is subsequently born to them they are careful not to make any show of affection for it. Thus if on the occasion of the deceased child's birth they distributed gar or sweetmeats they now distribute onions instead. So too in Banna tahsil those whose children die one after the other distribute gar instead of bathphas or sugarcandy on the birth of another child.

This custom is widely spread and the idea on which it is based gives rise to many similar customs. Thus in Hissār the second child is dressed in clothes begged from another house. In and about Tohāna blue woollen threads with cowries on them are tied to both his feet and not removed until he has passed the age at which the deceased child died. In Karnal the father bores the nass of the son born afterwards and often gives it a girlish or worthless name, with a view to serve away death from it; it being considered that the Death-god (Yāsu) strangles in his nose more male infants than female. In Kāngra nothing is distributed at the birth of such a son and in Montgomery no ceremony is observed on his birth or it is observed with some alterations; e.g. the kinsmen are not feasted at the observance of the shola ceremony. In Shāhpur a child born after 8 or 9 children have died is given iron bangles made of the nails of a boat to put on its feet. In Gujarā if a man's children do not live, he adopts the birth ceremonies of another caste avoiding those of his own.

A similar idea underlies the following custom:

If a man's children do not live, he gives opprobrious names to those born afterwards. Such names are Khotā Rām (khotā, an ass), Tindan (worm), Lotā (an earthen vessel), Leden (camel-dung), Chūhrā (a sweeper), Chūlā (rat), Giddar Mal (jackal), Līla-Līla (kid) and Dadḍū Mal (frog) for boys; and Hirni (a doe), Ral (one mixed with others), Chūhri (a sweepress), Chūfi (she-rat), Chūri (sparrow) and Billo (cat), for girls.1

1 Similar names are given in Montgomery if a man has several daughters successively, the third or fourth being given such names as Akki or Nāuri.
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Effects of subsequent wives.

The pahādī, If a man in Bhakkar lose his first wife and marry again he places a pahādī (1) or silver effigy of his first wife round the neck of the second, distributing, in memory of the former, sweetmeats among young girls. And for the first three nights he and his wife sleep with a naked sword between them.

If he lose his second wife also he is married the third time to an aśplant, or a sheep, so that the marriage to his third wife may be his fourth, not his third. His third wife wears the pahādīs of the first two, and the other rites are also observed.

In Multān if a betrothed child is dying, members of the opposite party take some sweetmeats to him a little before his death. Of this a small quantity is kept and the rest sent back. By this the connection between them is considered to be severed for good.

Effects on a betrothed girl.

If a girl lose her fiancé she is made to stand in the way of the funeral cortège and pass under the hier in order to avert all evil in the future from her own life. In the south-west especially the fiancé's death is kept a secret from the girl's relatives, and rejoicings are actually held by his kinsmen, who go about their business as usual by day, and at night secretly carry out the corpse, wrapped in a blanket, to the burning ground. The fiancé's parents attribute his death to the girl, and her relatives perform rites to avert evil to her.

In Amritsar if either of two affianced parties die the survivor comes to the deceased's house and tries to knock his or her head against the wall. This clashing of head is considered by the deceased's heirs an unlucky omen. If the other party cannot find an opportunity to effect it, he tries to get a chance to touch a piece of cloth with one worn by the deceased. In former times the attempts to get access to the house or possession of such a piece of cloth even led to blows. Even in recent years the belief has led to trouble. Thus in 1903 a betrothed boy died of cholera at Lahore. So closely was the secret of his illness kept that the most essential sanitary precautions were ignored and he was carried out stealthily to be burnt, lest his fiancée should succeed in striking her head on the tharrā or raised platform of his house, which was kept shut up. Failing in this the girl's father got his daughter's forehead marked with small scars and placed her, clad in a red cloth, in a hackney carriage. Accompanied by 3 or 4 persons he stopped it before the boy's house and made the girl alight from the carriage in order to strike her head on the tharrā but she was prevented from doing so by the police posted there at the instance of the boy's father. He next tried to bribe the police but without success; then in desperation he tried to throw his daughter headlong across the tharrā from the roof of the house, but he was prevented from doing this either by the police, and a free fight resulted between his party and them. Unsuccessful in all these attempts, he then went to the shambhās, but its gates had already been locked by the boy's father. The girl's partizans next tried to scale the walls, but those inside threw

(1) Pahādī = co-wife; Multān = country-woman.
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bricks at them, the besiegers retaliated and a hotly contested flight ensued, but at last the boy's body was burnt and his ashes together with below them 8 inches of the earth were put in a cart and taken by another route to the river into which they were thrown.

Effects on a girl widow.

If the husband of a young girl dies his ashes are wrapped in a cloth which is put round the widow's neck in the belief that she will pass the remainder of her life in patience and resignation.

In Montgomery if a young girl becomes a widow, two pieces of red cloth and two of white are put on her on the 14th and 18th days. The red cloth is given her by her own parents and the white by her husband's.

Death rites of the old.

When in Jind an old man is dying the womenfolk of the family prostrate themselves before him and make an offering of money which is the barber's perquisites. If an old man die, leaving grandsons and great-grandsons, his relatives throw silver flowers, shaped like chawas flowers, and silver coins (or if poor, copper coins) over his bier. In Mianwali only Muhammadans and Acharyaas will take these flowers and coins, but towards Multan and generally elsewhere people pick them up and place them round the children's necks, in hopes that they will thus live as long as the deceased. But in some places, such as Hisar, they are taken by the poor. This is the case too in Bhakkar where the same usage prevails in the case of a 'perfect devotee' of an unspecified sect or order who is further honoured by being cast into a river.

In Amritsar much joy is displayed on the death of an old person with living grandsons and great-grandsons and his kinsmen send pitchers full of water for a bath to his eldest son. These are broken and the wood purchased for cremating the body is piled. Flowers of gold and silver, almonds and dried dates passed over the funeral pyre are considered auspicious and the women strive their utmost to pick them up. The pyre is built of wood, wrapped in a silk cloth, which is taken by the Acharya.

Death from disease or violence.

As we have already seen children who die of small-pox are often thrown into water. And in Multan children dying of that disorder, measles or whooping cough are in general thrown into a river, the idea being that the goddess of small-pox must not be burnt or cast into fire. When thrown into a river the body is put in a big earthen vessel full of earth and sand to sink it.

All who die of leprosy are cast into the Jumna. If a man be drowned and his body cannot be found his relatives go to Thanesar,

1 The Rikari, Lahore, of July 16th, 1903.

* In Benna when a young man or an old one dies, the kinsfolk throw copper coins and coins over his bier, and the coins are given to a Muhammadan beggar, but no Hindu beggar will take them.
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and then make an effigy of him which is duly cremated on the banks of the Saraswati.

In Kulu in such a case a *Narain-bal* is performed at a sacred place, such as Kurushhetar in the manner prescribed in the *Skātras*. A lighted lamp is placed on the breast of the corpse, if it has been found; otherwise an image of flour or *kusha* is made and the lamp is put on its breast. It is then cremated in the usual manner.

The lower castes take water in a pot and pour some rapeseed into it. A bee is also put in, and the *chéla* buries the pot on the spot where the death occurred. A fowl is sacrificed there and then all the other performances are observed. The people say that if the *Narain-bal* be not performed the dead man goes to hell.

If in Multán a person dies so suddenly that the lamp cannot be lit before his death it is believed that he will become an evil spirit and to prevent this the person performing the *kirya-karm* goes to the Ganges and performs the *Narain-bal*.

Death at certain times &c.

When a man dies in the *panchak*, idols of *kusha* grass are made, one for each of the remaining days of the *panchak* and burnt with the dead; some perform the ceremony of *panchak śānti* on the *spundi* day.

A death during a solar or lunar eclipse is considered inauspicious and in such cases *grahān śānti* is performed on the *spandi* day, but the other matters of *tas* and *nātekāttar* are not observed.

In Kulu when a man dies without issue or at enmity with his family, an image is made to represent him and worshipped by his survivors and their descendants as an *autār deota* (soulless deity). This image is worshipped before beginning to consume a new crop and at every festival it is kept at the village spring or at home. Non-performance of this ceremony is believed to cause illness or some other evil. The worship is continued indefinitely, as it is believed to do good to the survivors’ descendants for ever.

Other beliefs.

The Kulu people believe in the predictions made by the *chélas* of a *deota* when at a burning place they see some one who was really elsewhere. To avert the danger they sacrifice a sheep, a goat or a fowl and recite certain *mantras*. Some cooked rice and meat are also put in a broken earthen jar and thrown away far from home. A priest or *jotaki* is sometimes consulted and advises charity.

It is unlucky to carry a corpse through a gate or door—lest death subsequently find its way through it. Thus if a death occur in one of the palaces of the Nawabs of Baháwalpur the body is carried out through a hole in the wall. So too in Māler Kotla it is, or used to be, forbidden to bring a body into the town unless permission be obtained to break through the town wall, in which case the body must be brought in and taken out again by that gap,
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**Death customs.**

According to the older astrology the sky was divided into 27 lunar mansions (nakshatras), of which 24 thus lay in each of the 12 zodiacal signs (kurça or rād); and of these nakshatras the last 5, viz. the second half of Dhanishta, Sat Bikka, Parshu-bhadrapad, Utara-bhadrapad and Reoti, occupy the signs of Aquarius (Kumbh) and Pisces (Peśu). This period of 4½ nakshatras is counted as 5 days and thence called panchak, or, dialectically, pannak.

This period is unanny in several ways, and it is especially inauspicious for a death or, to recall the original idea, for a cremation, to occur in it. Any one so dying can only obtain salvation if a śānti or expiatory ceremony be performed on his behalf. This consists in employing 5 Brahmans to recite verses, and on the 27th day after the death, on which the moon is again in the asterism in which the deceased died, the śānti is performed, various things such as clothes, flowers and furniture being given away.

The chief superstitions appertaining to the panchak related, however, to the surviving kin, for the Hindus believe that a death in this period will involve the deaths of as many others of the family as there are days remaining in the panchak. To avert this the corpse should not be burnt until the panchak is over, or if this cannot be avoided as many dolls are made of cloth of the darabh or dabh grass (or among the well-do of copper or even gold) as there are days remaining. The dolls may also be made of cloth or cowdung, and in some places a branch of a mango tree is carried with the corpse and is burnt with it, as in Sirmur. In Derā Ghāzi Khān wooden dolls are made. These are placed on the bier along with the dead body, and burnt with it. For instance, if a person dies on the 2nd day of the panchak, 3 dolls, and if on the 3rd, 2 dolls are made, and burnt with the corpse.

As always various additions to or variations of the rite occur locally. Thus in the Simla Hills, at least among the higher castes, 5 dolls are made and placed with the body, which is then carried out by the door, but 5 arrows are placed on the threshold. These arrows must each be cut in twain by a single sword-cut, otherwise as many persons will die as there are arrows remaining uncut, while the swordsman himself will die within the year. Great care is taken lest an enemy possess himself of the dolls. After the corpse has been burnt tirunjali is given 5 times in the name of the 5 dolls. Then 5 Brahmans recite mantras, and make, usually in a thākurdwar, a chautok on which they arrange 5 jars, one in the centre and one at each corner. Into these are poured water and pung-amrut, and they are then closed with bits of red silk on top of which are put copper plates with images of Vishnu, Shiva, Indra, Jām and Bhairop, one god engraved on each. The appropriate mantras are recited at least 1250, but not more than 125,000 times for each god and mantras are then recited in honour of

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1. Note the custom of not burning children under 27 months of age. It is apparently inauspicious to associate 27 with burning.

2. But one account says that 5 dolls are always burnt, irrespective of the number of days remaining. These are named Fret-bah,—makh-ap, bhumip and banta, and, after being worshipped with flowers etc. are placed on the pyre, at the head, shoulders, left arm, and feet of the corpse; Khalsa.
Hindu death observances.

Gatri and Trikāl (?). After the recitations are finished a ḫusān is performed. The Brahmins are fed and fed, and then take water from each jar and sprinkle it over the members of the deceased's family. This removes the evil effects of the death in the panchāk. The head of the family also performs a chhaya-dūdā.

In the Pachhād tahāsī some people fill a new earthen pot with water from 5 different tanks or rivers and hang it from the door of the house by a rope made of 5 kinds of twine. The water of the Giri, or of large tanks which never run dry, is preferred. In the cis-Giri country a panchāk shāstī is performed by a Brahman who recites mantras. The corpse is not burnt on the ordinary burning ground but in some other place and, if practicable, in the lands of another village; and Brahmins are feasted one day before the ordinary time. People do not venture to wear new clothes or jewels, buy or sell cattle, lay the foundation of a house or take any new work in the hand during the panchāk days.

Some of the Muhammadan peasantry in Bahāwalpur believe in the panchāk, but according to them any one dying in the first or last 5 days of a lunar month is said to have died in the panchāk; and the belief is that 5 or 7 members of the family must then die. The following measures are taken:

(i) While carrying the coffin they sprinkle mustard seed on the road to the graveyard. (ii) Bine pūthas (small beads used by girls for decorating dolls) are put into the mouth of the corpse. (iii) A piece of ḍā plant is buried with the body. (iv) After the body has been buried, an iron peg is driven into the ground outside the grave, towards the deceased's head.

If a person dies during the panchāk and his relations knowingly omit these ceremonies at his funeral, and deaths ensue in the family, they exhume the body, and ignorant people believe that it will by then have grown long teeth and eaten its shroud. Some sever the head from the corpse; others think it sufficient to drive a nail into the skull.

The occurrence of a death in the panchāk also modifies the rites observed after the cremation. Thus on the 7th or 8th day after such a death orthodox Hindus of Dērā Ghazi Khān sometimes make an image of 360 pieces of wood or of drāh grass and burn it, with full rites; and on the 27th a special panchāk shānti is performed.

In Gujrat on the 13th or 27th day after death the Hindus fill 5 jars with grain of various kinds and make 5 dolls of metal—gold, silver or copper according to their means. These images are then worshipped and fed with butter, curds etc., and 5 Brahmins recite mantras, receiving Rs. 1-4 (5 4-anna pieces) for their services.

In Sirhind, on the corresponding day of the panchāk in the following month, a door frame, made of līthī mu wood, is erected beside the house-door through which the corpse was taken out; and in this 7 different kinds of grain are stuck with cowdung. A special mantra is recited on these before they are stuck to the door. A he-goat's ear is also cut off and the blood sprinkled upon the frame. If these
ceremonies are not performed as many people of the family or the village will die as there are days of the *panchak* remaining.

It is not easy to say what are the precise ideas originally underlying the *panchak* observances, but it would appear as if the leading idea was that anything which occurs during this period is liable to recur. For this reason it is unwise to provide anything likely to catch fire—lest it get burnt and a funeral pyre ensue—during the *panchak*. Accordingly fuel should not be bought, cloth purchased or even sewn, beds be bought or houses thatched; nor should a pilgrimage be undertaken towards the south, or indeed at all; nor should one sleep with one's head towards the south. It is indeed unlucky to commence any new work, but as a set-off to the prevailing gloom of the period it is peculiarly auspicious, at least in the south-west Punjab, for Hindu women to wear ornaments during the *panchak* days, the idea being that they will get as many more ornaments as there remain days before the period expires.

If in Sirmur a corpse has to be burnt on a Wednesday an iron nail or peg is fixed at the spot where the death occurred, near the head, before the body is removed. Otherwise another death will occur in the house within a year. Generally speaking this superstition is only common among Hindus, Muhammadans disregarding it.

In the Simla Hills it is believed that if a corpse be burnt on a Sunday or a Tuesday, another will soon be burnt on the same ground.

If a person dies in the Swati *nakshatra* the following ceremony is performed, lest many deaths occur among the brotherhood and the villagers. After the body has been burnt 5 wooden pegs are driven into the ground, at the spot where it was burnt, in a peculiar shape, and round these an untwisted cotton thread is tied. As the mourners go back a hole is made in the road, at a short distance from the pyre, and in this a he-goat's head is buried with a loaf made of 7 kinds of grain, and a *patka* in which are fixed 7 iron nails besmeared with goat's blood and over which a special *mantra* is recited.

In the trans-Giri country if a person dies during the Swati or Mūl *nakshatras*, or on the 1st or 7th day of either half of the lunar month 4 pegs of *thimbu* wood are fixed to the door of the house in which the death occurred, and a white woolen thread is tied round them, while *mantras* are recited. Seven kinds of grain are also stuck with cow-dung on to the upper part of the door. Six more deaths will take place among the relations or villagers if this ceremony is not performed for a death occurring in the Swati or on the *saptami* (7th) day of either half of the month, and an indefinite number will ensue on a death in the Mula or on the Purima (first day of either half).

In the Simla Hills in the country beyond Pāgū, a death in Makar (Capricorn) portends the deaths of 7 kinsmen, and to avert its consequences 7 dolls are made and 7 arrows cut in precisely the same way as in the *panchak* rite. This superstition is called *satah* (from *sāt* 7). In the same part of the hills it is also believed that if a die in

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* A wooden tube through which seed is poured on to ploughed land.
the nakshatra of B's birth, B will die within the year, or fall victim to a dire disease. To avert this a rite is held in honour of Mahamurti ji, when the nakshatra recurs. B is covered with a white cloth and the Brahman, after performing a chhaya-dan, worships with offerings of 7 kinds of grain. In some places a he-goat is killed over B's head; but elsewhere the following is the ritual:—By night a large loaf of wheat-flour is baked, and round it lamps are lighted, a flour image of Jagni Devi being placed on its centre. About midnight a Brahman puts this loaf etc. before B and mutters mastrás, offering 7 kinds of grain over his head and putting them also on the loaf. Then he sacrifices it over his head and takes it with 5 bālis (victims, ordinarily he-goats) to the burning-ground, a few men following him. As he goes he signals for the sacrifices to be offered at various spots along the road, and those who follow him observe perfect silence, under pain of death, and do not look back, as that would vitiate the ceremony. The party, moreover, must not return to their homes that night but spend it in the forest or another village. At the burning-ground the Brahman deposits the loaf there and a he-goat is sacrificed, its flesh being consumed by the party on the spot, anything left being the Brahman's perquisite.

In the Simla Hills if the drum beaten at a Kanet funeral emit a loud sharp note, it is believed to portend another death in the village, and the rites in vogue are ineffective to prevent it.

In the Simla Hills the Kanets and lower castes, especially, after collecting the bones to take to Hardwar, drive two wooden pegs into the ground and place a mill-stone on the site of the pyre, enclosing it with thorns, in order to weigh down dam, the god of burning-grounds, for several days. Otherwise he would devour people.

In the Simla Hills the musicians and the makers of the bandas or hearse go to the burning-ground and kindle fire in a large stove for warmth, but if any one's shadow fall on the stove he will, it is believed, die within the year: or if part of his shadow fall on it, he will suffer sickness. Sitting round the stove these men profess to see a spirit flying through the air, as if impelled by some force into the stove. This spirit they identify as that of some one still living and to avert the omen he worships nakshatra and offers sacrifices.

It is usual in the Simla Hills, especially among Kanets, to drive two pegs, one at the head, the other at the feet, of the corpse, in order to prevent a demon's entering into it. If a demon does so, the body will grow to a great height and, standing erect, devour the survivors of its family. With the same object a lamp is also lit close by the corpse, and a weapon placed near it. If, when the pyre is lighted, the corpse fold a piece of the wood in its arms, it is taken as an omen that another of the family will soon die. This belief is held by the Kanets and lower castes of the Simla Hills, who in some parts think that if the ghostly effigy of the dead be seen wandering round the house, or if his voice be heard calling any one by name, he who is called or sees the ghost will die. It is believed that the spirit can find no home. In such cases Nasair-bal or Gaya-pint is also performed.
Moslem death observances.

If within 4 years of a death in the Simla Hills any one of the deceased’s family be attacked by 

*audra* it is supposed that the dead man’s funeral rites were not duly performed. So a Brahman is called in to ascertain all details by astrology: and a *chela* is sent into an ecstacy (*kholad*) until he reveals who it is that has become *pitar*. An image of the *pitar* must then be made, lest the sufferer become a leper, and a rupee placed before the *chela* by the members of the family, who give the *pitar* a certain period—6 months or a year—in which to cure the patient, if he desires to be worshipped as a true *deota*, otherwise they will have recourse to a doctor. For this period the patient is left without treatment of any kind. If he recovers, a temple is built to the *pitar* otherwise he gets nothing. Such diseases are attributed to those dead whose *gati* or funeral rites were not performed, or who died a violent death, or who when in extremis felt a longing not to quit their family or yearned for wealth and re-union; or who sacrificed their lives to their devotion to their families.

SECTION 10.—MUHAMMADAN DEATH OBSERVANCES.

Occasionally, for instance in Gujrat, old people who see their end drawing nigh build their own tombs, while still alive. And if they feel misgivings that their death rites will not be properly performed they feast their kinsfolk and the poor in anticipation of death. In Gurgaon a good many men get their graves constructed of masonry and filled with grain before death. The grain remains there till their death and is given away in alms at their burial.

Aminets &c. are used to escape death. The *Imam zandah ho rapya* is also protective, and as many as seven goats are sacrificed. Sometimes a disease is taken for the influence of an evil spirit. By others it is ascribed to the displeasure of Mriran Sahib, Madar Sahib and Khwaja Sahib. The remedy is the sacrifice of a he-goat in the saint’s name. Sometimes unmarried girls are feasted to secure recovery from sickness.

As soon as the shadow of the Angel of Death falls on a dying person, the first duty of his (or her) kinsfolk is to straighten the limbs, close the eyes and mouth of the deceased, place his hands one over the other on the breast and set his cot north and south so that his soul may depart with its face towards Mecca. Members of his family mourn and preparations are begun by his kinsfolk for digging the grave.

On the death of her husband a wife breaks her bangles and takes off all her jewellry in sign of widowhood.

Strict followers of the Muhammadan law recite the *Sura-i-yasin* or other verses relating to pardon for sins near one who is at the point of death. They also ask him to recite them himself. It is believed that this recital will draw his attention to one direction only and that if he dies he will not suffer any difficulty at the time of death.

In Ludhiana when the case is seen to be hopeless verses from the *Quran* are recited, and just before death the medicines are stopped and

* A disease in which blisters appear all over the body; while the extremities are inflamed. (Not in P. Dict.)

* This is called *rakh sir karna* in Ambala.
pure honey with sweet water is given to the dying person in a spoon. The kalima is whispered to him and he is also hidden to recite it himself. He is now made to look towards the north.

In Gujrat something sweet, honey as a rule, or if that is not procurable, sherbat is poured into the dying person's mouth.

In Kapurthala it is explained that the kalima literally means that God alone is worthy to accept devotion and that Muhammad is His Prophet, and that it is intended that the dying man may carry with him the idea of the unity of God. It is only when he is unable to speak that the Sura-i-yasin is recited to him. When he breathes his last the people burst into cries of mourning and females begin to beat their breasts, but in culverted circles the shock is borne with resignation and the bereaved repeat: - *La ilâha illallâhu ma'sa ilâhe rajun, *we have come from God and to Him we will return.*

But in Gujrat when the end is seen to be near the mullick is sent for to recite the Sura-i-yasin or other passages from the Qur'an and this is called *Husaini porhaa* although the Muhammadans in this district are Sunnis. If a mullick is not available a relative or friend can officiate. Great importance is also attached to the repetition of the kalima. All those standing round the death-bed repeat it and the dying person is required to do so too until the end approaches. A person dying with its words on his or her lips is considered to have had a happy end. In the ordinary affairs of life, a Muhammadan will take an oath: - 'Be it my lot not to be able to repeat the kalima on my death-bed, should I fail to do such and such a thing.'

In the Leih tahsil of Mianwali a form of death-bed confession is found. It is called *hadia Qur'an.* If the dying person is in his senses he takes the Qur'an in his hands and confesses all his sins, saying that he has brought God's own words (in the Qur'an) as a claim to forgiveness. At the same time alms of different kinds equal in value to the Qur'an or the book itself is given to a poor orphan or a mullick who places it in the mosque where the village boys read. If however the dying man is not in his senses his rightful heir performs this rite.

When the bier has been carried out of the house, the people stand in one or two rows or as many as the space permits or as there may be present, with a mullick in front of them to pray for the deceased. This is called *nawa' janaah.* After this another hadia is given and then those not closely connected with the bereaved family return while those of the brotherhood generally accompany the funeral to the burial ground where again when the grave is ready and it is time to bury the body a similar hadia is made by the heir.

When the body is buried, the mullick standing at the tomb calls out the hadia, the belief being that when the deceased who, by the departure of the soul, lives in a sleeping posture hears the call, he being a Muslim pronounces the *La ilâha illallâhu-Muhammadur-rasûl-Allâhe* and the two angels Munkir and Nakir, who recorded all his sins during life, go away thinking him a Muslim who according to Islam is free from all pain when he repeats the above verse.
Moslem death observances.

If the deceased was one of a well-to-do family and died a day or two before Friday eve, his heirs engage some khat or mulukh to sit day and night at his tomb and repeat verses until that night, it being thought that on that auspicious night he will not be called to account for his sins and that afterwards God will also show him mercy.

The brotherhood on the night after the death raise money by subscription and manage somehow to provide food for those who accompanied the funeral to the burial-ground. This is called kant tafte dh roff or kant reff which must not be confounded with musir-chhor or muss-chhor which is the food supplied to the bereaved family by its nearest relation.

In Kângra the face of the dying person is turned towards Meeca. If possible the corpse is buried on the day of death but when this cannot be done the Qurâan is recited and a knife placed upon the body to keep off evil spirits.

In Gurgân two classes of Muhammadans must be distinguished. The first includes the immigrant Shaikh, Sayid, Mughal, Pathân and Bâloch and the second the indigenous Meeo, Khânzâda and Râjpûta converted to Islam by the former. But a large number of these converts have now become assimilated to the former class, and owing to this many Hindu customs have been adopted even by the immigrant classes though in a somewhat altered form, and they are of course still observed by Muhammadans who embraced Islam recently. Other Muhammadans of inferior rank found as tenants in villages are the Časâ, Kânjra, Bhiâdâra, Manbiâr, Saqqa, Nâi, Mîrâsi, Dhumna, Teel and Rângrez, who are dependants of the two groups mentioned above and being affected by their influence observe the same rites and ceremonies as they do. When a body is taken to the graveyard the hier is set down at least once on the way. This is called maqâm dema. At this spot the head is always kept to the north. After the burial some grain and copper coins are given there in aims.

The place where a person breathed his last and was washed is called tahad and a lamp is kept burning there for 40 or at least 10 days. A man always remains sitting on the tahad.

Washing the body.

The body is washed with various rites and by various agents. For example in Gurgân some of those present at the death who are acquainted with the doctrines of Islam wash the body with the heirs' permission. If it be washed in a river or tank it will not require tahad, but if washed inside the house a rectangular pit of the height of a man and 4 or 5 feet deep called tahad must be made for it. A flat board prepared from a public fund raised for this purpose is then put up over the tahad. Then the body is laid on the board, with its face to the east and feet to the west. The clothes are removed and the private parts covered with a piece of cloth. The garments of the deceased as well as the clothes of the bed on which he died are given to beggars. After this the washing is begun. First the dirt on the body is removed with gram flour &c. A first bath is given with sandal water, the second with
Moslem death observances.

camphor water and the third with pure water. But Sunnis bathe the body with hot water. The body of a male is washed by males and that of a female by females. Those who are to wash the body are chosen at the will of the family. One of them supplies the water, another pours it on the body and the third rubs it on. The private parts are not touched. Meanwhile the people assembled in the deceased’s house recite prayers for the benefit of the departed soul. Rich people have the Qur’an recited over the deceased person from his demise till the 3rd day, and sometimes the recitations are prolonged for a full year or more. These customs are in vogue among those who are to some extent educated or well-to-do. New converts observe them in a much simpler way.

In Gujrat the body is washed on a wooden board (patra) kept expressly for this purpose by the mullah, with water drawn fresh from a well and mixed with green leaves from a ber tree. Only if the weather is cold is the water moderately warmed. If the deceased was a woman 3 or 4 of her silver ear-rings are given to the woman who washes her body. In other parts of the province, however, the mullah properly perform other functions. For example in Jullundur a special class of mullahs called mureda-sho washes the body of the deceased Moslem. But elsewhere such a duty does not appear to be performed by any special class. Thus in Shahpur each mosque is in charge of an ain or ulama who teaches the boys to repeat the Qur’an and officiates at weddings and funerals. But, it is also said, the mullah recites the burial service (nuska) accompanied by the mourners. He gets as his fee a copy of the Qur’an and a rupee or two, and he is also feasted with the guests.

In Ludhiana immediately after the death the kinsfolk are notified through the barber and the ghusul (washer of the body) is sent for. Meanwhile the Qazi prepares the shroud. The body is washed in hot water being kept covered down to the knees. Rose water and camphor are also sprinkled over it. After this it is laid on a couch which is then carried to the grave-yard.

For the bath hot water with ber leaves boiled in it, soap and sweet-scented things such as rose water, camphor, sandal &c. are required.

The bath being prepared the body is laid on a wooden board with its feet facing west and veiled from sight with sheets. Only the washerman (or woman as the case may be) and the nearest of kin remaining inside. The deceased’s clothes are removed, the waist-cloth being used to cover the body from the navel to the knees. The washerman then rubs it with soap and water, towels being used to dry it and sandalwood burnt to give it fragrance. Then the shroud, cut in two, is spread over the bed and the body is laid on one half and covered with the other down to the knees. Verses from the Qur’an are written on the shroud with burnt charcoal or clay. Camphor dissolved in rose-water is painted

1 Purser, Jall. S. R., p. 68.
2 Shahan Gazetteer, 1897, p. 85.
3 Ib., p. 3.
4 Sometimes the salma or aqalul-hauri is written on the cloth.
Moslem death observances.

on every joint, the higher classes using scents instead. The lower sheet is then wrapped round the corpse, and knotted in three places, on the head, on the waist and over the feet. A copy of the Qur'ān is placed at the head of the body, and the nearest of kin, friends and others are shown the face of the deceased for the last time, accompanied with weeping. A red cloth is thrown over the corpse, if the deceased is an aged person.

Sometimes the toes of the hands and feet are tied together with a piece of cloth. This is called zānāh. Similarly a piece of cloth is tied round the head across the chain to shut the mouth. This is called tahā-al-hanāk.

Ceremonies regarding the shroud.

After washing the body it is dried with white napkins and is laid on the cot on which it is to be carried to the graveyard and on which the shroud has been already spread. Before it is shrouded camphor is rubbed on the body as ordained by the shārī'ah on all the points which touch the ground when the head is bowed in prayer. Then the shroud is wrapped round the body.

In Gurgāon Shī'ah Muhammadans use the shroud on which verses from the Qur'ān are stamped with earth from Mecca, or if it be not obtainable they use white cloth as shroud and print the verses on it. As regards this the Shī'ahs believe that followers of Hazrat All are exempted from the sorrows of the tomb and the fires of Hell and so they print verses on the shroud to let the angels know that the deceased was a Shī'ah and to prevent their troubling him. It is considered essential by some tribes to shroud the body of a female in red cloth.

The Chhīmba (tailor or washerman) comes to the house without being called to supply cloth for the shroud &c. Country cloth is preferred for this as more durable. About 30 yards are required as the grave clothes consist of two sheets, a shroud, a prayer-cloth, four towels and a waist-band.

Among the agricultural tribes such as the Rājput, Awān, Jat, Gujar, Dogar and Arān of Ludhiana woman spin cotton with folded feet in the month of Ramzan and make cloth which is kept in boxes for use as shrouds exclusively. It is always 40 yards in length. In towns the cloth is purchased from the bazar.

In tahsil Jāmpur, Dera Ghāzi Khān, when the body is dressed in the shroud (kaftan) a piece of cloth called kaftān, wetted with dā'ī-rumān or water from the well at Mecca and inscribed with the words bi'llūhīn-ul-rūhīn-ul-rahīm and the kalimā, together with some khāk-i-shafā or earth from Mecca, is placed on the breast. If these articles are not procurable the kaftān is wetted with ordinary water and a clean clot of earth used.

In Gujrat the mullah merely writes the kalimā on the shroud in gerō (?).

In Gurgāon if a woman die in child-birth some superstitious females tie an attāt (skīn) of cotton thread on her legs as she is believed
to have died in impurity and it is feared she may become an evil spirit and injure the family. As a further precaution a man throws mustard seeds behind her bier from the place of her death all the way to the grave-yard and on reaching it he drives in 4 nails, one at each corner, and the 5th in the middle of the grave. By doing this, it is believed, the departed soul will not return.

The husband may not touch the body of his dead wife or even help to carry her coffin though comparative strangers may do so. If the deceased was old and his heirs are in easy circumstances and disposed to pomp, singers are engaged to lead the procession singing the maulād verses, a narration of Muhammad's birth, loudly in chorus. Every Muhammadan seeing a procession on its way to the grave-yard is religiously bound to join it. On arrival there ablutions are performed by the funeral party, preparatory to prayer. The coffin being placed in front, those who are to join in prayer arrange themselves into 3 or 5 rows, the maulādh leading the service. This over, permission is given to all present to depart, but as a rule very few leave at this stage. All present sit on the ground and the ceremony of askāt is performed, but only in the case of adults, minors being regarded as innocent and not answerable for their doings. The askāt is thus performed.

Some cooked meal and cash, varying in amount according to the means of the parties, with a copy of the Qurān, are placed before the maulādh in a basket. Another man sits in front of him so that it lies between them. The maulādh then says solemnly: "The deceased failed to obey certain commandments and to refrain from certain acts on Saturdays during his or her life. This meal, cash and Qurān are given in atonement for these sins": and so saying he passes the basket with its contents to the other man who gives it back again. The maulādh again hands it over to him with the same words, but refers to the deceased's sins on the Sundays in his life. This is repeated for each day of the week. The maulādh is then paid Re. 1 with the copy of the Qurān, and the body is interred. The sheet spread over the coffin is now given to the Nāb (barber). After the interment the cash and meal in the basket are distributed in alms. Informal prayers are again said for the benefit of the deceased and the funeral procession returns to the house of the deceased.

In Sialkot the askāt is performed before the burial. Several maulāds sit in a circle, the leader being given a copy of the Qurān; a rupee and some copper coins, grain, salt, sweetsmeat &c. are also placed before him. Then one of the maulāds makes over the sins of the deceased to another, he to a third and so on till the circle is completed. By this it is believed that the deceased's soul is freed from the penalty of sin. Lastly the head maulād distributes the cash &c. among the poor and the other maulāds. If the deceased was old, clothes are distributed among the poor. The Qurān and a rupee are taken by the maulād himself.

In Shahpur poor people only borrow a copy of the Qurān which changes hand for seven days simply as a matter of form. It is borrowed from a maulād who is given Re. 1-4.

* The nād-i-bādīs regard askāt as an innovation and do not observe it.
Moslem death observances.

Some of the deceased's relatives sit near the cot with the Qazi who takes the Quran in his hands, and offers it on the part of the deceased, as a sacrifice for his sins. The book then changes hands, the Qazi is paid a rupee or more according to the position of the party's, and the Quran is thus redeemed.

The followers and mourners in the meantime have washed their hands & c. for prayer. The Qazi having spread the carpet stands forward, with his face towards the corpse, which is placed with its head to the north. Behind him the followers stand in odd lines and pray after which the corpse is taken to the grave into which it is lowered to two men who descend and place it in the tahd (burial niche). In sandy tracts, the knots tying the corpse are undone to admit of this being done. If the tahd is in one of the sides, the opening is closed with alodas or earthen vessels, if in the centre, with fuel wood. All the bystanders take a little earth in their hands, repeat some verses over it, and drop it at the head of the corpse. The cot is turned on its side as soon as the body has been taken off and in the case of an aged person the red cloth is given to the barber or sirrast. While the grave is being filled in the Qazi recites the khataw or final prayer and then all present raise their hands to supplicate forgiveness for the deceased. The tosha is next distributed among the poor. When a corpse is carried out a cup of water is emptied to ensure the family's future safety. The cot brought back after the burial is not allowed to stand lengthwise.

When the body has been washed and is being placed in the coffin 7 cakes are cooked in the house and with some grain carried out with the corpse to the burial-ground. These cakes are called tosho ki roti or 'bread for the journey' as it is believed that this food will be needed by the dead person on his road to the other world. While the body is being carried to the burial-ground all who accompany it recite the kalima. At the ground all recite the prayer for the dead, standing in a circle round the body, and then lower it into the grave. The toshe ki roti and grain are then given to the poor. In some places after the burial a call to prayer (daan) is made and a prayer offered for the soul of the departed. After these everyone returns expressing their sorrow and sympathy with the relations of the deceased and go home. In some places the women of the family cause fathas to be recited in the name of the brown worms of the tomb in the belief that they will dictate to the dead person the correct answers to the questions put by Munikir and Nakir.

So too in Baja while the body is being washed tosha (food for charitable purposes) consisting of halal, boiled rice with sugar, and leaves is made ready in the house. The cot is lifted up, the towels and the waist-cloth going to the washerman (or woman as the case may be). Four men lift up the four legs of the cot, but as many men as can do so relieve them on the way, reciting verses from the Qur'an all the while, regarding this as an act of piety. The cot and tosha are set down outside the cemetery.

So too in Kanpur the carrying of the body is considered good for the soul of the carrier and for this reason the corpse is carried by the attendants turn by turn.
Moslem death observances.

But in Isma Khel when a body is carried to the graveyard all except the near relatives are given two annas each, so that the deceased's soul may not be indebted to them for their toil. Poor people however only give the bearers sweetened rice on a Thursday. The food given in this way is called *khetee*. The body before being taken to the burial-ground is shrouded in a cloth which is taken by the carpenter or ironsmith.

Ceremonies at the burial of the dead.

After washing and shrouding the body it is taken to the graveyard, the cot on which it is laid being carried by all the collaterals in turn but not by the nearest kinsmen such as the father, son &c. On the way to the graveyard they recite sacred verses, the *kalima* and prayers for the deceased. At a short distance from the graveyard the bier is set down north and south at a spot swept clean and all those present recite the funeral prayers. But they do not bow the head at this rite and only invoke blessings for the departed soul. Then the bier is carried on to the graveyard. The grave is always dug from north to south, and has two chambers, the lower, called *taqad*, in which the body is placed being as long as a man's height. The face of the body is kept towards the Qibla, that of a man being laid by men while that of a female is laid by her husband and other near relatives. Then the *taqad* is filled up with stones and bricks in such a way that earth from the upper walls may not fall on it. The upper part of the grave is then filled in with earth by all the mourners except the deceased's heirs. When filled in water is sprinkled over it and the *shādor* in which the dead body was wrapped is spread over it. The members of the funeral party now recite the * preliminary verses or verses from the Qur'ān for the benefit of the departed soul and on their return condole with the heirs. They then depart to their homes. Food and *khat￥* which are called *tosh* as well as grain and cash are carried in some quantities to the graveyard and distributed among beggars after the burial.

When the *janāzah* of the corpse is being carried out in Dera Ghazi Khan the *Qur'ān* is placed on the cot near the body and sweet-scented flowers, rose-water, otto of roses &c. are put on the shroud. Both the flowers and *Qur'ān* are removed when it is lowered into the grave.

When the body is taken out for burial some of those accompanying it recite the *mail ID sharif*, others the *kalima sharif*, slowly, until they reach the place where prayers called *nawād-in-janāzah* are said. After the prayers the *mail ID* who read the *janāzah* stands close to the head of the deceased and calls on the assembly to give the benefit of the words, i.e. the *kalām darid, khātma Qur'ān* or whatever they may have read before and then raises his hands, forgives the words read in favour of the deceased and prays for the forgiveness of his sins. After the prayer is finished the heir stands up and permits the people to go by calling out aloud, *rukhshat da*, thrice. Then all who congregated for the sake of prayer return home while members of brotherhood carry the corpse to the tomb.
In Gurgão, while the body is being carried to the grave-yard some water is thrown behind the bier on the way as it is believed that it will bring resignation to the deceased's heirs. The women of houses on the route taken by the bier also cast the water out of their vessels, chew nim leaves and spit on the ground. The water is thrown out so that the departed soul may not stay in any vessel containing water and the nim leaves are chewed as a token that the shock is unbearable.

Dera Ghazi Khan.

When the body is lowered into the grave the mullah is asked to write the kalima sharif with a stick on a mud brick which is put in the grave near the deceased's head. When the body is in the grave the mullah calls on each of those present to recite the swat ikhtalis over 7 clods of earth and puts them together near the head of the deceased. Then all join in filling the tomb with earth.1

Gurgón.

Most of the Shias and some Sunnis place a written paper called akhdu'ama in the deceased's mouth in the grave. This 'agreement' contains a declaration by him of the principles and doctrines of Islam and it is placed on him with the idea that he may not be terrified at the questions put to him by Munkir and Nakir when they appear before him with dreadful locks, but may answer them with the aid of the agreement.

In Gurgón two loaves with ghī and sugar spread over them are tied in a handkerchief and are sent to the graveyard through a faqīr with a pitcher full of cold water and a goblet, placed one over the other. After the burial the faqīr recites the fatīha over the bread and takes it to his house. These breads are called tsahha (provisions for the journey). As in life a man requires provisions for a journey so a dead person requires tsahha on his last journey from his house to the grave.

1In Kohat the female neighbours assemble at the house and standing round the body continue to weep and beat their breasts and slap their faces. A matron leads the mourning and the rest will in short order after her.

Meanwhile the deceased's friends and relations assemble for the funeral procession (janda) which is proceeded by mullahs carrying from 3 to 21 Qur'ans according to his rank. Women take no part in the assembly. At a short distance from the grave the corpse is set down, while the prayers for the dead (Arabic janda) are recited, the mourners ranging themselves behind the leading mullah (as tsahma) in lines of odd numbers varying from three to seven.

After the prayers money is distributed to the mullahs present, with grain and salt and a few copies of the Qur'an. Cash and grains are also given to the poor there present. At a child's funeral the grain and salt are replaced by sweetmeats. The body is then taken to the grave which is dug north and south and after it has been set down and laid with the face to the west, stones are placed over it and the earth filled in. In the case of a man two tombstones are erected, one at the head, the other at the feet. For a woman a third stone is set up in the centre.

There are two kinds of graves—one on the ishādat system containing a side sepulchre for the body, and the other a pit (chāmusa) dug deep in the ground with an enclosing wall of stone or brick about 4 feet high. After the body has been returned to the dust the mullah recites the law of inheritance (mārds ād. masal) and then all present offer prayers, invoking blessings on the deceased.

Some of the mourners then accompany his heirs home and they give them cooked rice &c. (some is also given to the poor) and then dismiss them. Next day kinfolk assemble in a mosque and offer prayers for the deceased. On the 3rd day 30 sipadās of the Qur'an are handed in separate parts to mullahs and others who can read, so that the
Moslem death observances.

Only two loaves are given because, it is said, Noah satisfied the hunger of Anak, who was of a great stature and whose hunger was never appeased, with only two loaves. Moreover it is often related in the miracles of saints and piyas who passed their lives in forests that they received two loaves and a goblet of water from God. So it is believed that a man's daily food as fixed by the Almighty is two loaves and a goblet of water. Darâ Shikoh also, when imprisoned by Alamgir, wrote to him that he only required two loaves and a cup of water.

It is essential that no flesh should be used in the tosha and so sugar and ghâr are used instead, because the food of people in Heaven generally consists of sweet things as is evident from the fact that there canals of milk and honey are believed to flow. The water of Kauzar, a stream in heaven, is sweeter than honey and whiter than milk or ice. In the time of Moses, manna and kalas (a savoury food) were received by the Israelites in the wilderness. As to this tradition the people, contrary to what is written in the religious books, believe that these things were received from the sky in large plates and were softer and whiter than carded cotton and sweeter than anything on earth.

A dying person is laid with his face towards the Qibla and verses of the Qur'an, especially the Sura-i-yasin, are recited. A copy of the Qur'an and a little money are caused to be given by his hand in charity to a mulâkas. Kinmen and relatives repeat the kalms aloud so that on hearing it he may do the same. In villages grain &c. is distributed to the poor in alms. When life is extinct, the face is wrapped in a cloth and a shroud and a bath are prepared. The shroud consists of 3 clothes in the case of a male and 5 in the case of a female. There must be one red cloth in the latter case. If the deceased was a young female a gahma (cradle) is also made of white cloth. Moreover a dhodna consisting of a dupatta or sheet of white muslin (manal) or striped (dorafa) and a red dopatta, is put on the body and after burial one is given to the barber and the other to the washerman. This dhodna is given simply as a social usage. After the bath one ear-ring is given to the woman who washed the corpse and the other to the washerman. If the deceased was an old woman a coloured shawl (doshâta) is put on her and given to the barber after the burial.

When the bier is carried out to the graveyard some grain, halâwâ (a kind of pudding made of flour, ghâr and sugar) and bread are taken with it and when the recital of the funeral prayers is over a rupee is given to the person who gave the bath and a rupee or a copy of the Qur'an to the whole recitation may be finished in a short time. After its conclusion sweetmeats are distributed by the deceased's heirs and then one of the mulâkas observes the Kil Khãned (a recitation of certain Sures of the Qur'an called Kàl) and is given some such as his head. Then follows the destâh and or formal recognition of the heir.

Every evening for 30 days the heirs supply food to the mulâkas and every night a lamp is lit at the place where the body was washed. For some weeks too food is distributed every Thursday to the poor in his name, and on the last Thursday clothing, sweetmeats &c. are given to the mulâkas and a general feast to the kindreds. For 2 or 3 years on the anniversary of the death the heirs distribute food and alms to the poor.

The cost of a funeral of an average agriculturist including food and alms may vary from Rs. 5 to Rs. 50 according to his position.
Moslem death observances.

_Imam_ of the mosque. If the deceased was an old man or woman, people generally distribute pice in charity to such _fakirs_ and blind men as may be present at the grave. The bread, _hats & c._ mentioned above, are also given in alms. Some people also appoint _hafiz_ or readers of the Qur'an to recite verses from it at the grave till the following Thursday. In the case of an old man's death, _খাতম_ of his family are also given a rupee or 3 annas each. This custom is not in force among the followers of Muhammad. When after the funeral they come back to the house any near kinsman or neighbour gives a meal to the bereaved family. One meal is always considered essential, but if there are more houses of brotherhood 3 meals at the outside are given. Immediately on the return from the funeral, rice and 4 loaves are sent to the person who bathed the body or to the mosque in the name of the deceased. But this custom is not observed by the _ahl-i-hadis._

The deceased's heirs do no business for 3 days but stay in the _dargah_ (entrance hall) or _baistak_ (seating place) for the _fatihah-khwans_ and the kinsfolk come for that purpose. On the 3rd day the ceremony of _qul-khwans_ is performed, verses of the Qur'an being recited for the benefit of the deceased's soul. Condolences are offered to the bereaved family with a request to recommence business. On the following Thursday the ceremony of _khatam_ is performed and the deceased's clothes are given to the person who washed his corpse. Kinsmen are invited on this occasion also.

In the same way, _khatam_ is performed on every Thursday or on the 10th, 21st or 36th day after death. On the 40th day (_chihlam_) a feast is given to _udma_ (learned men) and _fakirs_, and clothes, copies of the Qur'an and cash are also distributed. Kinsmen are also invited if the deceased was an aged person. This custom is called _rośi-karna_. These customs are not observed by the _ahl-i-hadis_. One loaf or a man's meal (according to their means) is given daily for 40 days to the man who bathed the body or is sent to a mosque.

On the morning after the _chihlam_, i.e. early in the morning before the morning prayer, they bid farewell to the soul. The females cook rice and send it to the _mulik_ in the mosque and thus bid farewell to the soul. On this the women believe that the soul leaves the house. For a year food is given to _fakirs_ at festivals and again after a year food is distributed among the poor.

The rites in Mi'ānwaḷi are peculiarly interesting because of the part played in them by the _mulik_ who is styled the _dawār_. After the _sudāt_, the deceased's body is washed by him, and his old clothes are kept to be given away in alms on the 3rd day. After this it is shrouded, and also wrapped by the near relatives in sheets called _uchhar_. They may be of ordinary longcloth or of a valuable silk; and, before the body is placed in the grave, they are removed and distributed among the potters, ironsmiths and carpenters who dug the grave, and on hearing of the death went to the graveyard of their own accord for that purpose. After burial the surface of the grave is raised a little and the coffin is buried with the body.
Moslem death observances.

The bereaved family is supplied with kaoi roti by a brother or relative of the deceased. Fire is not kindled in their house for three days. Relatives and friends at once join in the mourning and are served with kaoi roti. Though the mourning mat is burnt all the mourners sleep on the ground or on cots turned upside down. This state of affairs lasts for 3 days, during which the dinadar (or washer of the dead) gets some of kaoi roti. Contrary to the usage elsewhere the dinadar leads the funeral prayers. On the 3rd day qul khwáni is performed in the following manner:

The dinadar has a basket of grain put before him with a vessel of water containing leaves of a plum tree, recites verses from Qurán and blows them on to the water, which is then spilt at the place where the body was washed. It is believed that the deceased's soul is benefited by this. The grain etc. is taken by the dinadar.

The old clothes are now cast down at the place where the body was washed and are removed on the third day when the water is spilt. After the qul the mourners bathe, wash their own and the deceased's clothes which are given to the dinadar. Rich folk give him a new suit and if the deceased's widow survives some ornaments also. The eldest member of the family is next made to don a daśtār which is given him by the relatives, to signify that he has become the deceased's representative. They also give him one or two rupees.

At the fatah-kháni ceremony held immediately after the burial the relatives also contribute a rupee each. A little before death the whole of the Qurán is recited and the reciters given a Qurán or, cash. On the second day after death the relatives visit the grave and recite the whole Qurán there. On the first Thursday after death, sweetened rice or halmi is prepared, but before the relatives are served with it, it is given to the dinadar. This practice is continued for seven days, except by the poor who can only afford it for the first Thursday, the dinadar is also fed daily for 40 days, and it is essential that his food should be sent him before sunset. It is called arvád and is intended for the deceased's benefit. The dinadar is also fed and given an ornament on the first 'Id after death. The couch on which the deceased lay before death is broken to pieces and its strings are buried with the body. In the month of Shehban halmi or some other sweetmeat is prepared and is sent to the mulldh and dinadar. This is called ruk-rildhá. Every year in Muharram the relatives visit the grave and pour a little water over it.

For the benefit of the soul of any ancestor who died an accidental or unnatural death, and for a childless ancestor, Qassábán feed the poor in their names every Thursday, or at least twice a year.

The qul-khwáni ceremony is performed on the third day. The old clothes of the deceased are given to the mulldh. Sometimes new ones are also made and given away in charity for the benefit of his soul. On this day too the lawful heir is made to put on a daśtār by his pír
or a Sayyid. Sometimes on the 7th day food is given to the poor, but this is not common.

On the 10th, 20th and 40th days after death relations and friends may collect and eat together and also distribute food to the poor but this also is not usual.

From the 3rd day to the 40th, two loaves (i.e. food sufficient for one man) generally flavoured with sugar and ghi are sent to a faqir daily before nightfall. These loaves are called ubah ki rotan. ubah means insacriptious. On each Thursday in the first 40 days niżān is given for the deceased's benefit as on the 3rd day.

The cháliswānas ceremony in connection with a female's death is generally performed on the 23rd and in the case of a male on the 30th day or in special cases on the 39th. On this day the deceased's heirs feast their kinsfolk according to their means, and they in return give them a turban and some money. The expenses of this ceremony generally depend on one's means. On this occasion too nižān is given and the fatikha recited on the sojam, but no cup of water is sent to the faqir with the bread. It is not necessary that the bread should be cooked by the same person who did so on the first day. On the 40th day a new suit of clothes is given away in the deceased's name, but the custom of giving away ornaments does not exist. On the same day his soul is dismissed in the following manner:

In the evening a vessel full of water is placed near the tāhad (where the dead body was washed). In it are put two copper coins and a few plates of rice, bread and halwā are set by it. The near female relatives light a lamp and wake for the whole night. In the morning a faqir comes, takes the vessel of water with the plate and backs to the door with his face towards the females. On reaching the door he turns round and goes to his own house. As he quits the deceased's house the females weep as bitterly as if his bier were being carried out. The people believe that the soul after leaving the body remains in two places, Allain and Sajjain, and maintains its connection with the grave and tāhad for 40 days. It is also believed that the soul is allowed a walk at the time of anghrab prayers, and that it continues anxious to receive the niżān &c. given for its benefit. Hence the cháliswānas or 40th day rite is performed 10 days before the actual day. After the 40th day the soul is believed to be set free every Thursday and for this reason on each Thursday the fatikha is recited for its benefit. It is also believed to receive food given to faqirs and so several kinds of food are given them at the fatikha. The tamāhā, chhamāhī and barāi ceremonies are performed after 3 and 6 months and a year respectively. One day before the 'Id, Bakar 'Id, Muharram and Shab Bara as also on the 14th of Rajab halwā and bread are given as niżān. This is usually done for one year only, but some people observe these ceremonies always. Nothing is given by way of niżān before the 3rd day because the soul is not set free from Allain and Sajjain before that day. The reason assigned for the 10 days' interval between the dawād, bismāy and cháliswānas, which last is generally performed on the 30th
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day, is that mourning lasts 10 days just as the first 10 days of Muharram are observed as days of mourning for the death of Hussain.

A widow does not wear glass bangles or coloured clothes. If a woman dies married, her hands are stained with mehndi and antimony is applied to her eyes after her body has been washed. On a man's death his widow's parents give their daughter bangles, called the bangles of widowhood. If her parents be well off they also give her ornaments and cash by way of khidrat. On the death of a female also her parents give some cash by way of khidrat. When a saint dies his urs is celebrated annually on the day of his death. All his followers and believers gather together on that day and cook food, they also offer nid, recite the fatihah and light an earthen lamp on his grave every Thursday. Fruit and sweets are also offered at his grave. In Qadiania and Naqashbandia families the members sit near a grave, sing hymns in praise of the Almighty and recite eulogies of the saint. They also repeat verses from the Qur'an, but use no musical instruments, a prohibition not observed in Chishti circles. Singers and prostitutes dance at their tombs on the urs.

On the 7th or 10th day after death a khatam is given, i.e. food is cooked and offered to the qasr, farzand, the tomb-digger, and bier-bearers of the deceased. It consists of milk, halwa, vegetables, meat, pulse, fruit, rice and dry bread. Some people do this on four Thursdays after the death within 40 days, give the deceased's clothes to the qasr, with some cash and a Qur'an.

From the tiljá to the 40th day the deceased's heirs feed a needy person once a day for the good of his soul. The dasara and khwás ceremonies are performed in different ways by different sects of Muhammadans. Naá (bread) and halwa or other food is distributed by them to their kinsfolk as well as to the poor.

The followers of the Ismaïla sect also hold another assembly in honour of their martyrs in addition to those already named. After it has dispersed they recite the fatihah prayers first in honour of the martyrs on the field of Karbala and then for the benefit of the departed soul.

On the 3rd day, after the khwás, the deceased's heirs place some palm leaves, sweet scented flowers, and green leaves of a fruit tree on his tomb. These are called phul-patri. It is believed that these reduce or alleviate his sufferings.

After the tiljá the parents-in-law of a deceased husband, give his widow some cash, clothes and ornaments which are called jora and a garb of widowhood.

The custom of giving kaura mutafa for 3 days after death, is in vogue among the Muhammadan Teils of Peshawar city and for those days no one eats anything from the deceased's house, nor is any food cooked by his family. Each of his relatives sends it food in turn. After the three days food is again cooked by the deceased's family. The gul-khawás and dasturbandi ceremonies are also performed on
that day. Other Muhammadans, viz. the Shi’a Qazibash and Kash- 
miri communities living in Peshawar, eat nothing from the deceased’s 
house for 40 days after a death but they send nothing to it. The Parsa, 
Wastar and Qazi residents of the city do not eat or drink from the 
house for 3 days. With these exceptions there are no restrictions on 
eating or drinking from the deceased’s family at a death. All others eat 
and drink from the bereaved family’s house during the 40 days.

The menial tribes living in the city give Re. 1 on the day of the 
gul-hudai by way of kaura wattta. This custom is not in vogue among 
the high castes.

On their return from the cemetery all those taking part in the 
funeral turn their faces towards it when some way from it and recite 
the fatihah. The cist is carried by a menial, but not on his head in the 
usual way until he reaches the village.

All men assemble at the takia and repeat the fatihah. Then all 
but the heirs depart and they must stay there 3 days at least.

The practice of sitting for prayer between the grave and the de-
ceased’s house is termed guda-diwanu, ‘knee-resting.’

In Banuq tahail on the evening of the funeral the deceased’s heirs 
feast people who come to pay them a visit of condolences. This feast 
is called shama. All those assembled recite the kalima about 100,000 
times for the benefit of the deceased’s soul. Food is sent to the 
mullah every evening for 40 days in succession. But no other ceremony 
is performed in this district. Even the guli-hudai is not performed 
on the 3rd day. The deceased’s heirs merely sit in chaub from the 1st 
day to the 3rd to receive the visits of condolence from people who pray 
for the deceased and then depart. Quraishis, Sayyids and Ulma sit in 
a mosque.

But in Marwat after the burial the deceased’s brother or some 
other near kinsman supplies the bereaved family with food for the 
night and this is called huri rof. The mourning (tidd) lasts for 3 
days, and on the 3rd the family bathes and washes its clothes. The 
deceased’s clothes are given away in charity. The guli-hudai ceremony 
is performed and the whole of the Qurda recited for the benefit of his 
soul. His clothes are washed and given to the idam of a mosque with 
some cash. The custom of giving ornaments is extinct. The deceased’s 
heir is invested with a dastur on the 3rd day, but his kinsmen contribute 
no cash. Rice, hulwad and rof are given in charity for 5 or 6 Thursdays, 
but during this time no taham prayers are recited. Aims are also 
given for the benefit of the departed soul on the 20th day, and for 40 
days a loaf with ghi and sugar is sent to the idam who washed the 
corpses. It is always sent in the evening and is called the simdhan 
ku gogi. There is no rule that it should be cooked by the woman who 
did so on the first day. The custom of giving a gablet of sweet water 
is extinct. On the 40th day ams are also given according to one’s 
means. A year or two after death the heir gives a feast called shama 
to his kinsmen.
During the day the kinmen sit with the men but after the evening meal it is essential for each sex to sit with the mourners of that sex for 3 or 4 days, obviously in order to soothe their grief.

On the 3rd day (the) friends and relatives collect at the deceased’s house or at the mosque and recite the kätima once over each grain in a heap of gram, so that the total recitations number 125,000. This gram is then distributed. This rite is called the kät panchdyat in Ambala.

After this a new turban is put on the head of the heir and he is thus recognized as the legal and religious heir of the deceased.

The ceremony known as tila or sayam or of picking up the bones is performed on the 3rd day after a burial by strict Muhammadans in the following way:—All the heirs and relatives of the deceased rise early and assemble at his house. Those who are literate recite the Qur’an, those who are not the kätima over each grain of the parched gram which stands there in a heap. Sunnis close this ceremony by reciting the five verses called Panjat from the Qur’an, while Shia’s close it by reciting the fattha prayers in the names of deceased ancestors and prophets slain at Karbala. Those who embraced Islam recently such as the Râjpûts, Khânjâdas, Gujarâs, Meos &c., excepting a few persons who are well versed in their religious principles, do not observe this rite.

In Gurgaon the dasman ceremony is performed on the evening of the 9th and the khwâdz on the evening of the 19th day. On these days also the fattha is recited and food is distributed as on the 3rd day. These ceremonies are performed one day before the actual day because among Muhammadans a day includes the day and subsequent night and begins at sunrise.

In Gurgaon on the morning of the 3rd day, sa’am, the qul khwâdz or phul ceremony is performed. The Muhammadan custom is that all assemble and some parched gram weighing 12½ sere is placed before each. Each then recites the first half of the kätima (La illâ illâhah only) on the first 10 grains, and the whole of it on the 11th, keeping all the grain by their side. The whole kätima is not recited on each grain so as to maintain the distinction between the Prophet and the Almighty. After this all the grain is made into a heap and sweetened ilâchi dana of the same weight is mixed with it. Then incense lâbân and aggar are burnt and verses from the Qur’an &c. are recited for the benefit of the departed soul. Lastly the grain is distributed among all present. The incense is burnt to purify the air.

Camphorated water is also sprinkled on the bier and coffin. The fattha is also recited on reaching the grave, and flowers are thrown on it, for which reason the sayam ceremony is called phul. On the same evening mäs or fattha is offered for the benefit of the deceased. Seven kinds of food, halwa, khîr, flesh, bread, rice &c. are cooked and distributed among the poor after recitation of the fattha.

Ceremonies regarding Karwi khichri.

At meal times remote relations of the deceased send cooked khichri for his family and any guests who have come for the occasion, the relatives supplying the bereaved family by turns.
Early in the morning after the interment the head of the family repairs to the graveyard and sits by the grave, others following him as they come. Prayers are said for the benefit of the deceased till sunrise when all return to his house. This is done for three days. But this custom is not general, being confined to certain tribes such as Kashmiris.

The day after the death, food-offering to the Qâzî commences, and he is given one meal every day for 40 days, the earthen vessels and the cloths used being also presented to him.

About two cers of gram, maize or some other grain is taken and the gul verse is read over it grain by grain 125,000 times. It is then boiled and distributed among children.

In some places this custom is observed differently. Early in the morning Qâzîs are invited to meet in a mosque and read the Qurâns. At about midday the community collects, the Qâzîs receive offerings from the heirs, and the whole community then bestow the spiritual benefit of the Qurâns reading on the departed spirit.

The kul-khuâns for children is observed both in towns and the villages. The Chundis of Leah town observe it at the tombs of the aged, but others perform it on the 3rd day after death, at the deceased's house or a mosque. All the maulâhs recite in turn, one siprah each, for the benefit of the deceased's soul. Hadia, money varying from Rs. 1-4-0 to 10 or more, is given by the kinsfolk either at death after the jumâna or at the burial. Trusting in the Qurâns as their mediator, they begin their prayers thus: 'O God! Forgive this man all his sins.' The price of the Qurâns is taken and out of the money the cost of the paper and ink used as hadia is paid and annas 2 or more given to each kul-khuwân, the remainder being distributed among the poor who are present. In villages grain is distributed instead. Besides this hadia wealthy people also distribute alms in cash and in grain. When the kul-khuâns is celebrated on the 3rd day the clothes worn by the deceased's heirs and some new ones are given to the person who washed the body and to relatives and friends.

On the day of the kul-khuâns, the near kinsmen let the deceased's heir put on a turban (dastar) and also give him a cloth for a turban and cash from 4 annas to Re. 1 as bhâjî. The kinsfolk pay Re. 1 or flour according to their means. In villages, those who give bhâjî are feasted; but this custom does not exist in towns. Wealthy people both in villages and towns appoint maulâhs to recite verses from the Qurâns at the tomb for 8 or 4 days and even till the evening of the first Thursday after death. Whatever part of the Qurâns they recite, they bestow it for the benefit of the deceased's soul. Members of the bereaved family give a meal, at their own cost, to the maulâhs, who get besides a fee of 4 annas per day.

Wealthy people distribute sweet rice, meat or meals to the kinsfolk and friends every Thursday for 7 weeks. They give in charity sweet rice, and pudding made of half-ground grain. There is no custom of
appointing mullahs at the tombs of infants, because they are innocent. Food consisting of bread with ghi and sugar on it and some milk or sharbat is sent every day before sunset to the mullah for 20 or sometimes 40 days. This is called the soul's spiritual food. It need not necessarily be prepared by the same woman.

Various usages prevail regarding the reading of the Qurán at the grave after death. Thus in Ambala some well-to-do people engage mullahs versed in the Qurán to recite from it at the grave for a period.

In some cases the mullahs are asked to recite the Qurán on the grave till the following Thursday. This ceremony is in vogue among followers of the Hadis sect, but elsewhere it is said that the followers of the Hadis sect do not perform any ceremony.

If the heirs are well-to-do they build a hut near the grave and engage four mullahs to sit in it, and recite the Qurán through from end to end day and night. These four mullahs may take it in turns to recite the Qurán, but the recital must be continuous and not stopped even for a moment till the following Thursday evening when they are dismissed with a fee ranging from Rs. 20 to Rs. 10. The deceased's heirs have to feed the mullahs during these days.

In Raya also from the moment of burial, Qurán readers are employed to recite the Holy Book at the tomb which they do uninterruptedly day and night to the close of the following Thursday. The belief is that so long as the reading continues the deceased escapes the torments of the tomb. But this is not done for one who dies on a Thursday, as the belief is that by virtue of that day, he will escape the torments. The reciters of course receive offerings.

In Dera Ghazi Khan wealthy people arrange for hafiz to sit at the tomb after burial and recite the Qurán day and night and supply them with food there. They continue this recitation till the following Thursday and when it is completed each is paid Rs. 2 or Rs. 2-8-0 as hadya Qurán Sharif. The object of this is that when the angels Munkir and Nakir come to ask questions from the deceased about his deeds he may find it easy to answer them by the blessing of the Qurán.

After burial the deceased's heirs distribute sweetmeat at the tomb or give some cash to fryers by way of hadya Qurán Sharif.

The custom of visiting the graves of dead relatives and throwing fresh earth over them at festivals, particularly in Muharram, is fast dying out, men of the new light as the phrase goes, being very indifferent to it.

Section 11.—Domestic Observances in the South-East Punjab.

The following account of domestic observances in Karnal is reproduced from the Settlement Report of that District written in 1893 by the late Sir Denzil lybetsou:

When a woman is about to be delivered she is taken off the bed and put on the ground. If a boy is born, a brass tray is beaten to
spread the news. A net is hung up in the doorway, and a garland (tawāwād) of mango leaves; and a branch of nis is stuck into the wall by the doorway, and a fire lighted in the threshold, which is kept up night and day. Thus no evil spirits can pass. The swaddling clothes should be got from another person's house. They are called patra; thus patra is equivalent to 'a gentleman from his cradle.' For 3 days the child is not sucked. For 5 days no one from outside, except the midwife, goes into the house. On the night of the 6th day (natives always count the night preceding the day as belonging to it) the whole household sits up and watches over the child; for on the 6th day (chhata) the child's destiny is written down, especially as to his immunity from small-pox. If the child goes hungry on this day, he will be stingy all his life; and a miser is accordingly called chhate ka bhukka; so a prosperous man is called chhate ka raja. On the 6th day the female relations come on visits of congratulation, but they must not go into the room where the woman is lying in. The father's sister, too, comes and washes the mother's nipple and puts it into the child's mouth, and the mother takes off her necklace and gives it to her sister-in-law; ger is divided to the brotherhood. On the 7th day the female Dām or hard comes and sings. Till the 10th day the house is impure (aśāk); and no one can eat or drink from it, and no man can go into it unless belonging to the house. On the 10th day (dasātan) the net is taken down, the fire let out, and the clothes washed; all the earthen vessels renewed, and the house new plastered; the Brahmins come and do hāwa to purify the house, and tie a tagrī of yellow string round the boy's waist; and the Brahmins and assembled brotherhood are feasted. The child is often named on this day; the Brahman casting the horoscope and fixing the name. But the parents sometimes change the name if they do not approve of the Brahman's selection. At the birth of a girl the tray is not beaten, no feasting takes place, and no net is hung up or fire lighted. The mother remains impure for five weeks; no one can eat or drink from her hands; and she takes her food separately. As soon as there is hair enough the boy's head is shaved and his chātī (scalplock) made; but there are no further ceremonies till his betrothal.

Betrothal is called atta; the ceremony sagāṭī. It generally takes place in infancy. When the father of a girl wishes to betroth her he makes inquiry for a marriageable boy of good family, the village barber acting the part of go-between. If matters are satisfactory he sends the barber to the boy's village, who puts either a ring or one rupee into the boy's hand. This is called roga (fr. roka to restrain); and if the boy's father returns Re 1-4, called bidig, to the barber to take to the girl's father, he hereby accepts the offer and concludes the engagement. This engagement is not a necessary preliminary of betrothal; and is most customary among castes, such as the Bājpūts, who marry at a comparatively late age, and who do not wish to go to the expense of a formal betrothal so long beforehand, for fear one of the children should die and the money be wasted. Among the Gujarāns, on the other hand, the above ceremony constitutes betrothal; but the tālī is affixed at the time by the Brahman as described below. It is possible for the proposal to come from the boy's side, in
which case he sends his sister's necklace; and if the girl keeps it, his proposal is accepted. But this is only done when the families are already acquainted.

When it is decided to proceed to the betrothal (ṣadyā), the barber ibid., § 318, and Brahman are sent with the pich-mantra; or one rupee which has been all night in the milk which is set for butter, a loin-cloth (pfer) and a coconut (marat). The boy is seated in a chair before the brotherhood, the Brahman puts the ṭhā or mark on the boy's forehead and the other things into his lap, and gur is divided by the boy's father, who takes hold of the hand of each near relation in turn and puts some gur into it. The boy's father then gives Re. 1-41 to the Brahman and double that to the barber. This is called waq or lāy, and must be brought back to the girl's father; and when so brought back completes the betrothal. Ordinarily no relation of the girl may take any part in the embassy (ṣāgi) of betrothal; but Brahmans send the girl's brother-in-law or relation by marriage. Exchange of betrothals between two families (ustha uṣṭha) is considered very disgraceful; and if done at all, is done by a tripartite betrothal, three betrothals with B, C and D; A with C, and C with D. Among the Jāts, if the boy dies his father has a right to claim the girl for his other son; or, in default of another any male relation in that degree. If the girl dies her family has no claim.

Jāts marry at about 5 or 7 years old; Rors and Gujars at 12 to 14; Rājpūts at 16, 16, or even older. The prohibited degrees are thus described:—Every gens (gatt) is exogamous; that is, that while every man must marry into his own tribe, no man may marry into his own gens. But this is by no means the only limitation imposed upon inter-marriage. In the first place, no man can marry into a family, of whatever gens it may be, that is settled in his own village or in any village immediately adjoining his own. The strength of this custom is shown by an answer given me, to the effect that the speaker could not marry into a family of his own gens even if it lived 100 miles off. The prohibition is based upon simvar kī bimbā, or the relationship founded upon a common boundary; and it is clearly a survival from marriage by capture. This limitation is further extended by the Rājpūts, so that no man of them can marry into any family living in the thepa into any family of which his father, grandfather, or great-grandfather married. Thus if a Mandhrā Rājpūt married a Chauhān Rājpūt of thepa Jundla, his son, grandson, and great-grandson would not be able to marry any Chauhān of any village in the Jundla thepa. But beyond this, and the prohibition against marrying within the gens, the Rājpūts have no further limitations on inter-marriage. Among the other castes the thepra is not excluded; but no man can marry into any family of the gens to which his mother or his father's mother belongs, wherever these gens may be found. The Gujars, however, who are generally lax in their rules, often only exclude such persons of these gens as live in the individual village from which the relation in question came. In some parts of Ambala the people are beginning to add the mother's mother's gens, or even to substitute it for the father's mother's gens, and this may perhaps be a last stage of the change from relationship through women to relationship through men.

1 Whenever other people give Rs. 1-4, the Jāts pay Rs. 1 and 4 kāra, that is 5 country pice at 3 to the rupee.
Foster relationship is equivalent to blood relationships as far as marriage is concerned. Any number of wives may be married, but a second wife is seldom taken unless the first is childless. A sister of a first wife may be married, or any relation in the same degree; but not above or below.

The boy's Brahman fixes an auspicious day, and decides how many ceremonial oilings (bās) the boy is to undergo. It must be 5, 7, 9, or 11; and the girl will undergo two fewer than the boy. The boy's father then sends a ḫapū or ḫewā, generally 9, 11, or 15 days before the wedding, which is a letter communicating the number of bās and the number of guests to be expected, and is accompanied by a loin-cloth or a complete suit of female clothes (swāl) and a pair of shoes. In all these communications the Brahman who takes the letters always gets Rs. 1.-4.

The boy and girl then undergo their bās in their respective homes. The women collect and bathe them while singing, and rub them from head to foot with oil and turmeric and paint with vermilion. The bās are given one each night, and are so arranged that the boy's will end the night before the procession starts, and the girl's the night before the wedding. After each bās the mother performs the ceremonies of āvata and sevā described below to the boy. The girl has only sevā performed, as āvata can under no circumstances be performed over a female. The day of the first bās is called bālakdāt, or 'red hand.' Seven women with living husbands husk 3½ seers of rice and make sweets with it. The Brahman comes and sticks up two small round saucers, bottom outwards, against the wall with flour, and in front of them a flour lamp is kept alight in honour of ancestors. On either side he makes five marks of a bloody hand on the wall. This is done in each house. In the girl's village the street turnings all the way from the village gate to the bride's house, and the house itself, are marked with red or red and white marks. After the first bās the boy has the ḫārlī or black woollen thread, with a small iron ring (ekhāla) and some yellow cloth and betel-nut, tied round his left ankle. The girl has her small gold nose ring put on; for up to that time she can only wear a silver one; and she must not wear a large one till she goes to live with her husband. She also takes off her silver wristlets (ekhārd) which no married woman may wear; and substitutes for them at least five of glass on each arm. These glass wristlets and her nosering form her sāhāg, and a woman who has a husband living (s āh anā) must always wear them. When her husband dies she breaks the wristlets off her arm, and throws the pieces and noseing on to the corpse, and they are wrapped up with it in the shroud. After that she may wear silver wristlets again. Occasionally, if a widow has plenty of grown-up sons, she will continue to wear the sāhāg.

The day before the procession is to start or arrive, as the case may be, the manda or mandaṭ is erected. At the boy's house they take five seed-stems of the long sarba grass and tie them over the lintel. They dig a hole in front and to the right of the threshold, put money in it, and stand a plough beam straight up in it. To this they hang two small cakes fried in gā, with three little saucers under and two above this, and two pies, all tied on a thread. Finally, some five chan culms, and a degar, or two vessels of water one on top of the other,
are brought by the mother, attended by singing women, and after worship of the potter wheel (chak) are put by the door as a good omen. At the girl’s house the same is done; but instead of burying the plough-beam, they erect a sort of tent with one central pole, and four cross sticks, or a stool with its four legs upwards, at the top, and on each is hung a brass water pot upside down surrounding a full one in the middle; or a curtained enclosure is formed, open to the sky, with at each corner a lichi or ‘nest’ of five earthen vessels, one on top of the other, with a tripod of bamboo over each.

On the same day the mother’s brother of the boy or girl brings the bhad. This is provided by the mother’s father, and consists of a presents of clothes; and necessarily includes the wedding suit for the bride or bridgroom, and in the case of the boy, the loin-cloth and head-dress he is to wear at the marriage; for all that either party then wears must always be provided by his or her mother’s brother. The boy’s maternal uncle also brings a girl’s suit of clothes and a wedding ring, and the girl wears both suits of clothes at the wedding. When the bhad is given, the boy’s or girl’s mother performs the ceremony of draza or winora. She takes a 5-wicked lamp made of flour, places it on a tray, and while her brother stands on a stool, waves it up and down his body from head to foot. She also performs samal, which consists in picking up her petticoat and touching his body all over with it. They then take the brother in doors and feed him on lodia or sweetmeat balls. The people then at the boy’s village collect in the village common room and the neota (§ 337 infra) is collected the bhad (giver of the bhad) putting in his money first, which is a free gift and not entered in the account.

On the day when the marriage procession jaiet, bard is to start, the boy receives his last bhas and is dressed in his wedding suits, the kanga or seven-knotted sacred thread is tied on his wrist, and his head-dress is tied on, consisting of a crown (called mor) of mica and tinned, a pechi or band of silver tinsel over the turban, and a sera or fringed vizard of gold tinsel.

He then performs the ceremony of ghurtchuri. The barber leads him, while singing women follow, and the mother with a vessel of water; and his sister puts her wrap over her right hand, and on it places rice which she flings at his crown as the boy goes along. He then gives her Re. 1, worships the gods of the homestead, and gives Re. 1 to the Bairagi. He is then put into a palanquin, and the procession, to which every house nearly related must contribute a representative, and which consists of males only, starts, as much as possible on horseback, with music of sorts. At each village they pass through they are met by the barber, the Daman, and the Brahmanas, whom they pay money to, and who put dibh grass on the father’s head and pray that he may flourish like it. The procession must reach the girl’s village after the midday meal.

A place, rigorously outside the village, has been appointed for them called bdo or goaira. The girl’s relations come to meet them, bring in a loin-cloth and 11 takas and a little rice and sweetmeats in a tray. The two parties sit down, the Brahmanas read sacred texts, the girl’s Brahman affixes the tika on the boy’s forehead, and gives a loin-cloth and 11 takas, taking a loin-cloth and 21 takas in exchange. The two
fathers then embrace, and the girl's father takes Rs. 1 from his turban and gives it to the boy's father, who gives him in exchange the cloth which is to form the patak at the wedding. The girl's father then asks the boy's father for either 11 or 14 pieces, the gora kā kharek or expenses of the gora; and these he distributes to the menial bystanders, and makes the boy's father pay something to the barber and Brahman. The procession then proceeds to the girl's house, the boy being put on a horse, and rice being thrown over his head as a scramble (bhatār) for the menials. They do not go into the house; but at the door stand women singing and holding flour lamps. The boy is stood on a stool, and the girl's elder married sister, if she has no married sister her brother's married daughter, performs to him the ceremonies of drata and saut described, and the boy's father gives her Rs. 1-4. She also performs the ceremony of mādphēr by waving a pot of water over the boy's head and then drinking a little of it, and waving a rupee round his head. The girl's and boy's relations then fight for the stool on which the boy stood, and the boy's relations win, and carry it off in triumph to the jandalawāda or jandalawās, which is the place fixed for the residence of the guests. This should, in theory, be outside the village; but for the convenience sake it is generally in the halāli. Presently the guests are hidden to the girl's house, where they eat; but the boy stays in the jandalawāda, as he must not enter the girl's house till the wedding itself. So, too, the girl's relations do not eat; for they cannot eat that day till the wedding ceremony is over. This ends the first day called shakdo.

That night, at some time after sunset, the wedding ceremony (phara) takes place. Shortly before it the girl's barber goes to the jandalawāda, where the boy's father gives him a complete suit of clothes for the girl; some jewels, sacred coloured strings to tie her hair up (aṅgikā); some henna for her hands, and a ring called the yoke-ring (pipāt kā angikā). The girl wears nothing at all of her own unless it be a pair of scanty drawers (āhara); and she is dressed up in the above things, and also in the clothes brought in the halāli by her maternal uncle, one on top of the other. The ring she wears on the first finger; and on her head she wears the chālārā or an unsewn and unhemmed reddish yellow cloth provided by her maternal grandfather, used only at weddings, but worn after the ceremony till it wears out. Meanwhile her relations sit down with their Brahman under the mundā.

There a place on the ground (chauṛ, helt) has been fresh platted, and the Brahman makes a square enclosure (mandal or pūrā) of flour, and on it puts sand and sacred fire (hāmām) of ahak wood, and gilt and sugar, and sesame. Meanwhile the other party has been sent for; and the boy, dressed in the clothes brought by his maternal uncle, comes attended by his father and nearest relations only. They sit down to the north, the girl's people to the south, and two stools are placed facing the east, on which the boy and girl, who are fetched, after all have sat down by her mother's brother, are seated; each next his or her people, so that she is on his right hand. When the ceremony commences the girl's people hold up a cloth for a minute so as to hide the boy and girl from the boy's people, just as a matter of form. The Brahman puts five little earthen pots (kāla) in the sacred
enclosure, and makes the boy and girl dip their third fingers into turmeric and touch piece, which he then puts into the pots, the boy offering twice as many as the girl. Sacred texts are then recited. The girl then turns her hand-palm upwards, her father puts one rupee and a little water into it, and takes the hand and the rupee and solemnly places them in the boy’s hand, saying *mai apui larki dada, kanya dada: ‘I give you my daughter, I give her virgin.’ This is called *kanya dada.* Then the sacred fire is stirred up, the Brahman ties the hem (*patala*) of the girl’s wrap to a piece of cloth called the *patka,* and the boy takes the latter over his shoulder and leads her round the fire counter-clockwise four times, and then she goes in front and leads him round three times. Meanwhile the family priests recite the tribe and *gods* of each, and the names of their ancestors for four generations. This is the *phurd,* and constitutes the real marriage. After this the Brahmans formally ask each whether he or she accepts the other, and is ready to perform duties which are set forth in time-honoured and very impressive and beautiful language. The boy and girl then sit down, each where the other sat before; and this completes the ceremony. The bride and bridegroom are then taken into the girl’s house, where the girl’s mother unties the boy’s head-dress and gives him a little *ghee* and *gur* mixed up. There two small earthen saucers have been fixed with flour against the wall, bottom outwards, and a lamp lighted in front of them. This they worship; the boy returns to the *jandalwada* after redeeming his shoes, which the women have stolen, by paying Rs. 1-4; while the girl stays with her people.

On the second day (*badhar*) the boy’s people must not eat food of the girl’s people; and they get it from their relations and friends in the village. Various ceremonies involving payment to Brahmans and barbers are performed.

At night the girl’s father and friends go to the *jandalwada*; the two fathers, who are now each other’s *simile* embrace; the girl’s father gives his *simile* one rupee and invites the whole *bardt,* including the boy, to eat at the girl’s house. But when, after eating, they have returned to the *jandalwada,* the girl’s friends follow them and make them give a nominal payment for it, called *roti ká kharch,* which is given to the menials.

On the third day, called *tida,* the *ucota* is collected in the girl’s house just as it was in the boy’s house before the *bardt* started. The boy’s people then eat at the girl’s house, and return to the *jandalwada,* whence they are presently summoned to take leave (*tida hona*). The boy’s father then presents a *bari,* which is a gift of sugar, almonds, sacred threads, fruits &c. to the girl’s people. The ceremony of *patna* is then performed. The girl’s relations form a *panchdyat* or council, and demand a certain sum from the boy’s father from which the village menials then and there receive their fixed dues. The money is called *patna.* The girl’s *panch* having ascertained that all have been paid, formally asks the boy’s father whether any one in the village has taken or demanded ought of him save this money; and he replies in the negative. During this ceremony the girl’s father sits quite apart, as he must have nothing whatever to do with taking money from the boy’s people, and in fact often insists upon paying the *patna* himself. While the *patna*
is being distributed, the girl's mother makes the boy perform the ceremony of <i>bhand</i> <i>kholu</i>, which consists in untying one knot of the <i>sanda</i>. She then puts the <i>sita</i> on his forehead and gives one rupee and two <i>laddus</i> (a sweetmeat made into a ball), and the other women also feed him. This is called <i>jhalari</i>. Then the girl's father presents the <i>dum</i> or dower, which includes money, clothes, vessels &c., but no female jewels; and the <i>bardt</i> returns to the <i>sandwad</i>. The boy's father then visits all the women (<i>vetum</i>) of his own gene who live in the village, and gives each one rupee. The horses and bullocks are then got out, and should assemble at the outer gate of the village, though they sometimes go to the door of the house for convenience. Her maternal uncle takes the girl, and, followed by women singing, places her in the ox cart in which she is to travel. She is accompanied by a female barber called the <i>tarsudi</i>, and the boy is kept apart. When they are just starting the two fathers embrace, and the girl's father gives the other one rupee and his blessing; but the girl's mother comes up, and, having dipped her hand in henna, clips the boy's father on the back so as to leave a bloody mark of a hand (<i>tupa</i>) on his clothes. A few pice are scrambled over the heads of the happy pair, and the procession starts for home, the girl screaming and crying as a most essential form.

When the <i>bardt</i> reaches the boy's village, the friends are collected at the boy's door, which has five red marks of a hand on the wall on either side. The boy and girl are stood on the stool which the <i>bardt</i> has brought from the other village and the boy's mother measures them both with a <i>selu</i> or string made of the hair of a bullock's tail, which is then thrown away. She also performs the ceremony of <i>sewad</i> and waves a vessel of water over their heads and drinks a little of it. The boy's sister stands in the doorway, and will not admit them till the boy pays her one rupee. That night the boy and girl sleep on the floor, and above where they sleep are two mud saucers stuck, bottom outwards, against the wall, and a lighted lamp before them.

On the next auspicious day the girl puts on the wrap with the <i>patka</i> still knotted to it; the boy takes it over his shoulder and leads her off, attended by women only and music, to worship the god of the homestead, the sacred <i>tulsi</i> tree, the small fox goddess, and all the village deities and the wheel of the potter, who gives them a nest of vessels for good luck. They go outside the village and perform <i>bhurra</i>, which consists in the boy and girl taking each a stick and fighting together by striking seven blows or more. Then comes the ceremony of <i>kangas</i> <i>kheena</i>. The girl unites the <i>kangas</i> or 7-knotted sacred thread which the Brahman tied round the boy's wrist before he started, and he undoes hers. The <i>kangas</i> are then tied to the girl's yoke-ring; and it is flung by the boy's brother's wife into a vessel of milk and water with <i>ubh</i> grass in it. The two then dip for it several times with their hands; the finder being rewarded with cheers. Till this ceremony is performed the boy and girl must sleep on the ground and not on bedsteads. Then the boy's elder brother's wife (his <i>khabhi</i>) sits down, opens her legs, and takes the boy between her

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2 Among the Harihars there are two <i>kangas</i>, one with a rupee and the other with beads not tied to it. This ceremony is performed with the former <i>kangas</i> at the girl's village the day after the <i>shere</i>, and with the latter as described above.
thighs. The girl sits similarly between the boy's thighs, and takes a little boy into her lap. The girl or his mother gives him two laddás; and he says, "a son for my sister-in-law, and two laddás for me." Some few days after a barber comes from the girl's village, and takes her back to her home.

So far the bride and bridegroom are infants, and of course the marriage has not been consummated; in fact, a child conceived at this stage would be illegitimate. The consummation takes place after the return of the girl to her husband's house, called challa or mukhdwa. This takes place when the girl is pubescent; but must be in either the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, or 11th year after the wedding. The girl's people fix the day; and the boy with some male friends, but without his father, goes to fetch her. The girl then for the first time wears a large nose ring, an armlet (tadā), and a boddice or saqi. The girl's father gives her some clothes and jewels, and they go off home. As they start, the girl must scream and cry bitterly, and bewail some near male relation who has lately died, saying, "oh! my father is dead," or "ah! my brother is dead." After reaching home they live together as man and wife.

The girl stays with her husband a few weeks only; and must then return to her father's home and stay there some six months or a year. She is then brought back for good by her husband, her father presenting her with her trousseau (pider) of clothes and jewels. This she retains; but all clothes given by her father to the boy's father previous to this, at marriage or challa, must be divided among the female relations of the boy's father and not retained by him.

This is the course of affairs when the parties marry in infancy. But among Rājpātīs who always marry late, and generally when the marriage has from any cause been delayed till puberty, there is no mukhdwa, but on the third day before the hardā starts the ceremony of patra phera or changing the stools is performed. The girl changes all her clothes, putting on clothes provided by her father, and also a large nose ring, armlets, and boddice. The boy and girl are then seated on stools and exchange places, each sitting where the other was, and the patra is tied up. The girl's father presents both the dower and the trousseau at the same time; and the pair, on reaching home, live as man and wife.

Among Musalmāns there is no nira; the akād or Muslīmān bari, §335. Marriage ceremony being substituted for it, which the qādis reads in presence of witnesses. Envoy (nakīla) go into the girl's house to take her consent and come out and announce it; the boy consents himself three times, and the ceremony is complete. But among converts to Islam, at any rate, the other customs and ceremonies are almost exactly the same. Of late years the Musalmāns have begun to leave off the shemph and darrā and they often use no pech, though they retain the nira.

Local and tribal variations are numerous, but quite unimportant. There are innumerable mimics which I have not detailed, and which vary greatly, though quite constant for each tribe or locality. The Rājpātīs never use a masr, nor have the customs of khāpa; and the tent is often omitted from the maadā in the Khādir.
The wife has to hide her face before all the elder brothers and other elder relations of her husband; not so before the younger ones, elder and younger being, of course, a matter of genealogical degree, and not of age. Nor may she ever mention the name of any of the elder ones, or even of her husband himself. When once the ceremonial goings and comings are over—among Rájpút, for instance, where there is no mukkáwa, directly the wedding is over—she may never return to her father's house except with his special leave; and if he sends for her, he has to give her a fresh dowry.

The village into which his daughter is married is utterly tabooed for the father, and her elder brother, and all near elder relations. They may not go to it, even drink water from a well in that village; for it is shameful to take anything from one's daughter or her belongings. On the other hand, the father is continually giving things to his daughter and her husband as long as he lives. Even the more distant elder relations will not eat or drink from the house into which the girl is married, though they do not taboo the whole village. The boy's father can go to the girl's village by leave of her father, but not without.

There is a curious custom called neota by which all the branches of a family contribute towards the expenses of a marriage in any of its component households. If A and B are relations, and A first marries his daughter, B will contribute, say, Rs. 10. If B then marries his daughter, A must contribute more than this, or say Rs. 12. At further marriages, so long as the neota consists between them, the contribution will always be Rs. 10, so that B will always owe A Rs. 2; but if either wishes to put an end to the neota, he will contribute, if A, only Rs. 8, if B Rs. 12. This clears the account, and, ipso facto, closes the neota. The neota is always headed by the bhdti or mother's brother; but his contribution is a free gift, and does not enter into the account, which is confined to the relations of the male line. These contribute even when the relationship is very distant indeed.

This is the real neota; and is only called into play on the occasion of the marriage of a daughter or son of the house. But in a somewhat similar manner, when the bhdti is to be provided by the mother's father, he sends a little gur to each neota, or person between whom and himself neota exists; and they make small contributions, generally Re. 1 each. So, too, when the boy's father gives gur to his relations at his son's betrothal they each return him Re. 1.

The Rájpút call the custom bel instead of neota, and take it, in the case of the bhdti only from descendants of a common great-grandfather.

As I have said, a man may marry as often as he pleases. If he marries again on the death of his wife, he is called áhejú. The ceremonies are exactly the same for a man's different marriages. But under no circumstances can a woman perform the ptera twice in her life. Thus, among the Rájpút, Brahmans and Tagáis, who do not allow karena or kardo, a widow cannot under any circumstances

1 In one village there is a shrine to an ancestor who had died childless. It is known by his nickname, and not by his proper name, because the women of the family do not like to pronounce the latter.
remarry. But among other castes a remarriage is allowed under the above name. It is, in its essence, the Jewish levirate; that is to say, on the death of a man his younger brother has first claim to the widow, then his elder brother, and after them other relations in the same degree; though karewa cannot be performed while the girl is a minor, and her consent is necessary. But it has been extended so that a man may marry a widow whom he could not have married as a virgin, the only restriction being that she is not of his own gens. Thus, a Gujar may marry a Jat or Ror widow of any gens but his own. I need hardly say that neither marriage, nor adoption, nor any other ceremony, can change the gens of a man or woman; that being, under all circumstances, the gens of the original father. Even women of memial castes can be so married; but the woman is then called kari bai, though it is still a real marriage. At the same time any marriage out of one's own caste, even if with a higher one, is thought disgraceful.

The marriage must not take place within a year of the husband's death. It is effected by the man throwing a red wrap over the woman's head and putting wrilets (chira) on her arm in presence of male and female members of the brotherhood. There is no neota in karewa, because there are no expenses.

When a Hindu is on the point of death, he is taken off the bed and put with his feet to the east on the ground, on a fresh plastered spot strewn with the sacred dhol grass and sesame. Ganges water and milk, and a tiny pearl (they can be bought for a few pice), and gold, are put into his mouth. The friends are called in and the son or nearest heir shaves completely in public, draws water with his right hand alone, bathes and puts on a clean lion-cloth, turban, and handkerchief, and no other clothes. Meanwhile the widow has broken her sahad and throws it on the corpse, which the men or women of the family, according to its sex, bathe with the water the son has drawn, put on it a loin-cloth, and sew it up in a shroud (guji or ghogi). They then place it on the bier (arti or pinjri) and bear it out head foremost. At the door a Brahman meets it with pinda (balls of dough) and water which the son places on the bier by the head of the corpse. On the road they stop by a tank or some water, and pinda are again put on the bier. Then all the pinda are flung into the water, and the bier is taken up the reverse way with the feet foremost. When they reach the burning place (challa), the corpse is placed on the pyre (chita), and the son taking sacred fire, lit by the Brahman, lights the wood (dha deua) and fans it. This is the kari bura so often mentioned. When the bone of the skull is exposed, the son takes one of the sticks of which the bier was made, drives it through the skull (kapal kiri) and throws it over the corpse beyond the feet. When the corpse is completely burnt, all bathe and return together to the house, and then go off to their homes. The burning should be on the day of death, if possible; but it should always be before sunset.

If the burning was performed on the bank of the Jamna, water is thrown on the ashes; if in the Kurukahet, the bones are thrown into one of the sacred tanks, and all is over. Otherwise, on the third day the knuckle-bones and other small fragments of bones (phal) are collected. If they can be taken to the Ganges at once, well and good;
if not they are buried in the jungle. But they must not be brought into the village in any case; and when once ready to be taken to the Ganges, they must not be put down anywhere, but must always be hung up till finally thrown by a Brahman into the stream. Their bearer, who must be either a relation, or a Brahman, or Jhwar, must sleep on the ground, and not on a bed, on his way to the Ganges. After the death a ghora of water with a hole in the bottom, stuffed with stuk grass so that water will drip from it, is hung in a pipal tree; and the water is filled, and a lamp lighted daily for 11 days.

Ibid. § 342.

The house is impure (jadāk) till the 13th day after death. On the 10th day the Maha Brahman or Achārj comes. The household perform dasali; that is, they go to the tank, wash their clothes, shave, offer 10 piud, and give the Achārj grain enough for 10 meals. On the 11th or day of sapada, a bull calf is let loose, with a trident (tarvīl) branded on his shoulder or quarter, to become a pest. The Achārj is sented on the dead man’s bedstead, and they make obeisance to him and lift him up, bedstead and all. He then takes the bedstead and all the wearing apparel of the dead man, and goes off on his donkey. But he is held to be so utterly impure that in many villages they will not allow him to come inside, but take the things out to him. On the 12th day the Gūjṛati Brahman is fed, being given sidha or the uncooked materials for dinner only, as he will not eat food cooked even by Gaur Brahman. On the 13th day the Gaur Brahman are fed, and the whole brotherhood; the walls are plastered, the hearth vessels changed, all clothes washed, and the house becomes pure. If the man died on his bed instead of on the ground, the house is impure for 45 days; and after the 11th day special ceremonies called jup have to be performed to purify it. Again, if he has died on certain inauspicious days of the month, called panchak, 5 or 7 Brahman have to perform bharai in order to ease his spirit.

Ibid. § 343.

The same ceremonies are observed on the death of a woman. Children under 8 years of age are buried without ceremony. There are no particular ceremonies observed at the death of a Mussalman, who is, of course, buried with his feet to the south. Gossans and Jogis are buried sitting up in salt; and used to be so buried alive before our rule. Their graves are called samda. Bairagis are burnt, and in the case of an abbot a samda erected over some of the bones. Chamars are burnt; while sweepers are buried upside down (mūdha).

Ibid. § 344.

The disembodied spirit while on its travels is called paric; and remains in this state for one year, making 12 monthly stages. For the first 12 days after death, a lamp is kept lit, and a bowl of water with a hole in the bottom for it to drip from kept full in a pipal tree for the use of the spirit. At the end of each month, the son gives his family priest the ‘monthly ghara,’ which consists of a sidha or uncooked food for two meals; a ghara of water, a towel; an umbrella, and a pair of the wooden shoes (khardau) used where the impure leather is objectionable. At the first anniversary of the death (karsand) he gives the Brahman a bedstead and bedding, a complete suit of clothes, some vessels, and such other parts of a complete outfit as he can afford. This is called satja. He also gives him a cow with a calf at foot and some rupees in water.
SECTION 12.—FICTITIOUS KINSHIP IN THE PUNJAB.

The ideas underlying the formation of the ties of fictitious kinship and the effects of these ties, when formed, are not only of importance from a practical point of view, as illustrating such practices as adoption, rules of succession, and the like, but they are also of considerable interest as illustrating the possibilities of castes, or even tribes, having been formed by processes of accretion. Among the most primitive races on the North-West Frontier of India the ties of fosterage are very strong, more stringent even than those of blood kinship; and throughout India, at least among the non-Muslims, adoption plays a very important rôle in the law of inheritance. The following notes on these ideas and customs have been collected in an attempt to ascertain how far fictitious kinship is now formed in the Punjab.

Gangā-bhāis.—A fraternal relationship entailing the consequences of natural kinship and thus operating as a bar to marriage between the parties, who become Gangā-bhāis each to the other, is established by making a pilgrimage to the Ganges together and there drinking the waters of the sacred river from each other's hands. This relationship is also established between two women (or even between a man and a woman), irrespective of caste, and the parties should drink thrice, or seven times, while lasting friendship and sisterhood are vowed. In Gurgis women who exchange dupattas (shawls) at a sacred place, or on a pilgrimage, become Gangā-babins, Jannā babins (if that river is the place of pilgrimage), or, generally, tirtha-babins. Such women each treat the other's husband as a jīva, i.e., as a sister's husband, and it is said that the custom of making these alliances is more prevalent among women than among men, and more binding also. With the extension of facilities for making pilgrimages this custom is becoming rarer, but when a pilgrimage involves journeying and living together the tie was often contracted, and it is still not rare in cases where some service or aid was rendered. A Sanskrit adage declares that no wrong should be done to a person with whom one has walked seven paces, an idea to which the seven steps at a wedding owe their significance.

The pahāl.—Among Sikhs the taking of the pahāl together creates a similar tie, and those bound by it are called gurghāis. Here again caste is disregarded and the relationship created operates as an absolute bar to marriage.

Adoption.—Adoption, as a religious rite, is not very common in the Punjab, even among Hindus. It is solemnized with few rites, and is usually called gol-tool, or 'taking in the lap.' An adopted son is

1. E.g., among the so-called Bards; see Ridulph's Tribes of the Hindoo Koon, pp. 82-83.
2. E.g., among the Nundari Bedouins of Kusa, on the Mulahar coast; see Calcutta Review, 1901, pp. 121 at seqq.). We find two kinds of religious and one of secular adoption. All these terms have remarkable effects on the laws of succession.

3. It is said that the exchange of people at Hardwar merely consums a long and intimate friendship without creating any bond of artificial kinship.

4. It is, however, said that this tie is only contracted between women. It is apparently rare between a man and a woman, but not unknown. In Muttn the tie is called bhiappi and does exist between men and women. In Wide-descend Stories (Mrs. F. A. Steel and S. R. C. Thapli) Princess Ambrogio exchanges veils with the Queen and drinks milk out of the same cup with her, as is the custom when two people say they will be sisters,' p. 81.

5. This is called in Punjabi abhāsī loon [literally: 'to take handfuls' of water]. Women thus become dharm-babins, if Hindus.
termed *patrela* by Hindus. But besides the custom of formal adoption a kind of informal adoption of a man or woman as father or mother is not unusual. The adoptive parent is thenceforth treated as a natural parent, but apparently no legal results ensue.

Exchanging *gánáśnas*.—An analogous tie can be created between two youths by exchanging *gánáśnas* or wedding wristlets, and eating rice and milk together. The youth who is to be married puts on a *gánáśn*, and his would-be friend unties it, while a Brahman repeats the following *mantra*:

**TRANSLITERATION.**

\[ Manglang\(^{3}\) Bhagwán-Vishnu\(^{4}\) \\
Manglang Garar-dhwiž\(^{6}\) \\
Manglang Pūnri-kakhiyi\(^{8}\) \\
Manglā yato\(^{9}\) Hari.\(^{10}\) \]

**TRANSLATION.**

Bhagwán Vishnu
Garar-dhwiž
Punri-kakhiyi
Hari is the abode of happiness.
God is the centre of all bliss, happiness emanates from Him.

This is a benediction (*ashir wad*) which a Brahman gives to other men. The idea being 'May God, the embodiment of all bliss, give you happiness.'

Another *mantra*:

*Yen badhāko Puti-rāja dān-vandā, Mahā-bala!!
Te-natwāng prit-badhumāh rakhe mū-chal mū-chal!!*

"In the name of Him who killed Rājā Bali, the mighty leader of the Dāits, I fasten this rakhrī thread round your wrist and protect you, may you persevere, cleave to it, and never deviate from it."

Generally this *mantra* is recited when a *rakhrī* (amulet) is tied by a Brahman at the Rakhrī festival (on the full-moon day in the month of Sāwan).

Various other means are adopted to create or cement enduring friendships, hardly amounting to fictitious relationships. Thus the *sundau* ceremony affords an opportunity to swear lasting friendships.

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1. The subject of adoption is fully treated in the pr. and writer’s *Compendium of the Punjabi Customary Law*.
2. *Gánásh*, M., a string of coloured cords or of goat’s hair. The man or youth who unfastens the *gánáš* of a bridegroom at his wedding is also bound to him by special ties of friendship.
3. Happiness, fortune, bliss, felicity.
4. The second deity of the sacred triad, entrusted with the preservation of the world.
5. An epithet of Vishnu. Garar is represented as the vehicle of Vishnu and as having a white face, an aquiline nose, red wings and a golden body. Bhuj means a hammer, flag. It generally bears a picture of the deity’s vehicle.
6. An epithet of Vishnu. Lith., having eyes like a wild’s lotus flower (punrā = white lotus; kāhiyi = eyes).
7. Lith., house, residence.
8. An epithet of Vishnu.
butāsās being distributed among those present, or a child of the same age being made to catch the boy's hair as it falls, and thus form a tie of kinship with him. Simultaneous circumcision forms a similar bond.

Among the Sānsis friendship is sworn by one man's placing a sword between himself and his friend. The latter removes it, and the tie is complete.

Pagwat. — But far commoner than the solemn religious bond created by the foregoing fictions is the looser social bond created by the exchange of pagūs, or pagwat, as it is called in Gujarāt. As a rule this exchange creates a bond like that of kinship, though it is said that only among Hindus is its existence a bar to intermarriage, and that among Muhammadans this is not the case. The paghū or turban is typical of a man's honour, so that the exchange means that the honour of the one party becomes that of the other.

Such 'brothers' are ordinarily termed pag-bhāl or dharam-bhāl, the latter term being ordinarily used to denote a brother artificially created as opposed to a natural brother.

Chādar or orhā-bodāi. — Women in the same way exchange chādārs or orhūs, and among Muhammadans become dhāram-bahī or inda-bahī to each other. But these customs are more prevalent among Hindus than among Muhammadans.

A custom prevalent among children is noted in Ambāla; friendship is made or broken off by placing the finger on the chin and moving it backwards and forwards, saying merī tért yārt hō, 'There is friendship between thee and me,' or merī tért yārt kū, 'Our friendship is broken.' In Multān children hold their thumbs in their mouths and lock their little fingers together, one saying, 'Is thy friendship like a sieve, or a river?' If the other reply, 'like a river,' the friendship is cemented. Occasionally instead of a sieve and a river, a brass vessel and a grinding-stone are the simile. But the friendship may be broken off by taking a little dust in the palm and blowing it away, or, in Jhang, by breaking a straw.

These modes of creating fictitious relationship, or the ideas which underlie them, appear to be the basis of certain practices which exist in various parts of the Punjab.

These practices on the one hand find analogies in the custom of seeking asylum, while on the other they merge in certain forms of oaths.

The pagwat finds a curious application among cattle-lifters and other criminals. Finding himself suspected, the chief offers to restore the stolen property, on condition that the owner exchanges pagūs with him as a pledge that he will not lodge a complaint.

An apparent extension of this practice is the custom of tālī pānā,

1 But in Ambāla, for instance, it is said that no such tie is created, because pagwat sometimes takes place between persons of different religious (and between them no such tie could be created). In Jhang and Multā it creates no such tie.

2 Of the usage, Wālī Bārdās, Bhūțās, Ki honda pagg-avnātīs? When Dārās and Bhūțās are at variance, what will it be to exchange pagūs?

3 Tālī, a small piece of cloth, a patch; åur and tingu are not given in Maya Singh's, Punjāb Dictionary, but both are said to have the same meaning as tālī. In the Jhang district at a wedding the bridegroom's friend casts a piece of cloth over the bride's head in precisely the same way.
Fictitious kinship.

tollo pándá, tátri pándá or tigrá satnd, as it is variously called. This custom may be thus described. The suppliant casts a piece of clothing over the head of his enemy's daughter or sister, whether he be the person whom he has actually wronged, or a witness against him, or his would-be captor. If he cannot get access to the girl herself he employs a Mírasan or a Masehídání to go to her father's house and throw the cloth over her head in his name. It suffices to give the girl a small ornament instead of casting a cloth over her. By this means a complainant or a hostile witness may be compelled to assist a thief or any wrong-doer instead of pressing the charge against him; or a loan may be extorted from a money-lender.1

Among Muhammadans in the Western Punjab the relatives of a man in trouble with the police approach the complainant with a Quran which they place in his hands and thus constrain him to abandon the prosecution. In former times, it is said, a man who had a feud died, and his kinsman could not, or would not, continue the feud they took his corpse to his enemy and thus compelled him to friendship. This is called paito pándá,2 or nígat khaír.3 Refusal involves divine displeasure. In the Míráwálí district it is customary for one side to send Sayyids, Brahmanas, or daughters4 as envoys to the rival faction in order to induce it to give up its claims. If this request is refused and the rival party meets with misfortune, it is attributed to its rejection of the terms proposed by the Sayyids, or the other envoys. In the same district it is customary for a thief to send a widow (called kálí súri)5 to beg for mercy from the complainant. Such an envoy refuses to sit until her request is granted.

The custom of casting one's garment over an enemy's daughter is found as far west as Kohát, but in that district another method is also in vogue. The thief, or one of his relatives, goes to the complainant's house, places his hands on his chulba (hearth or oven) and says: ta angh-dare ma wánwale da, 'I have grasped your oven'; thus claiming his hospitality.

Compurgation is also not unknown. Thus in Gujrát if A is suspected of stealing B's cattle, but denies his guilt, the parties nominate an arbitrator and agree to abide by his word. This is called sánch bára, or taking an oath, but it is termed rá déna in Jhang, Multán &c.

1 In Gujrát the suppliant party assembles all the respectable men of the locality, and they go to a loke t the house of him whose favour is sought. This is called met (which means to pick). In Dera Gházál Khán the suppliant is formed in a very similar way, and is called met (which means a crowd). Both Hindus and Muhammadans have this custom but only the latter take a Quran with them.

2 Paito, the border of a shawl; pumam, to spread out the end of one's shawl, to invoke a blessing; so called because Hindus spread out the ends of their shawls on the ground before them when invoking a blessing.

3 If the complainant wishes the suitor procures on the Quran to take no action. He is said to be nígat khaír. And is cut off from all social intercourse with his fellows being only received again into fellowship after he has given them presents and feasted the whole brotherhood. The surrender of the corpse symbolizes one of the attachments of the dead for debt. See The Grateful Dead.

4 Among some of the low castes daughters act as priests, like Brahmanas.

5 Kálí súri, lit. 'black-head', apparently. A widow would seem to be sent because she is the most deserving or pitiable of all suppliants.
Fictitious kinship.

Namvari.—Very similar in idea is the Pathan custom of namvari, or nahaura. If a man seeks mercy, or the protection of a powerful patron, he or his relative goes to his house with a poss of leading men of the village and there kills a goat or a sheep by way of peace-offering.

Sayyid Ahmad Dehlvi furnishes some curious information on the customs among women in Delhi. He informs me that the princesses of the old Mughal dynasty, when resident in the palace, used to effect a tie of sisterhood, called saukhi. Zandah is the breast-bone of a fowl or pigeon, and two ladies used to break it, as we break a wishing bone. They then become saukhi, each to the other, and the tie thus created was a very strong one. The custom is said to have been brought with them from Turkestân. Similar ties were formed by women of the palace who were known as dil-i-din, ‘heart’s life’, jan-i-man, ‘dilmila, dushman (lit. ‘enemy’), dagdah, ektakana, &c., but these ties were less binding. Dilmila may be taken to mean ‘confidante’. Daghana is applied to two ladies of equal age, whose friendship is strengthened by eating phillipine almonds, as if they were sisters, born of one mother. Chhauim would appear to be derived from chhe, &c., and to mean one who is six times dearer than a sister. Dushman is used, curiously enough, to imply that the enemy of either is also the enemy of the other.

Among the women of Delhi generally, the terms applied to such adoptive sisters are saukhi (companion), bahmil, and saukhi, or sakhi, but the latter term is seldom used except in poetry. Another term for adopted sister is mukhl-lati, or ‘adopted by word of mouth’. Other terms remind one of the pargi-badat or topi-badat brotherhoods formed among men and include the chalta-badal-bahim, or sister by exchange of rings, and doppa-badal-bahim, or sister by exchange of scarves. The latter tie is formed ceremoniously, each sister sending the other an embroidered scarf (doppa) in a tray and putting on the one received from her, after which a number of invited guests are feasted. Religious sisterhood is formed by following the same faith and becoming chhau-bahim; by affecting the same spiritual teacher (pir) and becoming chhir-bahim; or by drinking the water from the Jumna or Ganges from each other’s hands while bathing in one of those rivers, and thus becoming Janna or Ganga-bahim. The latter is the stronger tie. Foster sisters are styled dush-sharik-bahim.

Zandah, Pari, means ‘chhe’, Platts’ Hindustani Dictionary, p. 618, but it does not give saukhi.

Dil-i-din, ‘life of mine’, or possibly ‘life of my heart’, I can trace none of these Palace terms in Platts.

These palace terms have been somewhat disregarded, or have at least lost much of their original force, in modern, the doggerel verses written in women’s language and expressing their sentiments (Platts, p. 611). Chiragna, however, occurs in the verses of the Mau zai, and is thus to take precedence. Qurban ki chhaumaj naa bahadur Lati thein in the Tads-i-Gulshan-i-Sabah of Mirza Farid-ul-Mahk. With the exception of dagdah and ekhkgana they are also said to occur in these books, the Chota-Bahai, Saghara, and Bahai, written by a gentleman who had been brought up in the Delhi Palace, and describing the colloquial language used therein.

1 Platts, pp. 707 f. 2 An adopted visitor, or female friend: Platts, p. 194.
3 A female friend etc., see Platts, p. 690.
4 In Northern India, from Agra as far south as Bhihr, the term gaaj is much in use among women and in poetry. In Marath and Upper India the corresponding term is gaaj, which Platts (p. 649) gives as a synonym of saukh. See p. 928 for guida, ‘a partner’, or ‘female companion’.
CHAPTER III.

CASTE AND SECTORIAL MARKS IN THE PANJAB.

SECTION I.—CASTE MARKS.

Caste marks, like sectarian marks, probably had a religious origin, but they should nevertheless be carefully distinguished from the latter. They are in themselves only a part of the symbolism of caste, and find counterparts in various other outward signs and observances, which distinguish one caste from another.

According to the commonly-accepted theoretical division of Hindu society, the outward and visible signs of the castes were as follows:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Brahmana</th>
<th>Kshatriya</th>
<th>Vaishya</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clothing in skins</td>
<td>black deer</td>
<td>red deer</td>
<td>goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacred thread</td>
<td>cotton</td>
<td>hemp</td>
<td>wool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>dhāk</td>
<td>bār</td>
<td>jāti</td>
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The Brahmacāryas of each of the above castes are said to have been distinguished by more elaborate differences in the matters of clothing and staff. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Brahmana</th>
<th>Kshatriya</th>
<th>Vaishya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under garment</td>
<td>hemp</td>
<td>silk</td>
<td>sheep-skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper garment of skin</td>
<td>black-buck</td>
<td>rūma</td>
<td>goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>dhāk</td>
<td>bīleśa</td>
<td>gālar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Height of staff</td>
<td>to the head</td>
<td>to the forehead</td>
<td>to the nostrils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girdle</td>
<td>munjasama</td>
<td>mūraṇa</td>
<td>hemp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was a difference also, according to caste, in the forms of the words used by the Brahmacāryas in asking alms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Brahmana</th>
<th>Kshatriya</th>
<th>Vaishya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhavīt bhikhyam</td>
<td>bhikhyam bhavī</td>
<td>bhikhyam dēkī</td>
<td>bhavīt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dēkī</td>
<td>dēkī</td>
<td>bhavīt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In connection with the above distributions of clothing and accoutrements, each of the four chief castes wore, on the forehead between the eyebrows, a distinctive caste mark of coloured sandal-wood paste.

3 3. I. e. of the wood of the butes frendos; ficus indica and murraya aromatica, respectively.

4 Called the chāchāhrī; or āṅgīle marmelas, or wood-apple.

5 Known as ghara or gharāta.

6 According to Mann, śloka 45. The varieties of the Brahmacārya staff above given are arranged according to the Grīhyasūtra. Mann, śloka 45, gives a wider range of choice: e. g. Brahmana, dhāk or bīleśa; Kshatriya, bar or kharisī (murraya catechu); Vaishya, jāti or gālar.

7 A vetch.

8 A creeper.


10 Brahmanas also used bhākṣūtī, sābe, for this purpose.
CASTE AND SECTARIAL MARKS.

Caste Marks: Manu, Gṛihyasūtra, etc.

Caste Marks: Meru Tantra.

Vaishnava Sectarial Marks.

Saiva Sectarial Marks.

Shāktaks.

Jains.

Marks of Hindu Religious Orders.
(vide Plate, figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4). The colour, as well as the form, of the caste-mark was distinctive for each caste, as under:—

White.  red.  pale yellow.  black.

According to a sloka in the Padma Purana, the colours above-mentioned correspond with the complexion of each caste, which was assumed to convey its general mental qualities: —

Venerable.  merciless.  merciful.  vain.

The Meru Tantra, however, prescribes quite a different set of marks (vide Plate, figs. 5, 6 and 6a, 7 and 8): —

Vardhapundra.  vipundra.  ardhaachandráka.  chauká.

Other authorities again permit Brahmans to wear the vipundra in its straight form, though Shaktakas might wear both, while the vardhapundra is prescribed for Kshatriyas.

The materials for the vardhapundra wear also varied to saffron, clay, turmeric and earth from sacred places. In modern practice the colour is rarely pure white.

Historically the discrepancies to be observed in the authorities more than probably represent local feeling at various epochs and show that at no time was there any hard and fast general rule. Nowadays, in practice, the distinctions noted in the books do not exist, and customs that are not to be found in them are observed. E.g., the sacred thread is usually of cotton, and caste distinction is shown by the knots used; the castes assumed to represent the old Brahmana and Kshatriya divisions employing the brahm-gaunt, and those representing the old Vaisyas, the vishn-gaunt.

SECTION II.—SECTARIAL MARKS.

1. Vaishnava.

Sectarian marks as now used are probably of comparatively modern form. That of the Vaishnavas is the urdjava, representing the bishupad or footprint of Vishnu: (Plate, fig. 9).

It is also described as consisting of two upright lines with a point between them (see Plate, fig. 5), and as a simple vertical line. This last statement is, however, expressly contradicted by another account, which says that Vaishnavas are forbidden to use the single vertical line, and proceeds to prescribe marks for each of the great Vaishnava sects and their offshoots as understood in the Punjab.

This account leads us into an extremely instructive presentation of sect development among Vaishnavas in the Northern parts of India. These sects are given as follows, employing the terms for them used by the modern Punjabis:

In two forms: three straight lines or three lines curved upwards.
CHAPTER IV.
SUPERSTITIONS AND CEREMONIES RELATING TO DWELLINGS IN THE PANJAB.

SECTION I.—THE ASPECT OF THE HOUSE.

1. The south.

A southern aspect is unlucky.

In Jullundur (Jalandhar) it means that it will generally remain empty. In Lahore a house facing south, or a site on which a house facing south, can only be built, has a markedly lower selling value than one with any other aspect. Builders make every effort to avoid a southern aspect. In Gurgasou a house should, if possible, face towards the Ganges, never south. In Dera Ghazi Khan this aspect is specially unlucky.

2. The astrological aspect.

In Trans-Girt Sirmuir the nad rds of the village settles the aspect in the first instance. If it is Kumbh, Talä or Brihthak, the house must face west; if in Brikh, Kunyä or Makar, south; if in Mín, Kirkh or Mihat, north.

The house must never face east. But north and south are also unlucky, as the north aspect brings poverty and the south admits demons. Therefore when a house, according to the nad rds rule, ought to face north, south or east, it is made to face north-east or north-west, south-east or south-west.

3. Other aspects.

In Amritsar a house built in front of a tree, or facing a tank or river, is unlucky. 5

SECTION II.—TIMES FOR BUILDING.

1. The auspicious moment.

In Sirmuir a handful of earth from the site selected is taken to a Brahman, who predicts the auspicious moment for laying the foundations, by declaring that a leopard, cow, fox or other animal or drum will be heard at the appointed time. The prophecy usually comes off, because it is made with due regard to local circumstances at the time, but if it fails, the time is postponed and another day fixed.

1 The Hindi alphabet is divided among the twelve zodiacal signs, each of which affects the letters allotted to it. The nad rds is the sign to which the initial letter of the name of the village (as also of a person) belongs.

2 Also among Muhammadans in Dera Ghazi Khan.

3 In this District, if a pipal tree grows within the house precincts, it is unlucky. But in Lahore symmetry and even safety are sacrificed in order to preserve a pipal tree growing on the site of a house, or within its precincts, unless the tree can be easily transplanted.
Building ceremonies.


Baisakh, Bhadon, Magh and Phagun are lucky, unless the builder’s nam var is in Saturn, Mars, Ketu or Rahu.

In Kangra, the only lucky months are those between Magh and Har.

In Dera Ghazi Khan, the lucky months are Sawan, Katik, Poh, Phagun and Baisakh.

Phagun and Baisakh are the lucky months. (Sawan provides sons: Katik brings gold and silver; Poh finds worship acceptable to God.) The unlucky months are Har, Bhadon, Asauj, Maghar, Magh, Chet and Jeth. Har breeds mice; Bhadon makes the owner ill; Asauj produces family quarrels; Maghar produces debt; Magh creates danger of fire; Chet brings ill-luck, and Jeth loss of the money spent in building.

SECTION III.—FOUNDATION CEREMONIES.

1. Sirmur.

In Trans-Giri Sirmur a betel-nut, for fertility, and a pirsdd for longevity, are always, and a hair from a tiger’s or a leopard’s moustache for courage is often placed beneath the foundation stone.

Elsewhere in Sirmur four jars containing articles, brought from Hardwar or other sacred place, are set at the four corners of the house, and on these are laid the foundation stones.

2. Kangra.

In Kangra tahal the foundations are laid at an auspicious moment, when a stone chakhi (grindstone), called varata, is placed in them and worshipped, a goat being sacrificed and karih pirsdd offered to it.

3. Ambala.

In Ambala, the foundation is laid at the time fixed by a Brahman, and oil is poured on the spot, Gur being distributed to those present.

4. Amritsar.

In Amritsar, the foundation rites are called shihd ashtapand, ‘setting up of the stone.’

A pit is dug at an auspicious moment, and mangoes, betel leaves with an iron peg driven through them into the earth, curds, barf (a mess of pulse), and gur are placed in it as offerings. White rape-seed and asafoetida are then sprinkled over the pit. Next a new jar, covered with a spotted red and yellow cloth and containing a coconut, seven kinds of grain, a gold or silver coin and a paper, recording the year, day and hour of laying the foundation, is placed in it. Lastly, oil is sprinkled over the jar, the gods and serpents are worshipped, and the pit is closed with five or seven flat bricks.

1A silk cord for tying a woman’s hair. Usually it denotes a wife’s good fortune, but here long life to the men of the family.
Building ceremonies.

The object of the various articles used in this ceremony is as follows:—Mangoes for fertility; betel leaves for a gentle temper; the iron peg for strength to the foundations; the coconut for riches in fruit, grain and money. The curds and gur are offerings to the gods, and the rape seed and asafetida ward off evil spirits.

SECTION IV—THE ARCHITRAVE.

1. Ambala.

When the door frame is set up, a gandá of wool, with a small bag of mudder tied to it, is fastened to the lintel, to avert calamity and for the prosperity of the inhabitants.

2. Amritsar.

The door frame is set up at an auspicious moment, and a Mauli thread, with a bag containing rice, rape-seed, a bit of red silk cloth, a kuri, a ring of iron and of glass, is tied to it to the northward. Gur is distributed and the gods worshipped. Five or seven impressions of the hand in red are then made on the frame, to signify the completion of the rites.

The door frame is guarded until the walls reach the top of it; lest a woman should bewitch the frame and cause death or injury to the owner.

The ‘Five Gods’ are often carved on the lintel, for the protection of the inmates.


A káñgi of red thread, an iron ring, a betel nut and mustard seed are all tied to the lintel to keep off the evil spirits.

SECTION V.—COMPLETION CEREMONIES.

1. Sirmur.

As the house approaches completion a piriándé, a betel nut, and an iron ring, called the three shákhas, are tied to a beam and to the lintel of the door. The iron ring is a protection against evil spirits.

2. Kangra.

The completion rite is called pataishtá, when Brahmans and the kinsmen are feasted and a goat is sacrificed. An image of Ganesh carved in stone, called wásth or jajínp, is also set up in a niche in the hall.

3. Ambala.

When the building is finished a black banjá (pot) is hung inside it and a black hand is painted on the wall to avert the evil eye.

4. Amritsar.

A house should not be roofed during the parjá in any month, but at a fixed auspicious time. The roof should have an odd number of beams.
A staircase should always be to the left of the entrance and contain an odd number of steps.

SECTION VI.—OCCUPATION CEREMONIES.

1. Ambala.

Before occupation a Brahman is asked to fix the mahurat, or lucky time for entrance. Seven or eleven days previously a pandit performs a havan inside the house. On the day fixed for the occupation, pandits also recite mantras to avert evil spirits and the owner feeds Brahmans and gives alms.

2. Amritsar.

A Brahman fixes a lucky day for the occupation when the ceremony of chaṭh is performed. As a preliminary, green leaves from seven trees are tied to a saṅghī on the outer door. The gods are worshipped, havan is performed and figures of five or seven gods are drawn on the ground, together with that of Vāshā, the house-god.¹

After first throwing a little oil on the threshold, the master and his family enter at an auspicious moment, carrying a new jar full of water, flowers, ghr, yellow thread, fruit, nuts, etc., while the house wife carries a jug of curds. The master wears new clothes and a turban. Both man and wife, together with a quiet milch cow, are led by a girl, wearing a red cloth on her head and a nose-ring. Sometimes a sacred book is carried in also. A Brahman recites mantras and then all the articles brought in are placed north and south of a bōdī, in which are stuck flags of ten various colours. These are afterwards removed and affixed to the outer wall of the house on either side of the door. Brahmans and kinsmen are fed and the ceremonies are ended.


The chaṭh, or occupation ceremony, simply consists here of the worship of a figure of Ganesh painted in red or smeared with flour on the house-wall by the owner.


Before occupation havan is performed, the kathā of Sat Nārain is recited and food given to the Brahmans.

5. Ludhiana.

Before occupying a new house the ceremony of griha pratishtha is performed.

Before reoccupying a house that has not been lived in for some time, the ceremony of bāṭād pujā is performed.

SECTION VII.—THE FORM OF THE HOUSE.

1. General.

It is unlucky to build a house broader in front than at the back. Such a house is called shēr-dahan, lion-mouthed, or bāgh-mahan, tiger-mouthed.

¹See above section III, 2: and section V, 2.
²See preceding paragraph.
Building ceremonies.

A house, to be lucky, should be gau-muthā, cow-mouthed, or broader behind than in front.

Houses, also, to be lucky, should have an equal number of sides, preferably four, six or twelve sides.

2. Amritsar.

In Amritsar, a house that is kushāh-dahan, open-mouthed, or wider in front than behind, will make the tenant spend more than his income.

A house with its front higher than its back is unlucky.

SECTION VIII.—THE ROOF.

1. Ceilings.

The beams of the upper storey must not cross the rafter of the lower storey, but lie parallel with them. If they do cross it is a bad omen, and the condition is called gaṭ. This does not apply to the ceilings of different rooms on the same floor.

2. Rafters.

Rafters are counted in sets of three, the first of each set being called respectively bhastārāj (lord of the dwelling), Ind (for Indar, the rain-god), Yām (for Yāma, the god of death), or simply rāj. Endeavour is always made to so arrange the rafters that the last may be counted as rāj as that brings luck. If the counting ends in Ind, the roof will leak, which is tolerated: but on no account must the last rafter be counted as Yām, as that would bring death or adversity.

3. Thatch.

Some Gūjars of the Palwāl tahsil of Gurgāon affect thatched roofs, as any other kind will bring down on them the wrath of their Pīr, or patron saint.

SECTION IX.—STRUCTURAL ALTERATIONS.

Between the months of Hār and Kātík the gods are asleep and no structural alteration should then be made.

SECTION X.—CEREMONIAL DECORATIONS.

1. General.

On numerous specified occasions, the house is decorated or marked with figures and designs, everyone of which has, or originally had, a meaning of its own. They are always drawn by the women, never by men.

1 Upper storeys are sometimes tabu'd; e.g., the Najār Jāt of the Samrāli tahsil of Lādhiān think an upper storey brings bad luck.

* Thus with four rafters, the last counts as Ind; with seven rafters, the last would count as Yām; with ten rafters the last would count as rāj, the lucky number.
Building ceremonies.

2. Figures used on religious festivals in Gurgaon.

(a) Soñô.

On the Solon day a figure, called sañô (Plate I, fig. 2), is drawn in red on the house-wall. It is said to represent the asterism Srâvana, and is worshipped by placing sweetmeats before it, which are afterwards given to Brahmans.

(b) Nâg Panchami.

On the Nâg Panchami, 5th of lunar Bhûdañ, the figure shown on Plate 1, fig. 1, is drawn in black on the house-wall. It represents the snake-god in his dwelling and is believed to prevent the house from being infested with snakes.

(c) Kàtik and Dîwâlî.

In Gurgaon, Bâniâs and Brahmans draw the figure on Plate II, on the house-wall. It must be begun on the 4th and finished on the 8th of lunar Kàtik.

The first part (a) is called sînâ and represents Râdhikâ (Râdhâ), spouse of Krishna. This is worshipped on the 8th of lunar Kàtik by placing sweetmeats before it.

The second part (b) represents the goddess Amanashyâ and is worshipped at noon on the Dîwâlî by placing before it rice and milk, which are afterwards given to Brahmans.

The third part (c) represents Lakshmi as the goddess of wealth, and is worshipped at midnight on the Dîwâlî by placing money before it. An all-night vigil is kept on this occasion.

(d) Deo-uthán.

On the Deo-uthán day in Kàtik when the gods awake from their sleep the figure in Plate III is drawn in the courtyard of the house and worshipped by placing before it fruit and vegetables in season. The women of the household call in a Brahmâni, and with her they sing songs and beat the mat with which the figures are covered, and then, it is believed, the gods are awakened from their sleep. The male representation to the right is of Nârâyan.

(e) Nârâyan.

On Nârâyan’s day white dots are made on the tops of the figures, in parallel rows on the house-wall; and figures of birds and animals, all in white dots, are also drawn.

(2) Figures of deotâs.

In Sirmûr a house is at once abandoned if the sign or image of a deotâ is painted on it, in the belief that it was thereby become sacred.

(4) Weddings.

Chariots, peafowl and many other objects are drawn on the house-walls at a wedding. In Gurgaon, in addition, a picture of the god Vinnâník or Binâník, covered over with an earthen jar fastened to the

1 Sanuk. Vinânyaka or Vinânyika (?).
Building ceremonies.

wall, is drawn several days before the wedding of a male member of the family, and is worshipped daily to avert calamity.

(5) The Dehra.

In Kāngra, every house should possess a dehrā, upon which a ball of clay, made by an elderly woman of the family, is placed on the birth of a child. This ball is called Bhānī or Atam Devī.

At the wedding of a boy or girl the enclosure of the dehrā is plastered over with cow dung and the figure of the dehrā drawn anew with ground rice in red and yellow. See Plate 1, fig. 1.

The enclosure in which the dehrā is drawn is decorated with pictures of Ganesha, Devī, Shīb and Pārbati adorned with flowers, and so are both sides of the door. In the courtyard of the house a chariot is drawn with wheat flour on a portion of the yard plastered with cow dung.

SECTION 11.—CEREMONIAL MARKS AND SIGNS.

1. Swastika.

(a) Form.

The usual form of the sātīā or satīā is but in Dera Ghāzī Khān District a curious arm is added. See Plate I, fig. 1.

(b) Meaning.

The sātīā is divided into four main lines + which represents the gods of the Four Quarters:—Kuber, north; Yām rāj, south; Ieard, east; Varun, west. The four additions Ṣ represent the gods of the half quarters:—Ieard, north-east; Arj, south-east; Vayu, north-west; Nāmit, south-west. In the centre sits Gampus, lord of divine hosts.

(c) Uses.

To bring luck; it is drawn on the doors of and inside houses and shops in Gurgāon.

To avert the evil eye; it is drawn in black on newly-built houses.

To avert evil spirits; after the Holi or festival of the harvest god, by matrons in red or yellow on either side of the house door; and after the birth of a boy, by a girl of the family or by a Brahmani on the seventh day after the birth with seven twigs inserted in it.

2. Bandarwal.

(a) Form.

A bandarwal is properly a string of siro or mango leaves tied across the door as a sign of rejoicing.
SUPERSTITIOUS DECORATION OF BUILDINGS.
Plate II.
Building ceremonies.

(b) Variants.

In Ludhiana it is termed kara-kwaâl.

In Sirmoor a bandarwall of red flowers is tied all around the houses on the first of Baishakh to invoke the blessing of Sri Gali.

In Sirmoor, in Bhadoon a branch of tejbal is kept at the door to avert evil spirits and dâsas.

A common variant is a row of (probably seven) cyphers under a line.

In Kangra, at a wedding or birthday, seven cyphers are drawn on the house-wall in saffron, and ghi is poured on them seven times. This mark is termed hind-thârâ, and is a symbol of Lakshmi as goddess of wealth.

In Firozpur, the Bhârâs carve in wood over their doors during a wedding the following figure:

3. Thapa.

(a) Meaning.

A thapa is an impression of a hand, and popularly represents the hand of an ancestor raised in blessing on those who do them homage. In the Shastras, thapûs represent the hands of Asvi, god of wealth, and Pûshâ, god of intelligence.

(b) Use.

A thapa is always a sign of rejoicing.

(c) Gurgaon.

In Gurgaon, five or seven thapûs in red beside the house door denote the birth of a boy or a wedding in the family; a single thapa in yellow, with another drawn in ghi, denotes that a vigil (jagrâtâ) is being kept in honour of the house goddess.

(d) Ludhiana.

Thapûs stamped with turmeric, roli or ghi denote rejoicing. At weddings they are placed on both the bride's and bridegroom's house. In the former they are worshipped by the newly-married couple immediately after the pherâ, and in the former after the bride enters it.

SECTION XII.—SHOPS AND OUT-HOUSES.

1 Shops.

In Gujrat the thara is a large, raised, circular mark on shop walls. It begins by being a circle, nine inches in diameter, to the right of the door. Every Sunday it is rubbed over with wet cowdung, and incense (dhâp) is burnt before it. In time the layers of cowdung form a considerable incrustation on the wall. (Thara literally means a platform).

1Vide Punjab Notes and Queries, 1888, § 771.
Building ceremonies.

3. Out-houses

The kothā, if meant for treasure, is invariably ornamented, and if built into the wall of the dwelling-house, the style of decoration suggests that the aid of some protecting power is invoked. The outer edge is enclosed with a square beading of notches in three longitudinal and five transverse lines alternately, making a continuous chain. The corners are furnished with a pentagonal lozenge with a dot in the centre, an adaptation of the circle with a dot. This chain of three and five  \[\text{ reportedly}\] continued all round the kothā, but occasionally in the upper centre, for five consecutive times, the five transverse notches are left out, and the three longitudinal ones are made into figures of three tongues turned about alternately, by inclining two notches to an angle and making the third spring out of it, thus, \[\text{as in}&\text{figure}\] Beneath the beading at the four corners is added a swastika without the usual regular additions, but with four dots \[\text{suggestive of the modern Vaishnava innovations of}\] the four elements. The door is surrounded by a double beading of a square, topped by a larger one with trefoils in the corners, and two serpents with their heads back to back in the centre. Their eyes are dots, but the symbol being incomplete without the mystic three, a dot is placed between the two heads so as to form the apex of a triangle. The trefoils are double, the lower being the larger of the two showing a dot on each leaflet, while the upper one has only two dots, one in the centre and one in the stalk.

If the kothā be for storing grain, it has a hole in the bottom for taking the grain out of it, and this is ornamented with the sun symbol, \[\text{a circle with curved radii or spokes}\].

SECTION 13.—MUHAMMADAN USAGES.

All the foregoing observances are, as a rule, confined to Hindus, and then chiefly to the higher castes. The Muhammadan observances are much more simple.

1. Gujrat.

In occupying a new house, friends and kinsmen are feasted and some alms distributed.

2. Dera Ghazi Khan.

On laying the foundation, gur is distributed as alms. On completion alms are distributed and a sacrifice (suludi) of a living animal is made to avert evil. The formal entry is made at an auspicious time fixed by the ulama, the owner carrying a Qarda, with some salt and a jar of water as emblems of fertility.

\[\text{F. Punj. Notes and Queries, Series II, }\text{§ 73}\]
CHAPTER V.
DANCING.

In Bahawalpur there are several kinds of dances:—

Jhumar

1. Jhumar khâs or iddâ.
2. dhândwâl or chhaj.

Of these the former is in general use among Muhammadians, and the latter among Hindus (Kirâre), especially among the Pushkarn Brahmins.

The iddâ jhumar is further sub-divided into 3 varieties, called sidhi, Balochhi and trethari.

In the sidhi the performers stand erect, moving in a circle both feet and hands moving in time to a drum, the hands not being raised above the breast. In the Balochhi the movements are the same, but the hands are raised above the head. Trethari simply means ‘accompanied’ by three claps of the hands to each beat of the drum.

The jhumar is performed to the accompaniment of songs both secular (e.g. in praise of the Nawâb) and religious.

It is also performed by Muhammadians, when they visit a shrine to offer a namâ or manvati such as âta-ghètâ (or flour and a he-goat). That is to say it has sometimes a religious character.

The sidhi jhumar is also called zulâmin if, performed by women, and vardâmâ if danced by men. The zulâmin is danced by village women, or by Mirâsans, in a spot which is somewhat secluded, and men may take part in it, if nearly related to the women who dance it. There is no difference in the manner in which zulâmin and vardâmâ are performed.

The chhaj of the Hindus is also of three kinds:—(i) sidhi, (ii) phîrû and (iii) bishtâmû. In the sidhi the dancers also circle round a drum, keeping time with their feet and turning now to the right, now to the left. Sticks (daba) are carried. The Pushkarn also perform this dance individually. The following are the songs:

Sabh sahi naubhun manas,
Paneman putan kon gane gehne.

Jhumar, on the Indus.
Jhumar, on the Chenab

A circular dance of the Jâts at weddings and other occasions. There are three kinds:

1. Lammâ-kaor or southern.
2. Trethari or with three claps of the hands.
3. Trethari or quirk-time.

Jhumar dancer. (Mullani Glossary, p. 87.)

In Chaltari:

Ghumbar, m. circular dance of men
Ghârî, n.f. women.

Sulâm, m. a circular dance, beating with feet, and raising arms alternately. Grammar and Dictionary of Western Punjabi, p. 62.

A choral dance danced by Jâts at weddings and wherever they happen to collect in large numbers. They form a ring and dance round; their arms stretched out on a level with the head, are moved round with a wavy motion. The other circular dance in vogue is ‘jhumir,’ which differs from HIBO only in that the dancers keep the hands low and clap them together as they move.

The rhythm is fow na na, fow na na fow, fow, fow.
Dancing.

Or the following *dohra*:

*Māṭē Rām nām ñû boli,
  dēkā jān tovan te gholī.
Jhērī Rām nām dhiyāwan,
  Wāi Khwān nich wēēn pūvan.
  Māṭē Rām nām, etc.*

"Rām's name is sweet; let one devote his life to him who contemplates God, because thus he will be rewarded with heaven."

The *sidhī* then is distinctly a religious dance.

(ii) The *phirwi* or *chīnān jhumar* is performed thus:

\[ \text{D1, A} \]
\[ \text{D} \]
\[ \text{C} \]

\[ \text{B} \]

\[ \text{D1, A} \]

The dancers, who may number 100, carry sticks (d-*hās*) and dance in a circle, and from time to time dancers change places. Thus A goes to D, and, still keeping time with hands, feet, and stick to the music, fence with C. and E. Similarly D. moves to D1. and fence with B and G and so on.

(ii) The *khatāwī* is performed sitting, the players swaying their bodies, otherwise it is like the *sidhī*.

The two latter dances are not much in vogue.

Kivârs who are expert in the *sidhī* are in great request for the *eṭāndrāha*, i.e. the Wednesday, Sunday or Friday, preceding the day fixed for a wedding.

There is also a dance called *dhamaul*, performed by Jāṭe in the *Minchūpād ṭāqa*. They dance round a drum singing:

"Allâh Muhammad-Châr-Yâr, Hāji Qutb Fârîd"; (*i.e.,* God, Muhammad, his four Caliphs, and Qutb Fârîd.)

While uttering the word *Parīd*, the Jāṭe dance enthusiastically. Here the dance has distinctly a religious character.

There are one or two points to notice about dancing. In the first place it is, as a popular pastime, confined almost entirely to the hills and the Indus valley. Elsewhere it is a profession, and confined to certain castes. Further where it is allowable for people to do their own dancing, without calling in the professionals, it is more or less confined to religious or ceremonial occasions. For example, the Waziris hold public dances at certain fixed places upon the 'Id. It would be of interest to know if the Khâṭṭaks have special occasions on which dances are held.

* (Lorimer's *Wazirs Pathālo*, p. 320).
Observances in Karnal.

(a) Lakhmā or Sri,

founded by Rāmānūj Achārya.

The Panjābi followers of Rāmānūj are divided into two sects, using the same sectarian mark, but of different colours (see Plate, fig. 10). That is, the inner part of the mark is called sri, and is coloured yellow by the Rāmānūj Sect, and red by the Rāmānand Sect, who are harijīgs.

(b) Seshji,

founded by Mādhev Achārya.

This sect also has two divisions, and they use quite separate marks. That of the Seshji Sect is a tules leaf and is called sri gurjan mali (Plate, fig. 11), and that of the Gopalji Sect has a peculiar elongation down the nose (Plate, fig. 12).

(c) Mahādevī or Rudra,

founded by Balabhr Achārya.

This sect has seven gaddis or seats, six of which use the ardhapūṇḍ mark, some with a dot below it (Plate, figs. 13a and 13b). The seventh gaddī, at Gokalnāth near Mathura, uses two vertical lines (Plate, fig. 14).

(d) Sakādika,

founded by Nimbark Achārya.

This sect uses a modification of the ardhapūṇḍ with the sri (Plate, fig. 15).

2. Saivas.

The Saivas commonly use the curved tripaṇḍ (see Plate, fig. 6a), representing a half-moon, the symbol of Siva. The tripaṇḍ is, however, not of a constant character, being also described as three oblique lines, with a point under them, or simply as three parallel lines (Plate, fig. 6). It also takes the form shown in Plate I, fig. 16.

The parallel or curved form of the tripaṇḍ with a dot on the central line (Plate, figs. 17 and 17a) is utilized to show the particular form of worship affected by the Saiva devotees. The worshipper of Siva wears the tripaṇḍ made of ashes, saffron or sandal. The worshipper of his consort Devī has the central dot made of sandal-coloured red. The worshipper of Ganesha has the central dot of sindūr (vermilion). The worshipper of Sūrya wears no special colour, but his tripaṇḍ mark is sometimes red.

1 Valsh Saivas have of course other insignia, as the necklace of tulasī beads, in contradistinction to the cakrākha of the Saivas. The Valsh Saiva sectarian marks in Southern India differ altogether.—vide Du Bose, Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies, 3rd ed., p. 113.
3. Other Hindus.

The Shāktaks are distinguished by a single dot of vermillion (Plate, fig. 18).

The Samartas, the Sanos and the Shankars are said to use the urdhvam and the tripūṇḍi indifferently, and the Gaṇapatis to use the tripūṇḍi only.

4. Jains.

The mark of the Jains is said to be a vertically elongated dot of saffron. The Indian Buddhists are said to distinguish themselves by the same mark (Plate, fig. 19).

Another account however says that the Sitambri Jains use a round saffron dot (Plate, fig. 20), while the Digambri Jains wear a thick vertical line of saffron (Plate, fig. 21).


The Religious Orders of the Hindus wear certain marks which may be regarded as sectarian. Thus the Bhrāghis and some Udāsīs paint a curious mark (Plate, fig. 22) on the forehead, and also wear their hair long (jata).

Jogis, both of the Aghar and Kanphatta degrees, as Saivas wear the tripūṇḍi without any special embellishments.

Sutthra-shāhīs paint the forehead black. 3

The Achāri Brāhmaṇ in the first stage of his career wears a red vertical line with a white one on either side. 2 (Plate, fig. 23.)

Some minor religious orders have sectarian marks of their own, such as the mystic word om, painted on the forehead. Others wear the tripūṇḍi with two lines added above (Plate, fig. 24). Others have a tulas-patras inside a tripūṇḍi, a complicated combination (Plate, figs. 3 and 11).

Section III—PILGRIMAGE STAMPS.

Hindus generally, it is said, are required by their religion to tattoo the hands in blue when going on a pilgrimage. Saniśās who visit Hinglaj in Baluchistán are also said to tattoo an emblem of Mahādev under the sleeve.

Branding is, however, a much more common device, at least when the pilgrim belongs to a religious order. Thus, Bairāgīs who visit Rāmār, sixty miles from Dwārka, have the seal of Rāmār seared on the

1 "A single mark of red-lead" is worn in Kohat by the Terī Sholi, a class of Musalmān jagiris, who wear a long chak, often carry a trident tied to the shoulder, and "revolve a metal plate."

2 Sikhs do not use any mark as a rule, though some wear a dot, and their sectaries appear to have no distinguishing marks other than those used by the Udāsī and Sutthra-shāhīs.

3 This appears to resemble the Vaishnava somam of Southern India.
wrist so as to leave a black brand. Those who visit Dwárka itself have a ṭapt mudra, or brand of a conch, discus, mace, or lotus, as emblems of Viśṇu, or a name of Viśṇu, burnt on the arms. Those again who visit Rámeshwar have the right shoulder branded thus.²

Section IV.—FEMALE CASTE MARKS.

I add here a cutting from the Pioneer of the 26th May 1907, reproducing a note from the Madras Mail as to the custom of wearing caste marks by women in Southern India. I have not heard that there is a similar custom in the Punjab:—

"The caste marks worn by women are confined to the forehead and are, says a writer on caste-marks in Southern India in the Madras Mail, more uniform than those affected by the men. The orthodox mark invariably worn on religious and ceremonial occasions is a small saffron spot in the centre of the forehead. But the more popular and fashionable mark is a tiny one made with a glue-like substance, usually jet black in colour, called in Tamil sandhu, which is obtained by frying sago till it gets charred and then boiling it in water. Sandhu is also prepared in various fancy colours. Women who have not reached their twenties are sometimes partial to the use of ṭuchetiipottus, or small tinseled discs, available in the bazar at the rate of about half-a-dozen for a piece. To attach these to the skin, the commonest material used is the gum of the jack-fruit, quantities of which will be found sticking to a wall or pillar in the house, ready for immediate use. The vogue of the ṭuchetiipottus is on the wane, however.

In the more orthodox families, it is considered objectionable that the forehead of a woman should remain blank even for a moment, and accordingly it is permanently marked with a tatoosed vertical line, the operation being performed generally by women of the Korva tribe. The blister takes sometimes a fortnight to heal, but the Hindu woman, who is nothing if not a martyr by temperament and training, suffers the pain uncomplainingly."³

¹ The ṭapt mudra is a 'burnt impression' as opposed to the sīva mudra or 'cold impression,' which means the painting of emblems daily on the forehead, chest or arms with gopi chandu or clay, while worshipping a god.

² [During my wanderings in bazaars in India, I frequently collected pilgrimage stamps of brass of the kind above mentioned. They were not at all difficult to procure twenty years ago in such places as Hardwar, Ayas, Mínrápur, Barelí, and so on. But I have never reproduced or used them, as I could not ascertain to which shrines they belonged. When the stamp contained a name it was usually Ráma-ráma, Ráma Náryán or some such Viśṇu-rama term.—Ed., Indian Antiquary.]
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