A GLOSSARY

of the

TRIBES AND CASTES

OF THE
NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCES

AND THE
PROTECTED TERRITORIES OF THE
NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCES

VOL. I

By
H.A. ROSE
I.C.S.

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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 Makarásá 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 life,’ as Mr. J. C. Jack, I.C.S., and temporarily of the Royal Field Artillery, expresses the isolation which an investigator must 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 mediæval 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 Nága-worship which fully merits scientific examination and analysis. I for one do not regard Nága-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
Preface.

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 recognized 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-

1 To cite one of the scores of parallels which might be cited Athena born by the waters of Triton was at first a water-goddess and then a goddess of irrigation. Associated with the Erecthonios snake, she finds her prototype in the snake-goddess of the shrine-depository of the Minoan palace of Knossos 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 Rajá 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 Kahlur the Rajá 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 Rajá refused to remove the ban on the Kolis of a tract like Rajgiri, where the clan is pretty numerous because he had no need of their services in a military capacity. Where the Rajá 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
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 Kānga and the Jumna valley have been driven to the plough by the pressure of want and the Mahā 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, 1932, p. 371. But the progressive Muni Brahman, who have eschewed all priestly functions, are not hampere by any prejudices against similar employment and thrive in the professions and in Government service.


3 Ibid., pp. 18, 20 and 21. It can hardly be denied that the Dravidians had caste 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 Khatri s, Siál Rájpút s, 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? ”¹ 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 formulæ which when they were forged made for progress but which under changed conditions and altered ideals rivet 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 18 castes are in Nagar;’ Diack, Kuluhi Dialect, p. 39.
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 'Aristotle’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 *niyoga*, 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 *niyoga* or other institutions which lower their social value. But the Indian tendency to merge the individual in the

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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 Diack's *Kulûhi 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 desī* (p. 60) and that a cash payment called *badophri* (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 *ghálñâ* (p. 62). Old maids are not unknown, as land set aside for an unmarried female of a family is called *pharogal* (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 (saṅkan) (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 *bhor pit* (p. 52). Married women hold private property called *chheti* (p. 56). Adultery was mulcted in a fine, *rand* (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 *dhudl karu* (p. 59). Legitimacy was a question of degree.

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

2 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 Pollock and Mulla's El. 1913, p. 106. 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 ABDÁL:

See also Vol. I, p. 524 supra.

Page 3, insert :—

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

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

Page 9—

Add under AKÁLI :—

For the Bibeki Akális see Vol. I, p. 729 supra.

Page 12—

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

Page 12—

ABDASIA, a Sikh title:

Arghu:n : see Tarkhán (2) in Vol. III. Argun, the offspring of a Cháhzang by a Lohár woman. Should a Cháhzang take a woman of that caste into his house he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Cháhzangs will eat from his hand. An Argun will marry with a Lohár : Kulu Gazetteer, 1888-84, p. 120.

Page 24—

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

ATRI, see under SATWIL.

Page 31—

BABLA (2) a section of the Sirskhel. See under Hathi Khel, and on p. 330 read Toiba: for Tohla. and Babla for Bahla: Bannu Gazetteer, 1907, p. 56.

P. N. Q., I., §§ 285, 285 and 41. In P. N. Q., III., § 208, an account of their origin is given, but it does not appear to be known in the Punjub.
Addenda.

Page 33—

Insert after BAGNUR:—

Bagiál (Janjús)—see Bugiál.

Insert after BAGRI:—

Bagshi or Bagsi = kaitth in the Simla Hills except in Rashahr and Kumbhárstain: P. Tika Ram Joshi, Dicty. of Pahári in J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 184. The term seems a corruption of bakhshi.

Page 35—

BAI, see under Hathikhel.

Page 36—

Under BAIráGI add:—

Thedi Singh, Rájá of Kulu, c. 1753, granted lands to militant Bai-ragis: Lyall, Kangra S. R., § 82.

Page 39—

BAKHSìSH sádhs, a term applied to two Sikh sects, the Ajít Mal and Dakhní Rai sádhs, because their founders received the bakhsh or gift of apostleship from the Gurú (which Gurú ?). The followers of Ajít Mal, who was a wasand or tax-gatherer, have a gaddi at Fatehpur. Those of Dakhní Rai, a Sodhi, have a gaddi described to be at Gharancho or Dhilman ad nagrán vichh.

BÁKKAR, see under Hathikhel.

Page 40—

BÁKKA KHél, probably the most criminal tribe on the Bannu border. A branch of the Útmárzai Darwesh Khel Wazírs, they have three main sections, Takhti, Narmi and Sardi. The first are both the most numerous and wealthy, possessing extensive settlements in Shawál. The Mahsuds 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 month of the Tochí Pass. Much impoverished of late by fines etc. Bannu Gazetteer, 1907, p. 57.

Page 56—

Add under BALOCH:—

The Baloch of the Sandal Bár are mainly Jatoí, but at some places there are Chaddars, Gadgors and even Kharrals who, from working with camels, are called Baloch. The Baloch almost always form their rahná as a square facing inward, the mosque and common kitchen being in the middle.

In Muzaffargarh the Gopánga, Chándias (two of the principal tribes), Ghazlínis and Sarbánis have the worst of characters, but are no worse than the neighbouring Játs: Gazetteer, 1908, p. 65.
Addenda.

Page 56—

BANDA-PANTHÍ. The followers of Banda Bairágí are said to form a sect in the south-west of the Punjab: Cunningham's Hist. of the Sikhs, p. 378.

Page 57—

Under BANGALÍ add:—The Bangáli septs include Banbi, Gharo, Lodar, Ma(n)dahár, Qalandar, Kharechar and Teli. The Bangális also affect Baba Kálu of Pachnangal, the saint of the Jhíwars.

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

Page 62—

Under BANJÁRA insert:—

The Banjáras are, Briggs observes, first mentioned in Muhammadan history in Niámát-ulla's Tárikh-i-Khán-Jahán-Lodi under the year 1605 A. D. [when their non-arrival compelled Sultán Sikandar to send out Azam Humáyún to bring in supplies] as surveyors to the army of Sultán Sikandar in Rajputána: E. H. I., V., p. 100.

The feminine is Banjára or Banjárí, q.q. Vanjára, Vanjári.

BANOTÁ, BANAUTÁ, a commission agent.

BÁNS-PHOR, tor, s. m. The name of a caste who work in bamboos.

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

BÁNWAYÁ, s. m. a manufacturer.

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To Bar add:—See under Tharána, Handbook of Crim. Tribes, p. 123.

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BÁRABAKKI.

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

Add under BÁRÁ. In Kulúhi the form is Bárá or Bárda: Diack, Kulúhi Dialect of Hindi, p. 47.

BÁRETA, baretha, fem. barethán: a washerman or fuller: Platts' Hindustání Dicty., p. 151.

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

Page 66—
Insert after Barlás:

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

Page 69—
Add to:

Báshgálí (not -álí). 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., 191, p. 1.

Page 70—
Insert:

Bátwáli—see Barwála. In Mandi the batwáli is one who puts weights in the scale when salt is being weighed: Gazetteer, p. 51.

Page 79—
Add:

Béd (2), in Láhul the bédh or physicians hold land called man-sing, rent free: see under Jodsi.

Add under Beá,:

Diack describes the Bedá as a dancing caste in Kulu: Kuláhi Dialect, p. 50. A. H. Fanck places the Bheda (=‘difference’ in Sanskrit) as a caste below the Mons who may be descended from their servants: Hist. of Western Tibet, p. 78.

Page 80—
Belema, 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 Bahlám Rájputs.

Beopári, see Qassáb.

Insert before Betu:

Beétú, baítú, a Dágí attendant on a Kanét family: Diack, Kuláhi Dialect, p. 51. Members of a beétú family have the sole right of performing ceremonial functions.

Cf. paikhu.

Bhakrel, a tribe of Muhammadan Játs, found in Gujrát. It claims descent from Ghalla, a Janjúa Rájput, who had three sons, Bhakári, its eponym, Natha (founder of the Nathiál), and Kaujúh (founder of the Kanjiál).

Page 83—
Bhainswál, a Ját tribe or got (from bhains, buffalo) which is found in the Dádri tahsil of Jind.

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

Page 101—

Add to BHATRA: Lyall in Kângra Sett., Rep. § 69, p. 65, speaks of the Bhátra as the most numerous among first grade Brahmans. But Bhátra here appears to be a mistake for Batehru. The Bhátra clan is described as inhabiting the Tira and Mahl Mori idâqas.

Page 83—

BHANDÁRI, a keeper of a store-house or treasury (bhandár), e.g. in Mandi. Cf. Bhandári.

BHANDH, an officer in charge of dharmarth : an almoner: Mandi Gazetteer, App. VII.

Page 84—

BHANJIERA (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*: For a Bhattia Râja (ally of Jaipál) see Briggs' Ferishta, p. 9.

Page 100—

BHAU: for an account of this Râjput tribe see the forthcoming Gazetteer of Sialkot by Mr. D. J. Boyd, C.S.

BHAUN, a tribe of Jâts, found in Kapurthala, whither it migrated from Delhi: Cf. Bhanwâlá, supra.

Page 90—

Insert after BHAROI :

Bharotu, in Kulu, bhârtn in Outer Saraj, a porter, fr. bhâr, a load: Diack, Kulúhi iia'ec!, p. 29; Cf. p. 52 ( -ú). 

Page 106—

BHA'TU, a Brahman in charge of the materials of worship: Mandi Gazetteer, App. VII.

Add under BHEDA: a Jât tribe of this name, said to be derived from bheda, a wolf or sheep, is also found in tihals Sangrur and Dadri of Jînd.

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Insert after BISHNOI :


Page 115—

BÖHâR, a sweeper of the palace: Mandi Gazetteer, App. VII.

BISAN KHEL, one of the 5 sections of the Ahmadzai Darvesh Khel Wazirs, with 3 sub-divisions, the Daulat, Isâ and Umar Khin in the plains, and a 4th, the Mughal Khel, in the hills. Settled on the left bank of the Kurram in Bannu. The Painda Khel is a cognate clan: Bannu Gazetteer, 1907, p. 57.
Addenda.

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

Page 116—
Botti, a cook: Mandi Gazetteer, App. VII.
Boza, one of the main divisions of the Umarzai.
BÀNGERA, see Wangrígáraz.

Page 121—
For Dablijiya read Dahlíjiya,—which suggests a connection with dahlz, 'portico.'
For Bhibhal read Bhímwál, or after Bhibhal read ' or Bhímwál.'

Page 142—
Insert after BUDH :—
Budhál, a clan found in Gujar Khán and Kahúta tahsils: like the Bhakrál in origin and customs they claim descent from Prophet's son-in-law: Ráwalpindi Gazetteer, 1893-94, p. 111.

Page 146—
Add under CHÀNG :—Changar was one of the two provinces of Katoch Pálam being the other. It comprised the broken hilly country to the south of Pálam and round Jawálamukhi.

CHÁKHA, a tastei: Mandi, App. VII.

Page 151—
Insert after CHAMANG :—
Chamiál—a Rájput sept to which Pípa Bhagat belonged: P. N. Q., III, § 125.

Page 159—
Add as a footnote :—
The Lún 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 can hardly be the Dhani.

Page 160—
CHÆksi :—see under Káng-chumpo.

Page 152—
Add under CHANDAR :—Sáhibán was betrothed in the Chardar tribe: Legends of the Punjab, III, p. 20.

Page 170—
Addenda.

Page 181—

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

Page 220—

Add to DAHIMA: These Brahmans appear to be much on a level with the Khandelwál. They are fed on the 13th day after death and take neither black offerings nor grahn k1 dán. Hissar Gazetteer, 1904, 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 Dámaras of Kashmir whose rise dates from c. 700 A. D.

Page 235—

DHNATR, a Ját tribe, found near Kínjhir in Muzaffargarh.

DHER KHARRAL, see under Valána. The Hand-book of Crim. Tribes p. 120, refers to Dín-i-Akbari on Kharrals.

Page 238—

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

Page 240—

In Dhúnd for Khalúra read Khalúra.

Page 242—

DÍWALA, a Ját tribe found in the centre of Muzaffargarh.

Page 247—

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

Page 247—

DOTAL, see under Ránkí-dotal.

Page 249—

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

Page 272—

GÁDRI, one of the principal Ját gots in Gurdaspur: found in Ratálá tahsil.

1 Kulu Gazetteer, 1888-4, p. 182.
Addenda.

Page 274—
GAHLAUB, see Katkhar.

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

Page 279—
GANI, a prostitute.
Under GÁR : After Rája in line 4 insert Pál.

Page 280—
GÁRA, GERA, said to be a distinct caste in Spiti, where an agriculturist cannot take a Gára woman to wife without becoming a Gára himself.
GÁRWÁL, a branch of the Janjua: Rawalpindi Gazetteer, 1893-4, p. 111.

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

Page 283—
Add to GANGHAS: In Karnál the Gaghanas claim descent from Badkál, whom they still worship. He has a shrine at Páthar. They hold the thápa of Mandi and say they came from Dhanana near Bhiwani in Hissar.

Page 284—
GARIBDASÍ, 'a modern sect of the KABIRPANTHIS': I. N. Q., IV § 245. But see under SÁDHU. According to the Punjab Census Rep., 1912, § 189, they are a declining branch of the DÁDU-PANTHIS

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

Page 287—
GHOTAKHOR, diver: see Toba.

Page 301—
GILGAR, -KAR OR SÁZ, a worker in clay; see under Kumhár.

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

Page 303—
GORKUN-KAND, a grave-digger: said to be generally a Kumhár.
GULELI, fem. -AN, a wandering tribe, generally known as Bázigar or Nat.-The name may be derived from gulet, a sling. In the Baháwalpur Gazetteer, 1904, p. 340, it appears as Gilail.

Page 420—
KADAMBA, a Lamaistic sect, founded by Atiça, Dîspankara-Sri-Jnáná who was born in Bengal in 980 and died in 1053 A. D. Domton or Tomton (Hbromeston) and Marpa re-united his followers into a sect and founded Radeng: Milloué, Bod-youl ou Tibet, 1906, p. 177.

Page 455—
Add: Maheb is a synonym of KAHÁR in Gurdáspur, Gazetteer, 1891-2, p. 62.

Page 438—

Page 476—
KARGYUT-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 LUNGHEE: —
Lumba, a maker of toys, huqqa stems, caps etc.: also keep donkey-stallions: in Zafarwál tahsil, Siálkot.

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

Page 66—
Insert after MANGAL KHEL: —
Mangala-mukbi, a title of musicians, Turi, in the Simla Hills.
P. Tika Ram Joshi, Diety. of Pahári in J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 203.

Page 72—
Add under MASAND: —
G. C. Narang derives the terms from masnad-i-ali—'Excellency.' They were appointed to the 22 provinces or seix and apparently still survive among the Banda-panthis, but by them are called Bhai: Transformation of Sikhism, pp. 85 and 23.

Page 73—
Insert after MATU: —
For the Mulasanti see Shahpur Gazetteer, p. 84.
Add under Māvi:
Māvi was the old name of Akbar's khidmatīs: Afn-i-Akbarī, I, p. 252, cited in Russell's Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, IV, p. 338.

Add under Megh:

Add under Meora (not -BA):
The definition should be 'a Guru's messenger' not 'priest. The meorās were natives of Mewāt, famous as runners, and excellent spies: they could perform the most intricate duties: Afn-i-Akbarī, I, p. 252. For the ḍik-meorās of Khāfi Khán, cf. I, p. 243.

Add under Mon:
Manchaḍ... the religion of which is akin to that of Kanaur: A. H. Francke, Antiquities of Indian Tibet.


The Nānakshāhi are described as descendants of Sri Chand, founder of the Udāsīs, by S. Muhammad Latif, Hist. of Lahore, p. 160.

Add after Omara:

Paikhu, a low caste attendant, a Ḍāgi, employed at death ceremonies: Diack, Kulūhi Dialect of Hindi, p. 81.

Pajori, an assistant to a negi or pālsrā: Diack, op. cit., pp. 81-2.

Pālsrā, =negi: Diack, op. cit., p. 81.
Addenda.

Page 194—
Add to PANDA:—‘a Brahman who receives donations at an eclipse’:


Page 203—
Insert after PÁRNAMI:—
Parohá, a supplier of water at the wayside: Diack, Kulúhi Dialect, p. 32.

Page 205—
Add to footnote—

Sir Richard Burton says Pathán is supposed to be a corruption of Ar. Páthán, ‘conquerors,’ or to be derived from Hindi pátád, ‘to penetrate’ (hostile ranks). The synonym Súlimání recalls the phrase Súlimání Zábámi, the Súlimáns are ruffians in Arabic: Pilgrimage to Al-Madina, I, p. 45.

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

Page 216—
For Khitali read Khilchi under Ghilzai.

Page 234—
After PHÁNHÉRE insert:—

Phandári (? Bh.), a priest: Diack, Kulúhi Dialect, p. 33.

Page 237—
After PRÁNHU, insert:—

Prámhá from prám, ‘masonry; a mason, assistant to the tháoi or carpenter: Diack, Kulúhi Dialect, p. 85.

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

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

Page 266—
After ‘temple’ in 4th line read ‘to pay.’

Page 273—Under A add:—

1. Jammál from Jammu.
2. Samíál " Sámba.
3. Chárák " Chakri.
5. Salária " (Chak) Salár1: Lunda Satár in Shakargarh.

Bára Manga 12 villages in Shakargarh.
7. Lahotra " Lalhi in Jammu.
8. Jaggi " Jagiain in *.

1 In Zafarwál.
3. 

\[
\begin{cases}
\text{Kadiál from} \\
\text{Puzzi} \\
\text{Kadía}
\end{cases}
\]

Intermarry with Kadíl 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 saïddar of Charwa, Motí Singh, a Chárak Rájput, called a meeting of Cháraks, Salehríás and others of about the same grade and prevailed on them to agree to dohá marriages and to refuse brides to the more lofty gots. The Manhás people would not touch the proposal and have great difficulty in getting brides in consequence. The Cháraks and Salehríás have scored. I am told that the Mahárája 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 Ranghár:—

The term Ranghar used to be more widely used. Thus Khazán Singh writes of the Ranghars about Morinda and Bághánwála in Ambálá and round Sathiálá and Batálá in Gurdáspur: *Philosophic Hist. of Sikhism*, I, pp. 211 and 240: they were also known in Sirmár: *Gazetteer*, p. 46.

**Page 334**

After Rongáhr 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. In popular hagiolatry the term is frequently confused with Sayyid. Many shrines in northern India are undoubtedly tombs of Muslim warriors who were killed in the Muhammadan invasions and wars, and occasionally such shrines are styled Mashhad or 'place of martyrdom.' Thus an Imam Nasir-ud-din is said to have met his death at a spot in the Mashhad quarter of Sonepat town, near Delhi. But more commonly the term Ganj Shahidán or 'enclosure of the martyrs' is applied to traditional cemeteries containing such graves, but these are not regarded as shrines or worshipped. A Ganj Shahidán at Súmán in Patiála probably commemorates those who fell when that fortress was taken by Timur in 1398 A.D. 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 Khákí Shah, Shahids at Pinjaur in Patiála, at which food and sweets are offered on Thursdays. Shahid at Multán has a naqaza or tomb 9 yards in length, but as a rule naqazas are not tenanted by Shahids. Shahada Shahid had a mother who tempted the saint Babáwal 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.

But other Shahids have a less exalted origin. Thus in Baháwalpur State the roofless shrine of Khandu Shahid commemorates a Rájpút who was killed by the kinsmen of a Ját woman who had fallen in love with him. Another Jamál or Jamáldí Shahid is presented with offerings after marriage both by Hindus and Muhammadans. Other shrines of the same clan commemorating chieftains who fell in a tribal feud, and vows are made at them, especially by their clansmen.

1 P. N. Q., I., § 517.
2 Ibbetson, §§ 226. For an account of how one of these 'Sayyids' met his death see ibid. Carnal Sett. Rep., § 878. A Hindu Ráj used to exact the droit de seigneur from virgin brides, and the father of a Brahman girl thus outraged appealed to a Sayyid, Mírán Sáhib, for redress. He raised a Muslim host and the Sayyid shrine 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 fulfilment of a vow. They take the form of a fowl or goat, and especially, a goat's head, and are the perquisites of Muhammadan fagíras. 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 kos mindr or imperial mile-stone near Karnál town has been converted into a Sayyid's shrine. Mírán Sáhib himself went on fighting without his head, but before he died he exclaimed haqq! haqq! ib., § 881: and so apparently he is not himself a Shahid.
3 Delhi Gazetteer, p. 218.
4 Phulkiana States Gazetteer, p 82: for another Ganj Shahidán, at Káliána in Jind see p. 282. The Ganj Shahid at Lahore is the burial-place of Sikhs who were executed by a Hindu governor under the later Mughals: Muhammad Latif, History of Lahore, p. 161.
5 Ib., p. 81.
7 Baháwalpur Gazetteer, p. 178.
Apparently, it will be observed, most of these shrines are old, but that of Mūsā Pāk Shahīd, a well-known shrine at Multān, is almost modern. Shaikh Abulhassan Mūsā 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 mela on Thursday evenings.1

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 fāqīrs. 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, Bhūrā, of Bāri in the Kaithal tahsīl of Karnāl District, shares with Mansa Devī of Manī Mājīra in Ambāla the honour of being the patron saint of thieves in the eastern Punjab.2 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-dīn Aulaī was a patron of thieves alluded to above on p. 493. It is no doubt possible that thāgs elected to regard him as their protector, just as thieves in Europe chose to affect St. Nicholas,3 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 Devī to Sayyid Bhūrā so the Muhammadan thāgs seem to have transferred them from Bhawānī Devī to Nizām-ud-dīn. The parallel is complete.

Among Hindus the term Shahīd has a similar meaning. Thus Rām Mal, a Jāt chieftain, is known as Buddha Shahīd, 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 same wine is sprinkled over it at the rite of bhog bhārma4 and the rest given to the tribal bards mirānis to drink.

1 Multān Gazetteer, p. 346.
2 Ibbetson, loc. cit., § 236.
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 Sauncho'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. 1908, p. 193. St. Nicholas took over one of the functions of Hermes, who was known at Pelleine as dolios and became the patron god of thieves, liars and defrauders. For a discussion of the origins of such attributes see Parnell, Cults of the Greek States, V, pp. 23-5.
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, benna for her hands, the cent of flowers, and contact with dyed thread. All these things are then offered at Buddha Shahīd's shrine and the restriction on their use is thus removed. It must be observed on a Monday in the bright half of any month.
Erratta.

Page 14, line 36, for "Elliott" read "Elliot."

22, footnote 6, line 2, for "Partar" read "Tartar."

23, line 8, delete "the."

33, lines 17, 21, 29, for "Appolonius" read "Apollonius."

43, line 6, for "views" read "wives."

45, line 2, for "called" read "culléd."

46, line 11, for "Kanishke" read "Kanishka"; for "Avistic read "Avestic."

54, line 4, for "Mahábhárta" read "Mahábhárata."

56, line 45, for "cuasily" read "cuarily."

57, line 16, for "Zu'l-akar" read "Zú'l-fiqar."

58, footnote, for "Barrett" read "Barnett."

66, line 4, for "Macauliff" read "Macauliffe."

68, line 22, for "Budha" read "Buddha."

69, line 26, for "abbotts" read "abbots."

71, line 29, for "pratégé" read "protégé"

76, line 12, for "abbott" read "abbot."

84, line 6, for "abbott" read "abbot."

126, line 34, for "Chalya" read "Ahalya."


137, line 19, insert 212 after "page —."

174, note 1, line 7, read "slave."

182, line 29, for "Langs" read "Lang."

183, line 19, for "shráda" read "shráddha."

200, note 5, line 3, for "Duryodhana" read "Duryodhana."

218, note 1, line 9, for "Elliott" read "Elliot."

317, note 2, line 2, for "Goraknáth" read "Gorakhnáth."

338, line 47, for "operation" read "apparition."

369, line 42, for "Budha" read "Buddha."

420, line 16, for "Bhát" read "Bhút."

429, line 40, read "is a Bhardawáj Brahman."

511, line 28, for "Oráisi" read "Oráisi."

547, line 20, for "Neh" read "Uch."

645, line 10, for "phatic" read "phallic."

646, line 18, for "repitition" read "repétition."
Page 689, line 24, for "expulsion" read "expulsion."

690, line 6, for "states" read "States."

692, line 6, for "states" read "States."

693, lines 5, 22, for "states" read "States."

702, line 23, for "proclaimed" read "proclaimed."

703, line 25, for "Fatih" read "Fateh."

704, note, for "Cunningham" read "Cunningham."

704, note, for "pule" read "pulé."

712, line 1, for "kachcha" read "kachcha."

712, lines 33, 39, for "gur wára" read "gundwára."

719, line 26, for "sacho" read "ascho."

719, line 35, for "Hedv" read "Hedv."

729, line 4 from bottom, for "Gayathri" read "Gayatri"

750, line 11, for "karm whha" read "kusumhha."

751, note, for "struck" read "stuck."

757, line 13, for "Uarna" read "Varna."

769, line 10, for "máleda" read "máldá."

771, line 16, for "chhila" read "chhila."

778, line 58, for "tribunal" read "tribal."

784, line 2, for "Phalgani" read "Phálguni."

795, line 7, insert "bargain" after "pecuniary."

801, line 4, for "conscientiousness" read "consciousness."

803, line 34, for "máshkáta" read "máshkáta."

805, line 2 from bottom, for "Syyid" read "Sayyid."

808, line 32, for "Id-ul-fiter" read "Idu’l-Fitr."

832, line 39, for "ridegroom" read "bridegroom."

840, line 2, for "Gárf" read "Garur."

840, line 18, for "tilanjúli" read "tilanjúli."

855, line 2, for "chhorná" read "chhorná."

857, line 18, for "Garúr" read "Garur."

866, line 30, for "nose" read "nose."

878, line 10, for "chain" read "chin."

888, line 9, for "quk-hwáni" read "quk-hwáni."

888, line 13, for "fáthá" read "fáthá" and so on next page.

890, lines 18, 23, 31, 34, for "kul-or kuł-khwáni" read "quk-hwáni."

903, note, for "Ambergine" read "Aubergine."

907, note, for "Takirs-i-Gulistán" read "Takirs." and for "Mulk" read "Mulk."

909, the article on Caste and Sectarian Marks is continued from p. 909 on pp. 921-23.
CHAPTER I.

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

1. 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 175,248 square miles and include a population of 28,006,777 souls, or one-tenth of the whole area and one-eleventh 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 Sulaimáns 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, Swá 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 Maháraja of Kashmir and by the Punjab; in the south it is bounded by the Dera Gházi 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 Afgáns,’ and it is essentially a Pathán or Afgán country. It falls into three main divisions—(i) the cis-Indus District of Hazára, and the trans-Indus territories of Dir, Swá and Chitrál*; (ii) the comparatively narrow strip between the Indus and the Afgán hills which forms the districts of Pesháwar, Kohá, 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 Waziristán, Southern and Northern, the Kurram 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 Káfr of Káristán will also be found in that volume as the Káfrs appear to represent the aboriginal population of the Indus Kohistán and the mountainous territories of Dir, Swá and Chitrál. The Káfrs 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 Qutlugh, Timúr, Nádir Sháh, and Ahmad Sháh, the armies of Bábúr and of Humáyún,—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 west of the Jumna was in pre-historic times the scene of that conflict which, described in the Mahábhárata, 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 Hindustán from the Lodi Afgán to the Mughal dynasty and from the Mughals to the Mahrattas, which shook the power of the Mahrattas at Pánipat, which finally crushed it at Dehli 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 Brahmans 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 sprang 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 PROVINCES 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 Himálayas and embraces the Tibetan valleys of Láhul and Spiti; and while on the east it included the Mughal capital of Dehli and the western borders of Hindustán and on the south encroaches on the great desert of Rájputána, 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 Rájput rulers of the country, the sturdy Ját 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 Baloches of its frontier, so distinct from all Indian races,
Their sociological importance.

the Khatri, Aoras, Sûds, Bhábras and Paráchas who conduct its commerce, and the Dogras, the Kanets, the Thákurs and Ghirths of its hills, are almost peculiar to the Province; while the Gakkhrs, the Awâns, the Kharrals, Káthias, Khaṭṭars and many other tribes of the Rawalpindi and Multán 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 Balochi, Kashmiri, Pashtu, 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 mountains of Spiti.

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 bye-word in the mouths of the worshippers of Brahma, and Brajmanism has always been weaker there than perhaps in any other part of India. Neither Islâm 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 outcaste 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 Bishnois of the Hariáná 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 Kángra 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 doobs and of the river populations of the Indus and Sutlej, the Powindah traffic of Dera Gházi Khán and the salt mines of Jhelum are all well worthy of investigation and description; while the silk and pashm fabrics and embroideries of Delhi, Ludhiána and Amritsar, the enamels of Multán, the damascen-
The Punjab Himālayas.

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

Ibberson, § 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 Himālayas 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 Rājpútána desert, in which indeed is included a large part of Baháwalpur; 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 Hazāra 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 Rājpútána extends northward to within a hundred miles of Lahore.

Ibberson, § 5.

5. The Punjab includes two classes of territory; that belonging to the British Crown, and that in the possession of the thirty-six feudatory 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 19,974,956; the corresponding figures for the collective Native States are 36,551 and 4,212,794. British territory is divided into 29 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 Patiála and Baháwalpur, 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 Dáhi, with an area of 25 square miles and a total population of 244 souls whose ruler is independent in little more than name.

Ibberson, § 6.

6. The Himālayan 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 Himālayas, 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 Sirmiúr, while among them lie the hill station of Simla and the great Kángra District, the latter including the Kulu Valley which stretches up to the mighty range of the mid-Himālayas, and the cantons of Láhul and Spiti which, situated beyond the mid-Himālayas, belong geographically to Ladákh 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 1,539,000 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 gulley or fertilised by the abundant rainfall of the hills.

The people chiefly consist of hill Rájpúts, including Thákurs, Ráthis and Ráwats, and of Kanets, Ghirths, Brahmans and the Kolis or Dágis 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 north-eastern 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 ascendancy of a type of Rájpút society is well marked, and this part of the Province might almost be called ethnographically the Rájpútána of the Punjab, as it has called its Switzerland from its physical characteristics. The hill Rájpúts with their subordinate grades, the Ránás, Míáns, Ráthis and Thákurs, 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 Cháhngs or Báltís 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 Kángra, Kulu, Chamba and the Simla Hills he forms a well defined cultivating caste, distinct both from his namesakes who exercise sacerdotal 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 hypergamy 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 inroads into India have always taken. Often invaded, often defeated, the Rájas of the Kángra Hills succumbed for a short period to the Mughals in the reign of Sháh Jahán, but they soon threw off the imperial yoke, and it was reserved to
Raijít Singh to annex to his dominions the most ancient principalities in Northern India, and to penetrate into the remoter valley of Kulu. Thus the Káŋgra 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 Musalmán domination, which should either loosen the bonds of caste by introducing among the converted people the absolute freedom of Islám in its purity, or tighten them by throwing the still Hindu population, deprived of their Rájпут 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 Káŋgra, 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 Rájпут 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 Rájпут caste which disdains all marriage with the cultivating classes, but a Rájпут class itself divided into two or three quite distinct grades, the lowest of which accepts brides from the Kanet or Girth. The constitution of Rájпут society in the Káŋgra Hills will be found fully described in the article on Rájпутs.

The Himálayan canton of Spiti is purely Tibetan by race and Buddhist by religion, while the cantons of British Lábuls, Chamba-Lábuh, and Kanúr 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 Siwálik, runs a narrow submontane zone which includes the four northern tahsils of Ambálá with the Kalsia State, the whole of the Hoshiárpur District, the three northern tahsils of Gúrduaspúr, tahsils Zafárwal and Siálkot of the Siálkot District, and the northern portion of Gujrát. This submontane tract, secure in an ample rainfall and traversed by streams from the neighbouring hills, comprises some 6680 square miles of the most fertile and
thickly-peopled portions of the Province, and is inhabited by a population of about 3,040,000 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, Siālkot, 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 Siwáltiks from Ambála to Gurdaspur the dominant population is Rājpūt and Jāt, interspersed with numerous foreign elements, such as Patháns, a few Mughals, Shaikhs, Awáns, Khokhars, and many others. Of these elements all are modern, except the Rājpūts and possibly some Jāt tribes. But in the eastern part of the Ambála submontane the Jāt 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 Jāt state of any importance, viz. that of Kalsia in the Ambála District which owes its name to one of the Sikh misls or companies. In this tract the Jāt to some extent displaced the Rājpūt whose most ancient tribes, the Chauhán and Taoni, were dominant in it down to the Mughal period. How old their settlements in this tract may be is impossible to say, but the Chauhán at least were probably firmly established in the Ambála submontane before the Muhammadan invasions.

Further north beyond the Sutlej the Hoshiárpur submontane is held by Hindu Rājpūt tribes or Rājpūt tribes partly converted to Islám. Their settlements undoubtedly owe their origin to feudal grants made by the Hill Rájás 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 Rājpūt system of the Himálayas. As a counterbalance to their power the Muhammadan emperors planted Patháns colonies at a distance of 4 or 5 miles from the Siwáltiks in a line stretching from the town of Hariáná 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-Tánda, Jahán-Khelán, and Ghilzián.

Upon these irregular lines of opposing forces the Sikh movement launched Jāt tribes, but not in any great numbers. The Kanhyá and Ramgarhia misls obtained large tracts in the north, but in the earlier period of the Sikh risings the Rājpūt 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 Sirmúr, Mandi and Nálagaráh, might well have hoped to convert their Rájás 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 Una and Anandpur in the Jaswán Dún. The Jāt movement however did not even penetrate the barrier of the Siwáltik, and their subsequent encroachments under Sikh chiefs had little permanent effect. The Jāts, whose villages lie scattered all along the foot of the hills from Ambála to Gurdaspur,

*This includes the Cantonment population.
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 Khālsā. 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 Jammu border in Siālkot, Gujānwāla and Gujrāt, the conditions closely resemble those found in the eastern submontane, but the line of demarcation between Jāt and Rājpūt is fainter. The true Jāts, such as the Chīma, Varaich and Tārar, are mainly confined to Siālkot and Gujrānwāla. The typical Rājpūt tribes are found close under the Jammu Hills and include such interesting communities as the Bajju Rājpūts and the Chibhs, 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 Bhimār, 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 Chand’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 Sindh, while others are connected with the hills of Jammu. The whole group, which may perhaps connect this group of tribes with the ancient Malli of Multān. Some of their traditions point to Sindh, while others are connected with the hills of Jammu. The whole group

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 eroded

* 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 Kirána 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 Beás, the Rávi, the Bári Doáb 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 Ambála and the Thánesar tahsil now in the Karnál district, the northern portions of Patiála and Nábha, the whole of the Ludhíána, Jullundur and Amritsar Districts and of the Kapúrthala State, and so much of the Gurdáspur and Siálkot Districts as is not included in the submontane zone. Its area is some 8600 square miles and the population about 4,004,207 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 Knithal and Rewári tahsil of Karnál and Gurgáon, together with the small state of Pataudi and the Gohána and Sámpla tahsils of the Rohtak District; its area is about 4870 square miles, and its population some 1,727,431 souls.

15. Along the southern border of the tract runs the Hissár District with the small states of Dújána and Lohárú, the Muktsar tahsil of Ferozepur, the Rohtak and Jhajjar tahsils of the Rohtak District, the Rewári tahsil of Gurgáon, and some outlying portions of Patiála, Jind and Nábha. This is the most unfertile portion of the tract. A large part of it skirts the great Rájputána 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 Hissar and the Sutlej borders the Ferozepur District. The area is about 11,570 square miles, and the population about 1,889,000. 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, Nāhāa and Jīnd, the Kaithal tahsil of Karnāl, the three northern tahsils of Ferozepur, the two eastern tahsils of Lahore, and the states of Parādkot and Māler Kotlā. Its area is some 9,980 square miles and its population about 2,735,630. 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 Sihirind or Sirhind, nearly due north of Patiala and once the capital of a Mughal Suba, but razed to the ground by the victorious Sikhs in 1763 in revenge for the assassination of the children of Guru Govind Singh which had taken place there some 60 years before, roughly divides the Punjab Proper from Hindustán and the Panjábi 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, Gurgán, Karnál, Ambála and Rohtak Districts, and the States of Kalesia, Jīnd 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, Jāts form a smaller and Rājput a larger proportion of the population than in the tract immediately to the west; while Kambohs, Rors and Gújars are numerous in Ambála and Karnál, Tagás in Karnál and Delhi, Ahírs in Rohtak, Delhi and Gurgán, and Meos and Khánzadas in Gurgán.

The Hissá District to the south of the tract differs from the districts just mentioned chiefly in that, lying as it does on the confines of Bikánéer, 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 Ahír population. The religion is still Hindu, with a certain admixture of a curious sect called Bishnoi. The Sirsa 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 Hindi-

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1 A certain area is also inundated by the precarious floods of the lower Ghaggar.

2 But the Sirhind Canal opened in 1883 protects a large part of the central and some portion of the southern tract.
The peoples of the eastern plains.

speaking Hisseär and Rájpútána and from the Sikh and Panjábi-speaking Ját state of Patiála, while its western portion is occupied by Muhammedan immigrants from the lower Sutlej.

In all the remainder of the tract Panjábi 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 Gurdáspur till it fades into comparative insignificance in Siákota. But all the centre of the tract, the great Phulkían States of Patiála, Jínd and Nábha, the States of Farídkot and Málé Kotla, and the Districts of Ludiána, 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, Rájpúts, Játs, 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 Játs are few and Rájpúts and Ghírths numerous, while somewhat further south the proportion of Játs increases and Gújars, Sains and Aráins, and in Kapúrthala Kambohs, Mahtons (Mahtams), and Dogras, become important elements in the population. In the Lahore Division, Farídkot, and the Phulkían States the mass of the population is Ját; though in Lahore, Ferozepur and Farídkot Kambohs and Mahtams, and in Ferozepur Dogras, hold large areas, while in Patiála, Jínd and Nábha there is a considerable admixture of Ahírs. The Changars and Sánsís of Amritsar and the surrounding districts, the Bávarias of the upper Sutlej, the Ráwals of the northern districts and Lahore, and the Aherís of the Delhi Division are curious outcast tribes, some of them probably aboriginal; and as we pass westwards and northwards from Hindustán and Rájpútána into the Province, the Bánías of the Delhi territory gives place to the Khatri of the central, the Súd of the northern, and the Aroña 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-westward 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 Játí of the central districts, the Játs, mainly Hindu, of the south-eastern districts, and the Rájpúts of the country to the west of the Jumna. The so-called Játí 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 VARAIK 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 Rajput 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 who 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, Ranjha and Tarar 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 Bar, 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 aught but Jats, 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 Bhafti 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 Jat caste.

19. **The Jats of the South-Eastern Plains.**—The group of Jat tribes, which occupies the Jumna Districts with Jind, Rohtak and Hisar, call themselves Jat, and are the same people in every respect as the Jats of the Jumna-Ganges Delta and the lower Jumna valley, differing however in little save religion from the great Sikh Jat 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 Jats 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 Bikánér and Rájpútána, or northwards along the Jumna valley, and very few of them appear to have come from the Punjab to the Jumna. The Jat of Gurgáoon indeed still look upon the Rájá of Bhartpur 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 Jat of these parts is, if anything, even a better cultivator than the Sikh Jat; 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 prerogative strictly confined to their 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 Jats; while in Musalmán districts they do not work at all in the fields. So essentially is the Jat a husbandman, and so especially is he the husbandman of these parts, that when asked his caste he will quite as often reply samíndár as Jat, the two names being in that sense used as synonymous. The social standing of the Jat 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 karewa or widow-marriage, a good deal below the Rájpút, but far above the castes who grow vegetables, such as Arán and Málí. If the social scale is regulated by the rules of the Hindu religion they come below Bánias who are admittedly better Hindus. But the many Ját despises the money-grubbing Bání, and all other castes and tribes agree with him.

*Or, more accurately, Jatt, the double š of compensating for the loss of the long è.

The difference is purely dialectical and to speak of Jats and Jatts are racially distinct, as is done in E. H. I. IV, p. 243, is absurd and misleading. The Muhammadan peasantry of the Punjab are not necessarily Jats or Jats though many Jats and Jatts are Muhammadans.
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 Bāgri Jāt from the Bikāner prairies, the Sikh Jāt from the Mālwa, and the Musalmān Jāt from the Sutlej valley, meet the Jāt of Hissār, the last are distinguished as Desi and the Musalmān Jāts as Pachhāde or western; but these terms appear to be unknown to the people in their respective homes. There the superiority of the Sikh and Desi Jāt over the stunted Bāgri and the indolent enervated 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 Dehia and Haulānia. The following passage from Sir Denzil Ibbetson's Settlement Report of Karnāl and Pānīpat describes these factions:

"The Dehias are called after a Jāt tribe of that name, with its head-quarters about Bhatgān in Sunpat, having originally come from the Bawāna near Delhi. The Haulānia faction is headed by the Ghatwāl or Malak Jāts, whose head-quarters are Dher-ka-Ahulā in Gohāna, and who were, owing to their successful opposition to the Rājpūta, the accepted heads of the Jāts in these parts. Some one of the emperors called them in to assist him in coercing the Mandahār Rājpūta, and thus the old enmity was strengthened. The Dehia Jāts, growing powerful, became jealous of the supremacy of the Ghatwāls and joined the Mandahārs against them. Thus the country-side was divided into two factions; the Gūjars and Tagars of the tract, the Jāglān Jāts of thapa Naultha, and the Jātmār Jāts of Rohtak joining the Dehias, and the Hudā Jāts of Rohtak and most of the Jāts of the tract except the Jāglāns joining the Haulānias. In the Mutiny, disturbances took place in the Rohtak District between these two factions, and the Mandahārs of the Nārdak ravaged the Haulānias in the south of the tract. And in framing my plans I had to alter my proposed division so as to separate a Dehia village where I had included with Haulānias, and which objected in consequence. The Dehia is also called the Jāt, and occasionally the Mandahār faction. Even Sir H. Elliott seems to have been unaware of the existence of these factions. The Jāts and Rājpūtas 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 Rājpūta village at night."

Mr. Maconachie quoted a Delhi tradition which makes two brothers from Rājpūtāna called Mom and Som the respective ancestors of the Haulānia Rājpūts of the Doāb and the Haulānia 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 Rajput tribes of this tract are divided into two groups. All but the last four are almost confined to the Delhi territory, at least as Rajputs proper, and are roughly arranged in order from north to south down the Jumna valley, and then westwards through Rohtak and Hissar. The last four tribes carry on the series through Patiala, Ferozepur and Gujranwala, and connect the Rajputs of the eastern with those of the western plains. The first group belongs chiefly to the great royal families of the Rajputs 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 Tünwar and Chauhán dynasties of Delhi. Their local distribution is fairly well marked, the Tünwar lying to the north-west of the first group, and shutting off the Jāt tribes of the central plains from the Rajputs 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, Mandahár and Pundir of the Kurukshetra, and the Ráwat, Gaurwa, Bargújar and Jádu of Delhi and Gurgaon followed by the Játu, themselves Tünwar, and the Bágri of Hissár. The Punwar colony of Rohtak is an off-shoot of the Punwars of the western plains. The Jāts of this tract are very largely if not wholly true Jāts, who preserve strong traditions as to the Rajput tribes from which they claim to be descended. The Rajput of these parts is a true Rajput. 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 terminus 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

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.
The races of the western plains.

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 Himálayas 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 Sutlej and the Jhelum and its continuation in the Chenáb, it consists of soil which, wherever water is available, is sufficiently fertile save where north of the Sutlej 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-Chenáb and south of the Sutlej it is covered by great parallel lines of rolling sand separated by narrow hollows in which the original soil is exposed.

The Gújránwálá and Wazírábd tahoils of the Gújránwálá 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 Sulaimán mountains to join the Indus, and innumerable small inundation canals carried out from the Sutlej, the Lower Chenáb, 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 Bár 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 floras afford. The tract includes the whole of the Multán Division and the State of Baháwalpúr, the Districts of Sháhpúr and Gújránwálá, the greater part of Gujrát, and the two western tahsils of Lahore. Its area is some 60,870 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.

1 In physical characteristics parts of Gújránwálá, Gujrát 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 northeastern corner.
22. **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 area of greatest aridity as an intangible but very effectual line of separation.

23. **Ethnography of the Western Plains.**—Between the Sulaimán and the great sandy deserts of Bahawalpur and the Sindh-Ságar Doáb¹ 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 Ját—here an occupational as much as an ethnological designation—til 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 Játs and Rájpúts, or belonging to races, perhaps in some cases of aboriginal origin, which can now no longer be distinguished from them. In Gújrat the importance of the Gújar 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 Dáúdpotra, Joïa, Wattu, Dogar and Mahtam of the Sutlej, the Kharral and Káthia of the Rávi, the Siál and Khokhar of the Chenáb, and the Khokhar and Tiwána of the Jhelum, are some of the most important. The curious river-tribes of the Sutlej and Indus, the Jhabel, Kehal and Kutána, also present many interesting features. The Indus Patháns and a certain proportion of the Baloches speak their national Pashtu and Balochi. The remaining population of Dera Ghází Khán, Muzaffargarh, Multán and Bahawalpur speak Jatki, a language holding an intermediate position between Panjábi and Sindhi. Panjábi 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. Multán 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 **Powindah** traffic between India and the countries to the west only passes through the tract.

¹ The Sindh-Ságar Doáb lies between the Indus and the Jhelum and Chenáb.
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 tahsils. 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 Safed 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 Shahpur District, crosses the Indus in the north of Manwali, 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 joines the Sulaimans. Rising abruptly from the river and the great desert which lie to the south of it, the Salt Range of Jhelum and Shahpur falls away imperceptibly to the north into a great table-land enclosed by the range itself, the Hazara 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 palæolithic 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, Rájpútána, and Sind, except at Rohri, are rare. Some finds of pre-historic pottery in Balochistán 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 Rig 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 Balochistán implements of practically pure copper have been found. At Mathura, east of the Jumna, Cunningham excavated a flat copper celt and copper harpoon heads are said to have been frequently found in its vicinity. At Kohistán Hill and Tank, probably not very far from Gwadar, in Western Balochistán, 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 Hugli 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.1 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 Salatura, (Lahor) in the Pesháwar 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 Vindhyan and their associated races.

1 This is also Caun Greenwell’s conclusion: see Vincent Smith, The Copper Age and Prehistoric Bronze Implements of India, Ind. Ant., 1907, 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 Bráhús of Balochistán, but none is traceable in the Punjab. The question not only remains insoluble but raises further and larger questions. Sten Konow has detected some resemblances between Dravidian and the remains of the Etruscan language,¹ 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.² Sten 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 Rájpúts.³ As he says the Brahman and Kshatriya existed from time immemorial, but the Rájpúts are only known since the beginning of the Kaliyuga. They attained power after Vikramajít's demise, something more than 1600 years ago (when he wrote) and he derives their origin from the children of rájás by female slaves, the sons of Rájá Súraj being the first to bear the title of Rájpút.

The history of Rájá Súraj is closely connected by him with that of Persia. He makes Krishna,⁴ elected king by the people of Behár, contemporary with Tahmorasp⁵ of Persia. Krishna's eldest son Mahrájá

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³ Pp. lxiii—lv of Briggs' Translation.
⁴ Farishta is careful to point out that this is not the Krishna of Mathra.
⁵ Apparently the Tahmura, called the Dey-baard or Magician-binder, of Malcolm's History of Persia, 1, p. 14. He ruled Persia for 30 years and was succeeded by the famous Jamshid, who fell before Zuhak.
succeeded him and divided the people of India into tribes (castes). He named the [Rajput] tribes Rahtor, Chauhan, Punwar, Bais etc. after the chiefs of each. He kept up a friendly intercourse with Persia, but his nephew Dongur Sain sought refuge with Faridun of Persia and the latter king despatched a force under his son Kurshasp\(^1\) to invade the Punjab, and Mahrâja 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 Acheen, 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 Mahrâja was compelled to send his lieutenant Mál Chand of Málwa\(^2\) to defend the Punjab but was obliged to cede it to Persia. Some writers, adds Farishta, say that Faridun even possessed the Punjab and that the descendants of his son Kurshasp held it together with Kabul, Tibet, Sind and Nimroz down to the time of Rûstûm, i.e. for four generations.

Farishta's account may have to be supplemented from the *Tabaqát-i-Nâsirî*. When Faridun had deposed the sorcerer Zuhák he despatched an army to dispossess Bustâm who held the dominion of Hindustân at the hand of Zuhák whose descendant he was, and Bustâm retreated into Shignân and Bamiân and eventually devoted his energies to the colonization of the mountains of Ghor. He made peace with Faridun and the Arab tribes akin to Zuhák took up their abode in those mountainous tracts, and from him Muhammad of Ghor claimed descent.

Mahrâja, after a reign of 700 years, was succeeded by Kesu Râi who invoked the aid of Manúchahr against the Râjâs of southern India. Sâm\(^3\), son of Narimân, was sent to his assistance and they joined forces at Jâlandhar in the Punjab. The allies compelled the recalcitrant rulers to pay homage to Kesu Râi. Manîr Râi, son of Kesu Râi, succeeded him in Oudh, but he forgot his debt to Persia and when the

\(^1\) Farishta distinctly speaks of Gurshasp as the son of Faridun. But—

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<tr>
<th>Jâmshid</th>
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<tr>
<td>Atrût</td>
<td>Salm or Tûr or Brij or Iraj</td>
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<td>Gurshasp</td>
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<td>Zâl</td>
<td>Manuchahr.</td>
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\(^2\) The *Tabaqát-i-Nâsirî* gives the sons of Faridun as italicised and says that Iraj held Iraq with Hind and Sind, while the *Rauza-ul-Tâhirîn* says he held Khorasan with only a portion of Hind and Sind: T. N., I, p. 308.

\(^3\) Farishta expressly says that it derives its name from Mál Chand. It appears to be the Málwa of Central India, not the tract in the Punjab.

Hereditary prince of Seistan, according to Malcolm, p. 24.
Turk, Afrasiáb, king of Turán, invaded that kingdom, he wrested the Punjab from Zál, the son of Sám, and made Jalandhar his capital. He acknowledged fealty to Afrasiáb and it remained in his possession till Kaikobád deputed Rústám, son of Zál, to reconquer it. Rústám expelled Manir Ráí and placed Súraj, a Hindu chief, on the throne. He gave his sister’s daughter to Rústám, and died after a reign of 250 years! Of his 35 sons Bhai Rájá, the eldest, succeeded, and some say that he invested his brothers with the title of Rájpút. But he abandoned the regulations established by Mahrája and incurred the enmity of Kidár, a Brahman of the Siwálík mountains. Here Farishta or his translator must be alluding to the Siwálík kingdom—Sapádalaksha. Kidár defeated him and took his kingdom, but had to pay tribute to his contemporaries Kai-Kaus and Kai-Khásrau.

Farishta’s account now becomes confused. Afrasiáb re-appears on the scene. He confers the government of India on Rohát, son of Sankal Rájá of Lakhnauti or Gaur in Bengál, but Rohát dying without issue Mahrája II, a Kachwáhá Rájpút of Márwár, places himself on the throne and his nephew Kidár wrests the Punjab from Rústám’s descendants. He lived for some time in Behera (? Bhera), but built the fortress of Jammu where he left Durga, the Búlhás, one of his kinsmen, in charge, but Durga allied himself with the Khokars and Chaubas, ‘the ancient Zamindars of the Punjab,’ and with the hill people between Kábul and Kandhár and expelled Kidár Rájá from the Punjab.

1 Zál-i-zar—Zál of the golden hair—held the city of Zábulistán. It was also called the city of Zuhák, and Vigne—(Gházní, Kábul and Afghánistán, p. 109)—described its position thus: ‘On the continuation of the even-topped ridge of the Sar-i-Koh [which Raverty—Notes on Afghánistán, p. 607—says is the crest of the great range of Mihár Sulaimání, bounding the Gházní state on the east] are to be seen, as I was informed, the ruins of a large city, called Zuhaka, after the king who reigned there before the time of the Mussalman. The ruins of Zábul appear to lie in the Mándán-i-Rustam according to Raverty (op. cit., p. 458). For a note on Zábulistán see the Appendix to this Part.

2 Son of Kaikobád.

3 Sankal Rájá, according to Farishta, founded Lakhnauti in Bengál, after usurping Kidár’s throne. He maintained a vast army and refused to pay tribute to Afrasiáb, and Pirán-Wisa, the wazíf of Afrasiáb, was sent against him with 50,000 Turki horse, but compelled to retreat. Afrasiáb however joined him with 100,000 horse and carried off Sankal Rájá to Tarán, where he was eventually killed in action by Rústám. Malcolm is completely silent as to this episode. Possibly this is the Shunkal ‘King of Sind ’ who supplied Bahám Gor with 12,000 or 1000 sweet-voiced minstrels from his kingdom. They became the ancestors of the present Lúri or Lúlí, the musician gypsy tribe, of modern Persia: A. C. Woolner in Punjab Historical Society’s Journal, II, p. 120. Local tradition in Saharanpur preserves the name of a ‘Muhammadan tyrant,’ named Afrásá, who burnt down the sacred grave in Kankhi near Hardwár: Oalukta Review, 1974, p. 194.

4 “Which tribe has inhabited that country ever since,” adds Farishta.

5 Farishta says Gakhars, but he always confuses them with the Khokhrs and the latter must be meant.

6 The name Chaubas is extremely puzzling. Conjecturally it is misreading of Jois but this is very uncertain. We find Chaubin as a Parthian name (Malcolm I, p. 51, note). But Bahám who took possession of the Persian throne in 590 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 Afgháns, though he quotes no authority for his theory. After Kidár's death Jai Chand usurped the throne. He was contemporaneous with Bábman and Dáráb. Dahá, his brother, usurped the throne and founded Dehli. He was however attacked by P'húr, a Rája of Kumaun, and his throne was usurped by P'húr, a Rája of Kumaun, and taken prisoner. P'húr refused to pay the Persian tribute and opposed the inroad of Alexander, according to the 'the Brahminical and other historians.' After P'húr's death Sansár Chand (Chandra Gupta) made himself master of India, but sent tribute to Gúdarz, king of Persia, until Júna, nephew of P'húr, regained the throne. He was a contemporary of Ardashir Bábegán who invaded India but was induced by Júna's presents of gold and elephants to stay his advance on the frontier. Júna reigned at Kanauj and was succeeded by his son Kalián Chand.

Farishta now turns to the history of Málwa. He makes Vikramá-jít Punwár also a contemporary of Ardashir Bábegán, but notes that others make him contemporary with Shapúr. He lost his life in a battle with Shálivahana, a Rája of the Deccan, and from his death the Hindus date one of their eras.

Málwa then fell to Rája Bhoj, also a Punwár, while one Vásdeo (Vásudeva) seized the 'province' of Kanauj. During his reign Bairám-gor, king of Persia, visited Kanauj in disguise, but was recognised by the Indian ambassador who had carried tribute to Persia, and so Vásudeva seated Bairám-gor on his throne, gave him his daughter in marriage and escorted him back to Persia. Vásudeva left 32 sons, but his throne was usurped by Rámdeo Rahtor, who expelled the Kachwáhás from Márwár and established the Rahtors in that province. He also extorted tribute from the rájas of Siwalik, after subduing the Rája of Kumaun, and plundered Nagarkot. Thence he marched on Jammu, and though its Rája opposed him in the woods he was eventually defeated. The fort of Jammu fell and Rámdeo secured a daughter of the Rája for one of his sons.

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

1 Uncle of his infant son and so doubtless Jai Chand's brother.
3 Gudurz is the only one of the Ashkanian kings mentioned by Farishta, p. 87, and he must have reigned long after Chandra Gupta's time. There were possibly two kings of this name, Sahram Gudurz the third of the Aracides, who reigned after Christ, and Gudurz, son of Pellas: Malcolm op. cit., pp. 85-87.
4 Artaxerxes, the Sassanian, 226-240 A.D., p. 93.
5 Ardashir II (acc. 381 A. D.) has clearly been confused here with Ardashir Bábegán.
6 Shapur II, acc. 385 A. D., Malcolm, p. 112.
7 Bahram V, acc. 421 A. D.
8 This tale is also noticed by Malcolm, op. cit. I, p. 118.
9 Rámdeo then reached Shivkot Pindi, situated at a small distance on the top of the neighbouring hill at Nagarkot. There he summoned the Rája to meet him at the temple of Durga, which goddess he venerated. The Rája bestowed a daughter on one of Rámdeo's sons—in acknowledgment no doubt of his suzerainty.
10 Acc. 458 A.D.
11 Acc. 488 A.D.
Rámdeś’s death civil war again ensued, and his general, Partáb Chand, a Sisodia, seized the throne. He refused the Persian tribute and Naushírván’s ambassador returned empty-handed, so Persian troops invaded Multán and the Punjab. Partáb Chand submitted and paid the annual tribute thenceforth without demur. After his death each of his generals seized a province. Of these Anánd Deo, a Bais Rájput, was the most powerful, but his power did not extend apparently over the Punjab. He lived in the era of Khúsrau Parvíš and died after a reign of 16 years. At this time, says Farishta, a Hindu, named Málde, collected a force in the Doáb and seized Delhi and Kanauj; but he left no son fit to succeed him and civil war ensued everywhere on his death. After him no single râja ruled over India, and Mahmúd of Ghazni found it divided thus:—

Kanauj, held by Kúwar Rai.
Mírath, held by Hardat Rai.
Mahávan, held by Gúlchandr Rai.
Lâhore, held by Jaipal, son of Hatpál.

In 1079 Ibrahim bin Masá’ud I Ghaznavi having extended his conquests to Ajudhan (now Pák Pattan) returned to Rudpál—a fort on the summit of a steep hill. Thence he marched to Dera, whose inhabitants had originally come from Khorassán, 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 Farishta’s account, but in this connection Mr. Vincent Smith may be quoted. After the decay of the Kushán power, as he points out, coins of Vásudeva 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 (Sháhpur I), the Sassanian monarch who ruled Persia from 238 to 289 A. D. Bahram (Varahrán) II is also known to have conducted a campaign in Sistán between 277 and 294; and two great paramount dynasties, the Kushán in Northern India and the Andhra in the Deccan tableland, disappear together almost at the moment when the Arsakidan dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sassanian. It is impossible to avoid hazarding the conjecture that the three events were in some way connected, and that the Persianizing of the Kushán coinage of Northern India should be

1 Acc. 531 A. D.
2 Malcolm says that the emperors of India and China courted Naushírván’s friendship, and he describes the magnificent presents sent by the former (op. cit., p. 144). The tribute was, however, refused to his unworthy successor (p. 151). Naushírván’s power, it is implied, only extended to the Indus (p. 150)
3 A. D. 691-628.

According to the Raghuvasa Raghu carried his arms into Persia: Indian Shipping, p. 65

4 Mahávan, says Briggs, is supposed to be a village on the left bank of the Jumna about 10 miles below Mathra. Gúlchandr must be the ‘Kool Chand,’ Bája of Mahávan, attacked by Mahmúd of Ghazni in or about 1017 A. D.: Briggs, op. cit., p. 68.
5 Briggs, I, pp. 139-40.
explained by the occurrence of an unrecorded Persian invasion. But Farishta appears to preserve the records of the revival of Persian influence during the period which elapsed between the overthrow of the Kushán 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 Bashgali, which may be taken as the type of the language of the Siábposh Kafirs of Northern Káfíristán, we have a dialect derived from an ancient Iranian dialect which had retained the Aryan * and not changed it to A. 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 Násatyas.

The latest view is that the Kambojas were an Iranian tribe. Both Brahmanic and Buddhistic 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 Ahramanic 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 Kafíristán, Gilgit and Chitrál were called Pisáchã or 'eaters of raw flesh,' and traditions of ritual cannibalism still survive among the Shíns of Gilgit, the Wai and Bashgal Káfírs and in Dardísťán. Indeed the Dards of Gilgit had a reputation among the Kashmiris for cannibalism as late as 1866. It must, however, be pointed out that very similar legends of ritual cannibalism are very common all over the world and that cannibalism was supposed to exist in Muzaffargarh as late as 1850. The Romasa or shaggy and the Sringi-nara or horned men are mentioned in the Mahábhárata as if they occupied the same seats as the Madrakas 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 Kohistán 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. For the countries which appear on Vásudeva's coins, see the Appendix to this Part.
2 J. R. A. S., 1911, pp. 1 and 46.
3 See J. R. A. S., 1912, pp. 255-7, and references there given.
4 Ib. 1905, pp. 285-8. Grierson says that a connexion between Písáchã and the Pashai Káfírs is phonetically possible, but Pashai is not the name of a sept. 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 traditions at least four and possibly five lay, in whole or in part, within the modern Punjab or on its frontiers. These were—

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

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

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

(iv) South of the Kurú and west of the Jumna lay the Matsya or Macchas, possibly represented by the modern Meos of the Mewát.

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

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

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

1 E.g. the Anguttara and Vinaya Texts.—See Buddhist India, p. 333.
2 Not Kandahar (as Professor Rhys Davids thinks): op. cit., p. 28.—See Vincent Smith, Early History of India, pp. 34, 35, 23 and 27: also pp. 297 and 300. The kingdom of Gandhāra was overwhelmed by the Huns in 500 A.D. and regained by Mihiragula, the Hun, from its ruler, perhaps himself a Hun, about 533.
3 Op. cit., p. 28:—See also the map at the end of that work. Cf. also Vincent Smith, op. cit., p. 55.
5 Clearly not south-west as in Buddhist India, p. 27.
Alexander's invasion.

the Kurús, Matsyas and Súrasenás did not apparently form kingdoms, but were doubtless rather tribal confederacies, loosely organised and with ever-changing boundaries, like the Mewát or Bhattachána 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 Gandhárians, in the Paktvniké gé (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 Kálabágh to the sea, and perhaps included territories on the east bank of the Indus. It certainly excluded Gandaría and Arachosia (Kándhár).

Elsewhere, in the territories not included in the Indian satrapy, the conditions described above had undergone little change, though the tendency to crystallize into organised monarchies had become decidedly more marked in the northern or submontane tracts of the Punjab. Peukalaotis (Pushkálavatí, the capital of Gandhára), the capital of a tract (also so called after it), which corresponds to the present Yúsufzái 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 Jalálábád into Bájaur by the Kúnar valley. In Bájaur he encountered the powerful Aspárias, and took Nysa, a town and hill-state which probably lay on the lower spurs of the Koh-i-Mor. Thence he crossed the Gouraíos (Panjkora) and attacked Massaga, perhaps Manglaúr, the old capital of Swáét, 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 Peshávar, hardly a certain trace 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 confederacy 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 Abisáres, the ruler of Dárva and Abhisára, the whole tract of the lower and middle hills, lying between the Jhelum and the Chenáb, and which included Rajauri.

1 Or Kasparyros: possibly Kasyapapura (Múltán), which was, we must conjecture, a dependency of Gandhára.

2 Just as Abú (Omphis) assumed the title of Taxiles on his accession to the throne of Taxila, so Aresakes, the ruler of Ursála, would appear to have taken his name from his realm and the Páthán chiefs of the present day in Dir and Swáét have a precisely similar system. In much the same way tribes like the Káthak 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 Gandaris, which may have corresponded to the modern Gondal Bär. Poros was not, however, absolute ruler of this tract for it was partly held by independent tribes, and adjacent to it lay the Glausai or Glaukanikoi.

Similarly on the east bank of the Rávi lay the Kathaioi, and still further east, on the Beás, the Oxydrakai (Kshudrakas), while to their south-west, along the lower course of the Rávi 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 Rávi and receiving the surrender of Pimprama from the Adraistai, to invest Sangala into which the Kathaioi had thrown themselves. After its fall Alexander advanced to the Beás which he probably reached just below its southward bend below Pathánkot. Indeed if speculation be admissible we may conjecture that Pimprama was Paithán and that the Kathaioi are represented by the Katoch. However this may be, Alexander appointed Poros king of all the conquered territories between the Beás and the Rávi, then occupied by the Glausai, Kathaioi and 5 other nations, and comprising no less than 2000 townships. Taxiles was confirmed in his sovereignty, formerly somewhat shadowy, over all the territory between the Jhelum and the Indus. Lastly, he made Abisares satrap of Bhimbhar and Rajauri, together with the overlordship of Urasa.

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 (Saubhúti). Near the confluence of the Chenab and Beás, then probably close to Jhang, Alexander landed troops from his flotilla 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 horse 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 Rávi, 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 Sasanian chronicles the name appears as Für.
2 The Kathaioi have been identified with the modern Káthiás who settled in the Montgomery district about 11 generations ago from Káthiásár. The Káthiás never had any settlements east of the Rávi 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 horse, with 700 or 900 chariots, to collect. Crossing the Bxr, even at that period a waterless steppe, between the Chenáí and Rávi, he surprised the Malloi 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 Malloi 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 Malloi 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 five rivers with the Indus, or possibly at their confluence with the Hakrá, Alexander founded a city. In its neighbourhood lay the independent tribes styled Abastanoi, Xathroi (Oxathroi, ? Kshatriya) and Ossadioi by Arrian. Curtius, however, says that Alexander came to a second nation called Mali; and then to the Sabarcae,2 a powerful democratic tribe without a king, who numbered 66,000 warriors with 500 chariots. Further south the extremity of the modern State of Baháwalpur lay within the dominions of Mousikanos.

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 Malloi, Oxydrakai, Kathaioi, the precursors of the Sikh commonwealth; while the hills which encircled them were held by petty chiefs, Saubhúti, Ambhi of Taxila, Abisares, Arsakes and the two chieftains or kinglets designated Poros. 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 Poros between the Jhelum and Chenáí only comprised 300 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 Shibipura. Shibi was a tribal name, often mentioned in Sanskrit literature, and Chinese Buddhist tradition places a Shibi-rája in the Upper Swátt valley.—Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, I, p. 174.

2Diodorus calls these Sambatai, and adds that the Sodrai and Massanoi occupied both banks of the river (? Indus).

3"The Kathaians were not ruled by kings like the tribes which lay nearer the Indus (in the Salt Range and other hills), but were autonomous, each of the communities into which they were divided being self-governed." McCrindle's Ancient India, p. 37, n., in which the words in italics are apparently the editor's own deduction. No authority is cited, and from Note L, to his Invasión of India, p. 347, it would appear that the note is based on Arrian, who speaks of the Kathaians and other tribes of independent Indians, which does not necessarily imply that the Kathaians were autonóm at all. Strabo indeed expressly says that they chose as king the handsomest 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.

4Ancient India, p. 35, § 39 (Strabo).
The conditions under the Mauryans.

river to the Beas was held by no less than nine nations with 5000 towns, 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 Kshmir, 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 (190 B. C.) to the overthrow of Hermaios (c. 56 A. D.)—a period of two centuries and a half the Punjab was dominated by Greek or Græco-Bactrian influences which have left still fewer traces, although it was signalled by the reign of Menander (Milinda in Prákrit), the king whose brilliant capital was at Ságala (Siálkot) and who was converted to Buddhism. Ságala lay in Maddrattha, the country of the Maddas, the Madras or Madarakas of Sanskrit literature. With the Madras and the people of Ságala, the Kshidrakas and Málavas were all included in the general term Bähika, and the inhabitants of Ságala itself formed a class of the Bähika called Jártika. The Græco-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 Mahāyana 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 Kshmir, and Kanishka’s capital was Purashapura (Pesháwar), but his great Buddhist council sat at the Kuvana monastery at Jālandhar, and in Kshmir. 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 Græco Roman influence.

1 Ancient India, pp. 9 and 40: but in the Invasion of India, p. 112, the number is given as 500—an error, for Strabo twice says 5000.

2 Dr. D. B. Sponner regards Mauryan as equivalent to Mervian and observes that the founder of the dynasty, Chandragupta, was certainly not a Buddhist: J. R. A. S. 1915, pp. 414 and 416.

3 References to the Bähika, Bähika or Vähika are frequent in Sanskrit literature, but it is difficult to locate them with precision. Cunningham (A. S. R., I, p. 143) placed the Bähika country, which was named after Bāhī and Bīka, two demons of the Beas river, in the Jālandhar Dāb, while Lasen, on the authority of the Trikanda Sēṣha, says the Bähika are the same as the people of Trigarta. Cunningham apparently followed the authority of the Ma’idābāna, but that poem also describes the Madra as also called Bähika and Jārtika, &c., p. 155. They must not be confused with the Bāhīva or Pālava as has been done by a writer in J. R. A. S. 1912, p. 256. It is tempting to suggest that they are represented by the modern Beas of Siálkot.

4 Or Northern School, which still prevails in Japan, China and Tibet, in Spiti and, in very impure form, in Lhalu and Kangwar.

5 Vincent Smith, op. cit., p. 283.

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 Kushān power in the rest of India undoubtedly decayed under Vāsudeva, whose name shows how thoroughly Indianised the invaders had become; but in the Punjab and Kābul 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 Kushān 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 Rājputāna and Mālava, 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 Yaudheyas (Joiyas), now appear as occupying both banks of the Sutlej, while the Abhiras with the Mālavas held part of Eastern Rājputāna. The Kushāns, eventually confined to Gandhāra and Kābul, maintained diplomatic relations with Samudragupta, 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 Kābul and then poured into India in 455-456 A. D. Ten years later they overwhelmed Gandhāra under the leadership of Toramāna, whose son Mihirakula made Sāgala (Siākot) 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 Gandhāra 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 563-7 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 Thanesar (Thāṁśivāra) in the holy circuit of the Kurukshetra. Here, towards the end of the 6th century, Prabhākara-vardhana had raised himself to eminence by successful wars against the Hun settlements of the North-West Punjab and the clans of Gurjara (Gujrāt). 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 Hiuen 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 reft of the crown lands, fixed in theory at 1/5th of the produce, was the

1 Karňtripura, a place which gave its name to a kingdom embracing Kumaon, Almora, Garhwal and Kangra, is identified by Fleet with Kartārpur, but that town appears to owe its origin to the Sikhs. Hutchison mentions Brahmapura as a more ancient kingdom comprising British Garhwal and Kumaon: Chamba 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 Brahmā 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 Multán 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 Tāranāth, but according to Hiuen Tsang about 644 Multán was a province where the Sun-god was held in special honour and formed, like Po-fa-to which lay to its north-east, a dependency of Tseh-kia, a kingdom which comprised the greater part of the country between the Indus and Beás, and had its capital close to Ságala. Kashmir, which was then the predominant power in the north, had reduced Taxila and Singhapura (the Salt Range), with the Uraš plain, Púch and Rajauri to the rank of feudatories.

The pilgrim returned, after a month's stay at Jándandhār, to China, 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 Kashgár, but in the 7th and 8th centuries she made great efforts to recover her lost ground, and in 661-66 she enjoyed unparalleled prestige. Kapisa, the country to the north of the Kábul river, was a province of the empire, and at its court were ambassadors from Udyána (Swát) 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 Kush, and the Tibetans. In 719 the Arabs sought alliances amid the petty states on the Indian borderland, but the Chinese raised the chiefs of Udyána, Khottal (most of Badakhshán), Chitrál, Yásín, Zábulistán (Ghazni), Kapisa and Kashmír 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 inroads, the only Indo-European elements supplied by the invasions were Iranian and Greek, if the latter

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1 See the appendix to this part.
term can be justly applied to the heterogeneous mass which is called Græco-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 Arsacidan kings. Mithradates I (174 to 126 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. Maues¹ or Mauas attained power in the Kābul 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 Ortaghues are more widely spread. The Indo-Parthian princes were however expelled from the Punjab by the Yueh-chi 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,² apparently a Parthian name, but was an Indian king, who had been educated by Brahmans and married the daughter of a king beyond the Beās. Appollonius was the bearer of a letter from the Parthian king Bardanes at Babylon, 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 Kābul 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 Sramans and Brahmans, and he found many monuments of Alexander's invasion and considerable traces of Greek influence.³

The account of Appollonius' visit to India does not come to us at first hand, but it is confirmed indirectly by the fact that Hermaios, the last Greek ruler of Kābul and possibly other territories adjoining it, was not overthrown by the Kushāns 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 Hermaios 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 Aryan, Iranian, or Greek, the first or second century B. C. brought down upon India a torrent of Central Asian⁴ peoples which only

¹ It might be tempting to suggest some connection between Maues and the Māwis of the Simla hills if the former name did not appear as Moga.
² Cf. Phraates, a Parthian name.
³ India and Rome, by Priaulx, pp. 11-12 etc.
⁴ The term Indo-Scythian, 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 Scythian nomads Sakai. But the Saka originally held territory to the west of the Wu-sun hordes, 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 Yueh-či. Moreover, as Dr. D. P. Spooner has now pointed out, even Herodotus used the term Sakai in more than one application and for long periods Shāka denoted Iranians, not Scythians at all. As Dr. Fleet has contended these were no Scythians in the north of India in early times and Shākyamuni 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 Sakasténe or Sistán after them, some time after 130 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 Taranáth. Harsha of Thánesar in the 7th century A.D. built the great monastery of timber near Multán, 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 Kushán section of that tribe. He probably conquered Kábul 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 Kipiu, probably north-eastern Afghanistan if not Kasmír, and in the Kábul territory by 60 A.D., and the kingdom of Kadphises I doubtless included all modern Afghanistan and extended to the Indus. Between 90 and 100 A.D. the Yueh-chi dominion was extended all over north-western India, and the Kushán dynasty lasted till 225, a period of nearly two centuries. But the Turki Shahiyas of Kábul were, or at least claimed to be, descended from Kanishka, the Kushán, so that the Turki element apparently held its own at Kábul from A.D. 60 to c. 900.

As a race the Yueh-chi were not snub-nosed Mongols, but big men with pink complexion and large noses, resembling in manners and customs the Hiung-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 Hiung-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, Kanishka, wielded a military power so vast that he was able to wrest Kashgár, Yarkand and Khotan from China. He embraced the Buddhist faith and founded at Pesháwar, his capital, the Kanik-chaitya which Alberúni alluded to as late as 1030 A.D. But though Kanishka was a Buddhist the coins of the Kusháns continued to bear images of Zoroastrian deities, such as Mithra, the Sun-, Váta, the Wind-, and the War-gods. But other coins bore the names and figures of non-Iranian gods, and those of

1 Mr. Vincent Smith speaks of this as an Indo-Parthian dynasty and some of them bear Iranian names, e.g. Onones. But Maues and Azes are believed to be Scythian names and Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar would regard them as Sakas, some of whom assumed Iranian names just as Greeks took Buddhist and even Hindu names: Ind. Ant., 1911, p. 13, n. 15.
2 The Tibetan historian of Buddhism.
3 P. 32 supra. See Early Hist. of India, p. 293. The text gives a very imperfect idea of the probable extent of Zoroastrian influences during this period. Reference can only be made to Dr. D. B. Spooner’s valuable paper on The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History in J. R. A. S., 1915, page 405 f.
4 Early Hist. of India, p. 217. The Hiung-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 Kushán, like those of Kalphises II, exhibit the figure of Shiva 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 over-whelmed them. In Zangskar all Indians, Kashmiris or Dogras are called Mon and Mr. Francke thinks that the ancient Mons were an Indian tribe, but it is not necessary to assume this. The 'ktang, 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-Lāmaist Buddhism, as imposing remains of ancient Buddhist art are found among the ruins of their settlements in Zangskar and Ladákh. 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 Kohistán.

About 800 A.D. however Chamba was subdued by a race of foreigners called Kira who were probably Tibetans, while Kulu seems to have often been liable to Tibetan inroads and for centuries it remained tributary to Ladákh. Kashmir and Kishtwár had also a later period of Tibetan rule.

**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 Guptas, which had lasted from 370 to 465 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

1 J. R. A. S., 1911, p. 203, 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 Labul, where it has been extinct for centuries, is proved from rock-carvings in that canton: A History of Western Tibet, pp. 18, 19, 19, 20, 65, 188.

3 Ibid., p. 65.
in alliance with the Persian king destroyed them between 583 and 587 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 Huns came the Gújars who may indeed have come along with them, though the Gújars are never heard of until near the end of the 6th century, as the records frequently bracket them with the Hunas. Recent investigation has shown that the Pratihára (Parihár) clan of the Rájputs was really only a section of the Gújars and this fact raises a strong presumption that the other 'fire-born' Rájput clans, the Solanki (Chalukya), Punwár (Paramára) and Chaubrán (Chalahmána) must also be of Gújara origin. The Túñars (Tomáras) must be assigned a similar origin. The Gújara empire was of great extent. At the beginning of the 9th century it included or dominated the Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Gandhára, and Kira kingdoms, practically the whole Punjab. It certainly comprised the modern district of Karnál and extended to a point below Jullundur. The Gújara gave dynasties to Kanauj, Ajmer, and other states and from their ruling clans are descended the mass of the modern Rájput clans.

The nomadic Gújars, on the other hand, colonised a line running from Mewát (the 'Gujarát' of Alberúní) up both sides of the Jumna valley, and thence following the foot of the Punjab Himalaya, right up to the Indus. Now it is undoubtedly true that the Gújar 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 Písácha-speaking peoples in Swát and Kashmir the nomadic Gújar graziers and shepherds speak a language which closely resembles the Rájasthání of Mewát and Jaipur. In Kashmir this dialect is called Primú. In the north-western hills and indeed in the Punjab generally the Gújar 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 Gújar 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 Ját whom in many ways they much resemble. Prone to thieving, when circumstances permit, quarrelling and intriguing 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 Gújars 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 Rájput tribes then may have been formed from Gújara elements is by no means inconceivable, but if the Rájputs as a body are Gújars 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

1. Vincent Smith, op. cit. p. 278.
3. Ib., pp. 265, 266.
6. Attock Gazetteer, 1907, p. 91.
of 'the Gujar origin of the Rájputs.' Assuming that pratihára means 'durward' that surname may have been adopted by a Gurjara family which attained to Rájput or gentle rank, but it would not follow that all Pratiháras were Gurjaras and still less need it be assumed that all the Rájput clans were Gurjaras.

Further the theory leads almost of necessity, to other theories still more difficult of acceptance. It follows that if the Rájputs were Gurjaras all tribes of Rájput origin must be Gurjara too. For example the Kanets would be Gujarjs by blood, but Sir George Grierson would restrict that origin to the Ráo (Rahu) Kanets and assign to the Khash or Khasia a Khasha descent. The Khashas are frequently mentioned as a northern tribe addicted to cannibalism like the Pisáchas, in the Mahábhárata 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 Fir Panjáhl range between the middle Jhelum and Kishhtwár, all now in Kashmir territory. That they spread further eastward over the hills of Chamba and Kángra into the Kulu valley can only be conjectured from the similarity of their name to that of the Khash 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 Kuran Kanets of the Simla hills. The Khakhas of the Jhelum valley are almost certainly the modern representatives of the Khashas, but if the Khash Kanets are to be identified with them it would appear equally probable that the Khashai or Khakhai Pathans, progenitors of the Yúsfazai, Tarklání and other Pathan tribes, are Khash 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 Himálaya tract, known as the Sapádálaksha, were the Khashas who spoke a language akin to the Pisácha languages of the Hindu Kush. These are now represented by the Khas clan of the Kanets. Later on the Khashas were conquered by the Gurjaras, who are now represented by the Rájputs, and also by the Ráo (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 Rájput descent. Over the whole of Sapádálaksha Gurjaras and Khashas 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 Sapádálaksha invaded Rájputána and there developed the Rájastháni tongue. Subsequently there was constant communication between Rájputána and Sapádálaksha and under the pressure of the Mughal domination there ultimately set in a considerable tide of emigration back from Rájputána into Sapádálaksha. This great swirl of population appears

1 Accepted in Vol. III, p. 300 infra.
2 The Pathari Language, in Ind. Ant., 1915.
4 So Grierson, but it is suggested that the tide set in much earlier, in the time of the earliest Moslem inroads.
The Kurans Kanets.

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 humbler pastoral brethren.

The Kurans Kanets appear to be looked down on by both the Khash and Rabu 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 erct 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 Maháśu when that deity chased Chasrálu, 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 Maháśu 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 gaolers 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 Phágan. 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
The history of the Hun inroads.

writer it appears that the Rájput-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 enfeef Rájput or Gujar condottieri with allodial fiefs 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 incursion must have been made by a comparatively weak body since about 500 A.D. the nomads appeared in greater force and overwhelmed Gandhára. 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 Málwá 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 Ságala in the Punjab. Song-Yun, the Chinese envoy, also found a Hun king ruling over Gandhára in 520, though whether this king was Mihiragula or not is uncertain and unimportant.

Again in 547 A.D. Cosmas Indicopleustes describes Gollás, 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 Rája of Thánesar 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. Harsha'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 Húna is employed in a very indeterminate sense to denote a foreigner from the north-west, just as Yávana had been employed in ancient times, and one of the thirty-six so-called royal Rájput clans was actually given the name of Húna. This designation may, however quite possibly have been its real name and denote its real descent from the Huns, a tribe or dynasty of that race having, we may assume, established itself in India and, as a conquering or dominant race, acquired Rájput status.

Vincent Smith, op. cit., pp. 273-8
Appendix to Part II.

A NOTE ON ZABULISTAN

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

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

Bhandarkar suggests that Takan should be Ṭák=Ṭakka, and Táq was apparently a town which lay in Zábulistán. But ṭák or táq meant an arch and the place-name Tánk would appear to be derived from it and not from Ták or Ṭakka.

The name Zábulistán or Záwulistán 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 Jáulistán with Zábulistán is incontrovertible and Bhandarkar takes that to be Zábulistán an equation which appears hardly open to dispute. It is equally probable that the Jávula Toramána of the Pehewa inscription derived his title from Zábul, but beyond that it appears unsafe to go. The coins of the Sháhi Javúva or Jabula, the Toramána Sháhi Jávula of the Kura inscription from the Salt Range, must be those of this king, but it does not follow, as Hoernle says, that there was a Jávula tribe.² Still less does it follow that the Jávulas were Gurjaras: or that, as Vincent Smith implies, the title Jáula was a Hun title.³

It would be out of place here to discuss the extent or history of Zábulistán, but one or two points may be noted. It did not correspond to Seistán, but it included the Sigiz or Sigizi range whence Rustam derived his name of 'the Sigizi' and which may have given its name to Seistán,⁴ and the towns of Baihaq or Mukir, Táq and apparently Uq of Sijistán,⁵ which was afterwards called Rám Shahristán.⁶ Zábulistán lay north-west and south-west of Ghazni, but did not include that city.⁷ Le Strange says the high-lands of the Kandahar country, along the upper waters of the Helmund, were known as Zábulistán.⁸

¹Rajatarangini, I, p. 205, note 150. Grierson suggests that Tákri is the script of the Takkas: J. R. A. S. 1911, p. 802.
²J. R. A. S., 1905, p. 3.
³Ib. 1909, p. 268.
⁴Tabaqdt-i-Násiri, I, p. 184.
⁵Ib., pp. 67, 355-6, and II, p. 1120.
⁶Ib., II, p. 1122.

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 lowliest origin, could aspire to Brahman-hood. Vishvamitra, a Kshatriya, founded a Brahman family. The sage Vasishtha was born of a harlot, 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 Paráhara, the sage, of a Chandála woman. ‘Many others, who were originally not twice-born, became Brähmapas.’ 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 Kótehr and Bangáhal, are said to be Brahmans by original stock. So too is the ruling family of Jubbal. Its founder was Bhir Bhát and his son by his wife, who was of his own caste, became the parohit or spiritual guide of his two half-brothers, sons of his father by the widowed Ráni of Sirmúr, and also of his uterine brother, her son by its Rájá.

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 Brahmans on equal terms. But the son of a Brahman by a Sudra woman was a Nishádi 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 Brahmans, the female issue of a mixed marriage could by degrees

1 *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, January.—What follows is practically taken from this invaluable paper with details and illustrations added to emphasise the applicability of Professor Bhandarkar’s thesis to these Provinces. That the present writer is in entire accord with them will be apparent from his paper in *Man*, Vol. VIII, July 1908, No. 52. Mr. W. Crooke’s important paper on the *Stability of Caste and Tribal Groups in India* (Journal of the Anthropological Institute, 1914, Vol. XLIV, p. 270 ff.) may also be consulted with advantage.

2 The ruling family of Koti, a feudatory of Koenthal State, in the Simla Hills, is a branch of the Kótehr Rájás. Its gót is said to be Kándina, and the children of its founder Rám Pál, being of a Rajput wife, became Rájputs. Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Koti, p. 5.

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


regain their place. Thus if a woman born to a Bráhmana 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 'sixth female offspring' would, even if a son, be regarded as a pure Brahman.\(^1\) In other words the Sudra taint would be eliminated in seven generations, or as a verse of the *Manu-smriti* says: 'If (a female) sprung from a Bráhmana and a Súdra female, bear (female\(^2\) children) to one of the highest caste, the inferior (tribe) attains the highest caste within the seventh generation.' This is not, strictly speaking, paralleled in British Láhul at the present day. In that remote canton the Thákurs take to wife Kanet women as *srújat,\(^3\) but not as *lakhr* or full wife; and though the sons of such women are not at first considered pure Thákurs, yet in a few generations they become equal always, we must assume, on condition that they can find Thákur brides.\(^4\) Very similarly Brahmans 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 *guru* and marry Kanets or women of mixed caste, if they can find any. There are many of these *gurus* in Láhul, but they call themselves Brahmans and are probably accepted as Brahmans in a few generations. In fact no new 'caste' of *gurus* appears 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 Ghirth woman seven generations to become a queen, but the Ráthi's daughter can aspire to that dignity in five. In other words, by successive marriages in a higher grade a Ghirthni's daughter, daughter's daughter, and so on, is in seven generations eligible to become the bride of a Rája. An exact parallel to the *Mitákshara* 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 Shúdra woman would in time regain Brahmanical status, just as they seem to do in modern Láhul, for Manu ordained that "if a Párasava, the son of a Brahman and a Shúdra female, marries a most excellent Párasava 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 Bráhmana." Here we have a new 'caste,' the Párasava originating in a mixed marriage, but never developing, it would seem, into a caste, because its members could by avoiding further *mésalliances* and rigidly marrying *inter se* regain their ancestral status.

\(^1\) This rule comes from the *Mitákshara*.

\(^2\) 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.

\(^3\) *Srújat* is equivalent to the Panjabi *surat*, Pashtu *surwat*. Such women are in Láhul termed *chumá* or workers.

\(^4\) Kángra *Gazetteer*, Parts II to IV, 1899, p. 26 of *Part III*, Láhul. 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 Brāhmaṇa Harichandra, surnamed Robilladhi,2 had two views, a Brāhmaṇ and a Kshatriya. His children by both were called Pratihrās,3 but the sons of the former were Brāhmaṇa Pratihrās and those of the latter Kshatriya Pratihrās. And the Pratihrās, in spite of their Gujar origin, became a Rājput clan, one of the four Agnikulas. But when the disparity between the contracting parties was great, or when by what was termed a pratiloma 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. Manu adds to these tribes four sons of outcastes. The Tantra named many other castes (the above are apparently got from the Purāṇas): (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 Amara Sinha supports this conjecture (p. 274). The Jalimalā mentions 262 mixed castes of the second set (above). They, “like other mixed classes, are included in Sudrā; but they are considered most abject; and most of them now experience the same contemptuous treatment as the abject mixed classes mentioned by Manu (p. 275). The Tantra says, ‘avoid the touch of the Chandāla and other abject classes; and of them who eat cow flesh, often utter forbidden words, and omit the prescribed ceremonies.’ They are called Mlechhā, and going to the region of Yavana have become Yāvanas.” Again: ‘These seven, the Rajaka (? mason), Karmakāra (smith), Naṭa (dancer, actor!), Barada (? tārūṭaś ), Karvāta (fisherman), Medabhīlla4 are the last tribes and pollute by contact, mediate or immediate. A man should make obligations for, but should not dally with, women of Naṭa, Kapāla, Rajakā, ...
Nápita (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 Súdéra occupations, menial service, handicraft, commerce, agriculture."

Indeed so firmly established was this principle that a marked mésalliance 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 functions in the terms of an assumed or fictitious mixed marriage. Thus in order to express adequately the utter degradation of the Chandála he must be described as the issue of a Shúdra 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 rishí Daka by a Shúdra 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 Rájpút who married a Já̇t wife did not necessarily sink to Já̇t 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 Rájpút ancestors who fell by marrying Já̇t 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 Dodái Baloch at p. 48, 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 Láhul the Thákurs or gentry and qandam rulers have begun to assert a Rájpút origin, though more or less pure Mongolians by blood, just as the Kanets, at any rate in the valleys of Gára and Rangloí, are pure Botías or Mongolians. The second process was intermarriage.

3The real Kanets of Patan who are Hindus look down upon the Kanets of Gára and Rangloí and call them Botías and regard them as of inferior caste. But this may be due to the fact that they are Buddhists; see Kánga, Gazetteer, 1897, Parts II to IV, Part III, p. 26, compared with the top of p. 21. Crooke, op. cit., p. 271, accepts the present writer's view that Sir T. H. Holland's conclusion, referred to at p. 456, Vol. II infra, regarding the Kanets are vitiated by his failure to distinguish between the mixed and unmixed groups of the Kanets in Láhul.
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 Beenagar in Guwálīr for an instance of a Greek ambassador, a Yavana-duta, with the Greek name of Heliodorus, erecting a garuda 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 oftener Buddhists than Hindus. They name of gods, not as a mere compliment but because he god were succeeded by the Sakas, also a foreign tribe, whose dynasty ruled Afghánistán and the Punjab. Some of their kshatrapas or satraps 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 Abirs, 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. Abhira Brhmans are found in Rájputána and elsewhere, but not apparently in the Punjab. After the Sakas came the Kushanas, whose kings had Turki names and Mongolian features. After the Buddhist Kanishka the Kushán kings did homage to Shiva and other deities of the Brahmanic pantheon.

Of more special interest, however, are the Magas or Shákadvípi Brhmans who must be assigned to about this period. They were undoubtedly Magi, and were brought into Jambudvípa by the son of Krishna Sámba, who was suffering from white leprosy and was advised by Nárada to build a temple to Surya on the Chenab. This temple was erected at Multán or Sambapura, one of its earlier names. The Magas were also called Bhojakas and wore an avangā or girdle which was originally the skin of the serpent-god Vásuki, 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 pujáris of the temples of Jagadísha and Jawálamukhi (in Kángra) were the Magas and foreigners, but not presently in the Punjab.

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

2 This agrees with Abu Rihán-al-Beruni, who says that the names of Multán were Kasht, Hans, Bag and finally Sáh-pur. Mulísthánu was the name of the idol and from it is derived the modern name of the town. The temple of the Sun was styled Aditya. Below it was a vault for storing gold. See Raverty in J. A. S. 14, 1892, Part I, pp. 191 et seq. Elliot's translations in his History of India, 1, pp. 14, 15, 85, were incorrect.

The sages Bijaiva, of the Mihira gotra.

Súrya, the Sun x Nakshubhá.

Jarashasta or Jarashabaha — equated to Jaratastra or Zoroaster.

Mihira is the Sanskritized form of the Old Persian mihri.

3 If Professor Bhandarkar's information is correct the derivation of Bhojki suggested on p. 107 of Vol. II is untenable and the Bhojkis of Kángra are the Magas or Bhojakas.
are Sākadvīpi Brahmans, as are the Sewak or Bhojak, most of whom are religious dependants of the Oswál Srāvaks (Saraogis) 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 Parāshāri Brahmans of Pushkar were also originally known as Sewaks and Sākadvīpi Brahmans. About 505 A.D. we find the Magas spoken of as the proper persons to consecrate images of Suryá, 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 Avistic priests. It may be of interest to add that the presence of the Magian fire-worshippers in the Punjab would explain a curious passage in the Zafarnáma, which states that Tímúr found the inhabitants of Sámána, Kaitthal and Asandi to be mostly fire-worshippers. The people of Tughlikpur, 6 kos from Asandi, belonged to the religion of the Maği (sanaṣtiya) and believed in the two gods Yazdán and Ahrimán of the Zoroastrians. The people of this place were also called Sálún.1

After the power of the Kushanas 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, Maitrakas and so forth, eclipsed the Gupta power and occupied northern and central India. The Húna sovereign Mihirakula, in spite of his Persian name,2 became a Hindu and his coins bear the bull—an emblem of Shiva—on the reverse. The Húnas, undoubtedly the White Ephthalites, or Húns, had come to be regarded as Kshatriyas as early as the 11th century, and became so thoroughly Hinduised that they are looked upon as one of the 36 Rájpút families believed to be genuine and pure. The name is still found as a sub-division of the Rahbhári caste.3 The Gújar, Sanskritised as Gurjara, 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 Kshatriyas, being commonly styled the imperial Pratihára dynasty. One inscription speaks of the Gurjara-Pratiháras. Among the 36 royal families of the ‘real’ Rájpút again we find the Badgújá, who represent an aristocracy of Gújar descent and of Rájpút status. The Gújar-Gaur Brahmans are also, in all probability, Brahmans of Gújar-race from the tract round Thánesar. The late Sir James Campbell identified the Gújars 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 3

2 Mihirakula is the Sanskritised form of Mihrul. ‘Rose of the Sun.’
3 Professor Bhandarkar says that Húna is now-a-days found as a family name in the Punjab, but the present writer has not come across it. He is, however, in entire agreement with Professor Bhandarkar’s view that the Rájpút Húnas are Húnas by origin, see Man, 1908, p. 100.
remarkable beauty and stature. Their women indeed were sought as wives equally at Byzantium and Baghdad.”

Another Rajput tribe, which is in all probability of Gujjar origin, is the Cháluksya or Chaulukya. Two branches of this tribe migrated from northern India. One, called Cháluksya, descended from the Siwalik hills in the last quarter of the 6th century and penetrated far into southern India. The other, the Chaulukya or Solanki, left Kanauj about 950 A.D. and occupied Guzerat, but Solanki Rajputas are still to be found in the Punjab in Hoshiarpur and in the tracts bordering on Rajputana in the south-east of the Province. Like the Pahlijás they are regarded as Agnikulas.

The Cháhamánas, the third Agnikulá tribe, are now the Chauháns. Professor Bhandarkar would attribute to them a Sassanian origin and read Cháhamána for Valhmana on the coins of Vásudeva, who reigned at Multán over Tácka, Zábulistán and Sapádalaksha or the Siwalik kingdom. Vásudeva’s nationality is disputed. Cunningham thought him a later Húna, Professor Rapseon would regard him as a Sassanian and Professor Bhandarkar as probably a Khazar and so a Gurjara. However this may be, the Cháhamánas were undoubtedly of foreign origin, and they were known as the Sapádalakshía-Cháhamánas or Chauháns of the country of the 125,000 hills, which included not only the Siwalik range, but a territory in the plains which included Nágaur on the west as well as the Punjab Siwaliks and the submontane tracts as far as Chamba and Takka or Ták, the province between the Indus and the Beas.

The Maitraka tribe probably entered India with the Húns. Their name appears to be derived from mitra, the sun, a synonym of nihira, and to be preserved in Mer, Maitr, and it may be suggested Med, unless the latter term means boatman, cf. Balochi Metha.

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

1 This theory leaves unexplained the dislike and contempt in which the Gujarás 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 Gujar to any place of authority over any other tribe is always the signal for disturbance: Attock Gazetteer, 1907, p. 91.

2 To the references given by Professor Bhandarkar may be added Raverty’s Tabaqdt i. Názírí, pp. 110, 290, etc. ‘Nágaur of Siwalik’ was spoken of in early Muhammadan times. The tract from the Sutlej to the Ganges extending as far south as Hání was called the Siwalik, and some native writers include the whole of the Alpine Punjab below the higher ranges from the Ganges to Kashmir under the name of Koh-i-Siwalik. Ibid. p. 169. As to the Achhota, which Jain others also mention as the capital of Jángala, placed in the Mahábharta near Mébreya, it appears to be the modern Arum in Ludhiana, identified with Ahichatta by the late Sir Atar Singh of Bhandaur. But Jást was also called Aichata Nagri, as well as Arhatpur. Cunningham identified Bhandaur with Arhatpur: Ludhiana Gazetteer, 1904. pp. 14 and 227.
porated, and among others the Vaisya name-suffix Datta is found as a shaman of the Nāgar Brahman, just as it is among the Muhiáal Brahmanas. On the other hand, the Nágar Játs probably derive their name from Nágár, a place described as not far from Ahichechhattras, which was either the Ahichechhatra now represented by Arura (or possibly by Hatúr) or a place in the Siwálik hills.

**THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES.**

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 steppe of Míañwáli local tradition attributes the first possession of the country to a half mythi-
cal race of gigantic men, called Belemas, whose mighty bones and great earthen vessels are even now said to be discovered beneath the sand hills. But the Belemas can hardly be other than the 3ahlims, a tribe still extant as a Rájput sept. It was established on the Indus previously to the Scers (STARS) and Mackenzie mentions it as extinct, but not apparently as a very ancient race: Leia and Bhakkar *Sel!. 1865, § 32.

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

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

1 Vol. II, p. 121.
2 Professor Bhandarkar postulates at least three Ahichechhatras, one in the United Provinces, about 22 miles north of Badáum, a second not located and a third in the Him layas in the Jángala country near Mádreyas, which was situated between the Chenab and Sutlej. If the Mádreyá is to be identified with the Madra Des the Jángala would certainly appear to be the modern Jangal tract of the Máiwa country, south of the present Sutlej valley, and Arura lies in this tract. Probably there were two Ahichechhatras in the Punjab, to wit, Arúna, and one in the Himalaya, possibly in Kängra, in which District Chhatt is still the name of a village. But a Chhatt is also found near Banúr in Patiála territory. And the place-name may be connected with the institution of chhát and makán among the Rájputs.

3 **Bannu or our Afghan Frontier**, p. 14. Pothi suggests a connection with Pothi-
hr or wár.—a region lying between the Jhelum river and the Indus. ‘But strictly speaking, the limits of Pothwár are confined to the four ancient portganas of the Aín-i-
Akbari, viz., Patehpur Bóri, now Ráwalpindi, Akbarábád Tarkhpari, Dángali and Pharwála or Pharbála.’—J. G. Delmerick in P. N. Q. I., § 617.
Tribal nomenclature.

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

In the Pesháwar 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 Gandhára.

In the Central Punjab Murray describes the Kathis as "a pastoral tribe, and as Júns, their other name denotes, they live an erratic life." But Sir Alexander Cunningham correctly describes the Júns 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 Jan, 'a wild and lawless tribe' of the southern Bárí Doáb, which has apparently disappeared as completely as the Jún, though Capt. J.D. Cunningham, writing in 1849, speaks of the Jans as being, like the Bhattis, Siáls, 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 Siálkot district to the Yahars or Yeers, who lived in juns (jáns,) or rude mud huts. The Yeers also held the Ječ and Sindh-Ságár Doáb, and were known as Jhúns and Puchedas in the Rechna Doáb, and in the Bárí Doáb as Bhular, Mán and Her, the three original tribes of the great Ját 'caste'. The Shoon Dul were also recorded as the most powerful tribe in the Punjab in the time of Bikramajit. It is impossible to say whence these traditions were obtained or what substratum of truth there may be in them. The Jhúns, Júns 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 Yuna or Yavanas, the territory of the Grécó-Bactrian King Milinda whose capital was Ságala.

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

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 Khattár, Katharí and Bálá Gheb tracts in Ráwalpindi. The Bálá Gheb or

1 History of the Punjab, p. 38.
3 Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 186.
4 From the Khattar tribe, according to the Ráwalpindi Gazetteer, 1888-84 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 Rewals of Mughal descent. The Ghebas also gave their name to Pindi 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 GHEBA and they do not now hold the Dhani, 'west Chakwál' tahsil. The name Dhani appears to give their name to the DHAŃIĂL Rájputs and to be so called from dhan, 'wealth,' owing to its fertility. The Kahúts have given their name to the Kahútáni tract in Chakwál tahsil and the Kahúta hills and town preserve memories of their former seats. The Bugiál tract, described by Cunningham as lying on the bank of the Jhelum under Bánáth, is also called Báisgrán or the 22 villages. Cunningham says it derives its name from the Bugiál branch of the Janjúas, but as there is also a Gakkhar sept of that name he suggests that the Bugiál septs in both those tribes derive their name from the locality—a not improbable conjecture. The Awáns hold the Awankáí in the Salt Range and a smaller tract in the Jullundur District bears the same name.

In the District of Gujrát, a name which itself denotes the territory of the Gujars, lie the Herát and Játátar. The latter clearly means the Ját realm, but the derivation of Herát is obscure. It is popularly derived from Herát in Afghánistán, but this derivation is hardly tenable. Cunningham derived Hairát, which he says is the original name of the city of Gujrát, as Hairát-des was of the district, from the Arattá. But tempting as the derivation is, it is difficult to accept it. The Arattá appear to be identical with the Sanskrit Arásthraka, 'the king-less,' which name is well preserved in Justin's Arestae, Arrian's Adraistae, and the Andrestae of Diodorus. But Arattá was also equivalent to Madra, Jártikka, and the 'thieving Bálśka' of the Mahábháráta, as the Kathai of Sangala (?) Siálkot) 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 Ját tribe derives its name from Arattá.

...
modern Jatátar does not quite correspond to the ancient country of the Jártikas whose capital Sákala lay on the Apagá (now the Aik) to the west of the Rávi, if we are to understand that the Jártikas did not extend to the west of the Chenab. But the Madr país or Madr-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 Jatátar may well represent a Jártika tract of the Madr-des, if we may assume that the term Jártika was strictly only applicable to the western tribes of the Madr-des: Cunningham also records that in the Chaj or Chinhát Doáb we find a Ránja Des, so called from the Ránjha tribe, and a Táhar tappa, while in the Rachna Doab we have a Chíma Des, to the south and west of Siálkot. The two latter names are derived from the Ját tribes which pre-dominate in those tracts, but all three appear to be obsolete if not obsolete.4

Further east, in Siálkot, lies the Bajwát or territory of the Báju Rájputs, whom it is tempting to identify with the Báhikas of Sákala or Ságala. In Gurdaspur the Ríár Játs give their name to the Ríárki tract.

In Jullundur the Manj ki Dardhak or Dárdhak, which appears as a makh in the Ain-i-Akbari, included the modern tahsil of Ráhon with parts of Phillaur and Phagwára. The Manj or Manjki tract, on the other hand, includes the western part of the Phillaur tahsil and a large part of Nakodar. The modern Grand Trunk Road separates the Manj tract from the Dardhak. 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 Hoshiápur the Khokhrs hold the Khokharain, a tract on the Kapurthala border. And the Jaswán Dún is named from, or more probably gives its name to, the Jaswál Rájputs.

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

It is very doubtful if the name Kulu can be derived from the Koli tribe, but in the Simla Hills the Thákurs gave their name to the Thákurain.

In the Simla Hills the Mangal Kanets give their name to the Mángal tract, while the petty sief of Rawahi or Rawain is probably so named from the Rao or Ráhu Kanets. In Hisár the Punwár Rájputs held a Punwárwáti.

1 Ibid., p. 186.
2 A. S. R. II, p. 56 He also mentions Misáu Gondal but that is only a village.
3 Prinsep (Silkot Settlement Report, 1865, p. 39) gives the form Bajwánt.
This would appear to be the older form of the word: e.g. C. Pathánti and Náduánti. The former appears to be the country round Pathántok, the latter the tract round the town of Nádua. Cunningham, however, calls the country round Pathántok Pathwáit, a name now apparently obsolete: op. cit., p. 144.
4 It is possible that the ancient form of the name was Jaswánt: cf. Bajwánt and Náduánti.
5 In Kulu the thákurain was the period of the Thákurs' 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 Me-wátis, or people of the Mewát. The Mewát further comprises the Dhangaliwati, Naiwára and Pahatwára, three tracts named after the püs of the Meos which hold them. The Ját country round Pával is also called the Jatiyát, and the Ahír country round Rewári, the Ahírwati. But the latter term is apparently only used by the Ahírs themselves, as the Meos call the country west of Rewári the Ráth or Bighauta. The Ráth is also said to be distinct from Bighauta and to be one of the four tracts held by the Alanot Chaúháns. It was the largest of those tracts, lying for the most part in Alwar, but including the town of Nárnaul, which was also named Narráshtra. Narráshtra must, however, be the name of a tract, not a city, and it is suggested that Ráth is derived from Narráshtra. The Ráth is said to have lain to the south of Bighauta, which tract followed the course of the Kasáoti river stretching southwards along the west of the modern tahsil of Rewári in Gurgaon. The Dhandoti tract lay between Bighauta and Hariána. It was a sandy stretch of country running from east to west across the centre of the Jhajjar tahsil.—P. N. Q. I., §§ 133, 370, 618.

The Bhaṭṭis give their name to at least two tracts, the Bhaṭṭiána which comprised the valley of the Ghaggar from Fateḥábád in Hissár to Bhati in the Bikáner 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 Bhaṭṭióra, a considerable tract in Jhang lying between the Sháh Jiwana villages in the west and the Láli country in the east. The Bhaṭṭióra is thus in the Chiniot tahsil, north of the Chenab. Numerous place-names, such as Bhaṭṭer, which Cunningham appears to identify with Bhaṭṭistala, Pindi Bhaṭṭiána and Bhaṭtiot, are called after this tribe. According to Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, the Bhaṭṭiyát in Chamba is probably also named from the Bhaṭṭi caste, but it does not appear that any such caste was ever settled in Chamba. Bhaṭṭiyát 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 Bárá Bhaṭṭián, which points to its having once consisted of 12 parganas. Geographically nearly the whole of this territory belongs to the Kángra valley, and it is noted as the recruiting ground for the Chamba army. It is suggested that its name is derived from bhaṭḍa, a soldier, and that it means 'the 12 fiefs held on a military tenure' or simply 'the 12 military parganas.'

1 It is suggested that Palwal may be the Upaplavya of the Mahábhárata. It was the capital of the king of Mataya who brought mountain chiefs in his train. Pargiter suggests that the Mataya must have come from the northern part of the Aravalli hills, but it is suggested that they are the modern Meos. Palwal is now-a-days said to mean 'countersign.'
3 The derivation of Bhaṭṭinda from the tribal name Bhaṭṭi, put forward in Vol. II, p. 101, must be abandoned. Its ancient name was Tabarhind or possibly Batrind. But the latter name can hardly be derived from Bhaṭṭi. See Phulkián States Gazetteer, 1904, p. 189.
4 The Antiquities of Chamba State, I, pp. 4 and 13.
The disappearance of ancient tribes.

The Gondal Játs give their name to the Gondal Bár, the length of which is some 30 kos from north-east to south-west, with a breadth of 20 kos. 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- Bár Dóáb, as this Bár 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 Gandarids, are also said to have been subjects of Sophytes. Gandarís 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 Pathán 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 Játátar.

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 Khasálaya, now Khaishál, which leads from the Marbal Pass down to Kishtwár. But with hardly an exception the ancient tribal names of the Punjab have disappeared. Thus Varáhamihi writes: ‘In North-East, Mount Meru, the kingdom of those who have lost caste, the nomads (Pashupálas, possibly worshippers of Pashupati, or more probably cattle-owners), the Kíras, Káshmiras, Abhisáras, Daradas (Dards), Tanganas, Kulútás (people of Kulu), Sairinhras (who may possibly be ‘people of Sihirind’), Forest men, Brahmápurás (of the ancient kingdom whose name survives in Bhamaur in Chamba), Dámáras (a Kashmir tribe, but Dámárs are also found on the Indus), Foresters, Kírátas, Chínas (doubtless the Shíns of Gilgit, but we still find Chínas and China Játs in the Punjab plains), Kauñindas, Bhállas (still the name of a Khatri section), Patólas (unidentified), Játisuras (? Jatús, or Ját heroes or warriors), Kunañtas, Khasas, Ghoshas and Kuchikas?. Here we have not only tribal names but also occupational terms and Ghosha and Kuchika recall the goshfand-wál or sheep-folk and kuchis or nomads of Dera Ismail Khán. There are difficulties in nearly every identification suggested, as for instance in deriving Kánet from Kunañta or Kúinda (Kuñinda), as Grierson points out, the more so in that the Kulú people are already mentioned once as Kulútás and we should have to identify the Kúindas with the Kánet of the hills excluding Kulú. But it is

1 Sir George Grierson writes: ‘I never saw the equation Sairinhras from Sihirind. It looks most enticing.’

2 Sir George Grierson writes in a private communication: As regards Kánet having derived from Kaníshta [junior or cadet] the derivation is phonetically possible, but only possible and also improbable. From Kaníshta, we should ordinarily expect some such word as Kánet’s, with a cerebral t aspirated, whereas Kánet has a dental t unaspirated. There are isolated instances of such changes, but they are rare. I have a memory of a class of village messengers in Bihár called Kánet (bowman, I think, from kán, ‘arrow’). Perhaps Kánet 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 *Marabhārta* classes the Madras, Gandhāras, Vāsatis, Sindhus and Sauvīras (two tribes dwelling on the Indus) with the despicable Bāhikas. We have still a Jāt tribe called Sindhu and its name can only be derived from Sindhu or the Indus, but no trace exists of the Madras, Vāsatis and Sauvīras. To this list remain to be added the Prasthalas whose name suggests some connection with *pratishṭāna* and who may have been the people settled round Patthīnkot or akin to the Patthīn. Then we have the Kankas, Pāradas (apparently associated with the Daradas), Tukhāras, all from the north-west and Ambashthanas, who were close to the Madras, besides tribes like the Arahats 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. 'When shall I next sing the songs of the Bāhikas in this Śāgala town', says the poet of the *Mahābhārata*, '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 Bāhlika tribe which came from Balkh (Bāhlika) and in close connexion with them we find the Māgadhās, the warrior class of Shākadwipa or Persia, spoken of contemptuously. The Bāhikas had no *Veda* and were without knowledge. They ate any kind of food from filthv vessels, drank the milk of sheep, camels and asses and had many bastards. The Arahats in whose region they lived occupied the country where the six rivers emerge from the low hills, i.e. the sub-montane of Rāpar to Attock, yet they are described as the offsprings of two Pishāchas who dwell on the Beas. But the value of such a pedigree is well described by Mr. J. Kennedy. As he says, 'primitive men

1 Grierson says the Khasas and Tukhaśas were Iranian inhabitants of Balkh and Badakhshān, the Tukhārīstan of Muhammadan writers; see his valuable introduction to the volume of the Linguistic Survey dealing with the Pahari languages published in *Ind. Ant.*, 1915.

2 With the Kaikeyas the Ambashthas inhabited the Rāwaipindi country and Gandhara in the days of Alexander according to J. Kennedy in *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 512. Possibly Amb in the Salt-Range may commemorate their name and locality. A discursive foot-note might be written on the name of Ambastha. An Amatatha-rāja appears in a Pāli legend about the origin of the Shākya and Koliya family: *ibid.*, p. 439. He had five wives, of whom three bore astronomical names. He disinherited his sons by his senior wife and they migrated to found a new colony. Does this mean that the Ambashthas were an offshoot of the fire-worshipping Iranians who settling in the Punjab were compelled to intermarry so closely that they were reputed to espouse their own sisters? Then again we have Ambastha-Vaidya, 'physician': Colebrooke's *Essays*, II, p 180.

3 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 'caste' Iranian by blood, a far less difficult hypothesis than the Indo-Scythian theory. Grierson says Bāhikas = 'outsider' (*op. cit.*, p. 4) but is this anywhere stated? It would be quite natural for Brahmanical writers to style Bāhikas punningly 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 they 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:

**USHÍNARA.**

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<td>Madrakas.</td>
<td>Kaikeyas.</td>
<td>Sauviras</td>
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<td>Vrishadarbhas.</td>
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But the Shvis and Ushínaras 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 deus or demons who lived under the domination of their king, known as the Sufed Deo, or white devil. This mythical kingdom was finally broken up by two equally mythical personages styled Shudáni and Budáni 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 Dúms 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 'Dúms' 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 Timbulla. 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 Begam Jân.
She was very beautiful and Nimbulla fell in love with her. This
Begam Jân 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, Bahádur 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 deos and ignominiously
hanged. This is a very favourite legend and the Dúms frequently
sing metrical versions of it at weddings and other occasions of re-
joicing.

Yet another legend of Yúsufzai origin is often recited by the
Kurram Dúms. It enshrines the lives of Músa Khan and Gúlmakai,
their quarrels and final reconciliation. It is very well-known I believe
on the Pesháwar side, and has probably been already recorded.

The legend of Fath Khan and Bibi Rabia is of Kendahári origin.
Here a male friend named Karami shares the affections of the husband,
an irregularity which leads to the estrangement of Bibi Rabia from her
spouse. Meanwhile the Kendaháris attack general Shams-u-Dín, one of
the Mughal emperor Akbar’s leading soldiers, on his way to India via
Ghuzni. The Kendaháris are defeated and Fath 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 Afgháns.’’

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

At this spot, Hamza, son of Mír Hamza, nephew of the Imám Ali,
is said to have given battle to the armies of Langahúr and Soghar,
Káfirs, in the time gone by. They were defeated and Hamza is said to
have erected this stone to commemorate his victory. It is a time worn
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
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 Káfrs. 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 kachkal or faqir's dish. On the edge of the cliff some way up the torrent, which dashes down from the Pára Chakmauni hills, are the ruins of a village, which is still known as Langahúr, and which are put down as having been a Káfr'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 Kadphises, king of Kábúl in about 100 A. D.

On the west frontier of Upper Bangash is the kot of Matah-i-Zakhmi, or Matah the wounded, so called from a legend that the Khalífá, Ali, killed an infidel, Matah, with his sword Zu'l-akar at this spot.1

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 Chandál.2 Conversely any man who rose in the social scale became a Ját or yeoman, a Rájput or Sáhu, i.e. 'gentle', and so on. If a Rájput family lost its status it became Ját or Kanét, 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 Rajput was never a racial name and that it is absurd to speak of a 'Rajput race' we cannot be at all sure that there never was a Ját race or tribe. All that we can say is that when the Dabisdin was written more than two centuries ago its author was aware that the term Ját meant a villager, a rustic par excellence as opposed to one engaged in trade or handicraft, and it was only when the Jatts of Lahore and the Jats 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 Héronde 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.
tribes, that is, of superior culture—parting from their Iranian kinsmen, slowly moved on foot and in waggons with their women, flocks and herds over those regions, perhaps by the Kábul 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 Turkeetán. 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.¹

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 Páthán families, hardly forming septs, exist all over the Punjab in places where Páthán garrisons were located by the later Mughals or where Páthán soldiers of fortune obtained grants on feudal tenures from the Muhammadan emperors. Moreover the Páthán tribes, as we know them, are by no means ancient and their earliest settlements in the Pesháwar valley and other tracts now pre-eminently Páthán 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 inroads 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 Hazára, but in the Punjab itself they have never amalgamated with the rest of the Muhammadan population though the Chughattai gôts, or sections, found in certain artizan castes may owe their origin to guilds of Mughal artificers incorporated in those castes. To go a little further back the Gakkhars are probably a tribe of Turki origin whose founders were given fiefs in the Ráwalpindi hills by Tímúr’s earlier descendants. They are certainly distinct from the Kókhars who if not demonstrably indigenous were probably allies of the earlier Muhammadan invaders, like the Awáns. 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 Páthán or Iranian

¹ Taken almost verbatim from Dr. Lionel Barret’s Antiquities of India, p. 9.
element is slight, the Mughal or Turk still slighter, while the Arab element is practically negligible. Behind the Arab and the later Muhammadan invasions which began under Mahmúd 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 Gete and Yuechi from the earliest allusion to the Jats by the Muhammadan historians of India.

We may think with Lassen that the Jats are the Jártikas of the Mahábhárata and it is doubtless quite possible that the term Jártika 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 Kshatrya, 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!1

Appendix to Part III—A note on the people of Chilás by Col. Ommaney.

The inhabitants of Chilás are known generally as Bhúltai, so called from Bhúlta, a son of Karrár, an Arab, who came from Kashír, where an ancestor of his first settled. The descendants of Karrár are called by the inhabitants themselves Shín: the Pathán called them Ráná. Four classes now reside in Chilás:

Shín = rána
Yashkún?
Kámin.
Dóm.

The Shín 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 Shín are divided into 4 classes,2 as it were, who divided the country into 4 equal shares and apparently each class gave a portion to the Yashkún class who perhaps helped the Shín class to conquer the country. The Yashkúns 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 Yashkún cannot sell or mortgage his land without the

1 A. S. R. II, p. 3.
2 Kotannai.
Bóchwai.
Baitaramai.
Bhattingai.
The Chiláis.

consent of the Shín proprietary body nor even lease it without permission.

The residents of Chilás are also called Dards, but can give no reason for it. The Chilási tribe in Darrial (or-el) 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 1.—THE RELIGION OF THE BON IN TIBET.

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-chos or religion of the Bon pos. The Bon-chos was also called Lha-chos, or 'spirit cult', and in the gLing-chos of Ladakh we have probably the earliest type of it.\(^1\)

Unfortunately it is almost impossible to say what, was the principle of this Bon\(^2\) 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-pos themselves claim to have founded.

According to the Bon-pos' tradition their religion has gone through three phases called the Jola-Bon, Kyar-Bon and Gyur-Bon, the last synchronising with the king Thirrong 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 Kesar and his mother Gog-bzang lha-mo.\(^3\) But at least as primitive were the pho-lha and mo-lha or deities of 'the male and female principle.\(^4\) Sun-worship must have been important as the cult was also called gYung-drung-bon or the swastika-bon.\(^5\)

But the Bon-pos also recognise the existence of a supreme being Kûntû-bzang-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


\(^3\) Francke, *op. cit.* pp. 2 and 65.

\(^4\) *Ib.* p. 21

\(^5\) *Ib.* p. 91. For some further details see Francke, *A History of Western Tibet*, pp. 52-7.
spontaneous creation issuing from the eternal void. When the functions of a creator are attributed to him he is assigned a spouse or yi'm, 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 Kuntu-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, Om! ma-trihno-ye'-sa lah-dû which in the Bon takes the place of the Buddhist invocation Om! mani padme-hüm and whose eight syllables represent Kuntu-bzangpo, 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 Vugupa, 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-poses, 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 Milloué, op. cit., p. 185.
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-ling, 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 ahimsa or the preservation of all life. The Lamas indeed accuse the Bon-pos 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-pos in the editing, or compilation of the 84,000 gomos or treatises which form their canon.

The Bon-pos or some of them at least accept the Indian dogma of the metempsychosis, but appear to restrict it to those who blinded by ignorance (avidyā) have failed to grasp the eternal verity of the Bon-Kú (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-kú (which has some analogies with the bodhi or knowledge) go to be absorbed into the pure essence of the san or spiritual immutability, composed of pure light and absolute knowledge which constitutes the subtle body of Kuntú Bzang-po. Two parallel and inseparable ways lead to this state of abstraction or of the absolute, which is the supreme aim of the Bon-pos—viz. darshana (active, will and perhaps action) and gom1 or meditation. This latter, probably an imitation of the Buddhist dhyāna, has three stages, the thün-gom, nang-gom and lang-gom,2 not four as in Buddhism, and is the one really efficacious, though it should be accompanied or preceded by darshana apparently. In the thün-gom, which is practised by a devotee initiated by a spiritual guide, i.e. a lama, by counting the beads of a rosary and chanting the merits of bon-kú, 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 vidyā (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 sunyata. 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 sunyata or bon-kú and then transmigratory existences and those emancipated, good and evil, attachment and separation, etc., all become one.

1 Apparently gyāna.
2 Or lang-gom.
The primitive Bon faith.

and the same. To attain to the perfect meditation of the lang gom the Bon-po has nine roads, vehicles (yāna) or methods called bon-drang open to him of which the first four, the p'va-sen, mau-r-sen, thül-sen and srid-sen are called the 'causative vehicles'; the next four, the gen-sen, ákar, táh-srāng and ye'-sen 'the resulting vehicles'; and the ninth contains the essence of the other eight. The p'va-sen comprises 360 questions and 84,000 proofs or tests. The nang-sen contains four gyer-gom and 42 tah-rag or divisions of meditative science. The thül-sen teaches miracle-working. The srid-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 gen-sen sets forth aphorisms relating to bodies, animal life, their development and maturity. The ákar gives numerous mystical demonstrations. In the ye'-sen are described mental demonstrations, and in the kyad-par, the ninth, the five classes of upadesa or instruction. The long-srāng describes the different kinds of bāṁ 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 bhūmīs (degrees of perfection) of honourable action during several ages. The gen-sen and tong-srāng, after having protected the sattvam (animal nature) for three kālpas lead it on to emancipation. The ákar and the ye'-sen can procure for the sattvām freedom of the existence after its first birth and the khyad-par can ensure it even in this life. Bon temples (bon p'ang) exist besides the monasteries and though the Bon has long been in conflict with lāma-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 lāmas. 1

M. deMilloué, 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 lāma 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 lāmas, 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 Geldanpa 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 waist, whilst in the case of the 'yellow' Lamas these and these only are 'yellow'. K. Marx, quoted in Hist. of Western Tibet, pp. 23-4.
2 In J. A. S. B., 1881, p. 203 f.
3 Francke, op. cit., p. 21.
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. Kesar'aBruguma 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-chos. The swástika was already a symbol of the sun and the voni 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 (dūbant), eating (bhokhant) 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 stápa which had already been built over the home of an evil spirit.

1 Ib., pp. 96 and 105.
2 Ib., p. 106.
3 Ib., pp. 105 and 107.
4 Ib., p. 28.
5 Pandit Tika Ram Joshi, Ethnography of the Bashkahr State, J. A. S. Bengal, 1911, p. 596.
6 Francke, op. cit., pp. 65, 73 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 Massaliff did not hesitate to speak of the 'Gautamist predecessors' of the Sikh gurus although no proof exists that Sikh teaching was directly derived from Buddhistic 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 Nanak in 1469 was not great as time goes when religious traditions are in question. In the Himalayas Nag worship maintained its footing and obscure though its connection with latter-day Buddhism may be the Nag cults 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 bearers to change their lives with their faith, and introduced them to the new ideas of proselytism and conversion. The new doctrine was the ne 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 Brahminism 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 Brahminism, 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 500 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. 273 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 Baha Nanan, to be described presently. He recognised existing social distinctions, but held that they were the results of good or evil deeds in a previous life, and, unlike the Brahmanas, taught that all castes should be admitted equally to the privileges of religion and were equally capable of obtaining salvation. Dr. Wilson thus sums the early Buddhist practice on the subject: “Though it is evident, both from the testimony of the Buddhists themselves and of their enemies the Brahmanas, 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 disregarded by them wherever they found that they had been preceded by Aryan rule.” (See also Barth’s Religions of India, p. 125f)

2 Rhys 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 esoteric 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 Tāntras 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 Buddha is still reverenced, but only as one of many, and not so much as some; while the objects of worship recognised 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 Mahádeo and Párbati, so in Tibet the lāmas 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 Tāntrists has been engrained 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,1 while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Budha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyāni Buddhas, in which the yoni or female symbol plays a prominent part."—(General Cunningham).

The wrath of Kāli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples,2 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 niggard 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 jugglery 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.3 It consists

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 tearing, 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. D. I.

2 This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Laidk; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

3 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 Láma 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 Sanyásis, buried in a sitting posture and in full canoni-}

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 Káŋgra and Láhul as there is between Láhul and Spiti. Mr. A Anderson wrote thus:—"In Spití there are three classes: Cháhzang, Lohár or Zoho, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Cháhzang will eat from a Lohár's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Cháhzang will marry a Cháhzang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*rus* or *hadit*). This is the rule also with Lohárs and Hensis. Should a Cháhzang take a Lohár woman into his house he will be considered as having done wrong, but other Cháhzangs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an Argun will marry with a Lohár. It is said that it is not common for a Cháhzang 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-choo, 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 Taung, 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 Nyathithi 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 Thothiri 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 Srongtsan-Gampo—617 to 698—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 Anusvarman of Nepal. The latter at any rate was a devout Buddhist and the king was induced to send his chief minister Thumri 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 844 the king had built at Lhasa the famous temple of Rasa called later Lhaesi-tes-khang or Jowo-khang to receive the sacred images of Akebha and Sakyamuni brought from Nepal and China by his queen who

1 So 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 pipe, or by dipping the hand in the same dish."

2 Ngab-K're-bTsan-po. The name may preserve the suffix-stamba.

3 Lha-Tho-thori gNyan-btsan.
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 Samyé 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 deified as an incarnation of the Dhiáni Bodhisattva Chanresi or Avalokitesvara, 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 Tára, the Nepalese lady under the name of the Green Tára and the Chinese as the White Tára. 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 Thisrong Detsan 728-786—that it became definitely the state religion, in spite of the opposition of the prime minister and the queen, herself a devout Bon-po. Thisrong Detsan in 744 sent a monk into India to retain Sánta Rakshita, superior of the vihára at Nálanda near Buddha-Gaya, whose services were secured in 747. Raised to the dignity of high priest of Tibet Sánta Rak-shita 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 pratyé of Indrabodhí, 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 Magtro 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 Tántrás of the Yogáchára school, while Sánta Rak-shita taught the discipline and philosophy of the Mádhyamika school. In 749 Padma Sambhava founded the Samyé monastery some 30 miles from Lhassa on the model of

1 Spyan-ras-’dzigs. ‘The Lord that looks down from on high’: fr. avalokita (looking on) and tse’rwa (lord).
2 Doljang (Sgro-ljung).
3 Dolkar (Sgro-lkar).
4 Milloné says Dardistán, but it also included Swáti.
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 Mahâyâna also met with great obstacles in the existence of other Buddhist sects professing various doctrines. To combat a Chinese monk named Mahâyâna, who preached a doctrine of quietism and inaction, Tsirong Detsan called in a disciple of Santa Rak-shita named Kamala Sfla from Magadha who defeated the schismatic in debate. Under that king's son and especially under his grandson Ralpachen, who brought the Achárya Jîna Mitra and many other pandits from India, Buddhism made progress and by 899 in which year Ralpachen was assassinated by his brother Langdarma the translation of the 108 tomes of the Kav-tár and of most of the 250 of the Tan-jár 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 lâma Pal dorje in 902.

Thus ended the era of the Nga-dar or primitive Buddhism and began that which Tibetans call the Ch'yi-dar or 'later Buddhism,' styled by European Lâmaism.

LÂMAISM.

By Lâmaism, 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 Mahâyâna 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 Kâdampa 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 Mahâyâna doctrine at Krisnagiri. At the age of 19 he took the vows at Udantapuri under the famous Sfla Rak-shita with the religious name of Dipankara-Sri-Jnâna and was ordained at 21. Nominated superior of the Vikrama-Sfla monastery by the king of Magadha and recognised as hierarch by the Mahâyânists of that kingdom, he was invited by Lha-lama in 1038 to undertake reforms in Tibet, but only yielded to the instances of Lha-tsün-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 Tantric teaching. Before he died in 1053 at Ngelharg he had gathered round
The Nyigmapa order.

him a number of disciples who formed a sect called Kadampa¹ under Marpa and Domton or Bromton² in the monastery at Raseng or Radeng. 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 Thúmi Sambhota. It affected especially the Vinyāya with its views of chastity, imposed respect for and worship of the Buddhas and of Sákyamúni in particular, charity and love for all creatures, and practised fervent meditation. It professed the exoteric doctrine of the Void (sunyāda) and without entirely rejecting mysticism and the Tántra adheres strictly to the teachings of the Kan jür 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 infra, owes its origin to dissent from Atisa’s reforms. The great majority of the lamas continued their attachment to the lax doctrines of Padma Sambhava and his successors, called themselves Rnyig-mapa or ‘ancestors,’ of the old school. Their doctrines were based entirely on the Tántras and the treatises and commentaries of Padma Sambhava and his school, and are saturated with the shamanism of the Bon-chos. As Padma Sambhava had professed to draw upon books written and hidden by Nágárjúna which he had discovered by a miraculous revelation from that saint, so the principal Nyigmapa apostles attributed their lucubrations 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 license 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, Kúntu Zangpo, the Sanskrit Samantabhadra but in preference to the Buddhas generally adored by other sects they affect tutelary demons called Si-Yidam-kyi-lhá, ‘benevolent protectors’ and Pro Yidam-kyi-lhá, ‘terrible protectors,’ represented in the Tántric way as each holding their yūm³ or sakti 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’úrba and the Pro-Yidam Dúpa-Kágyc. They have also a guardian demon called Gúrgon, 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 divinities, 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 Tántra 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 Samye, the metropolis of the order, Morú, Ramoché and

¹ Bka'-dams-pa.
² H broma-s ton.
³ Lit. ‘mother,’ a term applied to a goddess or any lady of quality.
Karmakhyā, the last three having colleges for the study of astrology, exorcism, magic and divination.

All the Nyigmapa's 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, Bhrikhungpa and Dúgpa sub-orders. It possesses the important monasteries of Mindoling, Durjedak, Karthok, Khamtathag and Sich'en-tsogob'en, each the seat of an independent sub-sect.

The Kargyut-pa and Sakya-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 Nyigmapa's 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 Kargyut-pa 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 Nyigmapa's for mystical and magical practices with the excessive severity of the Kádampas 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, Milarapa. This order or sect professes to follow a doctrine revealed by the supreme Buddha Dorje-chang or, in Sanskrit, Vajradhara, to the Indian sage Telopa and transmitted to Marpa by the Pandit Naro of the Nalanda monastery. His doctrine, called the mannyag or Naro'chorug, 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 Vina 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...
Yi-dam Dem-ohog and to his Shakti Dorje-p'agmo, the Sanskrit Vajra-
varahi, 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 Milarapa. 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

The Nyigmapa lámas and the orders which have sprung from it are
generally designated 'red lámas' or more precisely 'red caps'—sa-mar
owing to the colour of their costume.' But the Kadampa lámas 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 Manjúsri, or perhaps even of the
Dhíani-Buddha Amitábha, was born in eastern Tibet. His intelligence
and religious vocation were so precociously developed that the láma
Rolpa'idorje of the Kármapa sect initiated him at the age of 3, and at
the age of 8 he was first ordained by a láma named Tonduo-Rinchen
and assumed as his new name the style of Lozang-tagpa or Sumatikirti.
Tradition avers 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 con-
cerned the vows of chastity. He called his disciples to the inflexible
rules of the 253 canons of the Vináya, to the liturgy and ritual traditions
of the primitive Maháyána. He imposed upon them the yellow garb of
the Hindu mendicant to recall by its shape the clothing of the Indian
bhikhus and distinguish them from the red-clad lámas and gave them
the name of Gelukpa2 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 Deping. At Galdan he died in 1417 or 1419,
leaving the pontificate of the sect to his nephew and chief disciple, Galdén
Gráb. His soul ascended to the heaven Tútshita, residence of the
Bodhisattvas, where he reigns with Nágárjúna at the side of the future
Buddha Maitreya, an ascension commemorated by the feast of lamps
from October 20th to 25th. He is also the object of a cult as Jámpal
Nying-po and his relics are worshipped at Galdan. To him is attributed
the authorship of numerous treatises, the canons of the Gelúg-pa order,
the four principal being the Bodhimár, the Tarnimár, the Allánárke
and the Láméram. In spite of his great renown he never held in his
lifetime any higher official title than that of abbott of Galdan which

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1 Ramsey gives the following as 'Red-cap' sects:—
1. Rshhi-mépa.
2 Dge-lug-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 Lama. The latter's pontificate was remarkable for the foundation of the monastery of Tashilhunpo in 1445 and the enunciation of the dogma of the incarnation of the Grand Lama of the Gelug-pa order by which his successor Gedun-Grub-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 Lama, 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 Sakya-pa. Nevertheless the office of abbott at Galdan is elective. Apart from the adoption of the title of Gyetso, which means 'Ocean of Majesty' and is equivalent to the Mongolian Dalai, Europeanised as Dalai, and the transfer of the head see to Depung, the sect had no history except one of rapid and continued progress during the pontificates of Gedun-Grub Gyetso (born in 1475, died in 1543), Sodnam-Gyetso (1543-1589) and Yontan-Gyetso (1589-1617). Je-Ngawang-Lozang-Thubtan-Jigmed-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 Lamas who succeeded him. He is also said to have devised the doctrine of the perpetual re-incarnation of the Dhiáni-Boddhisattva Chanresí (the Sanskrit Avalokitesvara) in the Dalai Lamas which was extended retrospectively to his four predecessors. He also created the dignity of Panchen-Rinpoche, an incarnation of the Buddha Odpagmed (Sanskrit Amitábha, the spiritual father of Avalokitesvara) for his old preceptor the abbott of Galdan whom he also appointed to be the independent pontiff of Tashilhunpo: The Gelug-pa have preserved a well-merited reputation for learning. They admit the validity of the magic and sorcery inculcated in the Gyeti, the 7th section of the Kan-jid, but in all other respects follow scrupulously the canon of the primitive Mahâyana as the Kâlampa 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 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 Nirvána. Nirvána 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 Nirvána 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 Śákyamúni himself it is confounded with the other Buddhas. Nevertheless its personality is not totally destroyed, for if it cannot re-appear in the world

Egya-mts'o.
The class of the Buddhas.

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 Gélugpas worship all the deities of the Tibetan pantheons, but they especially affect the supreme Buddha Dorjechang, the future Buddha Maitreya who inspires their teaching, the Yidams Dorjejigje,\(^1\) Demchog\(^2\) and Sangdus\(^3\) and the gon-po or demoniac genie Tamdin.\(^4\) 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 Gélugpas is typical of all the others. This sect divides the celestial world into nine groups, the Buddhas, Yidam or tutelary deities, the Lhag-lha or those above the gods, the Bodhisattvas, the Arhats or saints, the Dákkinis, the Dharma-palas 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 Buddhas. Incapable of reincarnation, plunged in the beatitude of the Nirvāna, 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 Buddhas are dead gods, while the living, active gods are the Bodhisattvas.

I.—The Buddhas form the class of higher beings perfect in excellence, presided over by Dorjechang (Vajradhara), 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 Brahmins, though he does not apparently fulfil 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 imperishable 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 vara) and the sacred bell. Several sects, including the orthodox sect of the Gélugpas, do not however acknowledge their supremacy but regard them merely as celestial Bodhisattvas, emanations of Akchobhya, and attribute the supreme rank to Vairochana.

The class of the Buddhas is divided into 5 groups: (i) the Jínas or Dhiáni-Buddhas, (ii) the seven Buddhas of the past, (iii) the 35 Buddhas of confession, (iv) the Tathágata physicians, and (v) the 1000 Buddhas. (i) The Jínas 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 Savanara.
\(^3\) Sanskrit Gubya Kála.
\(^4\) Sanskrit Hayagríva.
The Buddhas classified.

The 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 emanation of his essence procreates a spiritual son, a Dhiáni-Buddhissattva, 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 Dhiáni-Buddha, of a Dhiáni-Buddhissattva and of a Mánishí-Buddha or human Buddha. These five Dhiánis are named Vairochana,1 Akshobhya,2 Ratnasambhava,3 Amitábha4 and Amoghasiddhi.5 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 gestures6 and by the attributes sometimes assigned to them. Thus Vairochana is in the attitude of ‘turning the wheel of the Law,’7 Akshobhya in that of ‘taking to witness,’8 Ratnasambhava in that of charity,9 Amitábha in that of meditation10 and Amoghasiddhi of intrepidty.11 In their mystic forms they are assigned a crown with 5 gems, and adorned with necklaces, girdles and precious bracelets, which makes them resemble Buddhissattvas of the usual type. Under these aspects Akshobhya changes his name to Chakdor12 and Amitábha to Amitáyus.13 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.

(iii). The Seven Buddhas of the Past, also called Tathágatas, comprise Sákyanúsi and the six human Buddhas who preceded him on earth. They also are to be distinguished by their attitudes. They are Vipáyin,14 who combines the attitudes of testimony and imperturbability, Sihkin15 (charity and imperturbability), Visvábhú16 (meditation), Krákuchanda17 (protection and imperturbability), Kánákímuní18 (preaching and imperturbability), Kásyapa (charity and resolution) and Sákyanúsi (preaching and imperturbability). Like the Dhiánis the seven Buddhas can on occasion assume mystic and above all tantric forms when they fulfill the functions of a tutelary god of a monastery, tribe or family.

1. Bham-par-smáng-mds
2. Mi-bzyod-dpah.
3. Rin-hbyung.
5. Dón-hgrub.
6. Or attitudes, pnya-rgyas, bahnkr. wandr.
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 open, the fingers pointed upwards.
15. Gsugs-gtor-cem
16. Ta'm-c'ad-skyo.
17. Ko'r-va-hjigs.
18. Gser-c'ubpa.
(iii). The 35 Buddhas of Confession are divine personages addressed to obtain the remission of sins or at least mitigation of punishments. They include the 5 Dhiánis, 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 Tathágata physicians form a group of 8 Buddhas including Sákyamúñi as president. The principal, Be-du-ryai 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 rātyeika 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 doubling 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 servitors 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 Dhiánis, 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 noose 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 Chakdor, 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 Vajrapani’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 Vajrapani 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 Yidams 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 Yums of these Yidams 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 Sakyamuni bears in the Tusita 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 Mahayana 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 Dhiani-Bodhisattvas, emanations of the Dhiani-Buddhas personifying their active energies and named Samantabhadra, Vajrapani, Ratnapani, Avalokiteswara or Padmapani and Vis-

1. Byang-C’ub-Sems-dpah.
3. P’yas-rdor.
Avalokiteswara.

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 kindliness 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 Sukhāvatī 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 22 arms. In this form he is the recognised patron of Tibet. In his mystic and Tantric cult he has as Shakti the goddess Dolma, a benevolent form of the Shivaistic Kālī, 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 pass for having lived, canonized saints, some of whom may be regarded as having had a historical existence, such as the king Srong-tsan 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’yang-na-t’sog.
2 Sgrol-ma.
3 Sgrol-ma dkar-po and tjang ku.
The deified lamas and Dakkinis.

so high that he is often ranked as a Dhiáni Boddhisattva, 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 Boddhisattvas also stands Maitreya, the future Buddha, who is seated like a European. Then come the 21 Tárás, saviours and compassionate, Shaktis of Avalokitesvara; and finally the female Boddhisattva Od-zer-chan-ma more usually called rDorje-pag-mo, who is perpetually incarnated in the abbess of Palti and who may be recognised by her three heads, one of a sow. Speaking generally the Boddhisattvas are intermediaries and intercessors between men and the Buddhas.

IV.—The lamas.—By lama the Buddhists translate the Sanskrit guru. The lamas as a body include very diverse elements. They have attained nirvána, but not the absolute parinirvána, 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 grúbchen 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 sthavirüs, 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. Boddhisattvas, 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-lamas from Gedün-grüb downwards. It begins chronologically with Nágárjuna and his disciple Aryadeva, the founder and propagator of the Maháyána in India, Padma Sambhava and Santa-Rákhshita who introduced it into Tibet, and Atisa its reformer. Then come Brom-ton, founder of the Kadampas, Saskya Pandita (13th century), and others.

V.—The Dakkinis.—The Maháyána, having borrowed most of its inferior divinities from Shivalism, especially Tantric Shivaism which makes the cult of the Shaktis predominant over that of the god himself, was compelled to give the Dakkinis 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 Yúms 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

1 Byama-pa: pron. Champa or Jampa.
rank stands Lha-mo (Mahá-Káli), '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 a 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'-hgro-ma, of whom the powerful Seng-gei-gdong-o'an has a lion's head and dances naked on the bodies of men and animals.

VI.—The Choi-chong 1 or Drag-gseds include almost all the gods of Hinduism, represented as Yidams and Dákkinis under a demoniacal aspect, although they are the recognised defenders of the Law and the universe against the demons. The most venerated are Yáma, 2 judge of the dead, and Kuvera, 3 god of wealth.

VII.—The Yul-lha 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, Chandr, Garúda etc., reduced to the status of inferior divinities, servitors and henchmen of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, as well as a number of gods, probably Tibetan by origin, such as Pihar or Behar, the patron of monasteries in general, Dalä, 4 god of war, a kind of Hercules usually accompanied by a black dog who above all makes war on demons, and Me Iha, 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-Iha, 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 Gegs 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 gegs or 'enemies' and the most dreaded are the Iha-ma-yin, corresponding to the asuras, the dûd-pö, 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 lámas must be resorted to and out of which they make a good part of their income.

1 Ch'oe-skyong.
2 Sin-dje.
3 Dzam-bha-la.
4 Dgra-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 genyen1 or listener, the gtsul2 or novice, the gelong3 or ordained priest, the lama4 or superior priest and the khangpo5 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 khübilgan, the incarnation of a Tibetan saint, and of khütiiktú, that of a Hindu saint. Finally the edifice is crowned by the two sublime dignitaries, the Panchen Rinpoché and the Dalai Láma.

The attractions of the priesthood are many, but they are strengthened by a law or usage6 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 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 ghat and his hair and can be visited by his kinsmen every week. After two or three years of study, legally two suffice, his gezan or religious instructor asks for his admission as a genyen or catechumen, which necessitates a rigid examination of his conduct and attainments.

At the age of not less than 15 the genyen 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 Vīnáyā 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 vrasajña 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

1 Dge-bsilen, corr. to Sanskr. upásaka.
2 Dge-tsal, corr. to S. taramahara.
3 Dge-long, corr. to S. taramana.
4 Mgan-po, corr. to S. sthavira.
5 Called bitun-gral.
6 Certain monasteries only admit candidates of high rank in which case the investigation is very searching.
The lamaist clergy.

lama 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 Depung, Sera, Galdan, Garmakhyu and Moru. 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 geses¹ or licentiate, with which most are contented, of raljampa² or lharamba, 'doctor in theology.' Adept in occult science take the special title of choi-chong.³ The holder of any of these degrees is entitled to be styled lama. Another honorific title choi-je⁴ is awarded by the Dalai Lama or the Panchen Rinpoche to clerics distinguished by sanctity, but it confers no right to exercise the superior functions which the geses and lharambas 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 Lama or Panchen Rinpoche. The latter supply the khanpos who are promoted by those two hierarchs to form his entourage with the title of Councillor or Tsanit. 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 Lamas, governors of provinces and occasionally generals of the army.

The khubilgeus are very numerous, but enjoy a purely local influence, confined to the district of their own monasteries, whereas the khutuktus, 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 Depa-rāja, the spiritual and temporal sovereign of Bhutan.

Another high dignity in the Lamaic church is the grand Láma of the sect and monastery of Sakya who, though not an incarnation, is the hereditary successor⁵ of Mati'dvaja, nephew of the celebrated Sakya Pandita P'agspa who converted Mongolia and on whom the emperor Khubilai Khan 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' lamas who are opposed to that of the Dalai Láma. Tibetan politics centre round the position of the Dalai Láma whose authority is more nominal than real. Even his

¹ Dge-son.
² Rabz hbyams-pa.
³ C'o-skyong
⁴ C'o-je, lit. 'noble of the Law.'
⁵ The 'red' lamas 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 Chauresi 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 draped 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 (lagoi) over his other vestments. This scarf is, like the robe, yellow for the orthodox sect and red for the unreformed or Nyigmapa 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 a kind of stiff Phrygian cap surmounted sometimes by a crest of echenille 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 superstitions 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 (vassa)—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 ease 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 nyunyo par, '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 ascetism 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 tea-gruel, 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-
terry 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 bhikṣu 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 utter 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 Chanresi, of the holy disciples of Buddha and of the Yidams and for the welfare of dead commended to their prayers. Then they take a repast 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 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 lamas, generally one of the failures of the nearest monastery, who fulfils the functions of schoolmaster and teaches children to read, write and cypher 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 Lhāsa, 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 their credit 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 reluctance. 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 abbess, 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 Praśimoksha. 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 abbess is a perpetual incarnation of the goddess or feminine Bodhisattva, Dorje P'agmo, who is represented with three heads, one a sow's.

**Om mani padme hūn.**—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 Manipadmé is the vocative of Manipadmá, the deity of the jewel lotus, the *shakti* of Manipadmá who must be identical with Padmapání or Avalokiteswarā. The formula goes back to the times of Sron-btsan-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 Seoraj, 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

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1 Sanskr. Vajravāhāri, 'sow of diamond.'
retreated. In the valley of the Chandra Bhága, 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 Bhága, 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 Lámas of Láhul will not eat with a European, while the Lámas of Tibet have no objection to doing so. This advance of Hinduism is ascribed in part to the influence of the Tháktars or Barons of Láhul; but it is, apart from such influence, which no doubt has its effect, inevitable and natural. These two valleys (the separate valleys of the Chandra and Bhága) are best described as a margin or debateable land between the two religions, though at present they are more Buddhist than Hindu. The people were once Buddhists and are so now to a great degree. But they have accepted caste and respect Brahmans 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 Bhága 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 Láhul, one must not forget that both Brahmanism and Buddhism are still to a great extent perversed by the demon worship which no doubt alone prevailed in Láhul in early times"

1 In an account of the religion of Láhul 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 its accuracy, that gentleman described the religion of Láhul as "essentially Buddhism," and stated that pure Hindus were found in only a few villages and were a low set of Brahmans and that those of the remaining population who were not pure Buddhists "learnt more strongly towards Buddhism than Brahmanism." They maintained Buddhists monasteries, abjured beef, and "in case of severe illness, &c., would call in both Lámas and Brahmans who performed their respective rites at one and the same time."—D. I.

2 Mr. Anderson says elsewhere: "In Láhul I do not consider that all are Hindus. There are Lámas who ought certainly to have been shown as Buddhists, but there is a tendency to ignore Buddhism in Láhul." These Lámas 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 there had been, it is difficult to see why it should have been confined to the figures of Láhul and to the Buddhists only, and should not have affected those of Spiti and of other religions in Láhul also. There appear to have been only seven of these Lámas in Láhul in 1872, though there were also 110 cultivating land-holders who had taken Lamaic vows but "had very little of the monk about them."—D. I.
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 Láma, and this may even be after marriage. The Lámas of Láhul may marry, the sons belonging to their father's original caste. Lámas 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 Láhul. It is still common for both Brahmans and Lámas to be present at weddings and funerals."

It would appear that there is little of Buddhism about the Láhul Lámas save their title. Even in small things the progress of Hinduism is visible. When Dr. Aitchison visited Láhul the people would not as 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 Thas 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 Láhul 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 Láhul 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 Láhul 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 ever since the Rájás of Kulu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Láhulis 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 Láhulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botías (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Láhuli now looks upon the name of Botí as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladákh, met his own brother-in-law, a Botí of Ladákh and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindu servants might tell tales against him in Kulu and Kángra.

LÁHUL AND ITS PRE-BUDDHIST RELIGIONS.

The three dialects of Láhul are Bunán, Mancháth and Tinán. 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. Those 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 Lahul—a frock 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 rear Kyelang depicts a man hunting the wild sheep.

The most ancient religions of Lahul 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 Lahul—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 to terrify him.

In Manchat the last human sacrifice was that of the queen, Rupi rani, 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
Lamaistic Buddhism in Kanaur.

in Ladakh and Western Tibet. The destruction of the monastery at Nalanda in the 9th century was its culminating disaster. Lotsava Rinchen-bzango (c. 954) settled in Ladakh and the Kashmiri monks first settled at Sanid in Zangskar and built the Kanika monastery. 1

Buddhism seems to have entered Lhul 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 Gazha (= Garzha). Three such temples are known, viz. Gandola at the confluence of the Chandra and Bhaga, Kangani in Manchat, and Triloknath in Pang-Lahul. They are wooden structures with pyramidal roofs and interesting old wood carvings.

Lamaistic Buddhism entered Lhul in the 11th or 12th century and from about 1150 to 1647 Lhul formed in a loose way part of the Ladakhi empire. The monasteries of this latter type are distinguished by their flat roofs. 2

The Buddhism of Kanaur.

An account of the form of Buddhism found in Kanaur is given in Vol. III, pp. 447-454, infra. To it the following list of the Tibetan gods popularly accepted in Kanaur, in theory if not in practice, may be added, together with a note on divination 3 :

The Tibetan deities and their mantras with explanations:

(1) Nâm-chhrâ (God) or Nâráyan: 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 Singé. The mantra is:—Ôm behi-charmané swâhá. ‘May God bless us.’

(2) Lângân-darsé or Chhog-dak: 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:—Ôm zambálâ zdãhÎdâ svâhâ. ‘May God cast away all obstacles and bestow upon us wealth.’

(3) Táremá or Chheringmá: 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:—Ôm birûndâke choozam dükhâ hâm hîrâ háng táre dükhé bishândé bîmayé svâhâ. ‘O thou mother of the world, be pleased to grant us prosperity and long life.’

1 The monks of Kanika wear the red robe which shows that the yellow robe of such Zangskar monasteries as that at Gargya was not introduced by monks from Kashmir: A. H. Francke, A Hist. of Western Tibet, p. 51.

2 Ib., pp. 181-191.

3 Furnished by P. Tika Ram Joshi.
(4) Dukar, the Indian Trinity, equivalent to Dattatreyamuni, 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 Hopamed, 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-cup respectively, and seated in the Padmasana attitude. The mantra is:—

\[ \textit{Om shri paumā. lajita bājirā todā hulu hulu hūm phat svāhā. 'O thou reverend sage, promote our welfare, and destroy our enemies.'} \]

(5) Paldan-lāmō, the supreme goddess, equivalent to Mahākālī, 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:—

\[ \textit{Om hūm shriyā debā kālī kālī mahā-kālī hūm zō. 'O supreme goddess, keep us from all evil.'} \]

(6) Dolmā, a goddess or devī, 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:—

\[ \textit{Om tārē tu tārē tu rē svāhā. 'O goddess, thou, who art the remover of worldly troubles, bestowest upon us blessings.'} \]

(7) Ningmet-cheebe, 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 Choos. They believe that whosoever repeats it daily as many times as possible, will enjoy a happy life for 100 years:—

\[ \textit{O Ningmet-cheebē darsen-chang-rāzi,} \]
\[ \textit{dingmet-khembe wāngbo-jāmbo-yang,} \]
\[ \textit{dudpung mālā chomdan-sānywe-dakk,} \]
\[ \textit{gāsāng-gābe chang-gyān-chung gāfā,} \]
\[ \textit{lobzang-dāk-pārā shyāblāsowānde.} \]

(8) (a) Gānbo chhāg-du-gbā, 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:—

\[ \textit{Om sīhā hūm phat. 'Turn away enemies.'} \]

(b) Gānbo-chhāg-jībā, Tārā-Devī, has four hands.

(c) Gānbo-chhāg-nībā, Tārā-Devī, has only two hands. In other respects these two are like Gānbo-chhāg-dugbā, and the mantras are the same.
Divination in Kanaur.

(d) Gānkar-čhāg-đugbā, Tārā-Devī, is said to be of white complexion, but in other respects is like Gānbō-čhāg-đugbā. The mantra is:—Om shun māṇi chun māṇi hūm phat swāhā.

(e) Gānbo-penuing chhog-jībā zil-zībā, Tārā-Devī, is of white complexion, having four heads and four arms and wearing a garland of human heads, but resembling in other respects Gānbo čhāg-đugbā. The mantra is:—Grihānā payah grihānā payah, hūm phat swāhā, hānāhā hragawānā bājra bindārānā hūm phat swāhā, '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 chhoss, to be repeated daily for the success of any business or transaction:—

Om bājra sāto samāyā manā pālā tināpā, tiśa tiśā mewāwā, supkāyō mewawawā rājā mewārā, sarvā śiddhī mewaryāng, sūdang michiō dang, hyāryā hūm hūm phat swāhā.

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

(1) Om yāmā rājā sādāh mēyā,
    yāmē darā nāyō dāyā,
    yādāyō nīrā yakkhāyā,
    chhanē rāmā hūm hūm phat phat swāhā.

(2) Om tān-gya rikā hūm phat.
(3) Om dekhyā rātī hūm phat.
(4) Om dantā rikā hūm phat.
(5) Om bājra rātī hūm phat.
(6) Om mūvā rātī hūm 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. Fāk-pa-jam-pal: the deity Dharmarāj or Dharamarājā means:—'You will succeed by worshipping your deity.'

2. Chung mong-bu-thong-wā padmināp: 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. Sin-gyā-maillā, Ashwini-kumāra: the celestial physician:—'You are to attain long life and always succeed, but keep your mind firmly fixed on God.'
4. **Dug-dul 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. **Sergā-sāri:** 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 sām-shing:** 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. **Sāt-lā-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 object there will be quarrels; a woman is troublesome to you, but should you agree with her you will be successful’

8. **Sān-gyu-tān-bā:** the deity Buddha Shakya Singha:—‘The king is greatly pleased with you; your desire will be achieved; but if you fear illness, then worship your deity steadfastly.’

9. **Gyāl-bo:** the king of ghosts, Brahma-rakshasa:—‘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-gyāl-bum-bā:** the nectar-pot, Amrita-kalasha:—‘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 dodhru-khādga:—‘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 kinsmen, and can be only removed by agreeing with them.’

12. **Dīmo-dā-yāk:** 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. **Dar-ze-gyā dum:** the thunder-bolt, basra:—‘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. **Yu-don-mā:** a goddess, devī:—‘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-mā:** 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-garjana:—'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 cleaned, then he will recover.'

17. Du-chi mum-bá: 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-nyá-yu-nyá: 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 sick in the family, then have the worship of your deity duly performed and he will be restored to health.'

19. Pán-chhenu: the king of the Bhulis, Bhilla-rája:—'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. Chhu-lóng: a she-buffalo, Mahishi:—'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. Sin-morál-chán-má: a she-cannibal, Manushya-bhakshiká:—'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 will heartily adore him there will be some relief.'

22. Shtá-Sán-ji: the golden mountain, swarna parvata:—'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. Sáí-lámó (2nd): Batuka-Bhairava, the deity Bháirava:—'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. Mai-khá-ne-cho: a parrot, totá or suvá:—'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 steadfastly, then you will get some relief.'

25. Gí-ling-tá: 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. Nyán-bá-du-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. Shyá-bá-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. Mámu-zá-pyá: the peacock, mayára:—‘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. Chháng-nu-dar-zé: the deity Kála-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-zé: the thunderbolt, bairu:—‘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: shāhika:

32. Chá-rok: a crow, káka, kawwá:

33. Gáu kár-bó: the Mánas-lake Mánas-sarovara:
   all three of good omen

34. Cháng-tak: the lion, sūhka:—a bad omen.


37. Chá-khyung: the vehicle of Vishnu, gátara, Vishnu-ratha:—
   a good omen.

38. Teú: a monkey, bandar, ránuara:

39. Yung-rung: a wheel, chakra:—

40. Chhhokten-kár-bó: the temple of the man-lion, Nrisiíhá mandir:—
   all three good omens.

41. Chháng-kú-ru-jamá: a lion, sūhka:—

42. Nád-pá: disease, rogávádha:—
   both bad omens.

43. Sínhé: a lion:—a good one.

44. Bong-bú: a camel, ustrah úút:—a very bad one.

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

46. Chhumit: a cascade, āladhárá:—a fairly good one.

47. Nár-bú: the tire, Agní:—a very good one.

48. Mer’-nák-pó: the smoke, dhúrah, dhúwán:—a bad one.

49. Dhu'on-jyul yábó: a cow, gáya, guah:—

50. Rubó: a ram, mésha, khárú:—
   both good omens.
The ruling family of Bashahr is, according to the Shástrás, held to be of divine origin, and the Lamaic theory is that each Rájá of Bashahr is at his death re-incarnated as the Gurú Láma or Gurú of the Lámás, who is understood to be the Dalai Láma of Tibet. There is also another curious legend attached to the Bashahr family. For 61 generations each Rájá 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.
**SECTION 3.—JAINISM.**

The following paragraphs are reproduced from Sir Denzil Ibbetson’s Census Report of 1883 because they illustrate the position of Jainism at that time. Like Sikhism 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 Kesahari 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 other 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 important 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 sprang into existence during the struggle between Hinduism and Buddhism and the decay of the latter, and that as *Rhys Davids says* ‘the few Buddhists who were left in India at the Muhammadan conquest of Kashmir in the 12th 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 Bhābras or the main body of that caste in Hoshiāpur. The present writer is now inclined to think that the account of the Bhābras alluded to on page 81 of Vol. II gives a clue to the history of the caste. The Bhābras were originally Jains, recruited from Oswāl and Khandilvāl Bānis. They were reinforced by Sikhs or Sarasgis from the Aggarwals. As a title of some dignity and antiquity Bhābra came to be applied to and assumed by the Oswāl, Khandilvāl, Aggarwāl and any other Bāni group whether orthodox Jains or unorthodox, or not Jains at all but Vaishnavas.

2 Dr. Buchanan, in his account of the Jains of Carnar, one of their present head-quarters, taken from the mouth of their high priest, says: “The Jains are frequently confounded by the Brahmanas 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 now even a devar, but allege that he is undergoing various low metamorphoses as a punishment for his errors.”
Ibbetson on the Jains.

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 Bhābras of two districts in which every single Bhābra is returned as a Jain; and an Agarwāl Bānia, an Extra Assistant Commissioner and a leading member of the Jain Community in Delhi, the Punjab head-quarters of the religion, writes: ‘Jains (Sarāogi) are a branch of Hindus, and only differ in some religious observances. They are not Buddhists.' Indeed the very 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 Sarāogi procession at Delhi tirred up ill-feeling between the two parties, the Hindu (Vaishnava) and Jain (Sarāogi) Bānias 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 Bānias, 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 what 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 Lāhūl, 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 Buddha.1

1 It is true that in Rājpūtāna 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 ascetic 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 too, many of the later Vaishnava scriptures are very bitter against the errors of the Jains. But hatred of the fiercest 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 Gūjarāt (Bombay), on the other hand, “the partition between Hindus 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 reveets 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 Tirthankāras, who correspond with the Buddhas 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 Gautamic legend, of even the broad outlines of which the Punjab Jains are entirely ignorant. Of these saints, the first, Rishabnāth, the twenty-third, Parāśānāth, and the twenty-fourth, Mahāvīr, are the only ones of whom we hear much; while of these three again Parāśānāth is chiefly venerated. Rishabnāth is supposed to be an incarnation of Vishnu, and is worshipped in that capacity at his temple in the south-west of Mewār by Hindus and Jains in common. But besides these saints, the Jains, unlike the Buddhists, recognise 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 recognise 64 Indras and 22 Devīs. They revere serpents and the lingam 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 recognise 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 Brahmans 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 pujāhītras 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 Brahmans, and, since Jain Brahmans 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 Gautama 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 formulae from the Tātricas, and belonging more properly to the Śaiva and Śākta worship. Images of the Bhrīravas and Bhrīrāvī, the fierce attendants on Śiva and Kāli, take their place in Jain temples; and at suitable seasons the Jains equally with the Hindus address their adoration to Sarasvatī and Devī." At Mount Abu several of the ancient Jain inscriptions begin with invocations to Śiva. (Wilson's Hindu Sects)

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 Sanskāras 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 Brahmanas 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 practiced by the Buddhist, to an absurd extent; their devotees carry a brush with which they sweep their path, are 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 Pachete in the hills between Bengal and Behar, which was the scene of Pārāsnāth's liberation from earthly life, the village of Pāpauri, also in Behar, where the Arhat Vardhamāna departed from this world, and the great Jain temples on Mount Abu in Rajpūtāna and Mount Girinār 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 Jatis or

1 See Bombay High Court rulings Bhogwan Das Tefmal v. Rajmal, X (1878), pp. 241 et seq., and rulings there quoted. But see also Privy Council case Shro Singh Lal v. Dakho and Manari, Indian Law Reports, I, Alahbad (1876-78), pp. 885 et seq.

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

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 Sthánakwásí group has come to the front. In 1901 the term Thánakwásí was returned as a mere synonym of sadh-márgi or Dhúndia, an ascetic of extreme orthodoxy. But the Sthánakwásís now number 22 per cent. of the Jain population of the Punjab, and are classed by Pandit Hari Kishan Kaul, C. I. E., as a branch of the Swétámbarás quite distinct from the Dhúndias. Ibbetson, who does not allude to the Sthánakwásí, thus describes the Dhúndias:—

“A more modern sect is the Dhúndia, so called because its followers were persecuted by the orthodox and compelled to take refuge in ruins or dhúnd. It was with these ascetics that the practice of hanging a cloth or putts before the mouth originated; and the Terahpanthis and Dhúndias 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 Dhúndias are wholly celibate ascetics, and include no laity. They altogether renounce idols, and call those who venerate them pujári or ’worshippers.’ They are, I believe, confined to the Swétámbara section, the Digambarás laughing at the cloth, as breeding more insects in the mouth than it prevents from entering it.” By pujári may have been meant pujera. The priests of the Dhúndias are called puj or sri puj.

Classification of the Jain sects and orders.

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

Digambara ... Tera-panthi \[ Bih-panthi \[ Mandirpanthi or Pu-
Swétámbara ... Dhúndia Baístola \[ Tera-panthi \[ Dhúndia.

1 Vol. III, p. 343 infra.
3 This should read “Tera-panthi sect of the Dhúndias.”
The Swetámbara Jains.

But, putting aside the non-idolatrous Sthánakwásis and Dhúndías, the idol-worshipping Jains may be tentatively classified as follows:

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

The Digambars include two great sub-sects:

(i) **The Bispánthi**, 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 Swetámbaras. Horace Wilson notes that the Bispánthis are said by some to be the orthodox Digambaras, of whom the Terahpanthis 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 Swetámbara 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 Swetámbara have no recognised sub-sects, but their ascetics generally known as sádhus appear to have a special sub-division called Sambégí or Samegi. The sádhus form a superior order or the superior degree in an order, the sális being an inferior order or novitiates in the order in which the sádhus holds the higher degree.

The Digambars also have ascetics, called *muni* who appear to be identical with the sádhus, described in Vol. III, p. 344 infra. In both of these main sects the laity is or ought to be called Saráogi, the more

1 Including (i) the Terapanthi sect which will not interfere with anything living, but not interfere with a cat catching a mouse, and so on; and (ii) the Balstola who go a step further and will interfere to protect one animal against another.

2 Mr. Fagan also affirms that the Bispánthi are the more orthodox. They are divided into 4 sub-sects—Nandi, Sain, Singh and Bhir called after the names of their rishis—according to him: Pb. Census Report, 1892, § 123. But these may be sub-orders. The Bispánthi reverence the gurú, the 24 Arhats and the Shástrás.

On the other hand the Terapanthis allow the Arhats and Shástrás, but refuse to acknowledge that there is any gurú other than the Shástrás themselves, a doctrine which reminds us of the orthodox Sikh teaching after Gurú Gobind Singh's installation of the sacred Granth as the gurú of the Sikhs.


4 Maclagan, § 122.

5 Ibbetson translates Saráwak by ' laity ': Cf. Maclagan, § 122.
honorable term Bhábra being reserved for laymen of higher spiritual standing or priority of conversion.

The Jain caste system.

The doctrines which divide the Digambara from the Swetámbara are abstruse and as yet not fully understood, but the former hold that the Arhats were saints from birth and so their images should be naked and unadorned, while the Swetámbara 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 Bánia and Bhábra castes, the latter being chiefly confined to the northern Divisions. I believe that Oswál Bánias are almost without an exception Swetámbara Jains, and that such of the Kandelwal Bánias and Bhábras as are Jains also belong to this sect. The Agarwál Bánias, on the other hand, are, I understand, invariably Digambaras. The Mahesri Bánias 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 Sarágis, and the Swetámbaras or Oswáls, and he confirms the assertion after repeating his inquiries at my request. There is no doubt whatever that ‘Oswál’ is a tribal and not a sectarian name, and is quite independent of religion; and that the term Sarágí properly applies to the whole of the Jain laity of whatever sect. But the fact that Oswál and Swetámbara 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 Bhábras of Hushyárpur who are of course Swetámbaras, state distinctly that all Jains are Sarágís, themselves included; but a Bhábra of Gurdáspur emphasized his assertion that no Agarwál could become a Bhábra by pointing out that the former were all Sarágís. On the other hand Mr. Wilson writes that in Sirsa on the Rájputána border, the words Oswál and Sarágí, 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 Agarwálás belong so invariably to the Digambara and Oswáls to the Swetámbara sect, that the term Oswál is used for the latter while Sarágí is applied to the former and more orthodox sect only. There is a local tradition that Parasnáth, the probable founder of the Swetámbara sect, was an Oswál of Osia or Osnagar in Jodhpur,

1 Macalagan, § 122.
2 The very term Mahesri denotes that they are Vaishnava Hindus; H. A. R.
3 So in Sindh and Oídjarát the tribal name Mahesri is used to distinguish Hindu from Jain Bánias.
the place from which the Oswáls take their name; but the Jain scriptures say that he was born at Benáres and died in Behar."

The same authority points out that the Swetámbaras and Digambaras do not intermarry, and the Bráhbras do not intermarry with Saráogis.1 But the Swetámbara and Dhúndia are said to intermarry.2 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 laity and a monastic order, and are also divided into two great sub-sects the Swetámbaras or ‘White-robés’, 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 Sánkhyá and Yoga, and also to Buddhism, but while it shares in the theoretical pessimism of those systems and in liberation, their practical ideal, it realises 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 Sánkhyá and Yoga, Jainism recognises a dualism of matter and soul. Souls are principally all alike 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 Sánkhyá. 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 Sánkhyá, 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 rejects the Buddhist views that all things are transitory and that there is no absolute or permanent Being. It is at least as old as Buddhism, for the canons of the latter sect speak of the rival sect under its old name of Nágauthas3 and of Nátaputta, an epithet of the last Jain prophet, Vardhamána Mahávira, its leader in Buddha’s time. Mahávira 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. 81 infra.
2 Ib., p. 342.
3 Sanskr. Nirgrantha. For what follow, Jacobi’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 Pārśva, the last but one of the Tirthankaras, has better claims to be considered the founder of Jainism. He died 250 years before Mahāvīra. His predecessor, Arihantanemi, is said to have died 84,000 years before the latter's nirvāṇa 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 Sāyādvāda 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 nayas 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,' āśīvakāya, and 'lives' or 'souls,' jīva. The former comprise space, akāsa, two subtle substances, dharma and adharma, and matter, pudgala. Space affords room for souls and matter to subsist, dharma enables then to move or be moved, adharma to rest. In primitive speculation the two latter terms seem to have denoted the two invisible fluids which cause sin (paśa) and merits (puṇya), respectively. Space again is divided into lokākāra, occupied by the world of things and its negative, the absolute void. Dharma and adharma 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 (samādhi) and liberated (mukta). 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, nirvārīti or mukti.

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 (āśraya). A soul harbours passions (kāshāya) which like a viscous substance retain this subtle matter, and combines with it, by bandha (combination). This subtle matter in such combination is transformed into the 8 kinds of karma and forms a kind of subtle body, karmamahākāra, which clings to
The soul in Jainism.

the soul in all its future births and determines its individual lot. But as it has been caused, so karma in its turn causes painful or pleasant conditions and events which the individual must undergo. Having thus produced its due effect, the karma matter is purged from the soul by nirjärđ or 'purging off.' The ān̄dhika and nirjärđ processes go on simultaneously, and thereby the soul is forced to continue its mundane existence. After death it goes, with its karmanashātra, 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 senses 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 (s:mnin), while the lower animals are asamjnin. 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 nigoda, and are composed of an infinite number of souls forming a very small cluster, have respiration and nutrition in common, and experience the most exquisite pains. Innumerable nigodas form a globule, and with them the whole space of the world is closely packed, as a box is filled with powder. The nigodas furnish the supply of souls in place of those who have reached nirvāna. But an infinitesimal fraction of a single nigoda has sufficed to replace all the souls liberated since the beginningless past down to the present, so the samsāra will never be empty of living beings.

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

The theory of karma 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 (dārshana), 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 (pravritti) of karma singly or severally which form the kármamahatára, just as food is transformed by digestion. These 8 kinds include gotra, i.e., that which determines the race, caste, family, social standing &c. of the individual: áyuska, which determines his length of life as a hell-being, man, god or animal; and náśa, which produces the various elements which collectively make up an individual existence, e.g. the body with its general and special faculties etc. Each kind of karma has also predestined limits of time within which it must take effect and be purged off. Connected with this theory of karma-working is that of the six leśhyás. The totality of karma amalgamated by a soul induces on it a transcendental colour, which our eyes cannot perceive. This is called leśhyá, and it may be black, blue or grey, which are bad, and yellow, red or white, which are good 'characters' morally.1

The individual state of the soul is produced by its inborn nature and the vitiating action of karma, and this is its developmental or párinámika state. But there are other states which refer only to the behaviour of the karma. Ordinarily karma takes effect and produces its proper results; then the soul is in the āndayika state. But by proper efforts karma may be neutralized (āpashami/a) for a time, though it is still present, then the soul is in the aupashami/kā state. When it is annihilated, the soul is in the kshēpita state, which is necessary for reaching nirvána. The ksháyika and aupashami/kā are the states of holy men, but ordinary good men are in a ksháyopashami/kā in which some karma 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 new karma, and it is also stopped by austerities (lāvās) which, moreover, annihilate old karma speedily.

Jain ethics has for its end the realisation of nirvána 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 (vrata/s), 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 (mahāvrata/s) taken by every monk on entering the order, or, as it is called, taking dikṣā. 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 (anuvrata/s) 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 (aśhāvārata);—he may limit the distance to which he will go in any direction (diqvi/rata); 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 gunuvrata/s; he may also reduce the area in which he may move (deshāvārata); give up, by sitting motionless and meditating on holy

1 Jacobi 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.
Jain asceticism.

things, all sinful actions at stated times (sāmyikā); live as a monk on the 8th, 11th or 16th day of the lunar fortnight at least once a month (paushadhopavasa); and provide for monks. These 4 last vows are called shikshāvātā or disciplinary. Eating by night is forbidden to all Jains, 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 grotesque. In Jain asceticism yoga means the activity of body, speech and mind through which karma-matter pours into the soul and to prevent this āsrava it is necessary to regulate those activities by the 3 guptis or guardings of the mind etc. The monk must also observe the 5 samitis, i.e. he must be cautious in walking etc., lest he kill or hurt any living thing. He must avoid vices and endure discomfort and hardship without flinching. The last item in his curriculum is tapas or asceticism, but it must be practised in the right way and with right intentions for there are also ‘austerities of fools,’ bālātapaś, 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 (ālochoana) and repented of. In less serious cases penance consists in standing erect in a certain position for a given time (kāyotsarga), but for graver transgressions the superiors prescribe the penance and in the worst cases a new ordination of the guilty monk.

Contemplation (dhiāna) is the most important spiritual exercise. Contemplation may be evil or good and the latter is of two kinds, religious (dharma) and pure (shukla). 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 karma may be suddenly consumed by a kind of explosion called samudghāta. Then in the last

1 For the Kalpa-Sutra, an old collection of disciplinary rules for Jain monks, see Ind. Ant., 1910, p. 297 ff.
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 *kevalins*, ‘those who have reached omniscience’, can enter into the last two stages which lead directly to liberation. The last man to attain *kevala* was Jambúsvámin, the disciple of Lahávira’s disciple Sudharman, and he was liberated on his death. Hence during the rest of the present Avasarpini period no body will be born who will reach *nirvána* in the same existence though *nirvána* 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 *gunasthánas* or fourteen stops which lead from total ignorance and wrong belief to absolute purity of the soul and final liberation.

The terms *ásrama* or pouring in and *samvara* 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 *ásrama* they employ the term *ásramakshaya* or ‘destruction of the *ásrama* for they do not regard the *karma* as subtle matter and deny the existence of a soul into which it could have influx. In Buddhism *samvaram* denotes ‘restraint’, as in *śīlamahāra* ‘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 Digambara uses 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 recessed at one place—compare the Buddhist *vasa*. But this ordinance has been modified owing to the institution of convents, *upásraya*, corresponding to the Buddhist *vihára*. The *Śvetāmbara* makes only visit places where there are such *upásrayas* 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 (*śaiśīka*) is initiated he takes the vows (*vratásdana*), renounces the world (*pravrajya*) and takes *dikha*. 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 *upáhyáya*, *dācharya*, *udchaka*, *gūpin* etc. according to his qualifications and functions as a teacher and superior.

The Jain cosmography differs widely from that of the Brahmans, 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 Lokakásha as distinguished from the absolute void. It is figured as a spindle resting on half of another, or as a woman with her
arms akimbo. 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 hells 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 Vimanas, the abodes of the Vaimañika gods, which number 26 in all. In Ishatprigbhára, the highest, dwell the souls in liberation.1

As the soul by itself has an upward gravity and will, if cleansed of all karma, rise in a straight line to this heaven on leaving the body, the Jains permit religious suicide in two cases, though they condemn bálamamóra or ‘unwise death’ and recommend padálamamára 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 (pratimá), 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.2

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,3 but complete explanations are lacking. It appears however that a kevalin’s place in heaven is represented on earth by a samovasárana, a shrine with three ramparts, the innermost of gems with battlements of rubies, constructed by the Vaimánikas, the second of gold with battlement of gems, constructed by the Jyotiskas or gods of Sun, Moon, stars etc. and the outer of silver with battlements of gold, built by Bhavanaspatis.4 All the elaborate architecture and art lavished on such a building have their meanings, as have the processional entries and ritual Animals, it should be noted, appear to be admitted to the shrine, though not to its inmost rampart.5 The whole picture of such a shrine drawn in the manuals used by Jain artists is an extraordinarily comprehensive one of all nature joining in the worship of one who has attained to perfect knowledge and listening to his teaching.

2 Id., 4, pp. 484-5.
4 Id., pp. 167-8. It may be conjectured that these are the higher animals.
The history of Jain dissent.

The doctrine of *karma* 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 *Tirthakalpa* 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.\(^1\)

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 (*nihāna*) according to the Swetambaras. Of these the first was originated by Mahāvīra's son-in-law Jamāli and the last in 83 A. D. gave rise to the Digambara sect.\(^2\) But the last-named know nothing of the earlier schisms and say that under Bhadrabāhub rose the Ardhaphālaka sect which in 80 A D. developed into the Swetambara sect. This is the more remarkable in that doctrinal differences are not acute. The Digambaras\(^3\) hold that *kevalins*, such as the Tirthankaras, live without food, that Mālāvīra's embryo was not removed from Devānanda's womb to that of Trishali, that a monk who owns any property, even clothes, and a woman, cannot reach *nirvāna*. While the Digambaras disown the canonical books of the Swetāmbaras, holding that they were lost after Mahāvīra's *nirvāna*, they recognise one at least of the most authoritative Swetāmbara *sutra* as. 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 Bhadrabāhub. 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 (*mukta-saṅgha*) split into four *ganas*—Nandi, Sena, Simha and Deva—about the close of the 1st century A. D.\(^4\)

The list of Swetāmbara patriarchs begins with Mahāvīra's disciple Sudharman and ends with the 33rd, Sāndilya or Skandila. In some cases the names of the disciples of each patriarch, and of the schools and branches (or orders) styled *gana*, *kuśa* or *shukha*, founded by or originating with him are preserved. After the 6th, Bhadrabāhub, a great expansion of Jainism took place in the north and north-west of India. In later times *gachhas* or schools were founded by individual teachers, theoretically 8 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 *gachhas*, the Tapā, Anchelā &c. and the most interesting is the Upakesa *gachcha*, 'known as the Oswal Jains,'

\(^1\) A. S. R., 1905-6, p. 141 f.

\(^2\) Also called Digvasanas : E. R. E., Vol. 4, p. 704. Another Swetāmbara version is that in 83 A. D. Suivabāhū started the heretical sect of the Botikas or Digambaras : s3.

\(^3\) For details of these four 'orders' see Vol. II, *Jṣṭra*, p. 346.
who begin their descent from Pārśva, Mahāvīra’s predecessor.\(^1\) 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 grandson Sampradāti is very doubtful.

**Modern Jain temples.**

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 ṣhuli iktāśhī 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 vedī 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 Brahmans. 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 bhog, but anything else may also be offered as such to the image. It is important to light the sacred lamp and burn dhūp 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 Saraogis at Tehl in Karnál an annual fair, called Kalsā Jal, is held on the 14th of the light half of Bhādon, and at this the image of Mahārāj is carried. The fair was first held in S. 1942, though the temple was founded in S 1901. It contains marble images of Paras Nāth, Mahābīri and Ajat Nath, each 1½ feet high. Its administration is carried on by the Saraogi 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 marvellous 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 sacrifice and ceremonial observance; and so long as their dues were discharged they would not grudge offerings made to others as an additional insurance against
Brahmanical Hinduism.

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 the 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 Mussalmán neighbours, and calls his own original gods by Muhammadan 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, 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.

Ibbetson, § 211.

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 Brahmans and with what tyranny they exercised that power in India, where all learning of every sort and kind

1 "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 recognise 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 on 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 infra, 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 boundaries such as are afforded by mountain ranges." [Ibbetson.]
was absolutely confined to the priestly class. The result was that Hinduism early degenerated from a religion into a sacerdotalism, 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 at once of the catholicity and of the exclusiveness which characterise the Hindu religion. If to give to a Brahman is to worship God, the larger the circle of worshippers the better for the Brahman; and if new worshippers 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 Brahmans 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 aborigine 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 habits or occupation rendered him impure from the birth, admission was impossible, at least to the full privileges of Hinduism.

The sacerdotal despotism 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 supernal 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 Brahmans with respect to religion in India seems to have been closely analogous to that which the lawyers formerly 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, to fine severe y one of my Hindu compilers, a man in a good position, and of education and intelligence, but who positively refused to include scavengers who returned themselves as Hindus in the figures for that religion.
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 Vedas or Puranas. Nevertheless the worship of Brahma is still to be found in the Punjab. Thus Adi Brahma is worshipped at Tiri 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 Baisakh, Sawan and Asuj and on the full moon day of Maghar, each lasting four days. Brahma deota also has a temple at a place called Darewari-Dhara in Kotli Tárápúr where he is worshipped yearly from Sunday to Thursday in the dark halves of Sáwan, Maghar and Phágam.

In Saráj a 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 gur or disciple would be answered. So saying the Brahman disappeared beneath the earth. The temple is said to have been founded in the Dwápar Yúg. 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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1 An Aghori was caught by the police in the Rohtak district about 1881 in the act of devouring a newly born child which he had dug up for the purpose. For other instances of aghoribidya, which seems to be a term for their ritual cannibalism, see Russell’s Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, II, p. 15. Also Oman’s Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India, pp. 164-5, there cited.

by a kárdár, a Kanet of the Káshab got. He is married. A Sársut Brahman pujári is also employed for worship. He is a Gautam 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 Ambála the shrine of Brahma is a stone under a bárgat, '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 Brahm2 generally means little more than that he worships the Supreme God, Parmeshar ko mántá hai, or Khudá ko mántá hai—an assertion in which almost all Hindus would join. The term Brahm-pauthí may refer in some cases to Brahmós, but there appears to be a sect of this name with special doctrines of its own. It is found in Hazára, and was started by a man called Gautam Raghi, and its holy book is termed the Nyáyak Gránth.3 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 Musalmáns and they are consequently looked on with disfavour by both religions.

The other two members of the Hindu Triad—Shiva and Vishnú—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. Omitting for the present Rám Chandra and Krishn, whose cult is closely connected with that of Vishnú, the most popular of the minor deities are Ganesh and Hanúmán and Bhairon. Ganesh 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 19th of each month, more especially in Mágh. He is also known as the Sangat-deota.

The worship of Hanúmán or Mahábír, the monkey-god is closely connected with that of Rám, in whose aid Hanúmán fought against the demons of Lanká. He is represented as a red-coloured 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 Wyndard's Ambala Settlement Rep., § 41.1.
2 Strictly speaking Brahm is pure spirit or átma in the pantheistic sense—pervading all space. Brahma is the manifestation of spirit, and so a distinction should be drawn: Brahm is impersonal, and Brahma conveys the conception of personality.
3 During his residence in the Himalayas Gautama founded the Nyáyak sect: S. C. R., II, p. 430. But the Gautam Rághi of the text may be the Gautama Rikhi, author of the Nyáyá or dialectical philosophy described in Colebrook's Essays, I, p. 280 ff. Gautama was also called Akshapáda or Akshareshuna and his followers Ashapádá, but no trace of such a school is now to be found in this Province, unless it is represented by the modern Brahm-pauthés. A scandalous legend about this Gautama rikhi will be found on p. 128 infra. The term nyáyá has many meanings, but its most usual one is 'logic'; Platts' Hindustani Dictionary, p. 1164. It is not confined to Hinduism, the Nyáyacaitra of Siddha Sana Divakara being the earliest Jain work on pure logic.
Hissar district, the Bâdis of the Bâgar and the Nats of the Jangal or Des. A small shrine to Hanumán 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 Gurkhi, four miles from Kângra town, there is a temple to Anjana, wife of Kesari and mother of Hanumán, whom Anjana bore to Váyu or Pavana, the wind, not to her husband Kesari, a monkey. Hence Hanumán obtained his metronym of Anjaneya. 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. ¹

Bhairon or Bhairava is described infra.

Early Saints and Heroes—Along with the gods themselves we may notice the names of demigods and rishi to whom special reverence is paid. There are the five Pándavas, the heroes of the Mahâbhârata, favourite objects of worship in the east, and sometimes addressed as the Panj-Pir. Many are the legends current about these heroes and they are localised at quite a number of places. The hill of Mokshpuri, just above Dunga Gali, has an elevation of 9232 ft. Its name means 'hill of salvation' and on its summit is a Pándâna da Sthán, or 'place of the Pândus,' where it is said they were visited and tempted by apsaras who still frequent the place. Such sthâns are not uncommon in the Himalayas. They are also known as Pâch Pându and often consist of a small square enclosure: in this stands a tree, on which rags are hung. At every sankânt 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.² Another hero is Shâmji, the Chauhán Râjâ of Garh Dadna, who gave his head to Krishna and Arjan on condition that he should be allowed to see the fight between the Kauravas and Pándavas.³ And there is Dhanwantar or Dhanwánû, the old physician, who is still looked up to by the Hindu members of the profession. And there is Daruna, the Acháraj, the guru of the Pándavas, from whom the Acháraj clan, the Brahmans who accept gifts at deaths and conduct the funerals of the dead, trace their descent. The Kumhârs in the same way reverence their prototype Prajápâti, whether this implies some human or semi-human progenitor, or refers to Brahm, the Lord of Creatures, the Great Potter who shapes the plastic world. Similarly the northern branch of the Kâśîths revere their semi-divine ancestor Chatargupt, the watcher of good and bad actions, who sits with his great register before him in the audit office of the nether world. So also Bâjsi, the sage Vyâsa, and a hundred others are still looked up to with respect, and most of the Hindu tribes, and not a few of the Musalmâns, claim descent from one or other of these heroes and saints of early Hinduism.

² Ib., VIII, p. 123.
³ This Shâmji has his shrine at Kotla in the Jaipur State.
Pāṇḍu the pala accompanied by his two wives, Mádri and Kunti or Pritha, retired to the Himalayas. There they bore the five Pāṇḍavas, sons of various gods but acknowledged by him as his own.1

The interesting rock-temples at Mukeshwar on the Rávi, five miles above Shálpur in Gurúsāpur, are said to date back to the Pāṇḍavas, and to have been visited by Arjan and Párbati. A long cleft in the rock a little way up the river is known as Arjan’s chula or hearth.2 Shiv as Achleswar Maháráj has a temple at Achal a few miles from Batála. 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 Kailása 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, forgetting the condition, put Shiva down on the ground. On his return he tried his utmost to lift Shiva up again, but could not and so had to leave him there. Hence the place is called Achchal from Achleshahr, incapable of moving further.

The temple contains 101 stone images, each 1½ feet high. Marble images of Ganesh, Durga, Bishnú and Súraj 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 1st Baisákh, the naumi and dasmi in Kátak, on every amáwas and on the chetar chaunás (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 revered 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 man 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. B., VIII, p. 123. He appears to be identical with or confused with Gúga, Chanáñ, of Garh Dápery. In the Himalayas Panjápur is often regarded as a single personage and identified with Zábhir Pír or Guga, but the distinction of personages is also recognised in their representation by five stones placed under a pipal and smeared with red lead. P. N. Q., III., § 100. See also p. 136 infra.

2 Gurúsāpur Gazetteer, 1914, p. 33.

3 Id., p. 31.
logical control of intuition. Upon the firm and safe basis that nature provides auguries which are a certain indication of coming events, man has hurried to 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 ascertenable 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 if 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 practised 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 Sūraj 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

Ibberou, § 219.

1 Hering'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 Aryan 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-blade of a sheep, like the Bolshoi, or in the ears of red puppies which had been sacrificed.— Cf. Warde Fowler, Religious Experiences of the Roman People, pp. 295 et seq.

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 great god of the villager, who will always name him first of all his deities. After him 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."

Dharti Māta, 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 indistinct 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 ṛ, 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 Ist Sunday after Asarh 15th when the harvest has been set in. Before the daily bath water is always cast towards him (argo).

THE LEGENDS OF RAJA RASALU.

Rájá Rasáli, or Rásáli according to Cunningham, is even more important in Punjab folklore than Gúga. According to that authority his legend belongs essentially to the Pothuvár, between the Jhelum

1 The sun-god, however, certainly had temples in India in ancient times. There was one at Taxila: Arch. Survey Reports, II, p. 114; and at Multán: ibid. V, pp. 115 and 120. Farishtá says the Hindus used to worship the Sun and Stars, like the Persians, until King Sunāj (sic) taught them idolatry: Briggs, Erasmus, I, p. lviii. But in later times images of Surya or Akhtyān were rare: A. S. R., XIII, p. 63. For the absence of temples to the Sun see infra.

2 This should also be done to the new moon also, on the evening of her appearance: Karnál S. R., p. 147. According to Machsner (§ 43) the worshippers of the sun, according to the mantras, are named Sauras or Sauraptiās and constitute one of the main sects of Hinduism. The old constitutional god Surya is, however, little attended to now except in the south and east, where Śrīrā Vulcan is almost the sole orthodox deity of the Hindu pantheon who finds a place in the common religion of the peasants.

3 A. S. R. II, p. 163. The meaning of the name is not at all certain. Rasáli is a present to a friend: Punjab Diety., p. 957. The present writer is inclined to think that Rasáli is derived from rśita 'a troop of horse,' and that Rasáli means the rider, the charioteer of the sun. But rśita is a Persian word, not Sanskrit or even Hindi. "The people in Chamba pronounce the name Rasáli. Cunningham identified Rśiā with Śālāvahan, but I see they are supposed to have been father and son. To me it is a tempting supposition that they were identical and that Rasal is simply Rśiā; Śālāvahan is found in the Bādrala as short for Śālāvahan—a name no doubt to be spelt—not Śālāvahan, as the change of the terminal ā to ā is very common in Indian names. In olden times the title Śālā was in common use for Rāja e.g. Śālā Fithe of Delhi, and I could give many other examples" (Hutchison).
and Indus, but is also well-known at Ambá Kapi, near Lahore, the legendary residence of Rájá Sir-kap. Ambá Kapi is the general name for seven places named after three brothers, Rájá Sir-kap, Sir-sukh and Ambá and their four sisters Kápi, Kalpi, Munda and Mandéhi. All seven are also described as rákhásas whom Rasálú destroys. Sir-kap is a gambler and his stakes are human heads which he invariably wins until overcome by Rasálú. Past Ambá Kapi flows the Bágh-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 Rasálú’s legend at Mánikpur or Udinagar where the seven rákhásas lived. Every day he devoured a man until Rasálú destroyed all of them except Thera (possibly tera, the ‘roarer’) whose bellowings are still to be heard in a cavern of the Gandghar hills, north of Attock. Mánikpur is said to lie ‘west of the Jhelum’, and may be Manikía-la.

His pedigree is:—

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<tr>
<th>Queen</th>
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<td>Ichhrán</td>
<td>Sálváhana</td>
<td>Lúnán</td>
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| Páran Bhagat, | Rasálú | Kokilán |
| ancestor of the | | |
| Sánal Játs. | | |

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<th>Janra</th>
<th>Üboh, founder of Abhóvar.</th>
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or, according to another legend, a sweeper by whom she became the mother of Teo, Geo, Seo and Karrñ—a ancestors of the Tiwánas, Ghebas, Síáls and Karrns: P.N.Q., II, § 282).

It is however much more likely that Rasálú 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 Rasálú as a historical personage, to be identified with the Ranbal of the Muhammadan historians, a Hindu prince who opposed the Moslem invaders in what is now Afghánistán between A. D. 700 and 870. But hitherto no coins or inscriptions bearing the names of Rasálú and the legendary personages connected with him have been discovered. He writes in the Calcutta Review, 1884, p. 380:

“King Rasálú, 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 Rasdl'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 Rasdl, after a series of magical thunderbolts hurled at him by the giants, is found, shortly after, standing calm and undaunted. Hence Rasdl is considered as merely another form of the fables of Indra, Savitar, Woden, Sisyphus, Hercules, Samso, Apollo, Theseus, Sigurd, Arthur, Tristram, and a host of other heroes, with one or other of whom every country, civilised and uncivilized, is familiar. Again, one large class of the old nature myths relates to the fortunes 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 Akrisius: Oedipus, who smites his father Laius; and Rasdl, whose destiny it was to slay Salvahn his father. Again, like the early ideal of Samson, and like the later ideal of Arthur, Rasdl is the king of spotless purity. Moreover, as the sun dies in the west but rises again, so Rasdl, in common with King Arthur, is expected to appear once more.

"Then, Raja Rasdl 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 Phaethon, 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 Amphon and of Pan; but it is also the story of Hermes, Sigurd, Volker, Tristram, 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 Rasdl, 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 font at which story-tellers of all ages have refreshed their listeners' thirst for recitals of a heroic nature."

Puran Bhagat, also called Gyansarupa or Purakh Siddh Chauranjwennath, or Chaurangi Nath, is one of the guruis or hierarchs of the Kanephatta Jogis. Legend makes him a son of Salivahana by Rani Achhran and Raja Rasdl's elder brother. He is beloved by his step-mother Rani Lundan and is calumniated by her and has his feet and hands cut off. Thrown into a well at Kallowal near Sialkot by his father he is rescued by Gorakhnath, who has his ears bored and makes him his disciple. He revisits Sialkot and makes the deserted garden bloom again. He restores his mother's sight, which she lost from weeping for him, and promises Rani Sundran a son, giving her a grain of rice to eat, and returns to Gorakhnath. One version of the story makes Gorakhnath first send Puran to Rani Sundran of Sangaldip to beg alms of her. She would fain make him her husband, but he refuses to rule and even when bidden to accept

1 One variant makes Rani Lundan, a Chamar woman. Subsequently Rasdl, seeing the evils of marrying women of low caste fixed limits within which each caste should marry

2 Temple (Legends of the Punjab, II, p. 276) would identify Sangaldip with Sakala-dvipa or Shaka-dvipa in the northern Punjab. It would be the country round Sialkot.
her kingdom by Goraknáth he disobeys his gurú and becomes a Jogi, while Sundrán casts herself down and kills herself.  

As Chaurangi Náth Púran 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 Kála Mahál remaining intact, but no religious rites are performed in that building which is a small arched room with walls 4½ feet thick. It is said to have belonged to the Igal Pánth of the Jogis. When Chaurangi Náth revisited the place he established his fire or dhání and worshipped there for 12 years. Once a Banjára passing by said his load of sugar was salt. Salt it became, but as he repented of his falsehood, the saint made it sugar again and in gratitude he built a monument over the dhání. This building contains no wood, its walls are 7½ feet thick and its shape suggests layers of sugar sacks. In it a lamp is kept burning day and night.

Bisáde is said to have been a disciple of Púran Bhagat, and he has a very old temple at Báláná in Rohtak. Gharári, non-celebate Jogis, take the offerings. Milk is offered on the 14th sudi of the month and a fair held on that day in Mágh.

**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 turbans and present them to her. Then throwing the end of the turban round their necks they say: Chandaná, bhágí bhágá thand wartáán, te rotí kapra bahut devin. 'O moon, make us prosperous and happy, and grant us bread and clothes in plenty.' Then they exchange with one another the salutation 'Rám, Rám!' 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 Bhádon, a day called patharchautk 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.

The Moon became enamoured of Chalya, wife of Gautama 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. This occurred at Goindar in Pánipat tahsil where Gautama also gave Indra his 1000 eyes.

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

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2 Rohtak Gazetteer, 1910, pp. 63-4. A similar tale is told of the Ghasihi Pír (iš., p. 63), and a song sung to Báwa Pandít has the same theme.
3 Muhammadans do this and then throw the shreds to the right. They also toss a coin into the air. P. N. Q., II, § 254.
4 P. N. Q., II, §§ 255-256.
5 N. I. N. Q., I, § 87. It will be noticed that here the Moon is male.
faithful gifts of oil and iron. Saniçhar is the god after whom Saturday is named and the Dakauts receive their offerings on that day.

Those returned as Budh-worshippers may possibly be men with a reverence for Buddha, but more probably they refer to the planet Mercury, from whom Buddhir, 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 Paniád chiefs.

In Gilgit Grahn is a giant and a lover of the moon whom he seizes on the 14th 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 Síálkot 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, wásur, ašá and iil, which are called phíil-sák or bishkámár 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, Bhaddalí or Bhádáli, whose couplets are usually addressed to each other turn and turn about.

1 Or, in Gurgnon at any rate they may refer to the worshippers of the small-pox goddess under her name of Badbo.
2 N. I. N. Q., I, § 103.
3 Ghulam Muhammad: On the Festivals and Folklore of Gilgit, Monographs, Asiatic Society of Bengal, I, § 881.
4 Ib., p. 167. Appartrntly this is done once in every lunar month, not only at a lunar eclipse.
5 Princeps Siálkot Setl. Rep., §§ 128-9. Probably the people have no conception of any electric current at all.
6 See p. 184 of Vol. II.
Thus clouds and lightning on the 1st of the light half (sudi pritham) of Baisákh presage an abundant harvest as does the concurrence of Thursday and the asterism Rohini in the akha.itij or akh/litij the 1st Baisákh, on which date the accounts of the last harvest are settled.

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

If the full moon, púrnána (púranmásti) 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 Kritka be seen for an hour in Rohini i.e. if Kritka 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, Bharni gale, gale Jestha Múl,

Fúrbá Khúd dharúkin upje sáton chúc.

If Aswani and Bharni, which fall in May, Jestha and Múl, at the end of December and in January, all be wet and Púrváshádha in January be cloudy, the seven grains will flourish.\(^1\)

The following story about Venus or Shukar comes from Siálkot: — The Rikhi Prigugi had a son called Shukar and a disciple (sewak) named Bala Rájá. Bala worshipped God so fervently that He promised to appear before him and receive the pírthi dán (the earth in alms) at his hands. Shukar then told Rájá 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 Rájá Bal put no faith in what Shukar told him, and when God appeared he took up a lota to throw water on His hands and gave Him three kádamas of land in alms. Shukar then became a tiny creature and seated himself in the spout of the lota 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 sráp, 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’ (waútán dá tára). It appears sometimes in the west, sometimes in the east and at other times not at all.

\(^1\) P. N. Q., 11, §§ 858 and 709.
Meteors are hot coals cast from heaven at the devil who is always trying to ascend to it. This appears to be a Muhammadan belief. 1 A comet, pachhalwala lidra or dumdar si'dara, will bring epidemics or famine and if one appears subscriptions are raised to feed Brahmins and faqirs. 2

Lightning is attracted by black, so 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 Kansa, and was struck by her uncle, who cast her to the ground against a stone. She flew up to heaven, but has ever since borne enmity to all maternal uncles. 3

The whirlwind contains an evil spirit and to avoid meeting one you should say:—Hanumán Jodha, teri kār—'O warrior Hanumān! thy charmed circle (protect me).' Hanumān is invoked in the same words said seven times if you meet a bhūt, 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 Hanumān Jodha to serve you in difficulties. 4

Dust-storms are avoided by invoking Hazrat-Sulaimān thrice, pointing the while with the fourth finger to the direction you wish the storm to take. 5

The East wind or pūrwa comes over the sea and is harmful to mankind, though it brings more rain than the pachhwād or west wind which is land-borne. 6

When the earth is worshipped as Dharti Ma'at 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.' 7 The year's ploughing must not be begun on a Monday or a Saturday. A curious form of earth-worship is performed by dacoits, or apparently by any one in desperate case. When they are at bay they take up a little earth and scatter it on their heads. 8

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

1 P. N. Q., III, 4:5:3.
3 Ib., 3:36, 37. For shrines of the Māma Bhānuja or Uncle and his Sister's Son, see infra, under Ist Ar.
4 Ib., 3:33, 89. A variant is Bhūt Phera, teri kār, Bhūt Phera the number in the small whirlwinds so common in the Punjab. He is the husband of Devi and is represented as a disciple of Sakhī Sarwar. See Legends of the Punjab, III, p. 301, and II, pp. 104 and 106.
5 P. N. Q., III, 6:885.
7 Karnāl S. R., p. 186.
8 For a parallel in Europe see Whitehead's Gaspard de Coligny, p. 218. The German foot chose the moment of advance to mutiny for pay at Moncontour in 1668. When pacified they kissed the ground and swore to die with honour.
and penitent. It is meritorious to circumambulate the hill, keeping it always on one's right.\textsuperscript{1} The Kailás kund or lake is still held sacred because it afforded an asylum to Vásuki when surprised by his enemy Garuda. The Kailás peak at the source of the Sutlej and the peak of Muhn Mahesh, at the head of the Rávi, are both regarded as the home of Shiva, and the Gaddig land is Shivbhumi.

Earth worship.—On the 14th of the light half of Kátik is held the suryabhratri 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:

'\text{My lamp before: my soul behind.}
With my lamp before me, Rám will carry me across.'

Then in an adjoining field they set up a hut made of clods and worship in it a ghi-fed lamp. After this they return home, having performed a good work leading to heaven.\textsuperscript{3}

About 5 miles from Rawalpindi at the Chir Pahár there is a cleft which tradition says was caused by Rájá Rasálúd's sword when he clove a demon in twain. The mark of his horse's hoof is also there.\textsuperscript{4}

About 10 miles north of Rawalpindi is a famous Rámkund or Ráma's pool, with a Hanúmán kund, a Lachhman kund, a Súraj kund and a Sita kund, 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 Baisákhi at the samkráti.\textsuperscript{5} Two miles to the east of it is a Gupt-Ganga or silent pool in a running stream, which is also a tirtha. Such pools are looked upon as sacred to the penance of some rishi or saint throughout the Himalayas. Two miles to the south of Rámkund is Núpur Sháhán, where a Muhammedan fair is held on the 1st Thursday after Baisákhi 15th. Ecstasy and frenzy (háli) are not unknown on this occasion. The fair begins on the arrival of an offering of every kind of fruit in season from Pesháwar and cannot commence without it. It is held in honour of Sháh-i Latif Barri or Barri Sultán, said to have been a pupil of Sayyid Hájat-ul-Nur, Qádria. Barri Sultán 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 one by one at the spring.\textsuperscript{6}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} P. N. Q. I., § 199. Raldang = Mahádeo.
\item \textsuperscript{2} Ib., III, § 78.
\item \textsuperscript{3} Ib., III, § 482.
\item \textsuperscript{4} Ib., I, § 561.
\item \textsuperscript{5} Vissvanítra is said to have done penance at Rámkund, but the orthodox accounts of his penance do not mention the place. Another folk-tale associates it with Rija Min Singh of Ambar, but it is opposed to all history, though it contains much of interest as folk-lore: S. C. R., VIII, pp. 119-21.
\item \textsuperscript{6} S. C. R., VIII, pp. 121-2.
\end{itemize}
At the western summit of the Sakesar hill are some rugged rocks called the Virgin—Kunwāri, whose origin is thus described:—In the time of Muhammad Shāh Tughlaq, the country was infested by bands of ghāzis or jihādis who used to carry off booty and village maidens to their fastnesses in Afghanistān. Some of them visited Bāgh, "the garden," a village whose ruins are still traceable, held by the Tarer, a tribe now apparently extinct, and the Tarer 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 Tarers then scattered among the neighbouring villages.1 Ranithrod in Rāwalpindi owes its name to the legend that the Rājpūt women cast themselves over the precipice in the belief that their husbands had been defeated by the Moslems, and that their husbands on their return followed suit.2

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 Gurgaon derives its name from the tradition that it was granted to Drona Achārya, guru of Yudhisthira.3 But the best exemplar of this is furnished by the Kurukshetra, an account of which will be found in Cunningham’s Arch. Surrey Reports.

Attock (Atak) on the Indus means a stoppage, and various modern legends attach to it from Sikh times.4 Kōṭ Bīthaur in the hills nearby was Rājū Sirkap’s fortress, and by an ingenious suspension bridge he used to cross the Indus to visit a Fair Rosamund until fate overtook him and he fell into the river.5

The name Jālandhar, which is found in Kurram and in Kulu 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 Pāṇḍavas’ time Jālandhara, who reigned from the Sutlej to the Kāṅgra hills, founded it, but it was destroyed and refounded by a faqir Jālandharnath, in the days of Vikramaditya.6 Many myths are attached to it and its tanks, named Gūpha and Brahmkund. Rāhon was originally Raghpur, and possesses a Surajkund or sun-pool, and an old Hindu temple, while Nūrmahal was once a Rājpūt fort called Kōṭ Kahlūr or Ghalūr. It has a sacred well called Ganga.7

Another account makes Trigartta, Saukr, for ‘three forts,’ the country between the Sutlej, Beas and Rāvi, while Jālandhara was the portion of the hills over which Shiva threw Jālandhara to the

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1 P. N. Q., I., § 607. The Taror are probably the modern criminal tribe called Turch; see Vo. III, p. 453 infra.
2 Ib., III, § 101.
3 Ib., I, § 1068.
4 Ib., I, § 1029.
5 Ib., I, § 102.
6 Ib., II, § 293.
7 Ib., § 476.
Averting rain.

daityas and its seat of government was Kangra. Tradition also has it that Jalandhar was overwhelmed by a great flood in A. D. 1843.

Bhágau, near Dharmsálá, is so called because of the following legend. When Vásuki (Básak) Nág, 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 Vásuki turned the bowl upside down, and caused the water to flow out. This happened at Bhágau, which is named from Vásuki’s flight (bhág).  

Illiterate Hindus believe that sleeping with feet to the north is an insult to the deities as well as to the ancestors (pitrs), as they reside in that quarter. Literate 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 out of respect for 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 Devi.  

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 Jampuri, 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.  

Bánias 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 disperse not the clouds, thine the sin.’

Another prescription is to put a 1½ seers of rain water into a new ghara and bury it at a spot on 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 ghí and set light to them when clouds collect. After a while the light is blown out—and then of

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

‘Trigarta—as it should be spelt—cannot bear the meaning of “three forts.” It is a case of confusing the word gar with grh. The latter means “fort,” but gar means a small stream or river. According to Cunningham the three rivers referred to were the Sutlej, Beas and Ravi. Vogel says that gar cannot properly be used to indicate a big river, and that Trigarta more properly refers to the Banganga, Kurali and Nayaugul—the principal rivers of Kangra—which unite at Siba fort and flow into the Beas under the name of Trigdhal which is the same as Trigar. The latter means country or region, and is often found in hill names e.g. Kulata.”

2 P. N. Q., I, § 980.—Oldham records a legend which makes Bhágau Nág originally a serpent deity whose temple has now, under Brahmanical influence, become sacred to Shiva and changed its name to Baṅga Náth. The old stone figure of the snake still remains under a tree close by, but Shiva, i.e. a linga, occupies the temple.

3 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’ Symbolism of Churches, p. xcv.

4 B., IV, § 419, § 42.

5 P. N. Q., III, § 514.
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 loaf into the fields or place rice, sugar etc. at a cross-road, and then *bique consedens supra panem alvum exonerant*. Or they lay in wait for people on a dark night and *sereore advententes conspicuiat: necnon asinorum erga eodem purgamine ouerant*. These practices are said to be common in the Mánja and to occur in Ambála.

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 cowdung has been dissolved on an old woman, or she is made to sit just under the spout of the roof. In Kulu the *deotas* are directed by the Rájá to send it and they are fined if it does not fall in the time allowed.

To Hindus the rainbow is Rám Chandra's bow; to Muhammadans that of Bába Adam. But in the Punjab it is generally called *peká*, the swing or the old woman's swing, and in Multáni the *pingh* of *pingh* who is very plausibly identified with Sakhi Sarwar's wife. In Pashtu it is called the 'old woman's swing,' but in the Marwat it is called the bowl (kášak) and in Balochi *drínu*, a word of unknown significance.

The Milky Way is in Multáni *bora la ghas*, 'the path of (Noah's) boat,' but is also called Akás Ganga, or the heavenly Ganges, the 'white garland,' the 'gate of heaven' and 'Bhagwán's court-house.'

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

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1. P. N. Q., I, § 539.
2. Ib., §§ 578, 583. Ibhetson's explanation, that the use of *gái* instead of the cheaper oil and the waste of the foot are intended to show the rain-god that there is no scarcity, is undoubtedly correct. The god is supposed to be withholding the rain of set purpose and the idea is to show him that he has failed in it—so he might as well send it.
7. I. N. Q., IV, p. 471. In Sanskrit it was either Sakrachápa, or Indrachápa, 'Indra's bow,' and so on. P. N. Q., I, § 1058.
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. Faqirs are occasionally said to have the same power.

A goat is also a peace-offering, at least in Riwalpindi, 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, causingague. 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 suspicious, 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 Apapanthis, but it is not confined to them. Under the name of Bhagirath it is worshipped very often, and principally by the Os 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.

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* Ib., I, § 18.
* Ib., III, § 185.
* I. N. Q., IV., § 199.
* Ib., § 489.
* M. L. N. Q., I., § 591.
* P. N. Q., III, §§ 180, 179.

Maclagan says the Os often wear a black blanket, either because the Ganges has not flowed to the place where their ancestors’ bones repose and so they wear mourning till it does so, or because Bhagiratha’s father had sworn never to drink twice out of the same well, but one day he dug very deep and was buried by the well falling in on him—so they wear black blankets and bury their dead. Punjab Census Rep, 1941, p. 105. For a charming picture of Bhagiratha with Siva and Parvati, see Gomaraswamy’s Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon, Plate 76 and p. 98.

* Arranger of the Vedas and composer of the Puranas.
in Kulu where Moorcroft and Trebeck 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, Vyāsa. By its sides stood a smaller figure. Both images were much worn. The Rishi lived, however, at Vyās 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 lotha and loin-cloth which he had left there to convince him that the water was really that of the Ganges.

In the same way the Sarsuti or Saraswati river is not always to be distinguished from Saraswati, 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 Iudus—see Sewak Darya—and that of Khwāja Khizir is also important.

Dr. J. Hutchison regards the minjarā hā 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 Mahādevo, to whom are offered ears (minjarā) of basil. This mela is held on the third Sunday in Sāwan. 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 Rāvi 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 part of the dress and worn. This is called a minjar. 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, dūrub grass, and some flowers, and thereupon the live buffalo is pushed into the flood. The Rājā throws his minjar 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 Ibbas, common. Most members of the Fig tribe, and especially the pāpal 1

1 Journey to Ladakh, I, p. 190.
2 N. I. N. N. Q., I, § 862.
3 Chamba Gazetteer, 1904, p 191: see page infra, and also under cult of Mahā
and bar (Ficus religiosa and Bengalensis) are sacred; and only in
the direst extremities of famine 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 spicigera)
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 it as a rule that rags 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 un-
married girl can succeed in performing the marriage ceremony with
the object of her choice round a fire made 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 deodār worship of Kulu has been described.
Several of the Jāt tribes revere certain plants. Some will not
burn the wood of the cotton plant, the women of others veil their
faces before the ṛlm (Melia 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 Rājpūts). The Bishnodi also objects to cutting a tree
by a pool or to pruning or lopping a jandi (the female of the
jand) as its cutting would lead to bloodshed. The jandi and pipal
should be watered in Baisākh. Thāths 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 venera-
rates 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 unfor-
tunate as to kill a cbw 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
snakes, and he seldom has any objection to anybody else destroying
the wild animals which injure his crops. In the east he will not eat
meat; but I believe that in the Punjab proper the prohibition extends
to women only. The monkey and peacock are specially sacred.

Trees also have a kind of social precedence among themselves. Thus
the pipal is regarded as the Brahman among trees, while the siras is
regarded as the sirdār or head of all save the pipal by Jāts, and by some
Mahammadans 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.1

1 P. N. Q., II, § 1080. The pipal is also worshipped as the abode of the Panjpiri and
Nār Singh, and where there is no pipal the bar or banyan is substituted; ib., III, § 160.
The indigo plant is by caste a mehtar 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 kā ṭīkā muṣhe maṭ laonāṇa:* '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 pipal 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 Devī 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 kainth, 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 Banbirs—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 (Prosopis spicigera). Some families never put on their children 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 svāstika 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 gur and put on the svāstika. Mantras from the Yājurveda 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 sālu—like the only garment of very small girls. This may be done in order to disguise the boy as a girl, and the custom is said to refer to the extermination of the Kshatriya boys by Paras Rāma. 2

The áunála (emblica officinalis) is worshipped in Kātik and chaste, Brahmans being fed under it, threads tied round it and seven circumambulations made round it. As the pinnate leaves of the jand and its galls make it resemble the áunála it too is worshipped in the same way 3 At weddings its worship is widely practised, and in Musaffargarh Hindu bridegrooms generally and a few Muhammadans cut off a small part of it and bury it before marriage. Offerings are also made to the tree by relatives of Hindus suffering from small-pox. 4

The chiccha (butea frondosa) is sacred because of its use for funeral pyres 5

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2. Ibid., II, § 944.
The *tulsi* is worshipped among women by placing a lamp made of flour at its root and saying: *Tulsi dīva bāli, Māinūn mardī nūn sambhātā*: ‘I have lit a lamp for Tulsi and she will take care of me when I die.’ The *pīpal* is worshipped in the same way with the rhyme:—

_Patte patte Govind baiṭha, ṭahni ṭahni Deota,_
_Muḍḥ te Sri Kishan baiṭhā, ḍhan Brahma Deota._

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

And the worship of the *pīpal* 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 *pīpal* make a cooling medicine for children, and its leaves are a powerful charm in fever.\(^2\)

The *kikar* tree also has magical powers. For fever take a cotton thread and wind it in banks of seven threads from your left big toe round your head. Then tie these hanks 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.\(^3\)

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.\(^4\)

See also under Mahádeo, note 1 infra, and at p. 121 note, *supra*, under Pañjpiri.\(^5\)

Trees also play important roles at weddings and in connection with marriage.\(^6\)

A *babúl* (*Acacia Arabica*) or *lasúra* (*Coriaria myxa*) planted near a house will ruin the dwellers in it.\(^7\) Orthodox Hindus too will not sleep under a *babúl* for it causes sickness. Indeed it is regarded as a very Chamár among trees and its wood is disliked even for burning corpses. But Chamárs themselves use it freely.\(^8\) On the other hand, the shade of a *nim* 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.\(^9\)

In Karnál the leaves of the *siras* are especially powerful and after them those of the mango. They are hung in garlands with an inscription on a platter in the middle, and the whole is called a *ṭotka*. The *jaund* is also a very sacred tree.\(^10\)

1 P. N. Q., III, § 656.
3 P. N. Q., I, § 352.
4 *Ib.*, II, § 816.
5 *Ib.*, III, § 169.
6 P. N. Q., III, § 90.
7 *Ib.*, III, § 189.
8 *Ib.*, III, § 203.
9 I. N. Q., IV, § 118.
Besides the babūl and lasūrā the beri and arandi (castor-oil plant) are haunted by evil spirits. The pipal too is said to be so haunted and the kikar unlucky.1

The egg-plant, baingan, is unlucky and not eaten because its seed remains in the stomach for a year, and if the eater die within that term he will go to hell. But another version makes the egg-plant 2 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; to-day is the ikādshi (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 baingan released its captive. Fasting on the ikādshi was then unknown. The baingan is also said to be objected to for a prudish idea.3 It is also likened in a catch to a Malan, a faqir, with green cap and purple face.4

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. Rākhashas also inhabit trees after nightfall.5

The dāl of misūr or pulse is objected to because it resembles drops of blood and the carrot, turnip and other vegetables for prudish reasons. Jogis collect the herb called jari-būtī from the Dhāngir hill near Pathānkot 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.6

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 Bhārphuṇja or Bhujwā who are māhīpāpi, 'great sinners,' butchering the grain they parch. Indigo too is full of insects which are killed while it is rotting in the vat,7 and they will retaliate on the workers in the next birth.8

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.9 Potters too are very wicked for they make vessels with necks and thus impiously imitate Brahma's handiwork. They also cut the throats of their vessels 10

The cow is worshipped on the 8th of the light half of Kātkik, on the Gopāśātami, 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 (perū), her feed dusted and obeisance done to her with the prayer: 'O cow, our

1 N. I. Q., IV., §§ 42, 130.
2 P. N. Q., III, § 449.
3 ib., III, § 776.
4 N. I. Q., IV., § 69 (13).
5 P. N. Q., II, § 738.
6 N. I. N. Q., I, § 117.
8 ib., § 715.
9 N. I. Q., IV, § 120.
10 ib., § 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 is at once let loose. Bulls are let loose as scape-goats, the sins of their deliverers’ forefathers being transferred to them. They are called Brahmani.

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 ikadshi—11th of a lunar fortnight—nor can any corn be eaten on such a date.

A bullock with a small fleshy growth, called jibh 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 nadia, and must be given to a Jogi who takes him about with trappings and strings of courtesies 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 Ghazi Mard or Ghazi Mián—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 deotas are believed to be riding them in Kulu. The leopards always have three cubs, but one of them is always stunted and only grows up into the leopard cat.

1 P. N. Q., III, §§ 480, 837.
2 I. N. Q., IV, § 492.
3 Jb., IV, § 391.
5 The derivation suggested there is from mandid, the sacred bull of Shiva, but the word nadia may come from naddh, a whistle, which is worn by Jogis probably as an emblem of Shiva.—II, § 126. Nandia Jogis are found in the Central Provinces (Russell, op. cit., III, p. 262), but not in the Punjab apparently. For the nad of the Jogis see Vol. II, pp. 389, 399, infra.
7 I. N. Q., IV, § 196.
8 P. N. Q., II, § 1063.
9 I. N. Q., IV, § 188.
10 P. N. Q., III, § 390.
It is a heinous sin to kill a cat, for it is a Brahmani, 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 amāwas and kādshi 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 kos away, and their cry portends rain.

The garuda—adjutant crane—is Vishnu’s vehicle, and one should manage to catch a sight of it on the Dasahra.

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 Bānias’ wives who are believed to be specially liable to metempsychosis into crows, so the trappers hold up a crow in front of each Bānia’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. Hence kites carry off gold ornaments. And the best cure for weak eyes is surma mixed with the contents of their eggs and applied to the eyes.

The parrot is called Ganga Rām by Hindus, and Miñ 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 tītar and chakor, are averters of the evil eye. They eat fire at the full moon.
The dove is said never to mate twice, and if one of a pair dies its mate pines to death.\(^1\)

The paki\(\text{ha}, 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 a child that gnashes 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 châhêk.

Killing a pigeon is considered unlawful among the Kheshgí Pathãns of Kasúr. Some Muhammadans regard it as a Sayyid among birds, and therefore it is a sin to kill it—though it is lawful food.\(^4\)

The mahârã is a bird which causes múukkhor,\(^5\) foot-and-mouth disease, in Multán.

The malâlê, butcher-bird or shrike, is ill-omen if seen in flight.\(^7\)

The heron standing on one leg is the type of a sanctimonious hypocrite, so it is styled bagla bhagat.\(^8\)

Locusts go off to the east, when they die of eating salt earth.\(^9\)

The many-hued grass-hopper which feeds on the ak is called Rámjí kir-gacr or Ráin’s cow in Hariánâ.\(^10\) The little Indian squirrel is similarly called Rám Chandr ká 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.\(^12\)

Ants are fed in Kângra with five articles, called pânjírî or gullar, for luck.\(^18\)

Sir James Lyall noticed that the practice of beating 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:—Besh, Mahárâni, besh, aum loot aag jâni, Mahárâni ri drohi osi; “Be seated, great queen, be seated, and (turning to the bees) an appeal has been made to the queen against your going any further.”

The chhapáki 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.\(^14\)

Owls and goat suckers, ghugh, nilán, and huk, are all birds of ill-omen, especially the ghugh, which is called the Kirâkku shînkh or

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\(^1\) I. N. Q., IV, § 177.
\(^2\) P. N. Q., III, § 600, p. 143. cf. p. 151.
\(^3\) Ib., III, § 665.
\(^4\) Ib., III, § 750.
\(^5\) N. I. N. Q., I, §§ 75, 440.
\(^6\) Panjabí Dictionary, p. 608.
\(^7\) Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, 1883-4, p. 29.
\(^8\) P. N. Q., II, § 855.
\(^10\) P. N. Q., I, § 14.
\(^11\) Ib., III, § 40.
\(^12\) Ib., III, § 201.
\(^13\) Ib., III, § 278.
\(^14\) Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, 1883-4, p. 30.
'Kirârs' tiger,' from the superstitious dread in which that caste holds it. The chikri or button owl is equally unlucky, apparently on account of its ugliness.

In Muzaffargarh the kite, hil (Hindi chil), 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 methra or fenugreek (trigonella, foenum graecum) be sown before noon methra will grow, if after noon assân (brassica eruc). Under certain circumstances morhi (Ermen lens) turns into a seed called vâri. 2

The king crow, kal-kalchi, karichi or-karchhi is revered by the Shias because it brought water to the dying Imám, Hassan, and also because it is always astir early. Its name is said to be: with shâhân, chakki pi, 'get up, good wife, and grind corn.' 3

The galei is a larger lizard than the house lizard. If a woman touch one before she makes butter it will be abundant. 4

The khan 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 sikhân, is credited with restorative powers. 5

**Snake worship and the cult of Guga.**

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. 6 If you see a snake on a Sunday you will see it for 8 successive Sundays. 7

When a snake is seen, say Sayyids and other Musalmâns of high class, one should say bel, bel, bel, and it will become blind. The shadow of a pregnant woman falling upon it has the same effect. 8

A curious belief exists regarding the man 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 realisation of every wish. It protects its owner from drowning, parting the waters for him on either side. 9

Still stronger is the belief that lightning will strike a tree if it have a snake's hole (barmi) 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. 10

The Singiks, or Snake gods, occupy an intermediate place between the two classes into which I have divided the minor deities. They are males, 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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1 Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, 1883-4 p. 29.
2 Ib., p. 56.
3 Multâni Glossary.
4 Muzaffargarh Gazetteer p. 32.
5 Ib., p. 82.
7 N. I. N. Q., I, § 256.
8 P. N. Q., I, § 122. A snake should be called shes, ' tiger,' or rassi, ' rope,' never by its proper name.
9 P. N. Q., I., § 657.
10 Ib., I., § 897.
eleventh day after calving is sacred to them, and libations of milk are always acceptable. They are generally distinguished by some colour, the most commonly worshipped being Káli, Hari, and Bhúri Singh, or black, green, and grey. But the diviner 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 Rájá Básak Nág, king of Patál or Tartarus; and their worship is most certainly connected in the minds of the people with that of the pítr 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 Bhádon the snake is worshipped by all castes and religions, but at the end of Sáwan Mirási women of the 'snake' tribe make a snake of flour, paint it red and black, and place it on a winnowing basket with its head poised like a cobra's. This basket they carry round the village singing verses invoking Alláh and Gúga Pir. 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 Bhádon. The night before they set curds, but next morning instead of churning it they take it to the snake's grave and offer a small portion, kneeling 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.¹

That certain persons are believed to be immune from snake-bite is undeniable. Thus in Kángra 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 Gúga called Kútiári dá Gúga. 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

¹ P. N. Q., II, § 555. Mrs. Steel also declares that the Snake zôt or tribe is not uncommon, and that they are Muhammadans of Kasír. They observe all these rites also every morning after a new moon, and further every Monday and Thursday cook rice and milk for the snake, never making or using butter in those days. They are immune from snake-bite and if they find a dead snake give it a regular funeral. Possibly a sect of this kind exists. The Bangális claim the power of recognising disguised snakes—for a snake 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 are to be shown where treasure is hidden. This snakes will do in return for a drop of blood on the little finger of a first-born son. But see also III, § 416.
Snake-worship.

is a female and so they recover,1 but arsenic taken repeatedly is probably an effective prophylactic.2

That snakes hibernate appears to be recognised by the following custom: after the Diwáli in Kāṅgra a festival, called Nāg-kā-pūjā, is held in November to say good-bye to the snakes. At this an image of the Nāg made of cow-dung is worshipped, but any snake seen after it is called niṣagrā or ungrateful and killed forthwith.3 Many Hindus take a lamp used at the Diwáli to their houses to scare snakes away from them for the next six months; and the chuhrā sareh or churi-saroj, the fragrant Arctotis elegans, is also kept in houses to frighten them away.4 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.5

The existence of a two headed snake (dōvānka) is believed in and any person once bitten by such a snake will be regularly sought out and bitten by it every year afterwards.6 Such an experience confers immunity even from poisonous snakes though insensibility ensues.8 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 hāluā and is done in Kāṅgra.9 Pouring water and milk down a snake's hole is a preventive of snake-bite.10

In primitive speculation the snake was supposed to renew its youth when it cast its skin and so to be immortal.11

1 P. N. Q., II, 2995
2 Ib., III, § 175.
3 Ib., III, § 353.
4 Ib., III, § 176.
5 Ib., III, § 177.
6 1b III, § 634.
7 Ib., III, § 291.
8 Ib., III, § 452.
9 Ib., III, § 788.
10 Ib., II, § 672.

See Sir J. G. Frazer's valuable article on The Serpent and the Tree of Life in Essays presented to William Ridgeway, Cambridge, 1914, p. 413 ff. Support to his theory will be found in the following account of a primitive Nāg cult in the Simla Hills recently thus described by Mr. H. W. Emerson:—"In the remote tract called Tikrāl, which lies near the source of the Pahur, the people were warlike and ferocious down to a century ago. Their country is subject to a confederacy of five gods, called the Pānch Nāgs 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 aroused 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 parties are chosen 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 appointed day arrives. 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 assailants stand about 20 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 support-
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 spate 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 there 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 tedium 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 situated 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 pelt his adversaries they are themselves safe from attack and the other party must aim at the open window. Should no ball fall into the room where the deity reclines before the stock of ammunition is exhausted the throwers have to pay a fine of several rams, since their indifferent skill has then defeated the very object of the mimic battle. The god sleeps on unconscious of the efforts made to break his slumber and other means are taken to rouse him from his lethargy. Men creep up the staircase carrying trumpets and conch shells and when all are ready blow a mighty blast in unison. Others bang the door and rattle its massive chains shouting to the god to bestir himself. This at best is but a poor way of awakening the Nág, so annoying to the worshippers as the god. The latter would in vain sleep on, but if he has to wake—and wake 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 unseemly din outside his chamber door. So if the throwers succeed as they usually do in placing a missile through the window the omen is considered most auspicious.

They then leap and dance with joy, shouting that the god has risen from his bed. The fidei defensores, on the other hand, feign to be horror-stricken at the sacrilege, and pursue the culprits with a running fire of snow, cloths, stones, abuse and even gun shots. The chase continues through and round the village until at length a truce is called. Both parties agree to accept the ruling of the god and repairing to his temple consult the oracle. The spirit, refreshed and invigorated by the winter’s rest, descends upon the diviner, who shakes and shouts under the full force of the divine afflatus. Having explained the situation to his master he interprets the divine decision. This is always to the same effect. The Nág, while commending his supporters for their spirited defence, thanks his assailants for their kindly thought in rousing him now that the time of winter cold has passed and the season of spring time is 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 Kashmir and the many incidents which happened on the way. Then he foretells the future, prophesying what fortune will attend the rules of the neighbouring States, which crops will flourish and which fail, whether the herds and flocks will multiply, what domestic sorrows will befall his subjects, and in general whether the year will be a good or evil one. The announcement of harvest prospects and the interpretation of omens is a special feature of the oracles which often continue for many hours. On its completion the audience commence 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.
Nág-worship.

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 men 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, 1900, p. 30.

The Nág cults 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 Nág 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 devís are the deified 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 ruled. It is safer to regard both the Nágas and the devís 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 stouie 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 tirsul or trident, a lamp, an incense holder, a gunj or weapon like a sword, and finally the iron chain or saugal 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. Jágas or vigils are held in connection with the temples, incense is burnt and sheep and goats are offered in sacrifice. The pujára 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 offerer and his family or friends. Money offered is equally divided between the pujára 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 jágra or vigil is always held at the time of a meta, 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

1 The 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 cela 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 cela. The cela 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 dhuj. The image is inside the cela. The temples have probably remained much the same in shape and structure since the earliest times. Occasionally they consist of a small cela 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 ghi with which it is besmeared.

The rites of worship are similar at both Nág and Deví temples. Bloody sacrifice holds the foremost place. On ordinary occasions incense is burned, and circumambulation of the cela 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 pujára 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 sangal or tirsul 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
Nág in Chamba.

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 men or beast, also by individuals on account of any special circumstances such as sickness or for any family or personal reason. These are called jātra, 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 Nágas 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 Nág 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 Nág and Deví temples in former times. In Pángi and other parts of the Chandra-Bhágá Valley a singular custom obtains in connection with Nág worship. For a fixed time every year in the month of Sáwan, and sometimes for the whole of that month all the milk of the village is devoted to the local Nág and is then said to be suchchá (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 ghi is made from it, the butter-milk 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 Nág, some of the milk being sprinkled over it. It is also smeared with ghi. A final feast is held at the end of the month. In Pángi only 15 days are observed, and this only in the lower part of the valley.

Generally speaking, the foundation of the Nág and Deví temples is ascribed to the era of Rájá Músha Varma, A. D. 820-40, but most of them probably are of much older date. Three temples, two of Mahal Nág and one of Jammu Nág at Baini, are said to have been built in the time of Ráná Beddda.¹

Further the pujáras and chelas are most commonly Ráthis by caste, but, in a good many cases, only the pujára is a Ráthi, the chela being a Háli, as in the temples of Kálú Nág and Manovar Nág at Bháráram, Mahal Nág at Báthula, Nandyássar Nág at Puddhra, Tarewan Nág at Lunkh, Him Nág at Bharavin, Mahal Nág at Bairi and Bairo, Muthal Nág at Gulera, Nandalu Nág at Sirha, Suána Nág at Bharoga, Khul

¹A famous Ráná of the olden time who lived in Barnota pargana, date unknown.
Nág at Nabi-Bhuta, Parha Nág at Singaki Bani and Charas Nág at Tikri.

In some cases the *pujāra* is a Hálí, e.g., at the temples of Bhudhu Nág at Lamhota, Parbhut Nág at Andwás, Sri Nág Stulji at Sudlaj, Thainang Nág at Gund Rás, Kalan Nág at Khalandar. At Sri Potir Nág’s temple at Bhinan the *pujāra* and chela are both Kolis; at Kalan Nág’s temple at Chilli they are both Bhachhra Gaddis; at Handol Nág’s temple at Chandrola both are Batten Gaddis; at Sagta Nág’s at Bani Sagwari both are Sapahi Gaddis.

Brāhmans are incumbents of the following temples:

Mahal Nág’s at Bani (Brahmans of the Padhha gôt, with Hálí chelas), Thainang Nág’s at Dirog and Mahr Nág’s at Manglama (of the Kalián gôt, also chelas), Mahal Nág’s at Jamohar (of the Kalián with Hálí chelas), at Thainang Nág’s temple at Kharont (of the Ratan Pál gôt with Ráthi chelas), at Thainang Nág’s temple at Bahnota (of the Kalián gôt also chelas), at Ham Nág’s at Talhána (of the Káshab gôt, also chelas); at Nág Belodar’s and Mahal Nág’s at Jangal Bani (of the Kalián gôt, also chelas); at Sindhu Nág’s at Sundhár (Gaur Brahmanes, also chelas), at Bajog Nág’s at Sirba (Gaur Brahmanes, also chelas), at Balodar’s at Badruni the *pujāra* is a Kandu Brahman, at Mahal Nág’s at Talai he is a Tharatu Brahman, at Karangar Nág’s in Sanaur he is a Lecha Brahman, with a Ráthi chela, at Sudhun Nág’s in Suri a Kalián, also with a Ráthi chela, at Sar Nág’s in Sarsara he is a Káshab, at Jamun Nág’s at Bani Jamuhr he is a Kalián with a Ráthi chela, and at Ráh Nág’s temple in Rah he is a Káshab with a Hálí chela.

In Pángi Brahman *pujāras* officiate at the shrines of Mindhal Kantu Nág at Re, and Markula Deví at Tindi and Udaipur: Ránás are the *pujāras* at Kilár and Sálhi, and Ráthis with Hálí chelas at all the other shrines.

The following is a list of the principal Nág’s worshipped in Churáh and the northern portion of the Sadr *wikrat*, with the name of the village in which each has a shrine:

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<td>Balodar</td>
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<td>Súth Nág</td>
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</table>
The following are some of the legends associated with special Nāgs and Devis in different parts of the States—

Bāsak Nāg was brought from Bhadrawāh 100 years ago, because disease was prevalent among the cattle of the State. Bāsak Nāg and Nāguī were also brought from Bhadrawāh on a similar occasion, and Digghu Nāg from Pāngi.

Indru Nāg derives his name from Indra. Tradition says that a Rānā from Suket came to Kanyāra in Kānga, thence to Korrāi, and thence to Sāmrā, the Nāg and his putāra accompanying the Rānā. The Nāg’s disciple, Dhanda, was drowned in Dalnāg, and his idol was also cracked in its temple. In one of its hands it holds a trident, in the other a chain, with which the chelas beat themselves.

Kalihār Nāg, his original name, now better known as Kelang, came from British Lāhul 15 or 16 generations ago when cattle disease was prevalent at Kugti, 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 Lāhul, and stopped at Dūghi two miles

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name.</th>
<th>Village.</th>
<th>Pargana.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parbhut</td>
<td>Andwās</td>
<td>Himār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stulji</td>
<td>Sudia</td>
<td>Lohitkri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deotān</td>
<td>Deotān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahr</td>
<td>Manglana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manovar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahal</td>
<td>Bakna</td>
<td>Dai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nundayāur</td>
<td>Paddhira</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bnjūr</td>
<td>Junth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thainang</td>
<td>Gungyās</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahal</td>
<td>Bhoras</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Baira</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thainang</td>
<td>Degarān</td>
<td>Baira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mubtal</td>
<td>Gulera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālū</td>
<td>Barīdu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thainang</td>
<td>Kharontī</td>
<td>Jassur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pardhan</td>
<td>Kundiāra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thainang</td>
<td>Bakota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Him</td>
<td>Talhānā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandolu</td>
<td>Sirha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peju</td>
<td>Baijouth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahal</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Kohāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balodor</td>
<td>Jangal Bani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahal</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhu</td>
<td>Sundhār</td>
<td>Tarīd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tono</td>
<td>Pukhrī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bajog</td>
<td>Sirha</td>
<td>Rajnagar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balodor</td>
<td>Baldarnī</td>
<td>Kharontī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahal</td>
<td>Talāf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barīnī</td>
<td>Barrūni</td>
<td>Dundū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karangar</td>
<td>Sinūr</td>
<td>Gudīāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadhuṇa</td>
<td>Sūlī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bheḍān</td>
<td>Ghat</td>
<td>Bheleī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Gand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahal</td>
<td>Jamchār</td>
<td>Band-Bagor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 Indr Nāg has a temple in Kānga also—see infra 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 Nág, through his chela, told them to cast a bháná 1 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 Padmásan attitude. Rájá Sri Singh presented a second image of eight metals (ashtadhatu) which stands upright, holding a lāthi or pole in its right hand. Its head is covered with figures of serpents, and it wears a necklace of chuklas with a japeo and taragi or waistbelt or pah (loin cloth), all of serpents. This temple is closed from Mágh 1st to Básisakh 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 Nág worshipped in the various villages of Brahmu and the southern portion of the Sakt viśārat with the dates of the fairs and vigils held at each, the castes to which the pujaaras and chelas belong, and the Rájas in whose reigns the worship is said to have been introduced:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name.</th>
<th>Village.</th>
<th>Pargana.</th>
<th>Date of Fair</th>
<th>Pujaaras and chelas</th>
<th>Founded in the reign of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>جادیا نّگ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāski Nág</td>
<td>Ser</td>
<td>Līl</td>
<td>Baisakh 4th and 5th</td>
<td>Sulāhi Sarsut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bījku Nág</td>
<td>Mālī</td>
<td>Mālī</td>
<td>Daljāra</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mūsha Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bujāra Nág</td>
<td>Trehū</td>
<td>Trehū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sīhil Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digghu Nág</td>
<td>Bargrān</td>
<td>Básmur</td>
<td>Nág Panchini in Hār or Śwan.</td>
<td>Parthan Gaddi</td>
<td>Umed Singh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guldhīr Nág</td>
<td>Pūlī</td>
<td>Básmur</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kāletu Gaddis</td>
<td>Sīhil Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indru Nág</td>
<td>Līmū</td>
<td>Chanotā</td>
<td>Bhādōn 1st</td>
<td>Luntelu Brahmanas.</td>
<td>Mūsha Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indru Nág</td>
<td>Kuwārī</td>
<td>Chanotā</td>
<td>Bhādōn 1st &amp; Aṣāuj 1st Do.</td>
<td>Prāṇghālu Gaddis, Hālis.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indru Nág</td>
<td>Tholtīa</td>
<td>Kothī Ranhu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jean Brahmanas.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 A musical instrument like a plate of metal, which is struck with a stick.
2 Sitting cross-legged in the attitude of devotion, like representations of Buddha.
## Nāgs in Chamba.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
<th>Date of Fair</th>
<th>Pujóras and chelas</th>
<th>Founded in the reign of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kailhār or</td>
<td>Kugti</td>
<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Sāsī (Điśat-treya gotra) Brahmans.</td>
<td>New.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelang Nāg</td>
<td>Chobhiā</td>
<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Sāṅhramantu Brahmans.</td>
<td>Sāhīl Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelang Nāg</td>
<td>Kugti</td>
<td>Asanj 2nd</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kālhi Gaddis</td>
<td>Sāhīl Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutherbu Nāg</td>
<td>Pālīni</td>
<td>Trethā</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Pānch-mi of Hār or Sāwan.</td>
<td>Sāhīl Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latu Nāg</td>
<td>Panjaī</td>
<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Baisāk 1st</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehal Nāg</td>
<td>Rāchnā</td>
<td>Lil</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Rāthiš</td>
<td>Mūśa Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehal Nāg</td>
<td>Būnīāh</td>
<td>Mahāt</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Jālānu Brahmans.</td>
<td>Mūśa Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punu or Ind-</td>
<td>Sutkār</td>
<td>Trethā</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Bhādon 1st</td>
<td>Mūśa Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru Nāg</td>
<td>Gawari</td>
<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Baisāk 9th</td>
<td>Mūśa Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandhola Nāg</td>
<td>Bāghā</td>
<td>Mahāt</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Baisāk 10th-13th</td>
<td>Mūśa Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamāsi Nāg</td>
<td>Sinīr</td>
<td>Sām r</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Rānās</td>
<td>Mūśa Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khugēhar Nāg</td>
<td>Shikronā</td>
<td>Bāsū</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Chāṭe Gaddis</td>
<td>Mūśa Varma.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following is a list of the Nāgs in Pāngi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dantī Nāg</td>
<td>Darwās</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Chaur Nāg</td>
<td>Parmaur</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasir Nāg</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Bamba Nāg</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beir Nāg</td>
<td>Sūrāl</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kidaru Nāg</td>
<td>Shor</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bīru Nāg</td>
<td>Kilār</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Mīndhāl Devi</td>
<td>Mindhal</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deb Nāg</td>
<td>Sāch</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Mīrkula Devi</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagosar Nāg</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kālkā Devi</td>
<td>Tindū</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pror Nāg</td>
<td>Helor</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Mīl Nāg</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mal Nāg</td>
<td>Katal</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Arvā s Nāg</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeryu Nāg</td>
<td>Gisal</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Nīletu Nāg</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīgal Panī-</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Mahāl Nāg</td>
<td>Bajān</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hār Nāg</td>
<td>Sāch</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Bhuṇi Nāg</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ketāsā Nāg</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Blaṣi Nāg</td>
<td>Sīlgrīon</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bīru Nāg</td>
<td>Sālīhi</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Rāṣhe Nāg</td>
<td>Margrāion</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakrūn Nāg</td>
<td>Macchīn</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Nīsār Nāg</td>
<td>Tunde</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donar Nāg</td>
<td>Helu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurn Nāg</td>
<td>Re</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kantu Nāg</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[V\]
The legend of Det Nág at Kilár is that he was originally located in Láhul, 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 Gaddi passed by, and, hearing the tale of woe, offered to take her son's place. He, however, stipulated that the Nág 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 Nág into the Chandrabhágá. It got out of the river at Kilár and being found by a cowherd was carried up to the site of the present temple, when 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 cedar trees at once grew up around the shrine.

Kathura Nág is a godling associated with pulse just as Sandhola Nág is with barley. The offerings to a Nág are an iron mace (khandú) a crooked iron stick (kundí), both of which are left at the shrine, a sheep and cakes, which are shared by the priest, the chelu and the worshipper and eaten.

**THE NÁG CULTS IN KÁNGRA.**

In Kángra where snake-worship is not uncommon Nág 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>Indrá Nág founded by a Rána of Ghaníára. The idol is that of his family god.</td>
<td>Jeth 1st</td>
<td>The image of a snake is engraved on a slab. A yag or a jagra is celebrated at each harvest and the poor are fed. A nagdehú is also observed at each harvest, and 16 goats are sacrificed at the Rabi and 13 at Kharif, adháús and jagfére being entertained. The ritual of sacrifice is conducted according to the behests of the chelas who go into trances and manifest the gods concerned. The Durga páf is recited during the Baurádrá festivals. The popular belief is that the prosperity of the harvests depends on this god whose displeasure is said to cause hail and drought.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In thána Ránítáál is a shrine to Nág Jamwálan or ‘Nág of the Jamwál tribe' (or possibly 'the people of Jamma'). At this snake-bite is cured and goats etc. are sacrificed. Besides Shesh Nág, who supports the world on his head, there are 7 Nágas, vis. Takshak, Básuki, Bajr Dánsan, Karkotak, Hemmálli, Sankhu and Kali Nág. The Nág Takolak plays an important part in the Mahábháráta and Vásuiki is also well known in Hindu mythology. Kali and Sankhu Nágas are found in Kulu. Vajra-damchána may be the Sanskrit form of Bajr

1 See Vol. II, p. 271 infra, for offerings to Nágas. Kailung Nág is also noticed on p. 215 infra.

2 P. N. Q., II, § 120.
Danshan and if so his name means 'he whose bite is like lightning.' Sankhu is also called Dudhia, the milky snake. He and Káli Nág are worshipped on Tuesdays, especially in Hár and Sáwan: they protect crops from white-ants and rats and are offered milk, honey, he-goats etc.¹

At the mandir of Naga Bari in Chatroli no fair is held. The temple was founded by Rána Kalás of Núpur some 150 years ago, but was afterwards built by Rájá Jagat Tani. He enshrined in it a stone image of a snake. It is managed by a Brahman pujári whose gôt is SapuJe. Fruit etc. is offered as bhoag morning and evening after worship and a lamp is lit every evening.

**The Nág cults in the Simla Hills.**

The deota Nág² in pargana Kandaru.—Nág is one of the most powerful deotas in the Simla hills. He appeared some 1500 years ago, at a time when three deotas held the part of the country which is now the Nág's dominion. These were Dadru in pargana Kandaru, Bathindlu in pargana Chadára in Keunthal, Malánshar in Madhán State (at Kiári), but their history is no longer remembered. The States of Madhán, Keunthal and Kumhár'sain had already established themselves when Nág appeared and there was a State called Kotti or Bajána, apparently in Kandaru pargana, whose rulers belonged to the family of Sirmúr. Some people say that the Bain Thákur family of Madhán having died out, a prince of Kahlúr (Biláspur), ancestor of the present chief, was brought in to rule over Madhán soon after Nág appeared. Nág's history is that five Brahman brothers named Kálú, Gájan, Moel, Chánd and Chánan once lived at Bharána, a village now in Madhán. Kálú, the eldest, was a hermit. Once a sádhu came to Bharána and put his ásan under a kelo tree, cooked some food and asked Kálú to eat it with him. He gave Kálú four loaves, of which he ate two and kept the other two in his pocket. At the sádhu's invitation Kálú stayed the night with him, and at midnight saw carpets spread before the sádhu's ásan, torches lighted and parts, Rájá Indra's dancing girls, come and dance before the sádhu. Kálú watched this with amaze, but before day-break the sádhu and all had disappeared. Kálú returned home, but was intent on finding the sádhu again, as he believed him to be Rájá Bhartari 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 Kálú 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 sádhu he fled like a mad man leaving his cap, topa, 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 sádhu Kálú flung away his clothes and everything he had on him one by one

¹ Kángra Gazetteer, 1904, p. 108.

² Deota Nág. 'This combination,' writes Dr. Hutcheson, 'must be wrong. The first name may be Devta or some such word, but it cannot be deota. The Devtas and Devis are quite distinct from the Nágas. A Nág therefore cannot be called a deota or devta.'
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 Kalū when he died became a sareli (a big snake).^1

This sareli devoured men and lived on Tikkar hill. It would wander all over Chadāra, Madhān and Kandaru—the then Kotī State,—until the people begged the deotas Dodru, Bathindlu and Malānsar for protection, but they declared weeping that they could not subdue the Nāg that had appeared in the form of a sareli. Such a terror to the countryside had he become that he would draw people into his mouth from afar with his breath. Hārtū fort was then in possession of Sirmūr 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, Kalāls, of Ke’tī village, volunteered to kill the sareli and collected people for the enterprise. They found it sleeping in a Nālā, with its head at Kelti and its tail at Khingshā, a distance of over 5 miles. It was arranged that one of the Kalāls should enter its mouth with an iron āmlār or spear in his hand, so that if the sareli shut its mouth the āmlār would keep its jaws open, and another man might enter its throat and thrust his āmlār 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 to pieces. Led by the Kalāls the people acted as arranged and the monster was killed, the escort from Hārtū emerging alive from its stomach. In the monster’s huge head were found two images of Mūl Nāg, as the deota had said. This image is jet black with a singhāsan on which the Nāg reposes, two Bhagwati Devīs sitting on either side with hands clasped and also on each side a tiger watching. One of the images in the temple is at Dhār village and the other is at Jadun temple in Chadāra pargana. Some say three images were found. Hundreds of people collected and Brahmans who carried the images fell into a trance and the Nāg spirit spoke through them saying that he claimed the dominion of the three deotas and should be carried first to Ki’āri.4 Besides others Pargi of Kelti, Moore Brahman of Bhrana, Faqir Pujāra of Jadun and Sadi Rām Pujāra of Dhār (Kandaru) accompanied the Nāg to Ki’āri and asked Dhonklu Chand, Thākur of Madhān, and his brother Kela to accept this new deota. The Thākur said that none but Malānsar was his god and that the image was nothing but a newa or pāp and so he hesitated to treat the Nāg as a god. The people said that the Nāg would strike like lightning. The Nāg then left Ki’āri but rested in a cave called Shungra near it until some three months later a man named Gori of Kharaal gave him ḍhāmpāp and ghi and thus encouraged Nag soared to the skies and a bolt from the blue destroyed Malānsar deota’s temple. The Thākur’s Rāni was distressed in many ways, his sons while sleeping were overturned in their bed and

^1 Sareli. In Chamba the word is sarel with the same meaning.

^2 This Kotī State should not be confounded with the present Kotī State near Simla.

^3 Some say that the Ḥaṭṭu men were not Bārd Bikh, i.e. 12 + 20 = 32, but Bārd Bikh, i.e. 12 × 20 = 240 men. Ḥaṭṭu is more commonly called Ḥaṭṭu or Ḥaṭṭu.

^4 Ki’āri was then the capital of the chiefs of Madhān State, Dharampur being chosen ater on.
rolled down to the *obra* (cowshed), serpents appeared in the milk and
worms in the food served to the family. *Deota* Malánsbhar confessed
that he had no power to check the Nág and the Thákur of Madhán was
compelled to acknowledge him as his family god instead of Malánsbhar
who fled to Pujarli where a temple was subsequently built for him. Nág
became chaiurikádeo, i.e. god of the gaddi and chaiur. Some people say
that it was after this time that the Bain family of Madhán was suc-
cceeded by a Kahlúr prince. When acknowledged as gaddi deota of
Madhán, Nág returned to Chadára and asked the people to build him
a temple at a place shown by ants. Jadun was indicated and here the
Nág's temple stands. It is said that Nág is not fond of gold orna-
ments, so he never accepts gold, but the two loaves turned into stones were
placed in the temple. Bathindlu *deota* was also forced to abandon his
dominions to Nág and he took up his abode at Chotha in Bhajji. Besides
the Jadun temple Nág wanted a temple at the spot where the sáuln
had appeared and Kálú had received the two loaves, so there, too, a temple
was built and in its enclosure stands the kelou tree beneath which there
was the dance. A fourth temple to Nág was built at Dhar in Kandaru.
Dodru *deota*'s temple which stood below Kumali village was destroyed
by lightning. Dodru fled to Madhán and Dobra is named after him. A
Thákur of the Sirmúr family ruled Koti in Kandaru, and his family god
was Narotu; a *deota* which had come with him from Sirmúr. Mul, com-
monly called Padoi, had also accompanied this prince from Chunjar Malánsa
*revur* (cave) near Mathiána. This Thákur was hard pressed by the
Rájá of Kulu who was building a fort on Tikkar, so he invoked the
Nág for help. A small *deori* (temple) had already been built at
Tikkar for Nág close to where the fort was being built by the Rájá of
Kulu, and Nág performed miracles which deterred him from building
the fort. The *negi* of Kulu used to go to sleep at Tikkar and awake to
find himself at Malag, 5 miles away in Bhajji. For some time a mys-
terious 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 Nág *deota* the Rájá's camp left Tikkar and returned
to Sultánpur in Kulu, the plank still sticking to his *negi*s back. Dis-
tressed at this sight the Rájá begged Nág to pardon his *negi*, promis-
ing to present him with an image and copper *nakúras* and also to
sacrifice goats to him wherever he himself or any of his *negis* passed
through the Nág's dominions. As soon as this vow was made the plank fell
from the *negi*'s back. When anything clings to a man the proverb goes
*Kalwa Nág re jan takhtí, "like the plank of Kalwa Nág." The Kulu
Rájá sent a pair of copper *nakúras* and an image still kept in Dhar
temple called Mán Singh (presumably the Rájá's name). When the
Kulu *negi* left Tikkar the Thákur of Koti afflicted Nág more than ever
and gave him a jágir in several villages. The name of this Thákur was
Deva Singh, but whether he was the Dothainya who came from
Sirmúr or a descendant of the Sirmúr Dothainya is not known.

1 Apparently this word should be *deorhi*, but that would mean a porch, not a temple.
2 But both *deor* and *devra* are said to mean 'temple.' The rest of this account is far from
uncert. We are not told the Kulu Nág's name. *Kalwa* derives his name from *Kalv*,
Balman, apparently.
3 For Dothainya (= heir-apparent) see Vol III, p. 11. It is the Sanskr. Dwisaníya (endct).
Devta Nāg has the following bhārs (servants), and certain Bhagwatis are his companions:

1. Bhūs (as he is commonly called).—It is said that Kālu, 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 Nāg 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 khīn at Loli he is given a khātu or sheep.

2. Khoru.—This bhār appeared from Khoru thāch (a plain near Rānipur, two miles to the east of Tikkar hill). Kālu had left something at this thāch, and it too turned into a spirit and joined Nāg when he appeared. This bhār protects cattle, and is given an iron nail or ring called kavalla as an offering by the people.

3. Shaka.—This bhār appeared from Shiva or Shabhog the place where the sareli had his tail. Some indeed say that its tail became a spirit called Shaka. He is offered a loaf by the people for protecting goats and shepherds.

4. Sharpdo is considered a low class bhār and worshipped by Kolis etc.; his spirit does not come into a Kanet or prajāra, but a Koli is inspired by him and speaks. His function is to drive away evil spirits. bhūt, pare etc. Nāg does not go into the house of any low caste man and so Sharpdo is sent in his place, Nāg’s kargi (iron staff) accompanying him. A loaf is given for him. When returning the Nāg’s kargi is purified by sprinkling on it milk and cow’s urine. This is called shajherna (making pure).

5. Gungi is considered a female bhār and her abode is at Dya above Bhār village. Every third year on an auspicious day (mahārat) fixed by a Brahman Nāg goes to Dya. A goat is sacrificed to Nāg and a cheli or kid to Gungi. She appeared at Dya from a hair which fell from Kālu or from his sweat and joined Nāg. She protects people from pestilence.

6. Tān is also a bhār: ae originated at Kiāri and came with Nāg when he was acknowledged by the Madhān gaddī. He also drives away bhūt, pare etc.

These are the six bhārs, but the other companions of Nāg rank above them in degree. These are the Bhagwatis—

1 Bhagwati Rechi.—A few years before the Gurkha invasion Raṅji of Bashahr came to Jadun and Bhār and plundered Deota Nāg’s treasury, some of whose images he took to Bashahr. Deota Nāg 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 Lāma Gurūs told him that his spoliation of Nāg’s treasury was the direct cause of his complaint, so he returned all what he had taken from the temple. Bhima Kāli of Sarāhan in Bashahr also gave Nāg a pair of chamba wood dhols and a karna together with a kālī shut up in one of

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1 No such word as kargi is traceable in Tikrām’s Diction. of Pahari Dialects. J. A. S. B., 1911. He given the schernu to purify. Shajherna = vitar karn”.
2 Raṅji wāstē commonly called Raṅji and great-grandfather of Rām Bahādur, wasī of Bashahr, who conquered Doda Kowar.
3 Karna = A long straight trumpet fluted at the mouth. Kāl or kāli = A small drum shaped like an hour-glass.
the dhols. When the instruments were put in Nag's temple they played of themselves at the dead of night. When people asked Nag the reason he said that the Kali sent by Bhima Kali sounded them. The Kali of Bashahr, however, could do no further mischief as she was subdued by Nag and hidden to dwell at Rechi, the hill above Sandhu, on the Hindustan-Tibet Road, where a chauntra (platform) was built for her. She is a kind of subordinate companion to Nag and protects women in child-birth.

(2) Nichi is a Bhagwati. She dwells at Roni in Chadara in a small deora (small temple) and lives with Jharoshra Kolis, but her spirit speaks through a Turi. Her duty is to guard Nag's musical instruments, nishan (flag) etc. If a Koli touches any instrument a goat is taken from him as a punishment.

(3) Jal Mata Bhagwati has her temple at Kingsha. She appeared near the water where the sareli was killed and is a goddess of water.

(4) Karmekhri Bhagwati came out of a piece of the sareli's flesh and her deora is close to that of Nag at Jadun. She also drives away evil spirits and can tell all about the lagabha (??)—the kind of spirit that causes trouble.

(5) Dhinchai Bhagwati preserves stores of milk and ghi. People invoke her for plenty of milk and ghi in their houses.

(6) Devi Bajhshi Bhagwati appeared from Ranipur where something fell from Kalu and became this Bhagwati. She protects people from famine and pestilence.

(7) Bhagwati Tikkar lives with Nag at Tikkar. Tikkar Nag is the same as Jadun and Dhaw Nag. This same Nag has separate images at Jadun, Kiari, Bharana, Dhaw and Tikkar. As generations have passed away, people now think each a separate and not the same Nag. The different paragnas each worship the Nag of their own paragna. People say that Kali left his tops at Tikkar and that it turned into this Nag. Dhaw Nag calls Nag of Tikkar his guru. Jadun Nag calls Dhaw Nag his dada or older brother. Dhaw Nag calls Jadun Nag his bhai or younger brother, and Bharana Nag is called by him bukhalen or brother. From this it may be inferred that Tikkar Nag is the central spirit of the other Nagas, because it was here that Kali 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. On the following teekars which are celebrated on Tikkar people collect at melas: (i) the Salokri in Baisakh: (ii) the Jathenjo in Jeth, when all the Nagas stay there at night and all the residents of the countryside bring a big loaf and ghi and divide them amongst the people. This loaf is called sauwa: (iii) at the Rihali, when 11 images called the 11 mitts are brought, the shepherds also bringing their sheep and returning to Dhaw at night. The pujaars feast the people and next day two images (kanari) go to Kamali village to receive their dues and two

1 This is the ridge which is seen from Simla to the north and from which the hill peak rises. The ridge stretches north-east from the Shili and between the two temples lies the boundary line, the southern valley being shared between Mahil and Kothi and the northern between Bhiriji and Kanheram. The boundaries of four States meet here.
images go to Neori village for the same purpose. These two images are
the Deo kā Mohrā and that of Mān Singh of Kulu: (iv) at the Nāg
Panchma in Bhādāon the observances resemble those at the Salokri:
(v) at the Māgh or Makkar Shānkránt when three goats are sacrificed,
one given by Kumhārsain State, one by the sāmundārs and a third by
the villagers of Loli. Deota also gives alms. One of the temples
at 'ālikkar belongs to the Kandara people and the other to those of
Jalun and Madhān.

It may be noted here that there is also a Nāg Deota at Kandi
kotī, in Suket, who is an offshoot of the Deota Kalwa Nāg. The
legend is that a Brahman of Bharana 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 akhat and warned by this miracle
they gave it some rice. At this time a bhūt 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 bhūt. The people built the Nāg a temple which had 11
rooms. Another Nāg’s temple stands at Hemri in Bhajji. 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 Dhāi Nāg slew a bhūt 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 Bhajji, 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 there-
on 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. Descend-
ing 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 gener-
ations ago. Another miracle is thus described:

Some people of Dhār who were returning from the plains through
Kunhār State halted at Kunhār for the night. As they were singing
the bār (songs) of the Nāg, he as usual appeared in one of the men,
who began to talk about state affairs in Kunhār. 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 (tikka) and vowed that if by the Nāg’s blessing he had a tikka
he would invite the Deota to Kunhār. The Rānā was blessed with an

1 Deo, i.e. Deota and 'ālik 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 Ráña was thus reminded of his vow and invited the Nág to Kunhiáir and it is said that one man from every house in his dominions accompanied the Nág to Kunhiáir; and the Ráña 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 kanartu mohras.

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 Dhár holds' from Kumhársain a jágir in Kandaru paryana worth Rs. 78-6-3.

Dúm Deota has a small temple at Kamáli in Kandaru. A man from Gathri 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 Dhali in Pargana Chebishi.**

Not more than 500 years ago there was a temple in a forest at Tilku, where the samindáras of Dhali 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 Shailla village and built him a temple. When Padoi Deota passed through this village a leper was cured by him and the people of Shailla began to worship him, so the Nág left the village and Padoi took possession of his temple there. But the people of Dhali took the Nág to their own village and placed him in a temple. Padoi is now the family god of the Shailla people and the Dhali men regard Nág as their family god. The Nág's image is jet black and a Bhagwati lives with him. A dhóla and a nákára are his instruments of music and he also has a jagnúth or small staff. He visits his old place at Tilku every year on the Nág Panchmi day. He is only given dháupápí once a month on the Shaktánta day. The Brahmins of Barog, which lies in another pargana, worship him, as they once lived at Khecheru near Tilku. This Nág has no bhor and holds no jágir from the State. He has no connection with Kalwa Nág, the Nág of Kandaru.

**Deota Nág of Dhanal in Chebishi.**

Another Nág Deota is he at Dhanal in Chebishi pargana. 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 Dhanal 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 Nág who wished to be worshipped. So the Dhanaí people began to affect him. This deota too has a dhól and karnál but no jagunth. No khin is given him. The Dhanal people regard Malendi as their family god yet they worship Nág too in their village, thinking that he protects cattle and gives plenty of milk etc. He has no bhor and holds no jágir from the State. The people of Kandarn think that these Nágs in Dhanal and Dhal are the same as Kalwa Nág. The spirits came here also, but the Chebishi men do not admit the fact. This Nág has really no connection with Kalwa Nág of Kandari.

Deota Nág of Ghunda.

Ghunda, a village in Chagao pargana of Kumhárain, is inhabited by Rájpúts, ‘Mians’, who trace their ancestry to the old Bairat family which once held the ráj of Sirmúr. When their ancestor came from Sirmúr they brought with them an image (probably of their family god at that time) and made a temple for him at Ghunda. Nág, another deota at Gwunda, also resides with this deota of Sirmúr. This deota is called Shirgul. The history of Deota Nág is as follows:—

Many generations ago there lived in village Charoli (Kot Kháí) a Brahman whose wife gave birth to a serpent. This serpent used to come from a great distance to the Nág Nálí forest in Kumhárain and loved to play in a maidán near Köthi (in Kumhárain). Cows grazed in the maidán 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 faqir in Köthi village then determined to kill the serpent, so he came to the maidán 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 Bági (a village in Chajoli, in Kumhárain) and the third was taken by the Brahmans of Bhamra, a village in Ubdesh pargana of Kumhárain. Temples were built to Nág in these villages. The Ghunda Nág (though Nág is usually dudhadhári) is not dudhadhári and goats are sacrificed to him. Every third year a baltipaja melá is held, but no annual fair is held. The people of Ghunda, Charhayayna, Kotla, Köthi and Katali, especially the Kolis, worship him. Nág Deota has a grant of land worth Rs. 2-2-6 a year from Kumhárain.

Sharvan and Chathla Nág.

Sharvan Nág of Shoshan is called Sharvan after the village of Shoshan. The following tale is told of the Nág of Chathla:—

A woman named Bhuri of Machroti, a village in the Kot Kháí ilágá, gave birth to a snake (mág). 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
tilled 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 Mähon in Kumhárseain and was killed. She is worshiped there to this day. The snake afterwards settled in a ravine in Kothi, a village in Kumhárseain, and lived on the milk of the cows which came there to drink. When the *samindârs* of Kothi saw how their milk went, they cut the snake in three pieces with a sword. One piece fell in Chatbla village, where it was at once changed into an image, another fell in Ghunda, in Kumhárseain, and the third in Pál, a village in Balsan, and they have all been worshipped ever since.

**The Nâg Goli of Kot Khâí**

This Nâg 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 Sutlej, 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 jâg 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 Nâg 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 Nâg but he kept his possession of the image secret. In those days the goddess was worshipped through all the countrysides, 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 ruin of harvests and landslides until the people through the diviners discovered the Nâg'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 Thâkur's castle and township though perched high above them. The villagers' own god, preoccupied with the preservation of his own shrine, was powerless to save them, so they invoked the aid of Nâg, 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 Nâg 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 Ránsá of Kot Kháí 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 maund of barley flour. Goli Nág’s Brahman at once passed the test and him the Ránsá sent to plead his cause with the Nág. In answer to his prayers a great thunder cloud fell on the Kulu Rájá’s camp and a flash of lightning blew up his magazine. 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 Kháí 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 patronises 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 Thákur 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 Thákur 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 Thákur 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

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 lamas 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 unharmed. One crossed the pass to Pekian where it became warder of the god Chasralu. The second made its way to a neighbouring village of which it became the god, but the third elected to remain at Brua. 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 Maháṣu, and not long ago the people of a hamlet close to Brua 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 Maháṣu’s cult predominates. After his return this god’s diviner manifested all the symptoms of divine afflatus, and declared himself to be possessed by Maháṣu 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 Garhwal 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 gods 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 halt 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
se 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 Mahásu, are sometimes unwilling to accept a second place 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 comers, especially gods of position like Mahásu, are sometimes unwilling to accept a second place 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 comers, especially gods of position like Mahásu, are sometimes unwilling to accept a second place 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 comers, especially gods of position like Mahásu, are sometimes unwilling to accept a second place 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 comers, especially gods of position like Mahásu, are sometimes unwilling to accept a second place 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 comers, especially gods of position like Mahásu, are sometimes unwilling to accept a second place 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 comers, especially gods of position like Mahásu, are sometimes unwilling to accept a second place 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 comers, especially gods of position like Mahásu, are sometimes unwilling to accept a second place 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 comers, especially gods of position like Mahásu, are sometimes unwilling to accept a second place 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 comers, especially gods of position like Mahásu, are sometimes unwilling to accept a second place 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.

In the Saraj or highlands of Kulu we find Chamaun 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 dūdpar yuga and contains an idol of stone 3½ feet high by 2½ in breadth. Its manager is a Kanét of the Káshel got, but its pujári is a Gautama Sársut Brahman. This Nág seems distinct from Chamaun.

Badi Nágán has a mandir with a Sársut Brahman pujári. 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 Nágán had come from Patál and that the folk should worship her.

At Balugahar is a temple to Balú Nág and the following is the legend of its foundation:—Once a Brahman of Chatarká went to Mandi 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 Balú forest. There the child bade him dig and he did so, finding a black stone image in the sand or bálu. Then the child disappeared, but in the morning a Kumbár came to graze his sheep in the forest and to him the Brahman told his tale. In a trance the Kumbár 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 dūdpar yuga, contains the black pindi or idol dug up by the Brahman and is ministered to by a Sársut Brahman of the Gautama got. The appearance of the Kumbár (Shiva) points to a Shiva origin of the cult or an attempt to affiliate it to Shiva teaching.
Kirtná Nág has a mandir at Shiuli. He is called after the name of the village of Kirthá 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 Nág 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 pujári.

Járu, the deaf Nág of Pháti Túnán, has a curious legend. This god was born at Surápá in Bashar, the chief of which place had a daughter who was sent out 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 Nágs, 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 basket, but when she had gone her mother's curiosity overcame her and she opened it, only to find the nine Nágs which in her fright she cast into the fire. All escaped unhurt, save one whose ear was burnt so that it became deaf. The injured Nág fled first to Tárápur and thence to Khargha where a Ráná's cow stopped to give it milk. Then it went to Deohri Dháir 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 pujári is a Kanet, and its gur is specially reverenced because in his trances he gives oracles. Two fairs are held annually on the pūrnamāshi and naurātras in Chet. The former is held at Khirgá and the latter at Deohri Dháir. 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.

Sharsháí, the Nág of Sharshá, has the following tradition:—Once four women went to draw water from a spring called Náí. 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 trīta yuga. The idol is 2½ feet high and masks of gold and silver adorn its chariot. The temple walls are painted with pictures. Its pujári is a Bhárdwáj Brahman and only a Brahman is allowed to worship the god, whose gur answers all questions put to the Nág and is more respected than the pujári himself.

Danwi Nág of Danw, a village in Manjhadeshá pháti, Kothi Naráingarh, is a brother of Sarsháí Nág. Both have Kanet pujáris according to another account.

Pane Nág is also called Punúñ and Kungash. Once a Ráni, Bir Nán, wife of the Thákur of Ráníkot, was told in a vision that she would be blessed with a son if she built a temple to the Nág at the corner of a tank called Punúñ. In the morning the Thákur saw a snake swimming on the surface of the tank and it told him that it had come from the Krukhshetr, being of the Kaurava and Pádava race. So the Thákur
built a temple in which the Nág appeared of his own accord in the form of a pindi of stone which still stands in it. This occurred in the dwāpar yuga. The pujārī is a Sársat Brahman.\footnote{1}

The Nág Kui Kandha has several temples.\footnote{2} Sri Chand, Thákur of Srígarh, had a cow which used to graze at Kandha, but was sucked dry by a snake. The Thákur pursued it, but from its hole a pindi appeared and told him that it was a Nág, promising that if worshipped it would no longer suck the cow’s milk. So a temple was built to the Nág whose image is the metal figure of a man, one foot high. Its fair at Kui Kandha is held every third year on a day fixed by the votaries. At Srígarh it is held every year on a similar date, and at Kotá Dhár on any auspicious day in Jeth. It also has a temple at Kanár or Sríwálsar.\footnote{3} Its pujārī is a Bhárdawág Brahman. This Nág also appears to be worshipped as Kui Kandha in Shiogi. Its temple was founded by a Thákur of Katahar, regarding whom a similar legend is told. The pujārī however is a Bhárdawág Brahman and its gur is selected by the god himself who nods his assent to his appointment.

Chamaun Nág has a temple at Kaliwan Deora. The story goes that once a thákur, named Dablá, was a votary of Hansnú. 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 Brahmans and blessed by the presence of kelo trees. Accordingly it was brought to Kaliwan 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 pindi of the god. Its affairs are managed by a kárdár, by casto a Kanét. The pujārī is a Gauj.

The following are the dates of the fairs of the Nág deotas in Sárāj not given in the text—

| Chamaun Nág | Annual fairs are held in Chot, during the naudrás in Baisákh on the hídapti in Hár, on the nág panchmi in Bhádon, and in Mágah and Phágán. The practice is to choose auspicious days for the fairs. |
| Badi Nággan | A fair is held annually on 7th Baisákh and 15th Jeth. |
| Baldú Nág | The fairs are held on 20th Baisákh and on the puṣram. 8th in Bhádon every year. |
| Kirtha Nág | One fair lasts from 15th Poh to 2nd Mágah, another is held on 1st Phágán and the third on 20th Sáwan. These fairs are held annually. |
| Sharsháí Nág | The annual fairs are held on 2nd and 3rd Asauj and at the Dewáli. |
| Paneo Nág | The annual fairs are held on 2nd and 12th Asauj and on 10th Magh. |
| Kui Kandha Nág | The fairs are held annually on the sakrándás of Jeth and Bhádon at the Diwáli. |
| Shankhú Nág | The two fairs are held, one on 1st Bhádon and the other on 1st Phágán. |
| Takraśi Nág | The annual fairs are held on 1st Jeth, 10th and 12th Sáwan and on 1st Poh. |

\footnote{1}{Temples of Kui Kandha Nág are at:—
Tandi (in Plebi phāṭī), Natanda in Phati Lot, Himri, and Rama below Katebi, and Plebi Dhár in Plehi phāṭī: as well as at Shiogi in Plebi phāṭī, at Shagogi, Kotadhar, Srígarh, Madhehr, in Siungri phāṭī; and at Kui Kandha in Himri—Common to two khoći.}

\footnote{2}{Sriválsar is in Jalauri khoći and there is no temple there: Kui Kandha Nág used to go there, but does not now do so.}
Snake-worship in Kulu.

Brahman of the Bhandawāj gōt. 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 Baisākh, 1st Hār and on an auspicious day in Sawan

Shankhū Nāg or the Nāg of the conch has temples at Keoli Ban, Rahwālī and Rupā. Once a sādhu, who was engaged in meditation in the Keoli forest, blew his conch and placed it on the ground. Out of it crept a snake and told the sādhu that he should be worshipped as a Nāg. The conch forthwith turned into an idol of stone. The idols in Keoli Ban are two, one of stone 3 feet high, the other a stone pīndi only one foot high.

The Nāg Takrasi of Takrasi cursed a Thākur, so that he died. The Thākur’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 Thākur 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 Nāg was originally worshipped by the Thākur Sadhu of Shudā who heard a strange cry coming from a forest and going into it found a stone image which he brought home to worship. Its pujārī is a Kanet.

Snake-worship in Kulu.

In Batāhar village, Kothī Nagar, there is a snake deity called Bāsū Nāg (būsum = to dwell). The story is that the deōta Bāsū Nāg had a wife Nāgani, who, when near her delivery, took refuge in an unbaked earthen vessel. A Kumhār came and lighted a fire underneath it, whereupon seven young ones were born, who ran all over the country Nāgani then became a woman with the tail of a snake. The seven sons were (1) Shirgan Nāg or Sargun, who came out first (? head foremost, from sir, head), and went to Jagatsukh, as did (2) Phāl Nāg, who lives now near the Phāl Nālā; (3) Goshāli Nāg, lives at Goshāl, he is also called anḍhā or blind because he lost an eye in the fire, his other name is Gautam-Rikhi; (4) Kāli Nāg, who got blackened, went to Raison Kothī; and (5) Piḍi (Piλi) Nāg, the ‘yellow’ snake, was the smallest of all, and went to a village near Batāhar; (6) Sogu Nāg went to the Sagu Khol, a precipice near Ralha; and (7) Dhunbal Nāg (Dhum 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 Goshāli Nāg is also called anḍhā, the latter name seems little used now. The proverb in Kulu runs: Athāra Nāg, athāra Nārain, so that there are in theory ten snake temples in Kulu. Bāsū Nāg’s temple is at Nārain-di-dera, which looks as if Nāg were only another name for Nārain. On the other hand Sir James Lyall described Kāli Nāg as leaving a standing feud with Nārain, with whose sister the Nāg ran away in olden days. So whenever a fair is held in honour of Kāli Nāg the enemies fight on the mountain top and the ridge on the right bank of the Beṣā and the deodar grove at Aramag in the Sarwari valley are found strewed with their iron arrows.

1 Pingala, the yellow one, was another name for Nakula, the mongoose, the favourite son of Kubera by Hārītī; A. Q. R., 1912, p. 147.
Nāga in Gilgit.

Bāski Nāg appears to be distinct from Bāsu Nāg. He too had seven sons, by Devi Bhotauti, his second rānī. Of these six were slain by Bhāgbati and the seventh escaped to Kiāni where he has a temple and is called Kiāni Nāg.

Bāski Nāg had a brother, Turu 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 Kulu are Kāli Nāg Shīrār, Bhalogu, Phahal, Ramnūn, and Shukli. Another Nāg is Bhalogu Nāg at Dera Bhalogī Bhal. In Jalse Jalsū Nāg is worshipped with Jalūmi on the 2nd and 3rd of Sāwan.

In Suket Máha Nāg, the 'bee' Nāg, got his name by resuming Rājá Sham Singh in the form of a bee: Guzeller, 1904, p. 11. Other Nāgs in Mandī are Kumaru whose stone idol at āchan goes back to Pāndva times. It is said to avert epidemics. Barnāg is important in Saner: M. Mānī 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.1

NĀGS IN GILGIT.

Traces of Nāg-worship exist in Gilgit in the Nagis. One of these goddesses was Nāgi Suchemi who had at Nangun in Astor a stone altar at the fort of Nāgishi 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 Nāgi's decision 'for some days' and if during that period the suspect incurred a loss of

1 The following are the dates of the fairs held at the temples of some of these Nāga:

Bāsu Nāg ... Nine days on the śuddhi of Phāgu, one day on the 1st Cheṭ, four days on the new year's Baisākh, one day in Assauj.

Pahal Nāg at Bharka Dera ... 16th of the lunar month of Baisākh.

Kāli Nāg at Dera Kal Nāg ... 1st to 4th Assauj and Maghar, and on the 3rd, 5th and 7th of the light half of Sāwan and Bhādon.

Kāli Nāg at Matiera in K. Har Khāndi ... 4th Baisākh, besides a yag on 1st Bhādon.

Kāli Nāg Shīrār at Kat Kāli Nāg ... (1) 1st of nawātā in the light half of Cheṭ, (2) light half of Jeṭh, (3) a yag (Naruedh) is performed every third year in the light half of Sāwan (4) 1st of Māgh, (5) 1st of Phāgu, (6) 1st of Cheṭ.

Pilī Nāg at Batāhār Dera in K. Nagar ... 1st of Phāgu, 1st day of Phāgu and 1st of Cheṭ, four days in the light half of Cheṭ at the beginning of the new year

Sargun Nāg ... 31st Bhādon to 2nd Assauj.

Bandum Nāg at Kehli Aga ... 1st to 3rd Cheṭ, 31st Sāwan to 3rd Bhādon and 1st to 3rd Assauj.

Shukli Nāg at Nauda Dera ... 1st to 3rd Assauj and for two days from full moon day of Maghar.

*P. N. Q., III, § 477.
any kind he was adjudged guilty.¹ Nagi Sochemi’s sister is Sri Kun and she lived at Shankank near Godai in Astor. To her the villagers used to present goats 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

Nág-worship was also known in ancient Buner. Hiüan-Tsang mentions the “dragon lake” on the mountain Lan-po-lo—which probably lay 4 or 5 miles north of Manglaur.³ Legend connected it with a saint Sákya who married the dragon or Nág’s daughter and founded an ex-royal house of Udyána.⁴

Near Manglaur also lay a lake worshipped as the habitation of a miracle-working Nága King, in whom must be recognised the Nága Apalála, tutelary deity of Udyána, and whose legend is connected with the source of the Swát river.⁵

**Gúga as a Snake-God.**

Under serpent-worship may be classed the cult of Gúga but for no better reason than that he has a peculiar power of curing snake-bite. Of him Ibhetson⁶ wrote as Gúga Pír, also called Záhir Pír the ‘Saint Apparent,’ or Bágárwála, he of the Bágár, from the fact that his grave is near Dadrewa in Bíkáné, and that he is said to have ruled over the northern part of the Bágár or great prairies of Northern Rájpútána. He flourished about the middle of the 12th century. He is really a Hindu, and his proper name is Gúga Bír or Gúga the Hero (cf.วร Latin). But Musalmáns also flock to his shrine, and his name has been altered to Gúga Pír or Saint Gúga, while 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 chhári 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 Jogris 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 Kängra hills. There is a famous equestrian statue of him on the rock of Mandor, the ancient capital of Jodhpur.

In Hissir he appears to be also worshipped, at Karangánwáli and Kagdána, under the name of Rám Dewa. Fairs are held at those places on Mág’s 10th. The legend is that Rám Dewa, a Bágár, disappeared into the earth alive seated on his horse and he is still depicted on horse back. His cult, once confined to the Bágris, has now been adopted by the Játs, and Brahmans and the pujáris at these two temples belong to those castes respectively:

¹ Oholam Muhammad, *On the Festivals and Folklore of Gúga*, Asiatic Society of Bengal’s Monographs, I, p. 103. The account is a little vague. Suchomi or Sochemi may derive her name from such, ‘true’, or ‘truth disclosing.’

² 18., p. 111.

³ Sir Harold Deane, *Notes on Udyána*, I. L. A. S., 1:86, p. 681; the Saidgai is probably meant.

⁴ Sir Auriel Stein, *Serindia*, p. 176.

⁵ 18., p. 15.

⁶ 18., p. 223.
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:

Sawalal, sister of Jewar, brother of Newab.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gúga</th>
<th>Arjan</th>
<th>Surjan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bakha, sister of Kachha</td>
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Suril or Seral, daughter of Singha, Rája of Kámarúp (Kararu Des) 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 Bágar country.

Beginning with an invocation to Sárad or Saraswatí this play opens with a dialogue between Jewar and his queen Bákhal, who lament that they have no children. Their family priest, Raudít Rangachár, 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 Gorakhanáth, the saint, and Jewar goes to see him, while Bákhal sends her maid to find out what has caused all the excitement. The maid, Híra Déi, hears that it is due to the arrival of Gorakhanáth from the door-keeper, and takes Bákhal to visit the saint.

The plot here is obscure. Bákhal begs the saint to vouchsafe her a son, but he makes no promise, and the scene changes abruptly. Káchhal, who is undoubtedly Bákhal’s sister, enters and conspires with her slave-girl to visit the saint too. But when she goes to Gorakhanáth, 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 Bákhal is meant—on page 136 of the text. However this may be, Bákhal 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 Bákhal appears and receives a promise that she
too shall have a son, but the saint curses Káchhal for her deceit, and declares that she shall die at the birth of her twins, and that they shall only live 12 years. Káchhal 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 Káchhal is Báchhal’s co-wife, and this appears to be by far the commonest version. But in another account I find Káchhal represented as the wife of Newar, brother of Jewar. This idea I believe to be a late addition to the story, but that is a point for further discussion.

Káchhal’s conduct is much more lucidly set forth in other versions. According to them she learns that the saint has given Báchhal 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 Báchhal 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 Jewar’s sister, Sabír Deí, by name, makes mischief. She poisons Jewar’s mind against his wife, and eventually he sends her away to her father’s house at Ghazni.¹ On the road the cart, in which Báchhal 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.

Gúga now makes himself heard, and his power over snakes felt, though he has yet to be born. Báchhal weeping at the loss of the oxen falls asleep, and in a dream Gúga directs her to cut a branch from a vín tree, and calling on Gorakhnáth to heal the oxen. On awaking Báchhal does so, prays to Gorakhnáth, 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 Báchhal goes on to Gajní 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, Gúga is not yet born. Gúga 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.² He implores them to show his father some great miracle in order that he may take back his mother.

¹ Gajní or Gajnipar, the ancient name of Rawalnádi, may be indicated; not Ghazni—which was then Muhámmadán.

² Dr. Hutchinson notes:— The explanation probably is that from ancient times till quite recently no Rájput maiden 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 10 or 15 years chiefly, I believe, on the initiative of the Mahárája of Kashmir. Even at the wedding in November 1915 the Mahárája 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 Chambí State as well as the general company of wedding guests.”
Again we have an abrupt change of scene, and find ourselves back in Jewar's palace. Jewar laments his harshness towards Bāchhal, and his wazīr advises him to depute him to fetch her back. The wazīr sets out to Gajnī, where he is met by the king Chandarbhān, who, we thus learn, is Bāchhal's father, and Jewar takes Bāchhal 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 Jewar's capital, a place called Gard Darēra later on in the poem, Gūga is at last born at midnight on the 8th-9th of Bāhdōn. Pandit Rangachār thinks this an auspicious date, and avers that Gūga's votaries will use fans of flowers and blue flags, which they of course do, and all the land of Bāgar rejoiced. Rājā Jewar bids his wazīr acknowledge Gūga as his heir by putting on him the sign of royalty, although Kāchhal's twins had presumably been born before Gūga. However this may be, I take it that by putting on the sign of royalty can only be meant the mark which would make Gūga the tīka or heir-apparent to Jewar. But it is important to note that Jewar for some reason or other hesitates to make this order, and after Gūga's birth two months elapse before he is thus recognized.

A considerable period, nearly 12 years at least, now elapses, and in the next scene we find Gūga out hunting. Tortured by the heat he rises 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. Gūga, vexed at her refusal, invokes Gorakhnāth and shoots an arrow, whereby he breaks both the Brahman woman's pitchers, so that the water drenches her body.¹ Weeping, she curses Gūga, and his children, but Bāchhal endeavours to atone for the insult. Why the insult was such an inexpiable one is not clear.

Again the scene changes and we see Rājā Sanjā send out a priest to find a match for his daughter Chhariyāl or Siriāl as she is more usually called. This priest, Gunman by name, comes to Jewar's city and solicits Gūga's hand in due form, which is bestowed on Chhariyāl. But at this point Bāchhal breaks in with a lament for the ill-timed death of Jewar, and on hearing of that event Rājā Sanjā, in alarm at evil omen, breaks off the engagement.

Bāchhal is greatly distressed at this breach of faith, and on learning the cause of her grief Gūga goes to the forest, and there sings the mode of defiance and war. His flute-playing charms the beasts and birds of the forest. Bāsak Nāg, the king of the Snakes, sends his servant Tātīg Nāg 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 Rājā Rasālu, who first breaks the pitchers of the women of the city with stones. They complain to Sālivāhan who bids them use pitchers of iron, but these he breaks with his iron-tipped arrows.—Legends of the Punjab, I, pp 6-7. Apparently a fertility charm is hinted at. Possibly a man who could succeed in breaking a jar of water poised on a woman's head once acquired a right over her. According to Arvam usage a share might he unmarred by his owner pouring over his head a pot of water, with grain 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 were examined before a fire and a jar of water. See Barnett's Antiquities of India, pp. 128 and 126. We find the custom again in the Dūm legend—see infra—current in the Simla Hills.
Gúga informs Tátig Nág that he is the grandson of Rájá Amar, 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 gúgal, bdellium, 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 Dhúpnagar, a place across 7 rivers, where Siriál, as she is now called, lives in the country of Káru, whose patron goddess is Kamachhuya, and whose people are great wizards. At Dhúpnagar Tátig Nág finds Siriál in her garden, and, assuming the guise of a Brahman, he gains access to her, then suddenly resuming his own form as 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 thence attempts to bite Siriál, but is detected by her before he can effect his object.

A maid hastens to inform Sánja of her daughter’s peril, and Tátig Nág, again taking the form of a Brahman, goes to the palace, where he asks the pànhári (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 Siriál recovers, and then cures her, taking a branch of the nim 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 Dhúpnagar in time for the nuptials, with an immense retinue which it almost ruins Sánja to entertain. Siriál 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 Surjan, 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 buried, only Musalmans being buried. So she advises him to go to Rattan Háji and learn of him the creed of Islám. Now Háji Rattan was a Musllman of Bhatinda, but the Earth is made to direct Gúga to Ajmer. This time Gúga, goes, meets the Háji and Khwája Khírz, the Musllman 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 Panjab purports to be a historical poem, though its history is somewhat
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 dharm ki mām, i.e. adoptive mother."¹ Do the cousins base 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,² 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 feudatory to obedience. Gúga, taunted by Síriáj, goes forth to fight, with all the ceremony of a Rájpút 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 Homeric combat, Gúga slays the sons 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 Prithví Rájá, Chaubhán, of Delhi, there ruled in Máru-désa, now called the Bágar, a king named Nár Singh or Már Singh (called Amar Singh further on), whose family stood thus:

Amar Singh  Kánwar Pál of Sirsa Patan in Bijnor.
[ | ]
Jewar    Báchhal.

Gúga.

As he had no son Jewar practised austerities in the forest, while Báchhal fasted and so on at home. Gorakhnáth, accompanied by Kání Pawá, his senior disciple, came to her palace, and was about to depart when Kání Pawá warns Báchhal that she may waylay him. Achhal, her sister, overhears this, and with her face veiled, stops Gorakhnáth when about to start, and receives from him two barley-corns, which she is to wash and eat at once. When Báchhal appears on the scene,

¹ Yet, we are assured, the phrase dharm lāp is never used for adoptive father.
² For the bháma bhai or earth brother in Karnál see infra, under fictitious kinship. A stranger might be adopted as a bháma bhai, but by so doing he lost all rights in his natural family.—Karnál Gazetteer, 1890, p. 138. The story points to a conflict between the agnicand cognatic principles.
Gorakh has her beaten, but Kangri Pawa protests, and induces Gorakh to go to Bhagwan, who says that Bachhal is not destined to bear a son. Gorakh replies that he is well aware of that, and that is just why he has come. So Bhagwan rubs some of the dirt out of his head, and Bachhal divides it into four parts, giving one to a Brahmani, one to a sweeper's wife, a third to a gray mare, and keeping the fourth for herself. All four females, hitherto barren, now become fruitful.  

Amar Singh's mind is now set against Bachhal, and he sends her to Kumhar Pala (Kanwar Pala?). At the end of seven months Guga complains that he will be called Nanwar, if he is born in his maternal grandfather's house, so he tells Bachal to make the crippled carpenter build her a cart, which is achieved.

On the road back to Jewar's capital, Guga makes Raja Vasuki acknowledge his power by performing kanduri, a form of worship to Fatima. Finally in due course, Guga is born as Zahir Pir, simultaneously with Nara Sinha Pana to the Brahmani, Patiyal Chamari to the sweeper, and Bachra, the colt, to the mare.

One day Guga goes to Bundi and finds Surail, 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 Surjan object that, owing to an old feud with his father, he cannot attend the wedding, but he declines. It appears that by this time Jewar is dead, and so Guga falls back on Gorakh, who calls him ' Kangri Pawa's brother, Zahir Pir,' an unexplained title.

After his marriage, while out hunting one day, Guga shoots a deer, but Arjan and Surjan claim it. Then they say that half the kingdom is theirs, because their mother and Guga's were sisters! They also claim Surail because to them Bundi had sent the signs of betrothal, and not to Guga, a fact not stated before. They then complain to Pirthvi Raja, and he sends an army to help them, but Guga kills Surjan with an arrow, whereupon Arjan cries like a child, and so Guga kills him too. On his return Guga tries to put his mother off, but at last he shows her the heads and challenges her to say which is which. Reproached by her Guga makes for the forest. In Sawan, when newly-wed brides dress up in their best and swing, Surail weeps, and Guga 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, pp. 185-40. 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 folklore 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 Mangeshwar from the Simla Hills—infra.

2 In which males have no part.

3 If the steed was Bachra, he was in a sense Guga's (half) brother, so by thy brother Guga means himself.
The Sirsa and Nábha versions.

But the guard refuses him admittance. Surail dreams that he has come, and lets him in, but he jumps his horse over the roof. At last one day Báchhal comes in and before her Gúga veils his face. As he rides off Surail overtakes him and seizes the reins of his horse. Then at last Zahir Díván bethinks him of Gorakh, and descends below the earth, at Zahir Díván ke náná ká ujará khérá, "the deserted mound of the maternal grandfather of Zahir Díván," which lies 9 kós from Núr and 27 from Hissár.

The Rájpútána version.

According to Tod1 Gúga was the son of Vachá Chauhán, Rájá of Jangal Des, which stretched from the Sutlej to Hariána, and whose capital was at Mehera, or Gúga ká Mairí, on the Sutlej. Gúga, with his 45 sons and 60 nephews, fell in defence of his capital on Sunday, the 9th of the month.2 Oaths are sworn on his sáká. His steed, Javádiá, was born of one of the two barley-corns which Gúga gave his queen. The name is now a favourite one for horses.

Another account from Sirsa gives the following as Gúga's pedigree:

- Umar (sic), Chauhán, a chieftain of Rágá in Bícáner.
- Jhewar × Báchhal.
- Ugdí-Gúga, who was born at Dadrera, in Bícáner about 50 miles from Sirsa, and who flourished as late as the time of Aurangzeb (1658-1707).

Báchhal served Gorakhnáth for 12 years, but Káchhal, her sister, by deceit obtained the gift of twins, so Gorakh gave Báchhal some gúgal as a special mark of his favour. Káchhal's sons demanded a share of the inheritance, and Aurangzeb sent a force to aid them, but Gúga compelled them to retreat to Bharera in Bícáner. Thence they raided Gúga's cattle, and the herdsman Mohán's wife tells Báchha. She rouses Gúga from his siesta, and he goes forth to seek revenge. He slays Arjan with his lance, Surjan with his sword. Javádiá, when cut in two, is put together again. On his return home Báchhal withholds water from him, until thirst compels him to confess that he has killed his cousins. Báchhal then curses him (which seems very unfair, seeing that she sent him out to punish the raiders). Gúga then turns Muhammadan, and sinks into the earth at Mori, 24 miles from Sirsa. At this place and at Dadrera fairs are held on Bhádon 8th-9th. Gúga 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 Nábha State.

According to a version of the legend current in Nábha, Gúga was born at Daréra in Bícáner territory; and was the son of Rájá Jiwar, a

1 Rájasthán, II, 413. For further data from Tod see p. 16 post.
2 A day held sacred to the manes of Gúga throughout Rájpútána, especially in the desert, a portion of which is still called Gúga-ka-thal.
Chauhán Rájpút. The story runs that Gorakhnāth came to the Rájá’s garden, where he lit a fire and subsequently bade his disciple Ogar take some bhābūt (ashes) from his wallet and scatter them over the trees and plants which had all dried up. The ashes caused them to bloom again. Jíwar’s queen Báchhal 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, Báchhal borrowed her clothes and went to Gorakhnáth from whom she received two barley-corns. She gave birth to twins in due course, but meanwhile Báchhal had to serve the saint for yet another 12 years, after which period he went in search of a son for her. With Śiva he went to Rájá Básak, 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 Rájá who foamed at the mouth, and Gorakhnáth promptly saturated some gūgal in the saliva. This gūgal he gave to Báchhal, 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. Báchhal in due course gave birth to Gūga, the Brahmaní to Nár singh, the sweeper to Bhajú, and the mare to a blue colt.

When Gūga grew up, the sons of his mother’s sister claimed a share of his father’s estate, but this he refused them. They appealed to the court, and a force was sent against Gūga. In the fight which ensued, Nár singh and Bhajú were both killed, but Gūga cut off the twins’ heads and took them to his mother. She drove him from her presence and he went 12 kos into the jungle, and dis mounting 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, Khwája Muhí ud-dín, Rátn Hájí and Miran Sáhib, appeared and converted him to Islám. Gūga 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 bādī Bhádon. Its guardians are Muhammadan Rájpūts, but Muhammadans are said not to believe that Gūga 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 kos from his shrine. Close by it is the tomb of Nár singh at which libations of liquor are made and that of Bhajú, to whom gram and he buffaloes are offered.

A NEW VERSION FROM GUREGAON.

At Darúherá in the Hisáś District lived Jewar, a Chauhán Rájpút of the middle class. He and Báchla his wife had to lament that they had no son, and for 12 long years Báchla served Sada Nand, a disciple of Gorakhnáth, without reward. Then Sada Nand left the village and Gorakhnáth himself came there, whereon Jewar’s garden.

1 Mr. Longworth Dames suggests that the prevalence of burial among the Bha món who are found in the very tract, the Bágar, referred to in the legends of Gūga, must be connected with the legend.

2 Other accounts make Jewar a king who ruled at Darúherá. A few miles distant from his capital lay the Dhaní Dharít or ‘grey land,’ a dreary forest, in which Gūga is said to have spent his days.
in which the trees and flowers had died of drought, bloomed again. Bāchla hearing of this miracle went to visit the Jogī who seeing a woman coming closed his eyes and remained silent. Sada Nand, however, was in his train and told her of his Gurū's power. At last Bāchla contrived to touch the bell which hung in his tent rope, whereupon the Jogī opened his eyes and asked why she had waited upon him. In reply to her petition he declared that she was not destined to have a son. Despite her disappointment Bāchla served him for 12 full years.

Bāchla's sister, Kāchla, was not on good terms with her so she disguised herself in her sister's clothes, and appeared before the Jogī to pray for a son. Gorakhnāth pierced her disguise, but nevertheless gave her two barley-corns to eat, as a reward for her long service, and promised her two sons. Kāchla now returned in triumph to her sister and told her that the Jogī was about to depart, whereupon Bāchla hastened to see him and stopped him on his way. He declared that he had already granted her prayer, and thus Bāchla learnt that her sister had supplanted her. Recognising her innocence the Jogī now gave her a piece of gūgal out of his wallet, saying she would attain her desire by eating it.

At the end of seven months Sawerai, Jewar's sister, discerned her pregnancy and complained to him of her suspected infidelity. Jewar would have killed her, but for the entreaties of her maid, Savaldah, who vouched for her innocence. Nevertheless Jewar beat her and drove her from his house. Bāchla then went in a cart to her parents' house at Sirsa, but on the way she passed a serpent's hole wherein dwelt Bāsak, the Snake King. Hearing the cart rattle by, Bāsak told his queen that in the womb of the woman sitting in the cart lay his enemy. At her behest he bade his parohit (?) bring Astik, his grandson, and him Bāsak commissioned to bite Bāchla. But as he raised his head over the cart Bāchla struck him down with her fist. Astik, however, succeeded in biting one of her oxen who drew the cart at the midday halt. Bāchla cried herself to sleep at this misfortune, but in a dream a boy bade her tie the dārdā on her head to the head of the dead ox. She did so, and this brought the animal to life again.

Bāchla soon reached her parents' house in safety, but there she again saw in a dream a boy who bade her return to her husband's house, otherwise her child's birth would be a disgrace to her and her family. So to Darēhara she returned, and there Jewar gave her a ruined hut to live in and bade his servant not to help her.

At midnight on Bhādōn 8th Gūga was born, and at his birth the dark house was illumined and the old blind midwife regained her sight. Jewar celebrated the event, and gave presents to all his menials. Gūga, it is said, in a dream bade his mother make the impression of a hand, thāp, on the door of the hut to avert all evil.

When he had grown up Gūga married Seral. His twin cousins did all they could to prevent this match, but NāSingh ṇīra and Kaila

On Tuesday, the 9th of Bhādōn, in Samvat 593, Vikramājīt, in the reign of Rai Pithora.
bhir assisted him. Another version is that the twins attempted to trick Ráyá Sindha into giving Seral to them instead of to Gúga. One day on his return from hunting he saw Narú, the wife of his parohit, 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 parohit demanded a whole village as his fee for services at Gúga's wedding. This Gúga refused, as he had already given the Brahman 101 cows, and on his persisting in the demand Gúga struck him with his wooden shoes. Thereupon the Brahman went to Gúga's cousins and urged them to demand a partition of the joint estate. Gúga 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. Gúga accordingly bade Narsingh bhir, his familiar, seize the twins and re-cast them into prison, but at his mother's intercession they were released. But Gúga having had Ganga Rám beaten and his face blackened turned him out of the city.

This brought Pirthí Ráj on to the scene with an army, but when he bade the parohit summon Gúga that mischief-maker advised the king to seize Gúga's cows and detain them till nightfall. Seeing that his kine did not return at evening Gúga mounted his horse and attacked the king. His forces comprised the men of 22 neighbouring villages together with Gorakhnáth's invisible array. Presenting himself before the king Gúga offered to surrender all he had, if any one could pull his spear out of the ground. No champion, however, accepted this challenge, and so the battle began. Gúga smote off both his cousins' heads and tied them to his saddle. He then drove the defeated king's army into Hisár 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 Báchla asked which side had won, but Gúga, parched with thirst, only replied by casting his cousins' heads at her feet. At this sight Báchla bade him not show her his face again. In his distress Gúga stood beneath a champa tree and prayed the Earth to swallow him up, but it bade him learn yog of Ratn Náth, Jogí at Bhátinda, or else accept the kalima. On the way thither he met Gorakhnáth who taught him yog, and in the Dhauli Dhartí the earth then answered his prayer, engulfing him with his horse and arms, or the 14th báds of Asauj.

A shepherd, who had witnessed Gúga's disappearance, brought the news to Báchla, who with his wife went to the spot. But they found no trace of Gúga and returned home. That night Gúga's wife cried herself to sleep and in a dream saw her husband, on horseback with his

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1 Two of the 360 disciples who accompanied Gorakhnáth.
2 According to one account Káchla, their own mother, is said to have died, whereupon Báchla adopted them both as her own sons.
3 Bách Bátu Háji Sálíb of Bhátinda, more correctly called Háji Abúl Rasá Bátu Tabriád or Tabarhindí.
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 Sawan all the women, dressed in their finest clothes, went to Báchla to ask her to permit Gúga's wife 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 Darúhera 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 wári at Darúhera was erected by the king.

In his Custom and Myth Mr. Andrew Lang remarks that there are two types of the Cupid, Psysche, 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 Langs 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 Kulu.

Gúga was killed by the norms. He will re-appear in the fold of a cow-herd, who is warned that the cattle will be frightened at his re-appearance, and that he must not use his mace of 20 maunds. 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 Záhir Pír and his lower Lakhdáta. The former is worshipped by Muhammadans and the latter by Hindus.

Gúga's pedigree in Kulu is given thus:—

Báchla, sister to Káchla.

\[ \text{Gúga} \quad \text{Gugri} \quad \text{Jaur} \quad \text{Jureta}. \]

1 Doubtless a diminutive of Jaur.
The two brothers looted a cow, called Gogo, which belonged to Brahman and this led to their fight with Gugga. In Gugga's temple (makă) at Sultanpur which belongs to Chamars Gugga and his wazir Tribal are mounted on horses and Gogri on a mare while Nar Singh, Kaila Bīr and Gorakñath are on foot.

**THE CULT OF MUNDLIKHA.**

The deified hero of the Mundlikh cult in Chamba is doubtless the valiant Rājpūt champion, Gugga. Chauhān1 who lived at Garh Dandera, near Bindrabān, in the time of Pirthvī Rāj, the last Hindu King of Delhi, A. D. 1170—93. Gugga is said to have fought many battles with the Muhammadans, and in the last his head was severed from his body, hence the name Mundlikh from munda head, and līkh 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. Mundlikh's death is supposed to have taken place on the ninth day of the dark half of the moon in Bhādon, and from that date for eight days his shrādha, called Guggnaih, is yearly observed at his shrines. He is represented by a stone figure of a man on horseback, accompanied by similar figures of his sister Guggari, a deified heroine, his wazir, Kailu, and others. The rites of worship are much the same as at Devi temples.

Mundlikh has a mandar at Garh in pargana Tīsa, another at Palewar in Sahu, and Gugga Mundlikh-Siddha has one at Shālu in Himgarī. 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 Shālu, Gugga Mundlikh is represented by the statue of a body of twelve. There are no incumbents at Garh, but at Palewar the chela and pujāra are weavers, in whose families the offices are hereditary. Gugga's chela and pujāra are Chamars, and their offices are also hereditary. The Mundlikh of Garh goes on tour for eight days after the Janam Ashtami in Bhādon. He of Palewar goes on tour for three days after, and Gugga's chain and umbrella (chhatar) are paraded through the villages for the eight days after the Janam Ashtami.

Rānā Mundlikh, otherwise called Gugga Chauhān, was a Rājpūt Chief whose kingdom called Garh Dadner is said to have been near Bindrabān. His father's name was Devi Chand and his mother's Bāchila. 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 Bāchila 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

1 Vide Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. xiv, pp. 81-84, and xvii, p. 159. Jaya Chandra, the last Rājā of Kanauj, was also called Mundlikh by the Chauhān bards. He fell in battle with the Muhammadans, A. D. 1194. Vide also Kāngra Gazetteer, p. 108.
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 tapas or self-mortification, in the hope of thereby having a son. Thus 12 years went past and Báchila was reduced to a shadow of herself by her austerities. One day a visitor came to her hut and announced himself as Jogí Gorakh-náth. 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 Rájpút 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 tapas 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. Báchila then went back to her palace and told her story which caused much rejoicing. Now Báchila had a sister name Káchila, the wife of the Rájá of Garh Málwá, and she too was childless. On hearing of her sister’s return Káchila at once came to visit her and on learning of the promised boon from Gorakhnáth she determined to secure it for herself, by personating her sister. Having purloined Báchila’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 Jogí, Báchila presented herself before him and craved the boon promised. Gorakhnáth, 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 tapas and continued it for 12 years more. At the end of that time Gorakhnáth 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 Nurya Siddh and Gurya Siddh, who began to worship the Gurú. Gorakhnáth then said “Why did you throw away the boon? You have done wrong, but in consideration of your great tapas it will begin a second time.” 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 Jogís or Gosáins.” She remained silent, and vexed at her reception and ordering a bullock-cart started for her parents’ home. Now her father was Rájá Kripál 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 Garh Dadner and Báchila 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 Gurgeri was also born to Báchila. Mundlíkh’s birth took place on the first Sunday in Mágh, and in the morning Báchila had a brother whose name was Pithoria (Prithwi Rájá).

The next event of importance was Mundlíkh’s betrothal, and this was arranged through a Brahman, with Surjila, the daughter of the Rájá of Bangála. Now Surjila had already been betrothed to Básak Nág, king of the Nágs. In due time Mundlíkh set out for Gaur Bangála with a large retinue to celebrate his nuptials. In his train were 52 Birs, including Kailu Bir, his Kotwál, and Hanúmán Bir with an army of 9 lakhs of men. In the course of their journey they encamped on the bank of a river, and great deal of smoke was observed on the other side indicating another large encampment. Thereupon Mundlíkh called for a Bir to cross and ascertain the reason for such a gathering. Kailu Bir volunteered for this duty. Mounting his steed Aganduáriya 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 Surjila, who had in the first instance been betrothed to himself. Kalihár said to Kailu Bir: “He will destroy Mundlíkh’s army, and first of all Kailu Bir, his kotwál, 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 Bangála and on arriving at Gaur Mundlíkh was met by a sorceress sent by Surjila to cast a spell over them so that the Rána might not wish to return to Garh Dadner (the reason of this presumably was that Surjila 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 Hanúmán Bir—who alone seems to have understood the real object—gave a cry and the garland snapped and fell off. This was done thrice, 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 Hanúmán was reproved for acting like a monkey. At this Hanúmán took offence and said he would return to Garh Dadner, but that it would be the worse for Mundlíkh who would have to remain in Bangála for 12 years. Hanúmán 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...
Mundlikh in Chamba.

indifferent to everything, while his followers being also under a spell were led away and distributed as servants etc. all through Bangála, 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 Báchila, regarded themselves as in a sense Báchila's sons, and therefore entitled to a share in the kingdom of Dadner. Just then too a wonderful calf 1 called Panch Kaliyání 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 Mahmúd 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 Báchila 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 Mahmúd 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 routed them with great slaughter.

On her return to the fort Gugeri bethought her of a friend and champion of her brother's named Ajia Pál, who lived on his estate not far away. To him she sent a message, imploring him to seek and bring back Mundlikh. Ajia Pál 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 Bangála, accompanied by 5 Birś among whom were Nársingh Bir and Káli Bir and two other Birś. 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 Ajia Pál. The spell was now broken, and on hearing of the disasters at Garh Dadner Mundlikh determined to return. The retinue of Birś etc. were all brought out and set free, and accompanied by his Rání, Surjila, Mundlikh returned to Dadner and resumed his place as Rání.

Mundlikh is said to have fought many battles, some say 13, with the Muhammadans, and carried the Guggiána duhái to Kabul. In the last of these battles his head was severed from his body by a chakra or

1 More probably 'foal.' The term panoh kâlyàni is applied to horses.
discuss which came from above, but the head remained in position, only
the line of the chakra being visible, hence the name Mundlikh, from
manda head and neck and likha, a line. Seated on his horse Nila-rath
he went on fighting, and behind him was Ajia Pál, who watched to
see what would happen, having recalled the dream he had had before
starting for Bangóla. It was believed that if the head remained in
its place for 2½ ghartis Mundlikh would survive, and 2 ghartis 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 pagri and looked
back towards Ajia Pál, whereupon his head lost its balance and rolled
off and he too fell dead from his horse. His death took place on the
9th day of the dark half of the moon in Bhádou, and during that
month and from that date for eight days his shrádha 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
Guyeri was allowed to stay concealed in the room in which Surjila was
waiting, and at midnight a horse's tramp was heard and Gugga dis-
mounted and came into the rooms. Gugleri 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 Gugga legend is current in the Chamba
hills, and it is noteworthy that in it there is no mention of Gugga
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 Gugga is indicated one of the Rájpúts
kings of the time of Muhammad of Ghor. The mention of Rái Pithor,
or Prithwi Rájá, the last Hindu Rájá of Delhi, makes this probable.
He reigned from A. D. 1170 to 1193. The name Mundlikh was
probably a title given to Rájpúts warriors who distinguished themselves
in the wars of the time. There were five Rájpúts who bore this title
among the Chudasama princes of Girnár in Káthiáwár, the first of
whom joined Bhima-deva of Gujrát in the pursuit of Malmúd of
Ghazni in A. D. 1023.

From the Cháuhán bards, who were his enemies, we learn that
Jáya Chandra Ráthor, the last Rájá of Kanaúj (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 Rájá of
Delhi he invited Muhammad of Ghor to invade the Punjab, with the
result that both Delhi and Kanaúj were overthrown and the Muhammadans triumphed. Jai Chand was drowned in the Ganges in
attempting to escape.
Tod says that Goga or Chuhán Goga was son of Vacha Rája who acquired renown by his defence of his realm against Mahmúd's invasion. It lay on the Sutlej and its capital was Chibera. In the defence of it he perished with his 45 sons and 60 nephews. Briggs notes that Behera (? Bhera) was a town in (on) the Gára (Sutlej) often mentioned in early history: it belonged at the first Moslem invasion to Goga Chauhán. The shrines of Gúga are called mári 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 Gorakhnáth, whose disciple Gúga was. Nár Singh was Gúga's minister or díván. 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 Gúga 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, bhála, as a mark of dignity and over the hoods of two snakes, one coiling round the staff. His standard, chhari, covered with peacock's feathers is carried about from house to house in Bhádon by Hindu and Muhammadan Jogís who take the offerings made to him, though some small share in them is given to Chúhras.

In Karnál and Ambálá Jaur Singh is also worshipped along with Gúga, Nár Singh, and the two snake gods. He is explained to be Jewar, the Rája who was Gúga's father, but the name may be derived from jora, twin, as Arjan and Surjan are also worshipped under the name of Jaur. A man bitten by a snake is supposed to have neglected Gúga.

By listening at night to the story of Gúga during the Díváli a Hindu prevents snakes from entering his house.

The following table gives some details of two Gúga temples in Káugra:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name.</th>
<th>Pujári.</th>
<th>Dates of fairs.</th>
<th>Ritual etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Gúga in Saloh, Páliamur thána. Gúga manifested himself in 1899 S., and the temple was founded in 1900 S.</td>
<td>Girth ...</td>
<td>Besides small fairs held every Sunday, a fair on the janamashánti in Bhádon.</td>
<td>The temple contains images of Gúga, Gúgri, and Gorakhnáth, each 8 feet high and mounted on a horse. A bhog of water and earth is distributed among the votaries.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Rájasthán II, p. 447.  
2 Rúgga' Farišta, p. lxxii.  
3 P. N. Q., I, § 3. Hanúmán and Bhairón's shrines are occasionally found together on one side, and Gorakhnáth's on the other: ibid., p. 212.  
4, Ib., I, § 8.  
5: Ib., IV, § 178.
In this district Gúga not only cures snake-bite, but also brings illness, bestows sons and good fortune. His offerings are first-fruits, goats, cakes etc. At Than Shibo the worship of Gúga appears to have been displaced by that of Rába Shibo himself for the faqir in charge lays the sufferer from snake-bite in the shrine, says over him prayers in the name of Bápà Shibo 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.¹ The legend also varies somewhat from those already given. The Rájá’s name is Deoráj and Kachla has a daughter named Gugri. Gúga is brought up with the faqir 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 Gúga’s return his sight will be restored. Hard pressed Gugri sends a Brahman to Bangáhal to fetch Gúga 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 Gúga 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.²

In Rohtak Gúga’s shrine is distinguished by its square shape with minarets and domed roof and is always known as a mári and not as a thána. Monday is his day, the 9th his date, and Bhádon 9th the special festival. It is generally the lower castes who worship the Gúga Pír. Rice cooked in milk and flour and qur cakes are prepared and given to a few invited friends or to a Jogi. The most typical shrine in this district is that at Gubbhána, erected by a Lohár whose family takes the offerings. Inside the mári is a tomb and on the wall a fine bas relief of the Pír on horseback, lance in hand. Inside the courtyard is a little

1 P. N. Q., 11, § 120.
2 Kangra Gazetteer, 1904, pp. 102-3. Guruknáth on p. 102 should clearly be Gorakhpúr.
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**Gūga as an ex-god.**

Then for the worship of Nārsingh, one of the剽’s followers, and outside the wall a socket for the reception of a bamboo with peacock’s feathers on the top. At Babrah one Sheo Lal, Rājpūt, has lately fulfilled a vow for a son bestowed in his old age and built a shrine to Gūga Pīr, facing of course the east, with a shrine to Goraknāth facing east, and one to Nārsingh Dās (sic) west towards the Bāgar.

In Gurgaon fairs to Gūga are held at many places, generally if not invariably on Bhādōn bādi 9th. His temple often consists of nothing but a mandāl or platform which is said to cover a grave. The pujāris may be a Brahman who lights a lamp daily at the temple or a Jogi who does the same. Offerings consist of grain or, at the fair, of paṭākas and pūras. At Islāmpur the temple is a building erected by a Brahman whose house kept falling down as fast as he built it until Gūga possessed him and bade him first erect the temple and then make his own house. These temples to Gūga contain no images.

But in Ludhaiāna at Rāikot, where there is a māri to Gūga, a great fair, is held on last day but one (anant chandas) of Bhādōn. This fair, however, is said to be really held in honour of Gūga’s cousin. North of the town lies a tank, called Ratloāna, at which ever since its foundation a mud hill has been built on that date and Gūga worshipped—owing, it is said, to the fact that a grove full of serpents existed there. The temple was built in fulfilment of a vow for recovery from fever. Once a snake appeared on the mud hill and at the same time a girl was possessed by Gūga and exhorted the people to build him a temple. Its pujāris are Brahman who take the offerings. But the temple fell into ruins and the fair has been eclipsed by that at Chhapār. The latter, also called the Sundakhān fair, is also held on the anant chandas or 14th Bhādōn sūdi. At a pond near the māri 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 cash (about Rs. 300 a year) go to the Brahman managers of the shrine, but Mīrāsīs and Chuhṛas take all edibles offered by Muhammadans and Hindus respectively.

A very interesting explanation of Gūga’s origin makes him the god of an ancient creed reduced to the position of a godling subordinate to Vishnu. A gana (Dwārapāla) of Mahā Lakhshmi was embodied as gūga.

1 Said to be derived from Pers. mdr, snake.

2 Called chauki bharvānd.

3 By Pandit Han Raj, Government High School, Jhelum, who also writes:—

“Folk-etymology makes Gūga a compound of gu (earth) and ga (to go), and says he was converted into gum 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 Gūga and consider the anant chandas and nāgpanchmi holy.” This may explain why the day after the janamasthmi Hindus of Pind Dāman Khān tie a yellow thread on their right leg and during Sāwan fast for one day in honour of Gūga. In the rainy season Hindu women in Jhang prepare chūri, grated bread mixed with sugar and butter, fill a dish with it and, putting some gur thereon, go to the Chenab. On an off heri (jujube vulgaris) bush on its bank they sprinkle water and place some chūri and raw thread at its roots with the following incantation: “Oh Gūga, 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 come in contact with them.
(the gum of a tree), and reappeared as Shesh Nāg by the auspicious glances of Gorakhnāth, who is known to have the power of controlling Gūga. Gūga is believed to guard hidden treasures. People sometimes offer milk and shurbat when he appears at their houses as he is believed to dwell in the sea of milk so when he thinks that Vishnu, Lord of the Kir Samundar, approaches he quits the place. He is known by nine names:—Anant, Wāsuki, Shesh, Padm, Nabh, Kambal, Shankhpal, Dharatrashter, Takhi and Kali.

Some believe that he who recites these names morning and evening is immune from snake-bite and prospers wherever he goes.

The classical story of Shesh Nāg is well known, but it is strange to learn that Gūga in the Satyug, Lachhman in the Treta, Baldeva in the Dwāpur and Gorakhnāth in the Kalyug are all forms of the same god. This accords with Dr Vogel’s suggestion that Baladeva was developed from a Nāga. The Bhāgaratas, like the Buddhists before them, sought to adapt the popular worship of the Nāga as to their new religion.¹

Sir Richard Temple regards Gugga as “a Rājpút hero who stemmed the invasions of Mahmūd of Ghazni and died, like a true Rājpút, in defence of his country, but by the strange irony of fate he is now a saint, worshipped by all the lower castes, and is as much Musalmān as Hindu. About Kāṅgra there are many small shrines in his honour, and the custom is, on the fulfilment of any vow made to him, for the maker thereof to collect as many people as he or she can afford, for a small pilgrimage to the shrine, where the party is entertained for some days. Such women as are in search of a holiday frequently make use of this custom to get one: witness the following:—

Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Gugga:
Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Gugga,
Sitting by the roadside and meeting half the nation
Let us soothe our hearts with a little conversation,
Come, let us make a little pilgrimage to Gugga.”

The Jain version of Gūga.

In the time of Nandibraham who reigned 2431 years ago Chand-kosia, a huge venomous snake, lived in a forest near Kankhal. Whate’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 Añtar Mahābīr Swāmī turned mendicant, he passed by Chandkosia’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?” Chand-kosia 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. Thenceforth he was regarded as a snake-god and wayfarers and milkwomen sprinkled ghṛt, milk, oilseeds, rice and lassi (watered milk) when they

¹ A. S. R., 190 S-32, p. 162.
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 Gúga.

According to the Sri Mat Bhágwat the rishi Kapp had two wives, Kadro and Benta. Kadro gave birth to a snake and Benta to a gaur which is the vehicle of Bhagwán. The snake, who could transform himself into a man at will, was called Gúga. So Hindus regard both the gaur and snake as sacred.
SPIRIT WORSHIP.

VENERATION OF THE HOMESTEAD AND ANCESTORS.—The earth (Prithi) is a common object of worship in the south-east of the province; but it usually appears in the form of Bhûmia, 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 Khera Deota, or Chanwand, who is often confused with Bhûmia, but who is said to be the wife of Bhûmia and has sometimes a shrine in a village in addition to that of Bhûmia and is worshipped on Sunday only. In the centre of the province the most conspicuous object of worship of this kind among the peasants is the jathera or ancestral mound; and the jathera represents either the common ancestor of the village or the common ancestor of the tribe or caste. One of the most celebrated of these jatheras is Kâla Mahar, 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 jathera is, however, often taken by the thek or mound which marks the site of the original village of the tribe.

The four deities Suraj-Deota, Jamnu Ji, Dharti Matâ and Khwája Khisr 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 Musalmân 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 Muhammadans. 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 Musalmân 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 Musalmân; 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 Bhûmia or the god of the homestead, often called Khera (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 Bhûmia of the deserted site. Bhûmia is worshipped after the harvests, at marriages, and on the birth of a male.

1 The sun-god, however, certainly had temples in India in ancient times. There was one at Taxila: Arch. Survey Reports, II, p. 114; and at Multan: ibid. V, pp. 115 and 120. Farâbî says the Hindus used to worship the Sun and Stars, like the Persians, until King Surâj (sic) taught them idolatry: Briggs Farâbî, 1, p. ixviiii. But in later times images of Sûrya or Aditya were rare: A. S. E., XII, p. 63. For the absence of roofs to temples to the Sun, see Sûra under ISLAM, hypostatical shrines.
child, and Brahmans 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 Bhúmia is hardly the god of the homestead. He is the godling of
the village. And it is very doubtful whether the jathera is ever the com-
mon ancestor of the village. He is essentially the tribal ancestor or at
least a prominent member of the tribe. The worship of the jathera is a
striking feature of the Játs' 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 Bhúmia 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 chaudas or 14th of the month.
Some Bhúmias 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.
To these offerings are often made. A somewhat similar local deity is
Chanwand, or Khera deota. Sometimes described as the wife of Bhúmia,
other villages seem to place her or him in his place, but Chanwand is
worshipped on Sundays and his shrine is often found in addition to that
of Bhúmia in the same village.

Among the minor deities of the village in Rohtak the Bháiyon 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 bricks often being
taken from the Bháiyon 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 fine new house, especially a two-storeyed one, will sometimes add a
second storey to the Bháiyon, as at Badli, 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 reeds of the gadar grass and sweep the shrine,

1 Bhùmia 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 Bhùmia. There is
also a village god called Khetrí or the field nourisher, and also known as Bháiyon; but
he is not often found. In some places however Khera Deota or godling of the village
site is also called Chauwand and alleged to be the wife of Bhúmia (Channing's Gurgaon
Settlement Report, p. 34; see also Alwar Gazetteer, p. 70). It is a curious fact that
among the Gujars and Balus the word Bhúmia means priest or medicine man, while among
the Korkás, another Kolian tribe, Bhùmika stands for high priest. It is also said to mean
a village bull somewhere. For Kaif Xohar see p. 233 infra.

2 Chanwand appears to be also found in Sirmr under the name of Chawind. The
local legend current in that State runs thus:—A girl of Manno, a village in Sirmr, was
married in Keonthal State. 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 Giri
and gave birth to two serpents, which fell into the stream. For some hours the serpents
remained in each other's embrace and then separated, one going to Tarbech, in Keonthal
and the other to Dhála Deothi in Sirmr where it died shortly afterwards. It is now
worshipped as Chawind deota, and a temple was erected at Deothi, which means a 'place
dedicated to a god,' or 'the abode of a god.'
Ancestor-worship.

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, fulfil the vow. At Lohárheri vows for success in law-suits are also made here. The Bhaiyon is the same as the Bhùmian or Bhonpâl of adjacent districts. Bhonpâl is said to have been a Jât whom Isahr could not make into a Brahman, but to whom he promised that he should be worshipped by all men.

Each village has its Panchpîr 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 jâl tree and away from the village, but at Asauda it is much more like a Bhaiyon in appearance. In Naiabâs it is said that the first man to die in a village after its foundation becomes Panchpîr, the second Bhaiyon. Little seems to be known of the worship of this deity.

In Gurgaon the Saiyid-kâ-thân or Saiyad's place is to the Muhammadan village what Bhaiyon is to the Hindus, but Hindu residents in the village reverence it, just as Muhammadans do the Bhaiyon. Though built in the form of a tomb it is erected whenever a village is founded.

The spirit of a Saiyid like that of a bhût 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 Bûndela 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 Hardaul Lâla, "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 pun 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 pîtr, 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 Chandrabâga valley, is the erection of a dhâji 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

1 Sleeman places this event in Bundelkhand and says it occurred in 1817. He speaks of Hardâwal Lâla as the new god, and says that his temples sprang up as far as Lahore: Rambles, I, p. 210-11. His worship is common in the United Provinces: for his songs see N. I. N. Q., V., § 453. He is also called Hardaur or Harda Lâla: I. N. Q., IV, § 798.
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 those states and regarded as an exclusive privilege. It must however be of ancient date, for it is found in one at least of the Ráñá families whose ancestors held rule in Kulu before the Rájás obtained supreme power. Mr. G. C. L. Howell mentions one such family, that of Nawáni, 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 those States. The Mandi monoliths are probably the most ornate of any in the hills. It is possible that such monoliths also exist in Biláspur and other Hill States of the Simla group.¹

Sir Alexander Cunningham thus described the Mandi monoliths:—

"The sáti pillars of the Mandi Rájás and their families stand in a group on a plot of ground on the left bank of the Suketi Nála, 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 Rájás and of the women who became sáti with them. Each Rájá is represented as seated above with a row of rágás or queens, also seated, immediately below: still lower are standing figures of khowásis or concubines and rakhálís or slave girls. The inscription records the name of the Rájá 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 Rájá’s decease and the accession of his successor from Hari Sen A. D. 1637 down to the present time." The number has been added since Cunningham’s visit, though no satís 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 sáti pillars, but are rather of the nature of monoliths in memory of the death similar to those of Pángi, and are probably consecrated with similar rites. At Nagar in Kulu similar monoliths are found which are described as follows by Colonel Harcourt in Kooloo, Lahouli 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 chiefs of Kulu, their wives and concubines being portrayed either beside them or in lines below. One Rájá 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 Dungri 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 effigies of such wives or mistresses who may have performed sáti 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 crowd-

¹ This and the following paragraph are by Dr. J. Hutchison.
ing the crumbling and worn surface of the stones. At the death of the late Ráí Gyán 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 sculpturings 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 Satí pillars of the Kula Rájás. 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 road 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 form 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 cistern or well the disembodied spirit seems to acquire 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 Nág worship. But in the Simla Hills at any rate the Nág’s 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 omen 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.
These shrines are unpretentious structures with low walls of stones piled one upon another and sloping roofs of slate. 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 peasantry by a kind of spiritual blackmail. It sometimes happens that a man marries a second wife during the lifetime 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. Brahmans 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 beats continuously with a stick whilst he drones 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. 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 panihár 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-

1 See the Antiquities of Chamba, 1, fig. 8 on p. 21 for an illustration of such steps.
The propitiation of the dead.

The description of these reference must be obvious 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 inscriptions. 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 naur in Pāngi, naur in Lāhul and pānhiydr or 'fountain' in the Rāvi valley.

Far otherwise is it in Sirmūr, where the cult of the dead is sometimes due to a fear of their ill-will. Thus in the Pachhād and Rainkā tahsils of that State when an old man is not cared for and dies aggrieved at the hands of his descendants, his pāpra 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 pāpra appears to be actually personified as a ghost which causes barrenness or disease, and if any one is thus afflicted a Bhāt is consulted, and he makes an astrological calculation with dice thrown on a board (sānchā). There the sufferer summons all the members of the family, who sound a tray (thāli) at night, saying 'O pāpra kist upar utar a,'—'O soul descend on some one,' and (though not before the third or fourth day) the pāpra or imp takes possession of a child, who begins to nod its head, and when questioned explains whose ghost the pāpra is, and shows that the patient's affliction is due to some injury done by him or his forefather 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 Pālu in Sirmūr. He was the ancestor of the Hāmbi Kanets of Hábon and other villages, and is worshipped at Pālu 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 Gurgaon, as are those of any man who dies discontented and unwilling to leave his home. Such spirits are termed pīta, 'father,' euphemistically, but they generally bear the character of being vindictive and require much attention. A little shrine, very much like a chāltā or fire-place, is generally constructed in their honour near a tank and at it offerings are made. Sometimes a pīta descends on a person and he then becomes inspired, shakes his head, rolls his eyes

2 Lit. 'sin.'
3 Pāpra is of course 'sin.' Pāpra would appear to be a diminutive.
and reveals the *pita*'s will. This is called *khetan* or playing, as in the Himalayas. Occasionally too a Brahman can interpret a *pita*'s will.1

In Chamba a person2 dying childless is believed to become a *bhút* or *antár* and to harass his surviving relations unless appeased. For this purpose a *juntra* is worn by adults, consisting of a small case of silver or copper containing a scroll supplied by a Brahman. An *antár* necklet of silver, with a human figure cut on it, is also commonly worn. Another form is the *nád*, of silver or copper, and shaped like an hourglass. An *antár* 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 Bhábras 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 Bábá Gajju, a progenitor of the Bar Bhábras, at Pipnák in Gujránwála, and gone round the tomb by way of adoration.3

**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 *pitr* 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 *játher,* or 'ancestor,' but in the Punjabi Territory the *sati* takes their place in every respect and is supposed to mark the spot where a widow was burnt with her husband's corpse. The 15th of the month is sacred to the *pitr,* and on that day the cattle do no work and Brahmans 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. Gúga. *bêta na dega, lan kuchh na oohin lega—*

"If Gúga 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 Musalmáns 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 Gazetteer, 1904, p. 195. See also Vol. II, p. 270, infra.
3 Fr. *apntara*, soulless.
4 V. N.Q., III, § 89. No mention of the Bar Bhábras will be found in Vol. II, pp. 80-92. Pipnák has a curious legend. Its Rájá is said to have been Pipá, the Chamiál (Rájput ?), whose daughter Lúmán was sought in marriage by Sábhávan of Siákt. When Pipá refused the match his city was destroyed, and it has been called Pipnák ever since. Pipá appears to be Pipá, the Bhagat.
5 *Jatákra* is clearly derived from *jákhu*, an elder, especially a husband's older brother and the phrase *dáda rasa jatákra* means 'ancestors on the father's side.' The classical type of the widow *sati* is Gandhári, wife of Dhútarásátra and mother of Duryodhára. When her husband was consumed by the force of his *yoga* at Saptasátra, near Hardwárá, she too sprang into the flames, and the god gave her this boon, that she should be worshipped as the protector of children and the godless of small-pox: N. I. N. Q., IV, § 454.
and thousands of worshippers of both religious 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 satī, and cases of such self-immolation are recorded in North Rājpūtāna. Generally ladies of rank were attended on the funeral pyre by attached female slaves, as occurred at the cremation of Māhārāja Ranjīt Singh. But the highest grade of all was attained by the mā-sati or mother-sati who had immolated herself with her son.¹ These mā-satis were of all classes from the potter-woman to the princess. At Pataudi the most conspicuous cenotaph is that of a Jaisalmir Māhārāni 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.² 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 Rājpūt origin or at least claim it, such is the Mahton. It is rare among Jāts. In Gurgāon the satī is often propitiated as a possibly malignant spirit. Thus in the village of Rojkar Gujjar there is the shrine of a Gujarni satī who has constituted herself the patroness of the Brahman priests 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.³ In Karnāl 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 Kāṭīk. The shrines are also regarded as tutelary guardians of the village. Thus in one case some Tagās who had migrated from their old village used to go 40 miles to make annual offerings at their old satī, 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.⁴

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 Rājās 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

¹ The form mā-sati appears to be used, but mahdesati is perhaps commoner.
⁴ Sati monuments are ordinarily slabs of stone stuck in the ground with the figure of the satī carved on them, either sitting or standing.

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autors. And a temple was erected near the place. Chamba Gas., p. 95.

In Kangra the people bear the name of Kirpál 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 sers of rice, half a ser of dát, 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 Kirpál 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 l1

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 gyáls or sonless 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 Brahmanas fed to assuage the gyáls,2 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 saukan or co-wife and at the wedding of her successor oil, milk, spices and sugar are poured on her grave. The saukan mora 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 churl or spirit makes the surviving wife ill an image (muhra)3 of the deceased is made of stone and worshipped. A silver plate, stamped with a human image, called chauki, 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


2 I believe them to be identical in purpose, as they certainly are in shape, with the emblems which have lately exercised the antiquaries. They are called baorkas in the Delhi Territory.

3 P. N.Q., III, § 290.—The mora appears to be a murat, ‘image,’ or possibly mahurat, a temple.4 According to Mrs. F. A. Steel Muhammadans also propitiate the deceased saukan: ibid., § 113.
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 Musalmán 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 Bhrá, of Bari in Kaithal, shares with Mansa Deví of Mani Májra in Ambála the honour of being the great patron of thieves in the Eastern Punjab. But Jain Sayyid in Ferozepur 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 baithak or chauki 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 Mirásan’s house who sings songs in Jain Sháh’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 Mirásan, mentioning the probable time of fulfilment. She also foretells fortunes. The Mirásan takes the offerings. The efficacy of a Sayyid’s curse is illustrated by the legend of Abobar. It was held by Rájá Abrám 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 Abobar where they formed a meta or assembly and threatened to curse the raiders unless the spoil was surrendered. But the Rájá held out and the Sayyid 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. Sirs Settlement Report, page 195.1

Many of those who have died violent deaths have acquired very widespread fame; indeed Gúga Prí 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 Ját of Mewár, 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 sides out, inside which is an image of Teja brilliantly illuminated, and ask you to ‘remember the grotto.’ Another case is that of Hardá Lálá, brother of the Rájá of

1 N. I. N. Q., I, § 768.
Urchar in Bundelkhand. He and Teja are generally represented on horseback. So again Harshu Brahman, who died while sitting dharna, 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 pareet, 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 bhūt, or, if a female, a churul, 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 Chūhra 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 ‘Nārain!’ 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 up 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 nūris or fairies. They attack women only, especially on moonlight nights, catching them by the throat, half-choking them, and knocking them down (?hysteira). Children, on the other hand, they protect. They are Musalmān, and are propitiated accordingly; and are apparently identical with the Parind or Peri with whom Moore has made us familiar. They are also known as shāhpuri, but resent being so called; and no woman would dare to mention the word.

1 If a Brahman asks aught of you and you refuse it, he will sit at your door and abstain from food till he gain his request. If he dies meanwhile, his blood is on your head. This is called sitting dharna. Or he may cut himself with a knife and then you will be guilty of Brahmati or Brahman-murder. A Brahman who commits suicide may become a Deo in the Simla Hills — see p. 445 infra. Per contra when the use of a house has been forbidden in those hills by a ādāh or Brahman, the latter can remove his ban by sprinkling some of his own blood on the place: Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Basahur, p. 34. Another instance is Tiru of Junga — p. 447 infra. But a Brahman does not always attain Deoship by such a suicide. Thus Kulr Brahman of Bāroq, regarding himself as oppressed by a Rānak of Baghat cut off his own head, and it cost the State a good deal to put matters right. The suicide need not be a Brahman — see, for instance the account of Gambhir Deo at p. 467 infra. A great deal of information regarding suicide by Bhās and Chhāns will be found in the late Mr. R. V. Russell’s Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Aghoris, II, pp. 14-5, 164, 175, 256. It is known as chandi or tṛaga which term is used in the Punjab in a different sense.
The classes of spirits.

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 *vara*. 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 *langri* 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 *kachhi roti*, generally consisting of *chāurma* or stale bread broken up and rolled into balls with *γur* and *γhī*, is offered. Brahmins will not take such offerings.¹

Resuscitation from death is believed to occur, and people who have come to life say they went to Yamarāj, 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 bec. It can leave the body during sleep.⁴

Spirits are of many kinds and degrees. A *Brahm rakhas* is the ghost of a Brahman who has died *kumaut* and is a very powerful demon, malignant or the reverse.⁵ *Hadal* is a spirit that gets into the bones and cannot be exorcised.⁶

It is difficult to define a *bhāt*. It is sometimes equated with *pret* as the spirit of one who dies an ill death, *kumaut*, i.e. by violence or an accident.⁷ But it is also said that every man dying on a bed becomes a *bhāt* and every woman so dying a *chhēl*.⁸ In *Kāngṛ* a *bhāt* is also called a *bhātal* or ‘demon’ and he may be charmed into servitude, for once a Brahman’s *chela* by his magic made a *bhāt* 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 Kaniśrā 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 *bhāt sīla* or ‘ghost-stone’ to this day.⁹

*Bhāuts* 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.¹⁰

¹ Karnal Sett. Rep., §§ 362, 366, pp. 146–145. To the benevolent gods or ancestors only *pakki roti*, i.e. cakes or sweets, fried in *γhī*, may be offered.
² N. I. N. Q., I., § 227.
³ *Ib*, § 231.
⁵ *Ib*, III, § 196.
⁶ *Ib*, III, § 197.
⁷ *Ib*, II, § 667.
⁸ To die at your own time is *maut marud* : P. N. Q., III, § 196.
⁹ P. N. Q., I, § 690.
¹⁰ *Ib*, III, § 846.
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.\(^1\) 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.\(^2\)

In Gurdāspur and the adjacent parts of Jammu bhūts and witches (dains) 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 2½ 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 dota by whose power he overcomes witches and bhūts.\(^3\)

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\(^4\) of the birth. But the worst churel of all is the ghost of a pregnant woman dying during the Diwālī. Churels 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 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.\(^5\)

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.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) I. N. Q., IV, §§ 189-190.
\(^2\) P. N. Q., II, § 500.
\(^3\) Ib., III, § 192.
\(^4\) Or 10 days in Kangra.
\(^5\) P. N. Q., II, § 905.
\(^6\) Ib., § 994. Mustard seed is said to be often scattered about a magistrate's court to conciliate his sympathies; III, § 104.
The spirit on earth.

The *chaura* 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 *chauki*, is also worn by the sick survivor round her neck. 1

Jinns 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 jinn 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. 2 Jinns have no bones in their arms and only four fingers and no thumb. 3

Archaeology 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 *bhūt* 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 *bhūt* 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 legends that Gugga, the workman who built the temple at Brahmaur in Chamba, was rewarded by having his right hand cut off by the Râns 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., III, § 200.
2 N. I. N. Q., I, § 668
3 *ib.*, I, § 678.
4 P. N. Q., II, § 251. Similar beliefs are very common among the Slavonic peoples; cf. Ralston's *Songs of the Russian People*, pp. 136-8. The game called 'London Bridge' is based on the same idea. See also p. 365 infra.
5 Chamba *Gazelleer*, p. 298.
6 I. N. Q., IV, § 198.
7 *ib.*, IV, § 382.
During prairie fires and at dead of night lonely herdsmen 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 bhūts 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 (roli), 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 2½ (i.e. 3) verses of the Qurān 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 ghee and ride on it repeating the charm 100 times. A witch cannot die until she has taught this charm to another woman, or failing 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 bidden to look into the ink and call the four guardians. When he sees them he is told to ask them to clean the place and summon their king who is supposed to answer questions through him, but no one else sees or hears the spirits. This is called hazrat.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—jigar-khor. But when one has succeeded in extracting a liver she will not eat it for 2½ days and even after that she can be compelled by an exorcisor to replace it by an animal’s liver.⁹

¹ Sirsa Sett. Rep., p. 32.
² N. I. N. Q., I, § 44.
³ Ib., I, § 118.
⁴ P. N. Q., III, §§ 198, 199
⁵ Ib., III, § 81.
⁶ Ib., III, § 80.
⁷ N. I. N. Q., I, § 564.
⁸ P. N. Q., III, § 592.
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 bhūt 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 13th, 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 āṭā or flour from seven houses, and when her next child is born this āṭā 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 chulha, 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 Tariq pargana and Hubár, have a curious reputation. When a woman, owing to an evil influence, called parchdoa, 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 Bhádon and Mágh are the best months. At Hubár the woman bathes besides a Muhammadan nav-gaza (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 nazār, 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 nazār upon a man of higher caste, not because they are of low caste but because of the envy of him which they are supposed to feel. Children are peculiarly subject to nazār 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 days.

1 P. N. Q., I, § 354.
years, among the poorer classes. To avert it the Gujars of Hazará use amulets of batkar wood (? Celtis 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 building as a nanar-vaṭṭu or averter of nanar, 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 spoilt by introducing a marked irregularity somewhere for the same reason. Iron is not in itself a protection against nanar, 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. 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 nanar-vaṭṭu is specially applied.

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 near enough 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 by 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 Siras (Albizzia lebbek) 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

1 P. N. Q., II., § 268.
2 Ib., I., § 597.
3 Ib., I., § 599.
4 Ib., I., § 557. In slang a nanar-vaṭṭu is a worthless fellow—of no use except to keep off the evil eye.
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 fakir 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 chakahu (chakra bhya) fort of Amin, 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 arms, 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 dag or dagini, 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. Dasis 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 Mahanbir (Hanumān) with a charm inscribed in a circle. Another method of averting the influence of a dag or dain is to call in a Bhat or Dhaki 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 gas with four wicks is lighted and certain mantras recited thrice, 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 tumbā, which, with the goat's head, is also waved round the patient's head. Lastly, the loaf, the lamp, and tumbā with the blood and goat's head are all placed by night at a spot where four roads meet.

In Jubbal the dākan is a witch and in former days if so adjudged she was banished from the State. Only a Brahman can detect a dākan 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 dag is also a spirit or witch. In the Simla Hills the evil eye is called dag: Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Kumbhāraṇ, p. 12. But the term is also applied to ghosts connected with fields from which they are supposed to sitch the crops: Simla District Gazetteer, p. 42. The dais makes Bhadon unhealthy because she thirsts for blood in that month and to avert its evil days Brahmanas give their flock threads on the Rakhi or Salono day. On Ausa or Sier is the tete day which marks the close of the bad month: Manji Gazetteer, p. 85; 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 rehāru, are put on children. A person dying sonless becomes a bhūt or autar-aputra (sonless), and troubles his surviving relatives, unless duly appeased: so adults wear a jantra, a small silver or copper case containing a scroll supplied by a Brahman. An autar or silver necklet with a human figure cut on it is also worn. Another form is the nid, of silver or copper and shaped like an hour-glass. An autar must also be propitiated with the sacrifice of a goat, and for a time his clothes are worn by one of the family—a soapnut 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 jattu or first hair has not been cut, must not be taken to a melā, 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.

Asá Hará is a godling in Gurdaspur 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

Banásat, 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 quarries and cuttings and must be propitiated before work is commenced. A goat must be killed over a lime-kiln 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 Jogini, and much the same as the Rākhani.²

The Banbirs are deified heroes or champions of the olden times. They are said to live in the pomegranate, lime, tun, fig, kunist, 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 Kālā Bir and Naśisingh, 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 banirá bhūt of the Simla Hills is doubtless the hinsra or nameless 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

¹Chamba Gazetteer, 1904, p. 193
²Ib., p. 191.
³Ib., p. 191.
⁴Ib., pp. 48-9.
⁵Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Kumbársin. p. 12.
Bir Batál 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 Khwaja Khizr. Khichéri, sodden Indian corn, 3 balls of moss, 3 of ashes, 3 measures of water, a pumpkin or a flour-sheep are offered to him. The Minjarán ká 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.\(^1\)

Chungu is the male demon found in walnut and mulberry trees and under the karangora shrub. He is worshipped or propitiated. He is under the control of a sorcerer whose messenger he is.\(^2\)

In the Simla Hills he brings things to him and also drinks the milk of cows, to whose owners too he brings milk, \(\text{\textit{ghî}}\) etc.\(^3\)

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 Râjá. An order was then issued to a \textit{chela} 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 (\textit{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 \textit{kumbh}. The musicians played, and when the \textit{chela} had worked himself into a state of afflatus, 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 \textit{chela} standing by the \textit{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 \textit{chela} received a fee of Rs. 12, part of which went to the State. \textit{Chelas} 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

\(^1\)\textit{Chamba Gazetteer}, p. 191, and \textit{supra}, p. 136. Also \textit{infra} p. 267.

\(^2\)\textit{Ib.}, p. 192, and Vol. II, p. 270 \textit{infra} for the offerings made to him.

\(^3\)\textit{I. A. S. B.}, 1911, p. 146.
under the control of one or other of the presiding genii of the mountains, without whose good will and favour all his efforts will be attended with failure; while the neglect of the customary offering may bring disaster on himself and his family. When sickness or calamity is believed to have been caused by any of these malevolent spirits the sick person, or some one for him, goes to the local chela who tells them which spirit ought to be appeased, and acts as the medium of cure. This he professes to do with the help of the godling whose chela he happens to be. All such diseases are called opara, that is, from supernatural influences—as distinct from those that are sariri, or connected with the body.

Gungra is the disease-spirit of cows, and also their protector within the village cattle-shed, just as Banásat is on the high pastures.1

Gwála was a holy man in Kángra. His legend runs thus:—One day as he was sitting in a lofty hill near Baroh, a wedding procession passed by and he said to the bride: 'Thorns on this side and on that: she who wears the red veil is my wife.' The bridegroom 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 bridegroom: 'You gave me to him; I burn on the pyre with him.' This resolve she carried out, and the caírus erected in memory of Gwála's bravery exist to this day.2

Jakh. In Chamba jakh is a godling under whose control are the products of the cow. Each cow has her own jakh, and when buying one it is necessary to ask its name so that its demands may be properly met.

In the Sibá jágir of Kángra the jakhás are local deities to whom first fruits are offered symbolically. The offerings actually made consist of milk, curds and clarified butter made from the milk of the animal to whom a male calf has been born. If a female buffalo-calf be born a young he-goat is also presented. Clarified butter is never sold before the first fruits have been offered, but in the case of milk and curds the usage has broken down. Moreover, the Rájá leases out the right to collect the offerings to the jakhás, but the bids seldom exceed Rs. 25 a year. He also leases out the right to dispense music at festival's, weddings and the like.3

Joginis, rock spirits, as they seem to be in Chamba, may be identical with the banásats or rakshinis.4 But in Kulu the jogini is a fairy of the woods and seemingly ranks as high as any deoba. Some joginis exercise wide powers. Thus at Phiangni joginis command smoking, wearing leather and the use of bedsteads are forbidden in the Sarwari


2 P. N. Q., III, § 16.


4 For the offerings made to them, see Vol. II, p. 270, infra.
Miscellaneous spirits.

valley, and the order is obeyed. But other joginis appear to be merely malignant spirits which haunt water-falls and hill-tops, as well as woods, so that the gray moss which floats from the branches of trees in the higher forests is called 'the jogini's hair.' Some of these spirits resemble the Nāgīs in function, for she of the Chūl, a peak in the Jalauri range, sends hail to destroy the crops if the villagers below fail to make a pilgrimage to her peak and sacrifice sheep on the appointed day.\(^1\)

The Jaljogans inhabit wells, springs and streams. They cast spells over women and children, causing sickness and even death.\(^3\)

Kailu or Kailu Bīr is the numen of abortion. His elaborate worship during pregnancy will be found described at p. 270 of Vol. II infra.

To him are offered a red cap, an iron mace and a kid, the cap and part of the kid go to the priest, the rest to the worshipper. He is worshipped on Thursdays. He lives on the mountain slopes and when unappeased rolls landships down into the valleys.\(^4\)

Kailung is a Nāg and father of all the Nāgīs. He is worshipped only on Sundays, whereas other Nāgīs are worshipped on Thursdays also. Like Shiv he is worshipped under the form of the darūt or sickle.

He is associated with wheat.

His offerings are a mace, a goat and a red cap.\(^5\)

The god Koila has in some villages a platform, and it is believed that snake-bite can be cured by lying down on it.

Masān or mashān is a goblin who haunts burning-places, at any rate in the Simla Hills, and chirhu-masān is a male spirit which swings—whence its name—and haunts cross-roads, frightening passers-by, in Chamba.\(^6\)

Rākshanās appear to be quite distinct from the rākshanās mentioned above (p. 213). In Chamba they are also called rākis and as spirits of the mountain are all dread realities to the hillman. In his disordered fancy every peak and pass is the abode of these demons, and they

\(^1\) Lyall, Kangra Sett Rep., § 94. Phugni in Mandī is a devī: Gazetteer, p. 40. The joginis will be discussed further infra, p. 243. As the gains render all Bhādon unhealthy (p. 211, supra), so the joginis of the four points of the compass make the 16th of that month a very critical day. On that night they meet the deotis in fight on the Kambogir, a ridge in Mandī, and if victorious famine may be expected. On that night too cattle are brought down from the ridge lest the joginis kill them and Hindus distribute rape-seed to avert their influence: Mandī Gazetteer, p. 41.

\(^2\) Kangra Gazetteer, Pt. II, Kulu, pp. 46, et.

\(^3\) Chamba Gazetteer, p. 192.

\(^4\) Ib., pp. 165 and 191.

\(^5\) Ib., pp. 151, 155.

\(^6\) J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 143. Like shyāna and rākshas—also names for goblins—masān gives its name to a Kanet soot—see pp. 73, 305 and 417 of Vol. III infra. Masāni, a wasting disease of children in Sirmīr (Gazetteer, p. 25), may be derived from it. It is said to be a corruption of Sanskrit šāmsāna by Maya Singh, Punjabi Dicty., p. 738. For masān or ashes as a disease and the cure for it see p. 104 supra.
control the winds and the storms. When the tempest rages on the mountain summit he believes the rākas 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 Gaddi 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.

'Marmot' records a curious rite practised during an eclipse of the moon in Pāngi. The Pāngwāls stood in a circle on one leg, holding each a big stone poised on the right shoulder while with the other hand they pinched the left ear. This was done to propitiate the rākshasas, and the posture was maintained until the eclipse was over. Elsewhere not only do rākshasas 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. Like the prets or ghosts they dwell to the south. In the earlier mythology the rākshasas seem to have been giants and it was they who snatched the book of learning from Saraswati'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.

In Kulu the jalpari are of two kinds: — jāl jogni and hātāli or chherel. 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 humankind 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 nahas pari are offered rice to get rid of them. Women are apt to be influenced by them because they are generally weak minded.

As the jogni are supposed to live on mountains and the chherel 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 bhūtas or ghosts, pari, especially the jāl-pari or water-sprites, also called jāl-mātris, the chhidras.

1 Chamba Gazetteer, p. 191
2 P. N. Q., II, § 121.
3 Ib., II, § 738.
5 Chhiddar, Sanskr. chhider, means 'hole': J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 141. But ād, a synonym of ād, does not appear to be connected with ādīn, ādī, a den or large hole in a rock: ib., p. 147. In Kulu chhidra seems to mean an oath or obligation and to be a synonym of ādīa.
Spirits in Bahdwalpur.

and bhanshira. 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 deceased: riseh1 its name from the end of that year to the fourth. Jal-paris are conceived of as female forms, some benevolent, others malevolent. To propitiate the former a sacrifice is required. The chhīdāra is conceived of as a terrifying spirit which must be propitiated by incense of mustard seed. The bhanshira 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 kunthān, is offered to Kālī and to paris or mādriś. 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. Dāga 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 dāga. The dūdadhāri or mānashāri 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. Ghatialū or Gâterū is a demon known in Dhāmi. He is said to possess people and is propitiated by the sacrifice of a khođhū (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 Bhaji State.2 The fair of the gāndān or fairies at Bamsan in Nādaun (Kāṅgā) is held on the first Tuesday in Hāp and on all Tuesdays in other months. Only women attend the fair to worship the paris who inflict boils on children. The fair has been in existence from time immemorial, but the special worship on Tuesdays dates from the birth of Rāja Bhūm Chand's son

Bahdwalpur is equally rich in spirits. There in addition to the paret, bhūt, dīt (? dait), rākhash, dain, churel and parī, we find the pashīj,3 dākan, shākan and deo. To these are mostly ascribed diseases of the brain and womb in women, but they occasionally possess men too. Khetrápā'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 umm-us-saltām or 'mother of children,' who causes convulsions. Such diseases are believed to be connected in some way with low castes, and so Bhangīs and Chūhrās are employed to exorcise them.4 If anything goes bad it is believed to be bewitched (bāndhān) 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 mischief, but sometimes it can be remedied without such aid. Thus a dyer whose indigo has got spoil it can make it regain its colour by relating some gossip he has heard in a highly coloured form.

1Fr. riseh, a sage.
2 In that State gaters is said to mean ghost; J. A. S. B., 1911, p. 163. In Sirmūr Ghatialū is a goddess—see p. 300 infra.
3 Clearly the pārdeha or cannibal demon. The word deo has had a long and interesting history. It is curious to find it used here of an evil spirit, apparently, because in the Punjab Himalayas deo means demon.
4 Bahdwalpur Gazetteer, p. 187. Sometimes a labāna, a kind of insect, is tied round the neck of a child suffering from convulsions. This may be done because the Labāna is a low caste; but cf. p. 4, Vol. III, infra. The Labāna is also said to be used to care wars.
In the hands of one who has by fasting etc. attained to bidya 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 horned 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 those days it is buried instead of being given to the menials. 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, sira 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 least 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 Khwája Ji (appealing to Khwája 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 seasons are observed, perfect silence is enjoined, and above all, all audible counting of the measures of grain is avoided.1 When sugarcane is first sown, sweet-

1 You cannot measure grain without all kinds of precautions. It must not be measured at all on a new or full moon (pasa) day, and Saturday is bad. Begin at dawn, midday, sunset, or midnight, when the spirits are busy. Let 4 men go inside an enclosing line with an earthen vessel—and no one else till they have finished. Let them face the north. Keep silence during the measuring and avoid counting the number aloud. Tallies being kept by putting down small heaps of grain called bojali. Once the grain is measured it is safe from the evil eye. The measuring is made systemically, doubtless to avoid confusion and cheating or quarrelling. See u. 173, §§ 435-6 of Ibbetson's Karnal Sett. Report, and pages 194 ff and 236 ff of Vol. I. of Elliott's Races of the North-Western Provinces.
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 Brahmins. 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.'2

On the 9th of the light half of Kātik 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 *sataujā* by the way, saying:

'Friend husbandman, take thy share,
Our share we write down to God.'2

To protect grain from lightning it should be sown with wheat—at least this is believed to be the case in Kangra, apart from the benefits of a mixed crop.4

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 rapacity of demons and *bhūts*. But they are only of mediocre 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.5 Or in Montgomery and the other parts of the south-west the village *mukūnā* or holy man writes a charm which is stuck in a cleft stick in the heap. For this a fixed fee, called *rasūl-鸟ī*, 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.6

The agricultural superstitions in Bahīwalpur are of special interest because in that state disease is personified and even trees become anthropomorphised.

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1 Karnāl S. E., p. 191. This custom is falling into disuse.
2 P. N. Q., IV, § 85.
3 *ib.*, III, § 481.
4 *ib.*, II, § 477.
5 *ib.*, I N. Q., IV, § 688.
6 Purser, Montgomery S. E., p. 100.
If a crop of wheat, gram or maize be attacked by insects (*kungi* or *tela*; a charm (*kalâm*) is recited to avert injury, or a camel's bone burnt so that the smoke may drift over the crop, a *kalâm* being also read. The following charms are in use:—

*Kungi, Kira, Mula, Bakhra châre bhain bhira,
Hukm Khuda de nal di hawâ ate gauwâ.

"*Kungi, Kira, Mula, and Bakhra 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:—

*Kungi, Kira, Bakhra tariye bhain bhira.
Roši be nimâz di gai wâ uñâ.

"*Kungi, Kira, Bakhra are all three brothers and sisters. The bread of one who does not pray (nimâz) 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 round it a trench (*karâ*), 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 unpropitious and another place is chosen. But if some earth remains over the corn 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 genii from eating the grain. If when corn has been winnowed the grain appears less than the husks, it is believed that some evil genii 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 genii 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 *mujâwar* 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 Ulha the following *mantar* is used in cases of foot and mouth disease:—

*Suraunjit de tre beta, Dar, Daṭhar, Buhâra,
Biwi lîdâ de pâp qubbân je dham vosch kare pâstâra.

"Suraunjit had three sons, Dar, Daṭhar and Bahâra. The sire of Biwi Bai shall sink her down (i.e., she will be annihilated) if she lives at all in this world."

In the Lamma this disease is called *mutâra* and to cure it the shrine of Jetha Bhuṭṭa is much resorted to. If grass does not agree
with the cattle the following _manta_r is recited 7 or 11 times and the _mullah_ blows into each animal's ear;—

Ka_alapaththa pabhar vamman,
Zimi' vicch hik salu upannan,
Na kar paththa eda manan;
Man_ bhi teri zat pichhanan.
Aant nayri, ant gar,
Mara paththa le jins dhor.

On the other hand Sawant appears to be a benevolent spirit who casts out diseases. 'Bantari gave birth to Sawant beyond the river, whereby ulcers, abscesses, tooth-aches, ophthalmia and swellings of the breast departed', runs the couplet. If the right breast be swollen the left is exorcised and _vice versa_. In a somewhat similar way scorpion-bite is cured by proxy. A man goes on the patient's behalf to the exorciser who blows a spell on the water which the proxy drinks, and then the sufferer recovers.¹

if a young tree is peculiarly flourishing or vigorous, it is dedicated to a _pir_ 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 the saint himself and to distinguish it a flag is fastened to it. The _pir_ chosen in such cases is the one most implicitly believed in by the villagers.²

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 _koil_ (_Eudynamys 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.³ But after sneezing you may eat, drink or sleep, only you must not go on a visit.⁴ Odd numbers are lucky:—' _Numero Deus importat gaudet._' But three and thirteen are unlucky, because

¹ Baha\nawalpur Gazetteer, pp. 188-89.
² For the spell, which is an invocation of the Name (of God), see ib., p. 187. Some scholars believe that the Prophet permitted the practice of hanging raggs (on the Pilgrims' tree) and explained the peculiar name of the expedition called _Zat-ul-rikā_ (place of shred of cloth) by supposing it to be a term for a tree to which the Moslems hung their _ee-vo-to_ rags. The _Tarikh-i Tabari_ mentions it as a practice of the pagan Arabs and talks of evil spirits residing in the date-tree; Burton's _Al Madina_ (1906), i, p. 185.²
³ _Ib_. i, § 776. The Buddhist idea is the same and a Tibetan proverb often said when a man sneezes runs—

_Chering nammat Panchung shokk,
Longdu thang-nang tongyd thukk,
Tondu dbaard sorba thukk._

'May God prolong your life, and avert the evil omen'.

⁴ _Ib_. i, § 949.
they are the bad days after death; and *terak tīl* 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 Bhūmias is made of five bricks; five calms 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 Brahmans are always 1½, 2½, 5, 7½, whether rupees or *sars* 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 Sialkot *wāhīde* (apparently fr. *wadhan*, to increase) is always used in counting for *tin*. Elsewhere in counting *bahut* is used for it and the *shisham* with its 3 leaves is a type of utter failure. 12, on the contrary, is peculiarly lucky, and complete success is called *pao bāra*. 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". Both 12 and 52 occupy a conspicuous place in the organisation of caste. A *baiya*, or group of 22 villages, is, like *bāra* and *bāwan* or groups of 12 and 52, respectively, a favourite term for a tribal settlement containing about that number of villages. So too 32 is in Buddhism the number of "the bodily marks of a great man" (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXV, p. 116). But indeed all the twos, 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-panthīs. The 8th child is unlucky.

For three persons to act together a *council* or *committee* is unlucky, at any rate in Bahāwalpur. *Tricho* *jāntā* *di* *maśla* *khōtī*, *i.e.* a committee consisting of three members is unlucky (lit. counter-feit). On the other hand to be five in council is thrice blessed, for the proverb goes: *pānchā* *men* *pīr*, *panj* *pardi* *hān* or *panjo* *men* *parmeskar*, there is god in the 5 leaders, or in 5, *i.e.* their decision is final. But *panch* may mean that you will have to go to the authorities (*panchāhāyat*) for redress, and *sāt* is an omen of *sath*, a quarrel, so transactions of the 5th and 7th are put down as of the 4th 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 9 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, 25, 31, 41.

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1 Rhy-David, *American Lectures on Buddhism*, p. 156. But in the hills 2 is distinctly unlucky and a *dāvīkta*, 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 *pāshī*, lit. "hanging"; *J. A. S. B.*, 1911, pp. 146, 219. In ancient India 13 was not ill-omened; *J. R. A. S.*, 1916, 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),¹ but in the Kurram 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, 36, 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 crores of gods, the 84 Siddhas, the 9 Naths, the 64 Jogis, the 52 Viras (Birs), the 6 Jatis—or, among the Jains, 7 Trump’s *Translation of the Adi-Granth*, Introd., p. xlix

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, grief²: 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 2 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.³ Shaking one’s leg while sitting on a chair or couch means loss of money.⁴ Yawning is very unlucky and to avert evil Muhammadans say *lā ikhāla wa lā quwata illā billāh*.⁵ Bitting one’s tongue means that some one is telling tales against one.⁶

Twitching (*sankh*) of the right eye is a lucky omen in Kāngra, and the general science of its omens is summed up in the lines:—

‘If the lower left lip twitch, know there will be a blot on the happiness.
If the upper lid twitch, 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.’⁷

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.⁸ 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 *Farasnamā-i-Rangīn* or treatise by

¹ P. N. Q., I, § 127.
² According to another account twitching of the right upper eyelid in a man portends good, but in the lower it is just the opposite, but in a woman twitching of the left eyelid is a sure source of joy: P. N. Q., I, § 937.
³ Ib., § 849.
⁴ Ib., III, § 27.
⁵ Ib., III, § 683.
⁶ Ib., III, § 781.
⁷ Ib., III, § 111.
⁸ Ib., I, § 458.
Rangin (Sa‘dat Yar Khan) who regards the horse as one of a captive yet god-like race.\(^1\) 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 *tālā-*peshchā, 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 *arjal*.

(c) A horse with a black palate (*Sīdh kām asp* in Persian).

(d) A horse with both hind feet and the off forefoot white. But a white *near* forefoot is a good omen, as in the Persian couplet:

\[\text{Do pāish sufed-o-yake dasī-i-chap,}\]
\[\text{Buwad laīq-i-shāh-i-ālī nābad.}\]

"A horse with two white (hind) feet and a white near forefoot is worthy to be ridden by a king."

(e) A horse or mare which is wall-eyed (*mānki*) or which has an eye like that of a human being, is called *tāki* and is ill-starred.\(^2\)

\(^1\) Translated by Lt.-Col. D. C. Phillott, Quarritch, 1912. After describing the horse Rangin proceeds to enumerate the five grand defects of the horse. First and worst of these, transcending spavin, exceeding malformation, and even ill manners (which last are looked upon by Rangin as inherent) are placed 'The Feathers.' 'The Feathers' are those whose where the different currents of hair meet, to them the first section of the book is given, and the pre-eminence is one of which they are certainly worthy considering that their influences are momentous, predestined, 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 butt you to misfortune.' The battle of the good and evil feathers continues from head to tail. A feather low down on the forearm, 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 baleful. 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 also there are turns of the hair that are accounted fortunate, both in horses and in cattle). The colours are doomsful and precise in their augury as the feathers themselves:— If there are in the blaze hairs the colour of the rest of the body, shun 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 *arjal*. If the seller says to you, 'Oh but there is white on the forehead too,' do not give ear to his specious words, for the Prophet has said that an *arjal* is bad; what else then is there to be said?" The best colour for a horse is bay, the second *khāki* dun, the third a dun with a black mane and tail, called *samand*. This last would, with the addition of a black strip down the back, be identical with an Irish 'shān buie' and of an Irish 'shān buie'. It has been said (in illustration of his adroitness and agility) that he 'would tend a foal.' We are with Rangin in his high estimation of the *samand*. 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.

\(^2\) Bahawalpur Gazetteer, p. 134.
But the punch-kalidān 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 Punchkaliāni or -a 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 (ringlis) it is a good omen, but the reverse if a bystander sneezes.

If an owl hoot thrice 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.

A kite settling on the roof of a house is unlucky.

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.

When out shooting it is very lucky to meet a gāturī, a name applied in the Punjab to a small king-fisher with bright blue plumage, which is let out of its cage at the Dasehra as a sacred bird. A cat or a crow throwing water over itself denotes a coming guest.

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 paitra, a small bundle of necessaries, to some place near the gate by which he intends going, and start himself within the next two days.

When starting on a journey if a Brahman or Dūmma 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 gharā 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.

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 unpropitious to meet a person carrying wood, but the reverse if he comes behind you. It is unlucky to meet a widow but a good omen to meet a woman with a male child.

In Dera Ghāzi Khān it is lucky to meet a man at starting, but a

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2. I., III, § 113.
3. I., II, § 179.
4. I., § 703.
5. I., § 564.
8. I., IV, § 41.
10. I., I, § 858.
woman forebodes failure in your purpose. So too it is unlucky to encounter a shrike on the left hand, and Baloch calls this chhapp 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.

In Dera Ismáil Khán the Muhammadan Játs 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. Shikdris 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 (pavi) call behind the house of a sick man he is certain to die.

Ráthi buláde kukar
Te dehen buláde shighar
Ekki badli Sáhibí
Te ekki ponda kál

"By night if the cock,
By day the jackal calls
A king changes
Famine befalls."

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:

Sítá Baghípat Rám ke tamak bánhíla háth,
Áge ége ñar chale, pîchhe ñar ká sóth

‘Join hands in praise of Sítá and Rám
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, ñil, ghar ahane; but báncau bánig beqár, 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 Bhangu or any woman of very low caste, or one with two gharras 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 Chúhra is lucky, the more so if he has a basket or broom in hand.

1 In Jàkhi speech málkala, in Balochí gyndchá; P. N. Q., I, § 1019.
2 Ib., § 1090.
3 Shighar is the male jackal.
4 Sáhibí = “ruler.”
5 P. N. Q., II, § 670.
6 This omen may be connected with the superstition referred to in the account of Góga.
7 P. N. Q., II, § 150.
8 Ib., II, § 849.
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 Dera Ghází Khán, most unlucky. It is known as bhánkári.3 In Rohtak it is lucky to hear a jackal howling on the left, but not on the right,4 and the jackal should not be spoken of by his proper name as gídr, but as Jambu.5

In Baháwalpur 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 malhála, on the right hand early in the day and later on the left, and vice versa. If a thief, when going to steal, hear warbling on the roof, the women reply, Ať pihá píá he, ja mimhán kon lid. "The flour is ready ground, go, fetch the guest," i.e. a guest is expected. The bird's note is supposed to be pho pho, the imperative of pihá (píva), to grind. If a man sneezes 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-wall 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 hándi or scare-crow is usually hung on the loftiest part of the roof.

In Kángra it is also lucky to meet a married woman, a pot full of water, a corpse in a doli, flesh, fish, a cow with calf, a mongoose, ox, the sound of music, a wild parrot piercing on your body, a blue jay, a peacock, a kula (lizard) or a chipláti (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 bairági or a fágir smeared with ashes, an oil-crusher (? a Teli) with his pot, a crow, a jackal or a cat.

1 P. N. Q., IV, § 270
2 Is., § 608.
3 Is., § 1019.
5 Is., § 151.
6 P. N. Q. III, §§ 109, 110. In Attock it is unlucky to meet any man with a bare head, any Brahman or a maullá, any one weeping or smoking, or fire, a crow flying towards one, a widow, 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 sneeze while on a journey is most unfortunate, and the latter omen will almost always occasion a delay at any rate: G. t. 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 châle, wohi pag dîje,
Prthi patra kabhî na lije,
*i.e. if you find that your right nostril breathes more quickly than your left start with you right foot, and *vice versa*: `never mind books and almanacs.' Should you chance to see a useless 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 a'.
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."

1 P. N. Q., II, § 815. 2 P. N. Q., II, § 801. These verses are attributed to one Jai Singh
Crows always pray for more children in the world as they get sweets from them.1

In Kánpur it is lucky to meet a Brahman telling his beads or saluting you with his tilak sectorial mark) on. 2

1 If you meet one Sudra, and as many Bánías, three Brahmans, and four Chhattris—nine women coming in front—don’t go on: I give you this omen.3

If on the road you meet milk and fish, two Brahmans with books, ’tis a good omen and all wishes will be granted you.4

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

The loan of a comb or kerchief causes enmity.7

If while kneading flour a bit of the dough gets loose, a guest is coming.8

If unleavened bread rise while being baked on an iron plate it means that the person for whom it is being made is hungry.9

Finding gold is unlucky at any time, and metal found on a Saturday, when it is unlucky to find anything, is given to a Dákaut or Mahá-Brahman. No real Brahman takes alms on that day.10

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

It is lucky to have one’s crop trodden down by a superior, as it will yield the more.12

If, when one is thinking of a person or wishes to see him, he turns up it forebodes long life to him.13

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

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.¹

Muhammadans object to beating a brass tray as the dead might be awakened, thinking the Last Day had arrived.²

Some Hindus will not wear a white turban as long as their father is alive.³

Red food is said to be avoided by Hindu Bánias as it resembles flesh; P. N. Q., IV, § 193.

It is sometimes said that Hindus consider it unlawful to eat food cooked by an unmarried person.⁴

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, Kapúr and Mhrotra sections of Dháighar status a mother will not even use her daughter’s fan.⁵

Among Brahmans and Khatris 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.⁶

Among the Rájpútes in Karnál 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 tabn the whole village. The boy’s father in turn can only go to the girl’s village by her father’s leave.⁷

The tabu 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 ⁸ 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 halwás keep some kusa or dub grass, cynodon dactylon, in the baskets of sweet stuff during an eclipse.⁹

A widespread tabu is that placed upon buildings of burnt brick or stone.¹⁰

² Ib., I, § 114.
³ Ib., I, § 619.
⁵ Ib., I, § 1002.
⁸ P. N. Q., II, § 887.
⁹ Ib., I, § 705.
¹⁰ Ib., I, § 755.
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 taboo on the use of milk which is found amongst 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 deula in a practical form. But no evil consequences attach to the making and selling or eating of ghô 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 Koli's 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 ghô 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 ghô. 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 Dûm, a god who exercises sway around Nârkanda. He will not permit his devotees to deal in any way with pure milk or curds and even the ghô 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 milch cow could be brought from Kula 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. Q., IV, § 251. Very different ideas prevail elsewhere. Thus the Brahûi and Baloch nomads of Peshah will give milk in exchange for other commodities, but deem it a disgrace to make money by it, and among the Baidani in Arabia labkhân or 'milk-celler' is a term of disgrace: Burton's Al-Madîna, i, p. 216.
Milk tabus.

held" is the motto of celestial beings in the hills. Dúm, like the majority of interditing 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 sport 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. Ghri, curds 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 supplicant and after he has sacrificed a goat he may assume that the deity has vouchsafed the liberty to use the ghri 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 Dúm, 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 Dúm'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 ghri. Also in the olden days it was the policy of the rulers to depress their menials 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 *dudhár* 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 *suchcha*—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 *deota* Nág or Deví, under whose special protection the cow is considered to be and who is called *jakh*, after which the milk ceases to be *suchcha* 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 *jakh* 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 Rájés 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 Bhágá Valley, especially in Pádar, Pángi and Lahul the milk is kept *suchcha* after calving only for 9 to 12 days. Then an offering is made to the Nau grab and local deity in much the same way as in Chamba, except that instead of a live goat the imitation of one in *āta* 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 *suchcha* or devoted to the local Nág or Deví. The cows are milked as usual and the milk accumulates in the special receptacle called *whár*.  

**Milk tabus.**
Agricultural omens.

It is churned at intervals and the butter so procured is made into ghī, which is stored up, while the buttermilk is drunk at special gatherings. On special days also some of the curds, milk and ghī are offered to the Nāg. All this is done when the cattle are up in the puhāll 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 hard 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 ghī 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 puhāll or mountain pasture. The ghī 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 labus. 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 Brahamans and mullās 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.¹

Good and bad omens are much regarded in Chamba. If a chakor (Greek partridge) cackles 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 cook 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 tāra and is unlucky to its purchaser. Hair growing in the wrong way on a horse’s neck is a bad omen called puṭha bāl, as is also a tuft of hair anywhere on the animal. White hair near the hoofs or on the forehead, called panjikalyāṇi, is considered auspicious.²

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 ghīf 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 hiccup is slight some relative is thinking of you: if troublesome, some one is abusing you. If the eyelid quivers grief is near. A spider on the body means good clothing or a friend in prospect.

¹ Attock Gazetteer, p. 107.
² See p. 226 supra.
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 chela 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 grah. An elephant in a dream means that Ganesh is angry and must be appeased. If a little child appears saying pleasant things Káli is benignant, but if something unpleasant is said Káli needs to be appeased. If a boy appears Mahádev is signified. A snake coming towards the dreamer to bite him is a bad omen. If 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.1

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 curds 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 or 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 faqir or sadhu.2 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.3 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.4

Divination, Possession, Exorcism and Charms—Such being the varied choice in the matter of malevolent spirits offered to

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1 P. N. Q., III, §§ 680-1.
2 Ib., I, § 789.
3 Ib., I, § 780.
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.\footnote{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)\footnote{2} or 'wise men' (gyāna), and they generally work under the inspiration of a snake-god, though sometimes under that of a Saiyad (see above). The power of divination is generally confined to the lower and menial (?) 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' (khelna, khal khalina). 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 butter-lamp is lighted, the music plays, the diviner sometimes lashes 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 fuad (prospis:spicigera)—beneath which the shrine stands, and such trees may often be seen covered with the remnants of those offerings, blue being the predominating colour if the shrine be Musalmán, and red if it be Hindu.

The Jats and Baloch of Dera Ismáil Kháñ and Miánwáli 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 Husain Kháñ Baloch, who told me, got a sword-cut all the same from a Wazir near Pezu in Edwardes' time. Passing a hut in Multán an old woman came out and cried \textit{Ahí nil}

\footnote{1} In the hills, however, magic is said to be common; and in the plains certain men can charm the livers out of childbirth, and so cause them to pine away and die. Englishmen are often credited with this power.

\footnote{2} The term Bhagat, I believe, properly applies only to the devotees of the goddess Devi. But it is locally used by the villagers for any wise man or diviner.
"Oh blue man, blue man—what shall I give my child for the cough?" I did not know the answer and foolishly promised some medicine. She told me I ought to have bid her steal something from a neighbour's field or house, as that would have cured the cough. There are many other spells of this class but people will not own to any knowledge of them.

Earth taken from a sweeper's grave or from a Hindu burning place, moulded into the shape of an enemy and the Surat Yasin 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 Sayyid from Multán who could control the jinns appeared at Leia and Bhakkar in Mianwáli. He produced cooked food from the air, pomegranates out of season, pots of ghí and at the instigation of a Leia money-lender, rupees. It is admitted that a man who possesses a full knowledge of the great names (išm) 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 išm's repeated before going into court or before a hikim are certain to gain favour for the sayer.

Amulets are much used. A headman to prevent the anger of a justly incensed hikim from falling on him sat with an amulet tied conspicuously on his sáfa. 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 Kálí are also believed to cause demoniacal possession. When a man becomes thus possessed, the pravít ascents 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 pujaí 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. Dháup is not offered, nor is music played, and as a rule, no manusrás are read, but in rare cases Kálí is thus invoked:

Kálí chari char char kát kát,
Dehi ko khái,
Páni báhi samundar ká, bhút,
Churét bhasam ho jái.

"Kálí 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 Musalmān, small and great, has its fairs held at fixed dates which attract worshipers more or less numerous according to its renown. Some of these fairs, such as those at Thānesar on the occasion of an eclipse, those of Bābā Farīd at Pāk Pattān, and of Sakhi Sarwar at Nigāha 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 Dīwālī or feast of lamps of the Hindus, which falls on Kāṭik, 11th, is called by the villagers the little Dīwālī. On this night the pītr or ancestors visit the house, which is fresh 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 dunghill, saying, dalādrī aūr kā:  "May thriftlessness and poverty be far from us!" Meanwhile they prepare for the celebration of the great or Gobardhan Dīwālī, 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 loaves 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 loaves 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 Brahmins, and the bullocks have their horns dyed and get extra well fed. Four days before the Dīwālī, i.e. on Kāṭik 11th, is the Devulha Gīyāras on which the gods awake from their four months' sleep, which began on Hāy 11th. On the night of the devulhās 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 15th and 11th of Phāgān the villagers worship the aonla tree, or phyllanthus emblica, mentioned by Huen Tsang as being so abundant beyond Delhi. This tree is the emblic myrobolus, a representation of the fruit of which is used for the finial of Buddhist temples. Its worship is now connected with that of Shiv: Brahmans will not take the offerings. The people circumambulate the tree from left to right (prikammas), pour libations, eat the leaves and make offerings, which are taken by the Kaṇphaṭe 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.

1 Dalādrī = 'thriftless, lazy', and so 'poor'
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, Diásul, 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 Shukr or Venus is in declension, brides do not go to their husbands’ homes, nor return thence to visit their fathers’ houses. On the Biloch frontier each man is 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 buja or bujif, ‘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 Musalman 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 kyā, main ne tere hāle til chhūbe hain?: ‘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 Chet, Poh and Mágh are regarded as unlucky, and are called kāle mahīne or black months. The people like to hear the name of Chet first from the lips of Pumnas, and the name of Mágh is best heard from a class of Brahmans 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 Bhōd, both it and the calf must be given away to avert misfortune. 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 dates. Thus, on the 1st, 2nd, 11th, and 18th journeys must not be made towards one quarter; on the 3rd, 4th, 13th, and 14th towards another; on the 5th, 6th, 15th, and 16th towards a third, and on the 7th, 8th, 17th, and 18th towards the fourth. On the 9th, 10th, 19th, 21st, 28th, and 30th the traveller is free to face as he pleases.
Unlucky times.

A woman must not wash her head on a Friday, or her brother will become sick. This is called *gal lagdi*. 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 *kichari* (a mixture of dāl 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 *kichari*.

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 shānti*. 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 *gūrbār*, usually a birthday, on which no work must be done; the special day is indicated by a *pāndit*.

Every Saturday the Bániás of Multán pour oil and gram over small raised spots where streets cross. This is done in honour of Sani or Saturn.

On Sundays and Tuesdays salt should never be eaten. By refraining the gods are propitiated and will supply all wants.  

In some parts of the Punjab salt is not eaten on a Sunday. At Multán all Hindu shops were closed on Sundays.  

Friday is an unlucky day for sport in Ráwalpindi.

Saturday, Sunday and Tuesday are all unlucky days for the sale of cattle or *ghā*, lending or borrowing money, and shaving. 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.  

\[ Sāwan ghorī, Bhādōn gāt, \]
\[ Māgh mās jo bhuins bijāc, \]
\[ Jī Bravo, khasmēn khāic. \]

"The mare that foals in Sāwan, the cow that calves in Bhādōn and the buffalo in Māgh, will either die or kill her owner."

1 P. N. Q., IV, § 498.
2 *ib., III, § 409.
3 *ib., II, §§ 739-744.
4 *ib., III, § 21.
A mare foaling in the day-time too is unlucky. In Baháwalpur 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 forecasted from the number of kittens born in a litter during the preceding cold weather: thus, if the usual number is 4 or more the rains will be ample; if 2 it will only rain for 2 months; if one, then the monsoon will fail utterly.\(^1\)

It is in the Deraíját 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.\(^2\)

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\(^3\) 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 on Monday or Saturday to go west.\(^4\)

The Patháns of Kohát have few beliefs about unlucky days. Saturday is khálí, 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 parasthán.\(^5\)

As a rule, in Dera Ismail Khán, both ploughing and harvesting are always begun on a Sunday. It is however unwise to cross the

\(^1\) Gurdaspur Gazetteer, 1914, p. 63. It might be suggested that some instinctive anticipation of a sufficient food-supply increases proliﬁcence, but statistical evidence is wanting. Such an anticipation is credited to the satírī or plower who is said to build its nest low down by the stream when the monsoon will fail 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 kitten in Jeth, donkey to have a foal in Sáwan, a camel to have young in Baisák, a goat in Poh or a dog in Chet. Probably at one time a complete pseudo-science of this kind existed. In Attock a Brahmán or a mulláh is consulted as to what should be done to avert these omens: Gazetteer, p. 107.

\(^2\) P. N. Q., II, §§ 987, 988.

\(^3\) Mangal Budh na jáiye pahár
Jiti báji diye ká́r.

\(^4\) Go not north on Tuesday or Wednesday,
Even if you win, it will cause you lose.'

\(^5\) Attock Gazetteer, p. 106.

\(^6\) Lit, ‘living elsewhere’: of pasána in Dera Gházi Khán.
Indus on that day:

_Aj Iitwâr, na langen pâr,_
_Matte jitta dwen hâr._

"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—

_Budh, Santchar kapra, ghâna Aitwâr,_
_Je sukh sutta loryen manji unyu Bomwâr._

"Put on new clothes on Wednesday and Saturday, and jewellery on a Sunday;

If thou desirest happy sleep weave thy couch on a Monday."

On the other hand many acts are lucky if done on certain days. Thus on Sunday eat betel (pân) 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 _chstâk_ will suffice. On Friday eat new bread and on Saturday white salt. By eating thus you will always reach your goal in safety.1

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 _halwâd_ to sell _batâshas_ (sugar drops), for a _basâd_ or clothier to sell red cloth (qand), for a Bánia to sell _ghi_ a _pansâri_ paper, a _kasera_ zinc, or for a Sarrâf to deal in gold.2

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 noontide is also unfortunate.3 How far these ideas are based on astrology it is difficult to say.

1 P. N. Q., II, § 30.
2 _Ib._, III, §§ 711-12.
Beliefs and Superstitions Connected with Unlucky Days.

Both Hindus and Muhammadans believe in the jogmadi or chihil abdul. The chihil abdul 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:

Note.—The numbers within brackets inside the square denote dates, while those on the corners and within the brackets outside the square signify directions.

1 There is a "sect" of Muhammadan faqirs in Kangra called Abdali who appear to be hard to the Hindu chiefs. They are also said to be found in Chamba. It is just possible that there is some connection.
The following lines give the dates on which the chihil abdál are in the different directions:—

Pahlí, náwín, solán, chawí, kakání1 vich pechán.
Do, dah, satará, punji, nairat2 sh. k na án.
Tarai, chhabí, ațhára, ydára vich jainbe jún,
Chár, lárá, satáwi, ñnt, maghríb shak na án,
Panj, tara, wth, tural dhiháre, baib3 de wich jún,
Chhe, ikki, ațháwí sacht much wich Isán4 peckhán,
Sat, chanda, unalíri, báwi mashraq gád réjat,
4th, pandra, tarth, tewí rehnde vich shimal.

That is, the chihil abdál occupy kakání (kakí) on the 1st, 9th, 16th and 24th, the nairat on the 2nd, 10th, 17th and 25th, the south (jainb) on the 3rd, 26th, 18th and 11th, the west (maghríb) on the 4th, 12th, 27th and 19th, the baib on three dates, viz. the 5th, 13th and 20th, the ñnt on the 6th, 21st and 28th, the east (mashrip) on the 7th, 14th, 29th and 22nd, the north (shamíl) on the 8th, 15th, 30th and 23rd.

It is asserted that the chihil abdáls were originally saintly persons whose prayers were acceptable to God, but that credulous Moslems have by degrees identified them with the Hindu jogins. But it must be confessed that the jogins are said to be 64 in number,5 whereas the abdál 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 abdáls to the Prophet himself. One Dayá-Kalbi 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 sous. Appalled at this event Dayá-Kalbi 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 abdáls, but on his announcing himself as Muhammad they refused to discuss matter with one so proud, and only when he proclaimed himself as

1 Kakání is not explained.

2 Nairét, Sanskr: Fr. nír-ríti = south-western; Platta, 1106. It is also said to mean red, originally, and hence south-west.

3 Baib is said to be derived fr. ba or wa, wind, and to mean the corner whence the wind comes—Sanskr. védý-kasa or védý kaon (Platta), the wind corner or N.-W. (In Hind baib = "at a distance, a far off."

4 Isán is said to mean "rising" in Sanskr.; hence = "north-east." It is also a name of Siva: Platta, p. 112.

5 E. g. in the Granth, cf. Macauliffe, Life of Guru Nának (p. 82.) For the legend among the Gujars of Hazâra etc. cf. P. N. Q., II, §§ 1071: also § 1071, and 1130.
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 a goat, which the abdāls 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 abdāls 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 joginān is based on astrology. They are believed to occupy the following points of the compass on the tithis or lunar dates specified:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
2, 10
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
7, 15 (\text{Pāranmasī)} \\
14 \text{W}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
1, 9 \\
5, 13
\end{array}
\]

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 Ambāla puts it, they go from E. to N., S.-E., S.-W., S., W., N.-W., and N.-E., on the prithemā to the ashtami, and again from the naumi to the purimā and amāvas.

It is unlucky to travel in the direction in which the joginās are on any given day, but this omen may be evaded by the device called pastānā in Dera Ghazī Khān. This consists in throwing salt, or one of

\[\text{Of. parasahān in Kohat.}\]
The dikshul.

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 jogins are in a different direction. Hindus also throw rice, sugar etc. with a pice, tied up in red cloth.

The dikshul or point at which a spear is hanging is as follows:—

Chihil Abdal.

On Sunday in the E. ... ... W.
,, Monday in the W. ... ... E.
,, Tuesday and Wednesday in the N. ... N.
,, Thursday in the S. ... ... S.
,, Friday in the E. ... ... W.
,, Staturday in the W. ... ... E.

For facility of comparison the directions in which, according to a Persian quatrain, the chihil abdul, or rajal-ul-ghaib, are found are also given. Their E. and W. day are the converse of those assigned to the Hindu dikshul. It is auspicious, when on a journey, to one's wealth to have the chihil abdul on the left hand, and if they are behind one all enemies will be destroyed. But if on the right they augur 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 jogan kadi na ras.
Pichhe jogan paanche as,
Dahne jogan yas dhare,
Bahnwan jogan 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."

1 Of which one version runs:—

Ba yakshamab-o-Jumah maghrab marau,
Ba doshambah-shambah-mashraq marau
Ba eikshamab-o-chashambah shamdi
Janabi taraf panjshambah waddi.

This is rendered in the Western Panjabi of Dera Ghazi Khan thus:—

Chanchhan Som na jdwain mashriq,
Adit Juma gurab ;
Mangal Budh shaml do no wanjan
Khams junub.

But in Dera Ismail Khan both the Baloch and Jat say:—

Khams di dihar lamme na wanjan,
Mangul, Budh ubhe na wanjan ;
Adit wa jumah dilur na wanjan,
Subar te Chanchhan dihar di na wanjan.
The joginiāṇa 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:

![Diagram of Joginis]

The joginiāṇa (or jogs) 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 jogini, by name Yoga or Jogeshri, along with the Moon, completes its revolution round the earth in 24 hours or 60 ghātis. If during its revolution it joins with Chandramāṇ (Moon), Budh (Mercury), Shukra (Venus) and Brihaspati (Jupiter) in a Jol-rāši, i.e. in one of the signs—Kīr (Cancer), Min (Pisces), Kumb (Aquarius) or Makar (Capricornus)—the result is rain; if with the Sūrya (Sun) and Mangal (Mars) in an Agni-rāši, i.e. in one of the signs—Mekh (Aries), Singh (Leo) or Brichak (Scorpio)—the result is fire; if with Chandramāṇ (Moon) and Shanichar (Saturn) in a Vayū-rāši, i.e. in one of the signs—Tula (Scorpio)
or *Dhan* (*Sagittarius*)—the result is a storm. And if with *Rāhu* (*a planet*) and *Sanichar* (*Saturn*) in a *Prithvi-rādhi*, i.e. in one of the signs—*Kanyā* (*Virgo*), *Mithun* (*Gemini*) or *Brih* (*Taurus*)—the result is an earthquake.

(2) The *jogini* known as *Shārdūl* also completes its revolution in 60 *ghatis*. 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 *Vijayi* or *Pakšh* completes its revolution in 15 days. In the bright lunar half it travels towards the east and *Agni Kon* (south-east) but in the dark half in the opposite direction, viz. *Isān* (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 *Jogins*, such as *Bālá, Shāvid, Saukrānti, Grah, Lagni* 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 *jogins' head quarters* are in the—

- East in the month of *Kārat*.
- South-east in the months of *Jēth* and *Moghar*.
- South in the month of *Sāwan*.
- South-west in the months of *Hār* and *Phāgan*.
- West in the month of *Bhādon*.
- North-west in the months of *Chet* and *Māgh*.
- North in the month of *Am unicorn*.
- North-east in the months of *Baisākh* and *Poh*.

The Moon too like the *Jogins*, *Dishāsil* or *Rāhu 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 2½ days to pass through each of the twelve signs of the *Zodiac* as is apparent from the following diagram:
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 Capricornus.</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 2½ 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:

![Diagram of the Moon's directions and signs]

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 joginiän, dishdšál, káľ-chakra etc., are fully counteracted.

Like the joginiän and the Moon, the nakshatras, 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 nakshatras are losing ground, as compared with the jogs and the Moon. Some people even now pay some regard to them in ascertaining luck or
The nakshatras.

unlucky days. The following diagram will throw some light on the nakshatras:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samudra (Direction)</th>
<th>Nakshatra.</th>
<th>Tith.</th>
<th>Day.</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>Muli</td>
<td>(1st)</td>
<td>Saturday...</td>
<td>Monday...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Ruhni</td>
<td>(8th)</td>
<td>Tuesday...</td>
<td>Sunday...</td>
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<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>Aryavati</td>
<td>(14th)</td>
<td>Chandra...</td>
<td>Friday...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>Hast</td>
<td>(18th)</td>
<td>Tara...</td>
<td>Thursday...</td>
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<tr>
<td>East (N.-E.)</td>
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<td>Do.</td>
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<td>West (S.-E.)</td>
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<td>...</td>
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<td>Monday...</td>
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<td>South (N.-W.)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Tuesday...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North (S.-W.)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Friday...</td>
<td>Sunday...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To avert the evil effects of diśkāśāl, one should on the following days take the things noted against each, before proceeding on a journey:

- Sunday: ... Ghi (clarified butter).
- Monday: ... Milk.
- Tuesday: ... Jaggery.
- Wednesday: ... Sesamum.
- Thursday: ... Curd.
- Friday: ... Barley.
- Saturday: ... Urd (māsh).

In a month five Sundays forecast epidemic.

... Tuesdays, terror and fear.
... Saturdays, famine or drought.

Each month has been divided into—

(1) the suddi (bright lunar half) and (b) badi (dark lunar half).

During the bādi the days from the purva (1st) to panchmi (5th) are lucky and from the panchmi (6th) to the amāvas (15th) mediocre or middling. Those from the ekam (1st) (of the bright half) to the panchmi are deemed unlucky, from the panchmi to the aashmi (10th) mediocre, and from the dashmi to the pūrammāsh (15th) lucky.

Like the Diśkāśāl, Rāhū Chakra or Kāl Chakra has its evil influences. Hence it is essential to ascertain its situation also while
Lucky hours.

going on a journey. The belief is that Kāl Chakra while in front or on the right is very inauspicious and dangerous, but otherwise propitious. The following diagram shows its situation on different days of the week:

If you get yourself shaved on a—

Sunday, your age will decrease by 1 month.
Saturday,, "","","","","","", 7 months.
Tuesday, "", "", "", "", "", 8 ,, "
Wednesday "", "", "", increase,, 5 ,, "
Monday, "", "", "", "", "", 7 ,, "
Thursday, "", "", "", "", "", 10 ,, "
Friday, "", "", "", "", "", 11 ,, "

Certain hours of the days of the week are also considered lucky. These are termed zakki or chaugharia-mahurat. The following lines

1 The Indian day (and night) has four degrees of auspiciousness:—(i) zakki A., good ; (ii) bān A., intermediate ; (iii) rih, air ; and (iv) ibrāq A., burning. Of these the effects of rih are ephemeral, passing by like the air; and those of ibrāq are most beneful. The following is the scheme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
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Lucky days and unlucky names.

give the lucky hours of the various days:—

Zakki, *Ait* (or Sunday), Jumma, Khamis pahr dhayan pichchhe.

Adhe pahr thin pichchhe Chhanchhan' jo koi zakki puchchhe.

Deth pahr thin pichchhe zakki Mangal bujh Sawár.

Awwal zárá ákhar adhá zakki hoi Budhwár.

The zakké hours on Sunday, Friday, and Thursday begin at 2¾ pahrs after sunrise; 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 pahar 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:—

Sankrát mítî dim páñchweñ nánweñ sótwew só

Das tikkés chaubhs din, khat din prithùi só

"On the 1st, 5th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 21st and 24th days of every lunar month 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 Núrpur, Basohli and Jammu. This prejudice doubtless arose in consequence of the frequent wars with these States in olden times. If it is necessary to refer to Núrpur, the phrase Sapparwála Shahr or the ‘rocky town’ is used, while Basohli and Jammu are spoken of as páílā muñk, that is ‘the country across the Rávi.’ This superstition is very common in all the north-eastern Punjab, e.g. in Hoshiárpur, where it is also ascribed to the fact that some of these unlucky places were the sites of Sikh tollpests and so on. But the new name, which must be used before breakfast, is not always more auspicious than the old. Thus Talwára where Goler and Núrpur used to meet Dáda Síba and Datápur in fight is styled Kálíádóh or the place of the fight, kalha, or Barapínd, the ‘big village,’ or Chandrapínd, the ‘unlucky’ one.

Wasting diseases are often attributed to a form of witchcraft called ráyá or masán. A woman will collect ashes from a masán or

1 Chhanchhan in the south-west Punjab = Sanschar, Saturn or Saturday.

2 A Jullundur version is:—

Sankrát mítî dim páñchweñ nánweñ sótwew só,

Das, tikkí, chaubhs din, khat din pírthùi sówew:—

that is on the sankrát 5th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 21st and 24th, six khat days, the earth sleeps: according to Purâna S. B., § 16.

3 Hoshiárpur Gazetteer, 1904, p. 74. Kalha does not appear in the Punjabi Dicty', but it may be connected with the word ghatha-ghara—s. v., p. 379.
burning-ground and cast them over an enemy's child, causing it to waste away, while her own child thrives. Hence the proverb: Sāhu-
kār ko hāsanā, bālāk ko māsān—'the banker battens 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 Āseb 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 (hīk) 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, sidr sing or gīdar 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 sikdris.

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 (manka) which applied to a snake-bite absorbs the poison and swells. Dropped then into milk it is squeezed and the poison drips out. This cures the patient. If not put into milk, the manka will burst.

Among other quaint remedies for sickness are pea-fowls' legs, for fever and ear-ache: soup made from the white paddy-bird (bāsla), 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, thrice around the thumb, and then putting it round the big toe at night, for a fortnight ending on a Tuesday, the day sacred to Hanūmān.
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.

Owl's flesh, particularly the heart, is a potent love-philter, making the recipient fall violently in love with the giver. Nothing can destroy the affection thus engendered. 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.

For spleen use the flesh of the uggā or peewit, a bird which, it is believed in the Mānjha, will cause the death of any animal if it fly round it seven times, unless the following charm be used: its owner must strip himself naked and draw a line of cow dung 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.

Epilepsy is cured by administering a snuff made from dried worms snorted out by male camels during the rutting season, and which are believed to live on the animals' brain.

In the hills a curious belief exists regarding the akār-bel or 'heavenly creeper,' as it is called in Punjabi. Crows are said to pluck twigs of the Cuscuta reflexa and anguina 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 8 days. Antimony is obtained at the Karangli hill near Pind Dādan Khān. Once a faqir 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 Kumbli, the lowest hell.
To cure obstinate 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 amrit or ambrosia, a cure for sores of long standing.¹

Remittent fever may be cured by taking a spinning-wheel and placing it on a cot in the sun.² The wheel, doubtless represents the sun.

For tertian ague take a saucer, lid and stick on to a mall and say: '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 thrice with the peg to which a she-buffalo is usually tied.³ A whitlow can be cured by any sīhān or wise man. Place the hand on the ground palm downwards and keep it as steady as possible while the sīhān sits before you and hits the ground hard with a shoe, muttering a charm and calling on the demon of the whitlow with implications to withdraw. If your hand moves in spite of you, the disease will be cured.⁴ 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 ague 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 madār (asonias gigantea) on his fingernails, secretly, so that no one else sees it done and on a moonless (nīhāvda) Sunday. For a quartan fever tie a thread seven times round a kikār 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.⁵

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.⁶

A strange cure for tertian fever is to make a pretence of burying your village headmen, 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.⁷

To stay tertian fever get a mantra written on a pāphul leaf, wash it and drink the water.⁸

¹ P. N. Q., I, § 1024.
² Ḑū., III, § 280.
³ Ḑū., I, § 866.
⁴ Ḑū., I, § 938.
⁵ Ḑū., I, § 921.
⁶ Ḑū., I, § 251.
⁷ Ḑū., II, § 251.
⁸ Ḑū., I, § 596.
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 nula or hydrotherapy is alleged to cause steady bowels, healthy eyes, free action of the throat and a less inclination to small-pox.1

Another instance of treatment by shock is furnished by the Bánias 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 bhagat sás or groom.

Lingering labour may be relieved by giving the school-boys in the village a holiday, or by administering water in which the asárband or girdle of a Rájá or holy personage has been washed.4

In cases of lingering illness Hindus recite the Bhogavad Gita or Vishnu Sahasranáma to the patient for 3, 4 or 7 consecutive days. Sikhs recite the Adi Gráth instead. The patient ought to die or recover on one of these days.5

Relief from sickness, or at least a painless death, can be obtained by performing tuladán, in which rite the rich sufferer is weighed against silver and the seven kinds of grain called satnája, while the poor may be weighed against copper and coarse grain. The coins and grain go to the Dákauts. It is also well to break a cocoanut that rattles over the satnája, so that its milk may be sprinkled all over it.6

Bathing in the Rávi is regarded by Hindus in Lahore as a sure cure for obstinate dyspepsia, that river being very sacred.7

Sayyids and Pátháns 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 99 names of God. The women throw these pills into the nearest tank or river.8

To cure toothache, which is due to a weevil, take a bit of paper and write on it 786, the numerical value of the invocation Bismilláhi’-r-rahími-r-Rahmán and under the figures write the charm Yá sáhəq lund ‘O Changer of colour’—all in Arabic. Fix the paper to any tree except the sacred pipal and banyan (bór) by a nail through the gáf in sahag. This causes instant cure if done first thing in the morning.9

Just as trees have casts, so have fevers, and the first step in their cure is to ascertain the caste of the disorder. Some fevers are scavengers (mákhar), some farmers, others Gújars or cowherds, and so on. A Gújar

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1 P. N. Q., 1, § 584.
2 IIB., II, § 342. This recitation is apparently called an šahini or inapposite saying.
3 IIB., II, § 37.
5 IIB., II, § 882.
6 IIB., II, §§ 984, and 111, § 201.
7 IIB., IV, § 82.
8 Mrs. F. A. Steel in P. N. Q., 1, § 533.
9 P. N. Q., II, § 814.
fever is cured by giving plenty of milk. If it is a mihlar, make the patient sweep the floor; if it is a zamfnddr, let him plough; and so on. If the fever spirit be a thief, go at midnight to the graveyard and get a clod of earth, put it to sleep with the patient and next morning hung it on a kitkar tree. This is an infallible remedy as it hangs the fever-thief. This casts of fever comes stealthily by night. But if the night-fever be not of this caste, 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 yourself.' 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 Imám Mahdí 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 Dehli District branding Chamárs on the back has been resorted to as a means to extirpate 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.⁶

Transference of cattle-disease is effected by a rite called rórá dáláná or nikálná, rórá being the articles carried in procession to the boundary of the infected village and thrown into the confines of the one adjacent to it. In one case under a jogi'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 sirás (acacia spectabilis).⁵ 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.⁷ A simpler method is to get a fáqir to write a charm on a wooden label, hang inside a pot like theapper of a bell and hang it over the village gate. It will ring when the wind blows and stay the disease.⁶

¹ Mrs. F. A. Steel in P. N. Q., I, § 352.
² P. N Q., II, 774.
³ Ib., II, § 989, and I, § 1012.
⁴ Ib., I, § 327, I, § 598.
⁵ Ib., I, § 238.
⁶ P. N. Q., I, § 780. Saturday and Sunday are in some way sacred to horned cattle, for cattle, leather and gáti must not be bought or sold on those days. And all cattle dying on those days are buried, not eaten by the village menials: ib. I, § 1015.
⁷ Ib., I, § 532. A similar rite is performed in cases of cholera epidemic: ib. 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.

Tlc'na or tona 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 potsherds 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 Hazāra a more elaborate rite is used by the Gūjars against cattle-plague. The infected animals are placed in a circle and a mullāh or some person of saintly descent goes round them thrice. Each animal is then passed under a long piece of cloth in which a Qurān 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 kār 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 pharakhā. 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 lōta and making him smell it.

Mūlā or blight may be expelled from a crop by enticing a Hindu named Mūl Chand or Mūlraj 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 nām will cure rheumatism, cough and biliousness. They procure salvation in the next world and safety in this. Recited after meals they help digestion and bring good luck.

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1 P. N. Q., I, § 1015.  
2 Jb., II, § 278.  
3 Jb., II, § 300.  
4 Jb., III, § 798.  
7 Montgomery S. E. (Punser), p. 82.  
8 P. N. Q., III, § 639.  
9 Jb., II, § 248.  
The worship of Shiva.

MODERN HINDUISM.

SHAIVAS AND VAISHNAVAS—The grand distinction in actual practice between Shaivais (including Shaktis) on the one hand and Vaishnava 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 Hindustán,” as the author of that very curious book, the Dábistán, 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 Deví are of two classes,—those who worship Vishnu-Deví and who are in every respect Vaishnavas being on the one class, while those who worship Káli-Deví and to whom the term of Shiva is more applicable constitute the other. Of antagonism between the Vaishnavas and the Shaivais 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 tulsi bead; those of the other of the rudráksha plant. The Vaishnavas worship in the Thákurdwásars where Rám or Sítá or Lachman is enthroned: the Shaivas in Shiválas or Shivvdálás 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 Bánia is almost always a Vaishnava; the Brahman, unless he belongs to a clan which has Bánias for patrons (jaimán), is generally a Shaiva.

The Shaivas.

The terms Sháiva and Shakti.—A worshipper of Shiva 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 Deví. 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 Deví, 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 to Deví worshippers.

1 I have changed ‘clients’ here to ‘patrons;’ the term jaimán means, literally, ‘he gets a sacrifice performed’—H. A. H.
 Shiv.—The wonderful mingling of attributes in the great deity Shiv, 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 reverenced under each of his many characters and many attributes. To some he is the great primeval cause, the origin of creation, the "Sadá Shiv," the god that ever was and ever will be. His worshippers, following the Musalmán terminology, sometimes term him Bábá Adam. To others he appears as the pattern ascetic: powerful by his austerities and terrible in his curses: he feeds on bhang; he takes one-and-a-quarter mounds of bhang 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 adorers has probably no meaning whatever beyond the fact that it is a representation of Shiv. In the plains the ling forms the central object of worship within the dark, narrow cell which constitutes the ordinary Shivála or Shiv temple; and it is only in the hills that it is commonly to be seen outside or by itself; but in the Punjab, generally speaking, the worship of the ling is not so prevalent or prominent as in Benáres and other places, where the worship of Shiv is in greater force.

Shiv has 100 names, but the commonest of all is Mahádeo, 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 Shambá, the Venerable One. They call him also Sheouarain, and his following is known as Sheo-mat, Sheo-dharm, or Sheomarg. His strongholds are mostly outside these provinces, at Benáres, Rámeswar, Kidárnáth, Somnáth, Baijnáth etc. The Ganges, which flowed from his matted hair, is specially sacred to his followers. Their chief scriptures are the Shiv Purán and Uttam Purán. They worship at the Shivála 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 rudráksha.

All castes are worshippers of Shiv; 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 Shiv is mainly a Brahman worship, and it is undoubtedly most prevalent where the Brahmans have most power—a fact which conflicts somewhat with the theory sometimes put forward that Shaivism is a remnant of the aboriginal religions of the country. The following of Shiv is in these provinces confined mainly to the high class Brahmans and Khatris, and the example of the latter is followed by the Sunáres, or goldsmiths, and the Thátheras, or copper-workers; the Maheeri Báníás are also his devotees: but among the ordinary agricultural community the worship of Shiv is uncommon and the Shiválas 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 Shiv is worshipped extensively, especially by all the lower castes. The home of Shiv is believed to be the peak of Khaskar
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 deas. 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 18,626 feet above sea-level, is a stone image of Shiv, called Sri Khand 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 49 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 Civaism in Mandi. The number of Thakurdwaras (Vishnu shrines) is seven only. Among the civalayas most are Lingatemples, but the oldest are dedicated to Civa Pancavaktva (i.e. the five-faced) whose curious images are remarkably numerous in Mandi.” Writing of Kangra, Dr. Vogel says:—“Though Civaism no doubt prevails everywhere and all the principal temples and tirthas 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 grosser 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:—

The Shrine of Balak Rupi, near Simjampur in Kangra.—One Ganesha Brahman, a parok of the Jaswal Rajas, gave up his office and took up his abode in Dhár Balak Rupi, whence he repaired to Har where the temple of Babá Balak Rupi now stands. His grandson, Jogu, when he was about 10 or 12 years old, one day went to his fields with a plough on his shoulder. In the jungle he met a young Gosain, who is so called because the Babá manifested himself while yet a child (6dák).
who asked him if he would serve him. Jogu consented, whereupon the Gosán instructed him not to tell anybody what had passed between them. Leaving the Gosán 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 Gosán, by name Kanthar Náth, who recited some mantras, blew on the thread, and told him to put it round the neck of Jogu, who on wearing it was partially cured. Kanthar Náth then advised Ganesha to take the lad to Bábá Lál Púri, a good Mahátmá who lived in the village of Ganyar Ganjhar, which he did. Lál Púri let him depart, telling him that he would follow him. He also declared that the Gosán whom the mad lad had met was Bábá Balak Rúpi, and that he had been afflicted because he had betrayed the Bábá. Ganesha went his way home, but Bábá Lál Púri reached Hár before him. Thereafter both Bábá Lál Púri and Jogi Kanthar Náth began to search for Bábá Balak Rúpi. At that time, on the site where Bálak Rúpi’s temple now stands, was a temple of Gugga, and close to it was a rose-bush. Bábá Lál Púri 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 (pindí) 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 (jot) of incense (dhúp; and finally by a current of water. Bábá Lál Púri said that all these were signs of Bábá Balak Rúpi. He then took the idol (pindí) to Neogá Nádi 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 Bhochar 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. Bábá Lál Púri and Kanthar Náth recovered it and brought it back to the place where it had first appeared. During the night it was revealed to Bábá Lál Púri in a vision that Gugga’s temple must be demolished and its remains cast into the Neogá Kund or used in building a temple to Balak Rúpi on the same site. This can only mean that the cult of Balak Rúpi is, or was, hostile to that of Gugga. Accordingly the idol was stationed on the place pointed out Bábá Lál Púri 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 Kanthar Jogi’s descendants. At that time Sasrám Chand Katoch was the Rájá of that territory. Rájá Abú Chand was the first to make a vow at the temple of Bábá Balak Rúpi in order that he might be blessed with a son. When he beget a child, the Bábá began to resort to more eagerly.

A Patiál Rájpút 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 Ráni; 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 Báalak Rúpi had again become manifest. The girl supplicated him and said that she would not believe him to be really Báalak Rúpi unless she married a Rájá, adding that if her desire 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 (khelná), as if under the influence of a spirit, and continued doing so day and night. The Rájá summoned all the sádhús and chelas. One of the latter said that the cause of the Ránis' being possessed by spirits was that a vow to Bába Báalak Rúpi 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 chela 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 (jib-dán), the artist who had made it died forthwith.²

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 Há́r Sambat 1902 and Rájá Partáb Chaud died on the 15th of Sáwan in that year. On that day Bába Báalak Rúpi's idol also perspired. For these reasons the bullock is worshipped and vows are made to it.

The játtrís (offerers) who make vows at the temple of the bullock on the fulfilment of their desires offer jopu topu and botna 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 Jogis who attend by turn.

Four fairs, lasting eight days, are held in Báalak Rúpi's honour on every Saturday in Jeth and Há́r. 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 jamwán (or shaving the hair of a child for the first time) is usually performed in Báalak Rúpi'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. Játtrís who make offerings (e.g. of a human being such as

1 Clearly the bull (śait) of Shiva.
2 Cf. the story on p. 207 supra.
Siddh Bairág Lok.

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 ghī are also offered. The offerings are preserved in the bhandhr (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 nawan, lit. 'new') unless they have offered some of it at Bálak Púri's temple. Fairs are held on each Saturday in Jeth and Hár.

There is another temple to Bálak Rúpi at Nagrota, but no fair is held there. It has been in existence for about 12 generations, and contains a marble image of Mahádeo, 4 fingers high. A Gosáin pujári manages it. His caste is Puri and got Úsab. He may marry, but a chela always succeeds his gurá. Worship is performed morning and evening, fried gram in the morning and bread in the evening being offered as bhog. Arti is also performed in the evening and a sacred lamp lit.

In Mandi Bálak Rúpi is described as another famous temple of Shiva in Bangáhal. He is worshipped in severe illness and is also supposed to remove ailments of all kinds. As a Siddh he has a shrine at Bálak Rúpi in Kamlá, and a smaller one at Hatli, both visited for the cure of diseases. Bálak Náth, the son of Shiva, appears to be quite distinct from Bálak Rúpi.

The shrine of Siddh Bairág Lok near Pálampur.—The founder of the shrine, when a boy, when herding cattle, once met a Gosáin 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 Gosáin. They gave him sattu for the holy man, but when about to cook it the boy complained that he had no water, whereupon the Gosáin struck the ground with his gaja (an iron stick) and a spring appeared, which still exists. The Gosáin did not eat the food, saying his hanger was satisfied by its smell. The boy then caught the Gosáin by the arm upon which the latter struck him with his hand and turned him into stone. The Gosáin 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 Bhat Brahman became possessed and saw all that had occurred. So a temple was erected and the place called Bairág (Gosáin) Lok, from alop, disappearance. As Bairág Lok had been a herdsman, he became peculiarly the god of cattle and fulfills vows made regarding cattle. The fair is held on Hár 3rd. He goats and corn are offered. In this temple there is also an image of Gorakhpáth, placed therein by a Goléria Míán in Sikh times. The stone idol of the boy has disappeared. The followers of the shrine regard the Gosáin as Gorakh-

1 Mandi Gazetteer, p. 41.
2 Jh., p. 40.
3 Jh., p. 88; see infra under Hinduism in the Himalayas, for the cults of Shiva in Mandi.
**Shiv temples in Kangra.**

nath himself. The keepers of the shrine are Gir Gosains and Bhát Brahman.¹

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>Pujárti</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
<th>Ritual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhaníár-Shivjí Gandhurb in the only remaining bastion of the Gandhurb fort which was destroyed in the Sikh times.</td>
<td>Brahman, got Samkariye and gotar Atri.</td>
<td>Shibrít on Phágán bádi chaudás. Vows are made for relief from periodic fevers and rof offered.</td>
<td>Bhát in the morning and soaked gram in the evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dújahu-Shivjí, founded in Sikh times by a Ráiput.</td>
<td>A Brahman is employed under the Ráipút pujárti.</td>
<td>None, but on 14th Phágán sudí people assemble to look at the idol of Shiva which is a span high and seated on a jaa-lehrí.</td>
<td>Fruit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Baij Nath at Pálampur. The story in that Ráwan meditated here and consequently obtained success in every undertaking.</td>
<td>Bhujki and Brahman. The pujárti is a Brahman, caste Samlú, got Kondal.</td>
<td>A fair lasting 4 days on the chaudás in Phágán.</td>
<td>It contains a stone ling of Shiva which is one foot high above the ground. A sacred lamp is kept lit day and night. Connected with this are the shrines of Laohmi Naráin and Sidd Nath.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹For other Siddh shrines see p. 278 infra.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place and name of temple</th>
<th>Pujári</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
<th>Ritual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Súraj Kund mandir</td>
<td>A Giri Gosáín, got Atlas</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>The largest building contains a stone pindá of Shiva, one span high; also an image of Man Mahesh seated by its side, 1/2 cubit 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 bhog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir or Thákur-dwára of Gupt Ganga</td>
<td>Brahman, Lagwáj, got Gúrg.</td>
<td>None...</td>
<td>The temple contains images of Shiva, Ganga and Narbada made of marble. That of Shiva 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 Kapáli Bhairón in Kángra town</td>
<td>A Jogi, got Alakh</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main tank is called Súraj Kund. Near it are three small tanks, called the Hám Kund, Sítá Kund and Lachhirma Kund. These buildings and tanks have been in existence about 550 years or from the time of Jahángír.
The mandir of Bir Bhadar Shúr, the subordinate god of Shiva, was founded in the Sat Yúg. It is held in great sanctity.

The mandir of Chakar Kund: the disc or chakar which killed the rakshasa Jālāndar fell on this spot; hence it was called Chakar Kund.

**THE CULT OF MAHÁDEO.**

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 Bháts and the Chárans. 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 Bhát, but of a bolder spirit, and placed him in charge of his favourite animals. Thenceforth no bull was ever destroyed by the lion.1

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.2 The flattery was not so gross as it might appear.

To Mahádeo are offered daily leaves of the bel, *Ægle marmelos*, called bil-patri, and tulsí *ki minjarán* or ears of the sacred basil,3 while amber gris is also burnt before him daily. To him in particular is sacred the pípál, though Shiva is found in its branches together with Brahma and Vishnu. The banyan tree is similarly sacred to Vishnu and the *nim* to Devi as Káli Bhiwáni.


2 Sleeman's *Rambles*, II, p. 241, quoted in P. N. Q. III, § 401. The story recalls the one told to Sir G. Robertson when he asked if Yush, 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 ká mela* of the hills with the cult of a river-god: see p. 213 *supra*. 
Cult names of Mahádeo are numerous. In the Simla Hills he is called Bhoteshar, from Bhothi, the name of a village in which his temple is situated.

The cult of Mahádeo is not only deeply seated in Kánpur, but it is also varied in form, Mahádeo being worshipped under various names. At Jawáli he appears as Kamteshar, as Kalishar in Kuthiára, as Narbadeshar in Sujánpur, as Bilikeshar in Sapra (Nádaun), as Tameshar in Nádaun, and so on.

The real history of the shrine of Bába Baroh Mahádeo, near Jawála Mukhi, is not known, but the story goes that under a banyan or bari tree (whence the name baroh) appeared an idol of stone still to be seen in Danaya, by name Káli Náth, whose merits Bába Lál Púri preached. In 1740 S. Dhián Singh, wazir of Goler, was imprisoned at Kotlá and a soldier at the fort, a native of Danáya, persuaded him to make a vow to Bába Baroh, in consequence of which he was released. The wazir however forgot his vow and so fell ill, until he made a large pecuniary offering to the shrine. In that year the small old temple was replaced by the present larger one under Bába Lál Púri. The followers of Bába Baroh keep a jholi (cloth bag), an iron chain, khará-sára (sandals), and a choli or shirt, in their houses. Grain is usually offered at the shrine, with flour, ghi and gur 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 játrí on his way home. Sometimes a kudhú 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.

Gowála was a holy man in Kánpur. 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: 'Thorns on this side and on that: she who wears the red veil is my wife.' The bridegroom 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 bridegroom: 'You gave me to him; I burn on the pyre with him.'

1 A temple to Mahádeo may owe its foundation to a trivial cause. e.g. the image of Mahádeva of Purap was found in a field named Majhoni. It resembled Shiva in appearance and hence it was called Mahádeva.

2 Ascribed to the time of the Pándavas, this temple contains a stone image called Gang Mahádeo, one span high.

3 Also ascribed to the time of the Pándavas. Before that Káli performed austerities at this spot.

4 Called after a conical stone or ling brought from the Narbada. the temple was founded by Ráni Parsan Devi, wife of Rájá Sansár Chand of Kánpur. Founded in S. 1870 it was completed in S. 1882. On each side of it are 4 small shrines: a sun temple, containing an image of a man on seven-headed horse, 2½ ft high; a Gaës temple; one Chatarbhuj Devi; and one to Lachhmi Nárán. Each of these contains a stone image 3 ft. high. Bhog is offered five times a day, métari, milk, karpú, grain etc. being given.

5 Said to be called 'after the Biás and the Kanah.' It is said that 10,000 years ago the Pándas 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 Rájá Bhom Chand.

6 Founded by Rájá Abhi Chand (date not known). It contains a stone ling 4½ cubits high. Connected with it is a temple of Sílata containing 4 images.

7 This shrine seems independent of the caigns near Baroh.
This resolve she carried out, and the cairns erected in memory of Gowála'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>Girí: Góti, got Shívádáti ...</td>
<td>The temple contains a carving of Gang Bháiro Mahádeo on a black stone, 1 span high and 4 in circumference.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girí: Góti, got Shívádáti ...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Górt Lash.</td>
<td>It contains an image of Shíva, 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>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Górt Lash.</td>
<td>Rice in the morning only. The temple contains a black stone image (piñá) of Shíva, 6 ft. in circumference and 4 ft high. It is held sacred and worshiped largely by the people of Rihlu.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mandir of Gang Bháiro Mahádeo, in Achi, dates from the Satyug when Ganga came and sat down to rest. A few cows were grazing here and the cowherd called to one of them whose name was also Ganga. Ganga thinking she had been recognized by the man disappeared, leaving the marks 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 pípal tree.

The mandir of Tapteshwar Mahádeo in Baranj. A hot spring near the temple is attributed to the power of the god. It was founded by a Góler Rájá.

Chírī—Sri Soba Nath. There is a smaller mandir in the verandah of the temple. It is said that Soba Chand, Ráñá of Chírī, founded the small temple and named it after himself, but eventually it came to be called Soba Nath.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Pujārī</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Ritual, offerings &amp;c.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Kanjesar Mahādeo in Palampur was once the site of a grove of bel trees amidst which a crane made its nest. From its nest sprang Mahādeo and manifested himself. He was named Kunj after the crane. One night it was revealed to Rājā Dilāwar Chand of Kāngra 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 pīndi of Shiva in the bel forest and it was found among the trees where the temple was built. It was not long before the Rājā begot four sons. In fulfilment of his vow he celebrated a great fair.</td>
<td>A party of pāndas who attend the temple in turns. Their got is Kundal. The pujārī is always chosen from the pāndas.</td>
<td>Shivrātri in Phagān.</td>
<td>Bhog of dāl, bread and rice etc. is offered in morning. In the evening soaked gram is offered and distributed only among the low caste people, such as Chamās, Jāthās etc. But these low castes are not allowed to make offerings to the temple, nor are they admitted into it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Indar Shūr Mahādeo in Kāngra town. Once Rājā Indar in a procession passed Durba Rishi who offered him a garland which the Rājā, considering it beneath his dignity to wear, put on his elephant. The devotee in anger at this cursed him and ere long the Rājā was utterly ruined. So he resorted to the devotee and begged him to restore his lost blessings. He recommended him to worship Dev‘ Barash-wari and she pleased with his devotion restored his fortunes.</td>
<td>A Brāhman, caste Sāndal got Ko-shal.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>The temple contains a black stone pīndi of Shiva 4 fingers high and 3 cubits in circumference; and two images of Pāra Nath (sic).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Pujari</td>
<td>Date of fair</td>
<td>Ritual, offerings &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Nandi Kashur Mahadeo in Jadrargal is situated on the bank of the Ban Ganga river. It is said that Nandi-ji practised devotional exercises here and enshrined an image of Shiva whence the temple is called Nandi Kashur. It is said to have been founded by a Suket Rani.</td>
<td>A Bhatti Jogi, got Marichch.</td>
<td>No fair, but people gather on the Shivadri to look at the image.</td>
<td>The temple contains a stone pindi of Shiv-ji. It is a cubit high and a foot in circumference. It stands on a jahr. Either gur or soaked gram is used as bhog in the morning. In the evening only dhar is performed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bindi—Jum Mahadeo ...</td>
<td>A Gosain of the Sndaish got.</td>
<td>Jeth 13th</td>
<td>Sugar or fruit is offered as bhog in the morning and evening. The image of Indar Shur is a cone of stone 1 cubit high and a foot in circumference. Guga is mounted on a horse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guga Mahadeo and Indarshur Mahadeo at Chitr founded by the same Rajo who founded Kidar Nath's temple at Shurah.</td>
<td>A Bharthi Gosain who is elected from the cholas.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>The temple contains a white stone image, 4 fingers high, brought from the Narbada.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghansara—Mahadeo, Inlehar, founded by a Bharthi Gosain in time of Ranjit Singh, some 200 years ago (!)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Temples to Mahádeo in Káagra.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Place.</td>
<td>Pujári.</td>
<td>Date of fair.</td>
<td>Ritual, offerings &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dal Kareri—Mahádeo Ghanberia: no temple.</td>
<td>A Jogi, by gotar Alákh.</td>
<td>Though there is no temple, a <em>pindi</em> of Shiva exists, and though no fair is held, people resort to the place for bathing on the <em>ashthmi</em> of the <em>Shúkal pachá</em> in Bhádón when the hill is clear of snow. The place is called after the image.</td>
<td><em>Bhog</em> is offered and begged goats etc. sacrificed in <em>bhog</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Dharmála—War-weshwar Mahádeo.</td>
<td>A Giri Gosáín ...</td>
<td><em>Sudi ashthmi</em> in Bhádón.</td>
<td><em>Bhog</em> is offered twice a day, rice or bread in the morning and soaked gram in the evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At Dharmála Mahádeo Bágau Náth: called by the Gaddis Bágau Nág, by others Bágau Náth, his real name is Bhogeshar.</td>
<td>A Giri Gosáín by gotar Atarsan, who is celibate.</td>
<td>Durga-ashthmi, <em>sudi</em> Bhádón. On the day of the fair, offerings of curd, <em>ghi</em>, milk or grain are made. Thread is also offered in lieu of a <em>fanéo</em> or sacred thread.</td>
<td>Worship is performed twice a day morning and evening. Something cooked is offered as <em>bhog</em> at noon. The black stone <em>pindi</em> of Mahádeo, 2 spans high, is said to have created itself. On the birth of a calf, people offer milk, curd and <em>gáti</em> which are called <em>jaká</em>. A young goat is also sacrificed, its head and limbs being taken, by the <em>pujári</em> as his perquisite;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the <em>mandir</em> of Mahán Kál in Pálampur the god Kál performed devotions. 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 Sáh Chand, a Katoch.</td>
<td>Bhabman, <em>got</em> Bodah.</td>
<td><em>Nirjálá ikdákh</em> in Jeób.</td>
<td>The temple contains a stone <em>ling</em> of Shiva, ½ foot above the ground. <em>Bhog</em> is offered at noon and evening, and then distributed among <em>foqtré</em>, the <em>pujári</em> 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 Sarj in Kulu few temples of Mahadeo are reported to exist. At Shangri Ishar Mahadeo has a temple which came to be founded in this wise: One Chandi, 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 deodar trees. The faqir told the Kanet that he had meditated there in the Dwapar Yug. Meanwhile a Brahman had joined them, and they asked him to dig at a certain spot where a pindi would be found. It was found accordingly and the faqir then disappeared. The temple was built at this spot and the pindi installed therein. The pujâris are Sarsut Brahmans.

Shamsheri Mahadeo derives his name from Shamsher, a village where he has five temples. A stone ling, resembling Shiva, appeared beneath some drub 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 Bhonda in Poh, the Shand on an auspicious day in Maghar, the Jal on the amavas in Phagan and the Parbat on Chet 8th. At the first-named two 400 he-goats 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 Mahadeo similarly derives his name from Bin, the village in which his temple stands. It is called Biâehra. Legend has it that in Bin lived two Thakars, named Jaín and Tadashú. A dispute arose between them and they fought at Malgidorâ, until a mahant or saint came out of the stream and bade them cease. Thakar Jaín asked him whence he had come and whither he was going. The saint replied that he had come from the land of the Kaurús and Pândavás. The Thakar begged him to settle the quarrel and when he had done so he and Jaín started for the Bías. On the road they were annoyed by a man at Sholad, 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 Mahadeo appeared in it of its own accord.

Jagesar Mahadeo has two temples in Sarj, one at Dalash on the Suslej and one at Rohru. The Shand is celebrated every 30 years at Dalash, and there are annual fairs at each temple. The story is that in the Dwapar Yug a devotee, Jagad Rishi, came down from Kailás 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 Mahadeo himself, who was born on the 6th of Bhâdon. In the morning the rishi found that he was blind, so he made a vow to Mahadeo, 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 a Jhinwar kârdár, but the pujâri is a Sarsut Brahman. Special reverence
is only paid to the 

Buda Mahádeo has a temple at Netar Dera. The story of its foundation is that Kapál Dip, an aged devote, meditated at its site for many years. At length he disappeared beneath the earth and thenceforth he was known as Buda Mahádeo. Once Rája 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 Kapál 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 Sáwan to the 15th Bhádon. Prába, a kind of fair, are also held in Chet, Phhgan, Jeth, Sáwan, Bhádon, Asuj and Poh. Low caste people are not allowed to make offerings.

Basheshar Mahádeo has a temple at Nirmand on the Sutlej. A cow was observed to yield her milk to a púndi hidden in long grass and so it was worshipped and a temple eventually built over it. The people of Nirmand use no milk or ghí till it has been offered to the púndi.

The temple of Bongru Mahádeo and Deví Harwá in Pháti Chanú is known by many names, such as Gashwála Deorá, Deori Deora, and Shigli. Annual fairs are held on the Shivrātri in Phágan, lasting for 15 days; during the three days after the Holi; on the Naurátras in Chet and Asáj; on the 9th and 12th Baisák; the 20th and 25th Hár; on the Puniyá in Sáwan; the 2nd, 4th and 5th Asúj; the 16th Káta; and on the 5th Maghar.

The story of its origin is that a Ráná when hunting reached the summit of a hill, and found a yogí deep in meditation, who told him that he came from Shivpuri and was Shivá himself. At the Ráná’s prayer the yogí accompanied him to his home at Kahá where he asked the Ráná 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 Harwá Deví. He then desired that a temple should be erected for this goddess also, and so a shrine was built in her honour.

Kulchhetar Mahádeo has a temple at Alwá, a village founded by Paras Rám after he had extirpated the Khatrís. A few Brahmans settled in it, and to them he gave a metal kala for worship. It was enshrined in a temple, and stands three cubits high.

At the temple of Bhanáb Mahádeo fairs are held at every Diwáli and on the 1st Baisák. The Bhunda is celebrated every 40 years, and is said to be followed by a Shán which is held every 12 years. The story of its origin is that a Tákur, Raghu, had a cow which was grazed by a blind boy on the further side of the river. A snake sucked the

1 The temple of Basheshar, Sanskr. Vishveshvara, Mahádeo at Bajaurá in the Kulu valley appears to give its name to that place. It probably dates from the 17th century when the Rájá of Kulu vigorously promoted the worship of Krishna and Ráma: Arch. Survey Rep. 1909-10, p. 20. It is suggested that the promotion of this worship was connected with the importation into Kulu of the militant Bairágis recorded by Lyall: Kangra Sutt. Rep., §§ 92 and 94, on p. 85 as having been made under Rájá Thedi Singh, 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 ere long 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 Bijli Mahádeo or Bijleshar, the lightning god, at Maltihán Dera, Jawanu, Larain or Larani at Laran, Manglishar, Síáli, Sangam and Shibrhárach, besides Gauri Shankar and Nilkanth:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deota Mahádeo</th>
<th>Chohki Dera</th>
<th>9th of the light half of Magbar.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deota Bijli Mahádeo</td>
<td>Maltihán Dera</td>
<td>1st of Chet and 1st of Hép, 1st to 7th Asúj, five fairs from 1st to 5th Baisák, Pípal Játá for 12 days at Sultánpur, 18th Baisák and 19th Baisák.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or Bijlishar Mahádeo</td>
<td>Dawala Washál Wangar</td>
<td>Shivrátri in the dark half of the month of Phágán for 2 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Gauri Shankar Mahádeo</td>
<td>Laran Dera</td>
<td>In Phágán, 2nd Chet, new year's day 1st Baisák, 1st Jéth, 1st Bhádón, Janam-sabtí and 1st Asúj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jawanu Mahádeo</td>
<td>Perá Jawánu Mahádeo</td>
<td>1st and 2nd Chet, during the same month in the light half of Parwa and Dutía, 1st to 3rd Baisák, 1st and 2nd Sáwan and 1st to 3rd Bhádón.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Larain Mahádeo</td>
<td>Laran Dera</td>
<td>6th Baisák and a yag every 2nd year from 1st to 4th Sáwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Manglishar Mahádeo</td>
<td>Chhanwar Dera</td>
<td>On the Shivrátri, the 4th of the dark half of Phágán and Káli Puja from 1st to 4th of Jéth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nilkanth Mahádeoji</td>
<td>Known by the name of its deity.</td>
<td>No fair, but two festivals called Tárá Rátri and Shiv Rátri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangam Mahádeo</td>
<td>Perá Sangam Mahádeo</td>
<td>26th of Phágán on the Shivrátri, 12th and 13th of Chet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Síáli Mahádeo</td>
<td>Perá Síáli Mahádeo</td>
<td>1st of Phágán.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Mandi Nangol Mahádeo in Lad has countless natural idols of Shiva. A Gáli 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 Mahabharata.) When Kot Ishwar Mahadeo began to oppress the people in Hát Koti the Brahmans thought that the god had become a rakshasa (devil), and two Brahmans, Obu and Shobu, by magic shut him up in a tumbi and corked up its mouth. The tumbi 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 tumbi 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 bhekhal bushes: one of the matriis soared to the top of the Tikkar hill, now called Kecheri, where she took up her abode in the kail trees; and the other flew across the Sutlej halting at Kheksu. 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 Batera, a village near Kumharsain, 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 Rajas then ruled this part of the hills which were held by the mawanna or matriis. Sunu, a powerful mawanna, heard of the god's miracles and began to worship him. Once he dreamed that the god did not wish to live at Mathana Jubar where a temple was proposed for him, but would prefer Pichla-tiba, now called Koṭi; 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 asht dhāt idol, but subsequently some 15 more idols of mixed metal were added as its companions. A rath (palanquin) was also made and the god seated in it at melas. Bhura, another contemporary mawanna, came to a melas organised in honour of the god by Sunu mawanua. 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 deota 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 mawanna 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 Brahmans of Hát Koṭi 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 deota appeared about the same time as Kot Ishwar. His worshippers offer him only gold or mawru cloth while Kot Ishwar can accept anything. Goats are usually sacrificed. The following melas called jāgras are held in honour of these deotas:
(1) Bharara on the 1st Jeth; (2) Madhaunt on the Rakhrì Punia in Bhâdon; (3) Madholi on the Purânmâshi day in Bhâdon; (4) Pati Jubar on the 6th or 7th Asâr; but at several places the pûrânas are held in Baisâkh and Sawan on any day that may be fixed.

Kot Ishwar ruled this part of the hills before the Geru or Jiâpu family settled at Karangla. Some time later the Geru brothers quarrelled over the partition of the kingdom, and so a cow-girl divided it into two parts, viz., Karangla and Kumhârsain. When the first Thâkur came to Kumhârsain the country was made over to him by Kot Ishwar, who showed him favour so that State has given him a jâgrî worth Rs. 506, and pays the expenses of his jâgrîs. Six generations ago Thâkur Râm Singh of Kumhârsain fought with Rânâ Pirthi Singh of Keonthal and the Thâkur gained a victory by his aid. Every third year the deotâ’s chari or staff is taken to all the bisûs, and when a new Rânâ ascends the gaddi the deotâ himself tours the country in a rath. Every house presents 4 pathas of grain. Kot Ishwar is the Kula Deo or Kul deota (family god) of the chief of Kumhârsain.

MAHÁDEO IN GURGAON.

The deotâ Sherkot of Kumhârsain has his temple in the palace at Kumhârsain. He is none other than Kot Ishwar himself, but is called Sherkot. None but members of the Rânâ’s family and the State parohits, who are called Sherkotu Brahmans, can go into his temple. It is said that the original idol of Kot Ishwar is kept here, and that the image at Mandholi is only a duplicate.

The temple of Bindeshwar Mahâdeo at Firozpur-thirka in Gurgaon is peculiarly interesting because its administration vests in a Hindu and as many Muhammadan Jogî 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 mohall. The Muhammadan Jogis are Bar-Gújars by tribe and ‘Isnâîl’ (sic) by panth or sect. They can enter the temple, but may not touch the image and take no part in the worship, doing only menial 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 Swâmî Dyál is held at Swâmkâ in tahsil Nûh on Kâtak sâdi 13th and 14th. An old man, Swâmî Dâs 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 Khâtris who keep the place clean and take the offerings. Their got is Jângar. 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 Nawâb of Hathin some thieves robbed people at the

1 Her decision is said to have been:—Jîs Keup tis Kanâr, Jîs Khekhar tis Dalâr—“He who gets Keup will get Kanâr and he who takes Khekhar shall have Dalâr.” (Keup and Khekhar are villages on the banks of the Sutlej and Kanâr and Dalâr are villages high up the valley. A stream, the Sawârî Khâch, 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 chāṭir or piece of cloth is offered on the grave, and offerings of cows and cash are also made. These are taken by the Muhammadan Rājpūts, 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 Bābājī, situate in Bajhere, a fair is held from Kāṭak sūḍ 14th to Mangsir bāḍi 1st, lasting 3 days. It begins at Swāmikā 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 pujārī, 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 got is Khajārī. A chhālā is lit by a Gaur Brahman every evening at each bedstead and the offerings consist of pice, sweets and other eatables. Some 6000 or 7000 people visit the fair. They are mostly Chamārs, but they only come to see the sights and make no offerings. The four bedsteads represent the four Bābājis or faqīrs. The eldest was the swāmī, the next his son, the other two his grandsons.

At the temple of Mahādeo at Nūh a fair, called the Jāl Jhalnī, is held on 11th Bhādon for 4 āhūrīs in the evening from 4 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 Pārsi funeral rites which might indicate a Zoroastrian origin. They are described by Monier Williams as semi-divine supposed to possess purity. They probably represent deified ascetics of ancient times. They are propitiated in the same manner as the Nāgs and Dēvis.

In Chamba there are temples to Siddhs at Chhatri, in pargana Kohal, at Alla in Pichhla Diur, at Ghorni in Kihar, at Jharoli and Saroga in Kihar, at Siddh kadera in Pāngi, and to Nanga Siddh at Rājnagar and at Mua in that pargana. It will be seen that all but the latter are nameless Siddhs. The temple at Chhatri is a square building one storey high, built of wood and roofed with slates, 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 pujārī are Rāthīs by caste. The temple contains 10 iron chains and 3 maces, which are taken from village to village during the 8 days after the janam-ashṭami. 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 Chhatri in construction, and all are said to date from the time of Mūsha Varma. Their images are precisely

the same in character, but vary in number, there being 4 at Alla, 2 at Ghorni, 5 at Sabil, 2 at Jharoli and Saroga, 1 at Rajnagar, and 3 at Mua (Moq). The chelas and pujastras are hereditary, but of different castes, being Chamars at Alla, Rathi at Ghorni, Sabil Brahman at Jharoli, Rathi at Saroga and Rajnagar, and Hills at Moq. In only one instance it will be seen are they Brahmans. The Siddhs of these places also go on tour precisely like the Siddh of Chhatari and at the same period. In some cases the chela and pujastra divide the cash offerings, reserving those in kind for the Siddh.1

Dewat Siddh.—The Siddhs 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 Girnar Parbat, a famous place of pilgrimage for a sect of jagird in Kathiwar. He was the disciple of Ridgir Sanisi, and wandered to Changar Talai in Bilaspur where he became the cowherd of a woman of the Lohar caste. Some Jogis3 attempted to convert him and pierce his ears by 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 300 years ago. A sacred fire (dhuni)4 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 Brahman, who receive 1/2nd 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 rot or large loaves are made for the other Siddhs. The followers of Dewat Siddh carry a small wallet (jholi) and a Jogi’s crutch (phanoi). Hindus, Muhammadans and low-caste people alike offer sacrifice: for example Bangali snake-charmers offer cocks, 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 cannot5 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 Gazzeteer, 1904, p. 183. For the offerings to a Siddh among the Goddess, see Vol. II, p. 269 infra. They clearly denote their character, being suitable to wandering devotees.

2 They are akin to the Jogis’ (Punjab Census Report, 1892, § 46, 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 pursued disappeared in the earth. At the spot a Brahman and a Jati afterwards found a lamp burning: whence his name of Dewat. The cave is reached by a flight of 16 steps and a platform on which some 200 people can just stand.

4 On this the bhog or food of the Siddh is cooked.

5 Another account says they can. Probably they cannot enter if ceremonially impure.
of Dewat, Bálak Rúpi near Sujánpur and Baroh Mahádeo near Jawála Mukhi, in Kángra; and other Siddh shrines have been founded at Banga, in Jullundur, and in Mándi, as the cult is spreading and its popularity increasing. The legend points to some old dissension between the Jogi worshippers of Shiva and those of Bhairava, the earth god, and the fact that a cave is used as the temple also points to earthworship. In Hosíaírpur Dewat Siddh is said to have sucked milk from an uncailed 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 Gágá Naumí, the day after the Janam-ashtmi in Bhádon, points to some connection with Gágá. 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 altars and slabs of stone in the Kángra valley. On these are sculptured foot-prints of Buddha, known as Siddh-pát and they are often seen decked with flowers. Oldham identified Siddh Deota with the Bodhisattva Manjusri and speaks of images of Siddh or Buddha at Baijnáth and another temple to Shiva, as well as of a Siddh deota at Siddh Koč, 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 it new, though an old image might be revered as that of a Siddh. In Hosíaírpur, where there are 10 or 12 Siddhs and the one at Baratri is of some importance, the cult is said to be a branch of Shiv worship, and as local divinities of the outer Himalayas all their shrines are found on the tops of the green hills.

At the Shivála known as Siddh-Sinhwila in Moga a fair is held at the Snivrátri. This temple was built in 1934 by Sidh Singh, Ját. It contains an image of Shiva made of stone. Its administration is carried on by a Saniási ráhna who is celibate. The pujári washes the ling or symbol of Shiva twice a day and performs ārī morning and evening.

Rosaries.—The Hindu rosary in the Punjab is called japmála and contains 108 beads, excluding the sumer or head bead, but each sect has its special type of bead, as the following table shows:

| Shaivas          | ... rudrákša ... | the dark brown seeds of rudrákša = clacocarpus ganitrus |

1 P. N. Q., III, § 253.
2 ib., § 182. According to the Simla Hill States Gássetteer, Biláspur, p. 11, a favourite offering to Dewat Siddh is a small pair of wooden sandals, and stones so marked are his commonest symbol.
3 Hos hiárpur Gássetteer, 1904, p 68. For Siddh Bairág Lok, see p. 111 supra.
Shaivas ... bhadráksha ... the brown seeds of the bhadráksha.

Vaishnavas ... tuisimála ... the white seeds of the tulsi = ocymum sanctum.

Do. ... chandánmála ... sandal-wood stained red.

Sháktas ... varídarásh ... yellow beads made of turmeric root.

All Hindus ... kadam ki málu ... of white beads made of kadamba = nuclea cadamba wood.

Rájputs ... pramál ... red coral.

Wealthy Brahmans, Khatris and Bánias ... muktamála ... white pearls.

Bánias and lower castes ... kamaldobí ki mála ... the black seeds of the kamal dada ?)

TRIBAL DEITIES.

Most of the tribal deities appear to be forms of Shiv or semi-mythical ancestors equated to Shiv.

Bájwa.—Apparently Bába Báz (or Báj) was an ancestor of the Bajus. He was a very holy faqir who worshipped on the bank of the Chenáb at Chak Khója, near Phulkían. Ishwar in the shape of Lakhanji appeared to him out of the river. So did the Jal Pir. Then he became a Siddh (i.e. a famous saint). When he died he was buried, not burned, and his samádhi is there. Near it is a temple or thákurdwára of Raghonáthjí. The principal mürat in it is one of Thákuri, but there are smaller mürats of Shiv, Vishnu, Krishan and Devi, Lakhanjí, Ram Chaur and others. When Báz was recognized by the gods and became a Siddh the Bajus all put on necklaces of tulsi in token that they were followers of Báz. 1

Cháhil.—At the mandir called Jogi Pir at Kuli Cháhilán in tahsil Moga a fair is held on the 4th navrátas in Chet. This temple is called after a Cháhil Ját. It contains no image, and the worship is only offered to Jogi Pir. A faqir keeps it clean, but the offerings go to a Thákur Brahman in whose family this office is hereditary. 2

Gil.—At the temple of Rájá Pir in Rajiáuna, tahsil Moga, in Firozpur two fairs are held, one on the chaudas of Chet, the other on 1st

1 The Bájwa have a curious rhyme:—

_Unde pindo áia, Mihr DiJu Dia_ 
_TuJha Mának, Manga, Nár Singh, Narón dia, 
_Aur bhi dia, aur bhi dda_ 
"Bas?" "Bas bhi dia."

Mihr Dádú Dia, a Mírásí, cm. from Unde Piud and said to the ancestor of the Bájwa: — "Narón as given you Mának, Manga and Nár Singh." The Bájwa said: — 'Bas?' "He has given you Bas also." Bas being a daughter of the Bájwa. Hindus of the clan may not say Bas and after a meal, hey say "áand hogayd.

2 Jogi Pir is alluded to in the article on the Cháhil in Vol. II, p. 146 infra.
Baisákh. Rájá was a Jáţ. 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 Jáţs, its votaries. They bring a Gil Jáţ chala to officiate at the fair and he takes the offerings. Chúri or karáï pirshád is offered, but only by Gil Jáţs. No sacred lamp is lit. At the fair both men and women dance before the sanctuary.

Goráya.—In Rupána, a village in Muktsar tahsil, lived one Bálá Dín, 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 20th Phágán 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 20th Phágán and sweetmeats etc. are offered.

Mallhi.—At the temple known as Mári Lachhman at Pabbián in Ludhiana a large fair is held annually on the day after the Chet chaudás. The villagers who are Jáţs 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 Jáţs are entitled to the offerings made there, those of Pabbián claimed a share in them, but the Mallhis of Charkh refused it. So about 300 years ago the Mallhis of Pabbián sent Sháman, their mirási, 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 Qarar of Talwanći, 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 storeys high with an open court-yard on all sides which with the mári building occupies 12 biswa 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 mahán or manager, but the Mallhi Jáţs collectively take the offerings. The only form of worship is that men and women of the village gather there every Thursday and distribute sugar in fulfilment of vows. At the fair people from a distance also offer presents which they had vowed to present, if by the grace of the Máriwála 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 Bhairón. He, 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 Siddh at Mári village in Moga tahsil a fair is held annually on 14th Chet. Lachman was a Mallhi Jáţ. The temple

1 He was a Gil and so specially affected by the Wairai Gils: Vol. II, p. 300, infra.
2 This fair is not alluded to on p. 303, Vol. II, infra, and is not apparently a tribal one.
3 In the article on the Mallhi Jáţs (Vol. III, p. 63, infra) this mári is described as that of Tilak Bál, 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 puṣārī is employed, but one of the tribe is chosen to officiate at the fair and he takes the offerings.

**Šindhu.**—At the place called Kālā Paīsa or Kālā Mohār in Kohar-Singhwāla in Firozpur tahsil no fair is held. Tradition says that Kāla, a Šindhu Jāt of Rājī Jang in Lahore, was a cattle thief who ravaged all the countryside between Farīdkot and Kot Kapūra, until he met 5 saints to whom he gave milk to drink. They named him Kālā Paīsa. 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 Thel Singh etc. The custom of the Šindhu 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 mīrāsī lives at the place, and the Šindhu Jāts make offerings of gur etc. which are taken by him. At the mīrā or tomb of Mana Singh, zaidār, a fair is held on the Baisākhī every year. He was a Hindu Mahtām who died some 20 years ago, and his descendants built him a mārā of brick. The fair is attended by 1000 or 2000 people, the Granth being recited and karāḥ parsād distributed among the visitors. Lamps are lit at the Baisākhī, Diwāli and Amāvas.

According to a legend current in Siālkot Kāla 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 (lāgis) 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 Kāla Pīr declared that his offspring would never trust Brahmanas. So wherever Šindhu Jāts live they build a place to Kāla Pīr in their village according to their means, and at a wedding bring the bride and bridegroom there to talām. 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 Shiva 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 Denzil Ibbetson said:—"Shaivālas are not at all uncommon in the villages, built almost without exception by Bāniās. The priests are gosātās or jōtīs, generally of the kaunphate or ear-pierced clan, and they take the offerings. No Brahmanas can partake of the offerings to Šiv, or be priests in his tem-

1 'Black pice' or 'Black mohār,' literally. No explanation of this curious name is given. It appears on p. 425 of Vol. III as Kālā Mīr, but Kālā Mohār must be more correct as Kālā Paīsa is its synonym.
ple, though they will worship him and sometimes assist in the ceremonies, thus deviating from the strict rule of the original cult. On the Sheorátris on the 13th of Sáwan and Phágan such people as have fasted will go to the Shivála; but it is seldom entered on any other days." The Bánias are essentially a caste of the south-east Punjab. On the other hand, the cult of Sakhi Sarwar, "chiefly worshipped by the Gujars and Rájpúts," 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 Sáwan, a day not apparently devoted to Siva, for it is auspicious for the consecration of amulets, or rakhi, which are then put on. Brahmins and Bairágis take the offerings to Vishnu, and there would not appear to be any Shaiva Brahmins 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 Karnál offers most varied features. Thus the shivála at Kirmach Chak is visited on the bádi ashtami in Bhádón, while that of Jagan Náth is visited on the tarostis in Sáwan and Phágan, and the chabútra or platform of Shiva in Dáudpura only on the tarostis in Phágan. 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 puñári is employed and no scared lamp is lit. On the other hand, the temple at Kirmach contains 15 stone images of Sálig Rám and 4 brass images of Lál Ji, while an image of Hanúman stands in a small temple to Thákár in the precincts of the main mandir. Its administration is carried on by a Bairági. That of Jagan Náth contains a stone image of Shiva 15 inches high, one of Párbatí 13 inches high and an effigy of Hanúmin is painted in vermillion on the wall. Its administration vests in a Brahman. Occasionally it is said of a mandir that its puñári must be a Brahman, but he may generally be a Gosání or a Jogi and may celebrate all the offices of the temple like a Brahman. A puñári may be hereditary or elected, or his office may go by spiritual descent if it vests in any order. But a Brahman puñári is generally hereditary. The greatest differences are found too regarding the bhog, the use of a scared lamp and the maintenance of fire. How far all or any of these diversities in ritual are due to the various deities associated with Shiva it is impossible to say, but the gods and godlings found in his temple vary infinitely. For example, at the Shivála of Ek Onkár at Karnál the annual fair, held on the dhut sudá Bhádón, is frequented both by Hindus and Muhammadans who pay their devotions alike. Founded by Báwa Kirpál at the charges of Mahárája Ranjít Singh, in S. 1873, it contains a stone image of Mahadeo, 1 ½ feet high and 2 feet thick, a stone image of that god only 6 inches high, and one of Sita 1 ½ feet high: also stone images of Párbatí (9 inches high), of Lachhman (1 ½ feet), one in red stone of Asht-bhuji (10 inches high),

2 Ibid., § 382.
3 That is to say, a Brahman if appointed puñári would transmit his office to his descendants. This may seem incompatible with Lebbon's view, but probably a Brahman who becomes a Jogi or Gosání is eligible for appointment in a Siva temple as he loses his Brahmanhood by entering one of those orders and yet retains his hereditary sanctity.
and small stone images of Sálig Rám, Ganesh and Gomti. A clay image of Hanúmán stands in its outer wall. The pujári, who is always selected from the Gosáins, is held in great respect, and performs all the rites of worship. The use of charas is ceremonial and all the sádhus are provided with it. Bhog is offered morning and evening. A dháni or sacred fire is always kept burning and votaries also light lamps at the temple.

The mat of the Gir Gosáins at Karnál is said to have been in existence for 300 years. It contains stone images of Deví and Shiva. Bhog is offered in the morning, and a sacred lamp lit in the evening is kept burning all night.

The asthal or mandir of the Bairágis at Karnál is visited on the Janamasthími in Bhádon. It is said to be 500 years old and contains images of Krishna and Rádhika made of brass; a copper image of Hanúmán and a stone image of Sálig Rám; and another image of Hanúmán made of clay and set on a wall. Its administration vests in a Bairági pujári, by sect a Mímánadí and by got a Rájpút. He is celibate and held in great respect. He performs all the rites. Bhog is offered on the Janamasthími in Bhádon 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 mat of Gosáin Báwa Bhagwángir no fair is held, but the place is visited on each Monday in Sáwan and on the Shivechaudas in Phagan; on which occasions offerings of water are made. Said to be 400 years old, it contains 4 stone pindís of Shiva, varying in height from 4 to 6 inches and 3 stone images of Deví, each 2 inches high. The Gosáin pujári is held in great respect and as such is styled mahant. 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 Gosáin dhera in Pansana.

At the asthal of the Bairágis no fair is held, but the place is visited by people who fast on the bádi aśhtíni in Bhádon 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 Bálmokand Jí, all 4 inches high, while that of Deví is 6 inches in height. Three brass images of Narásin each 2½ inches high stand under a canopy. The height of a brass image of Hanúmán is 2½ inches. There are also small oval-shaped stones which are called Sálig Rám. The administration is carried on by a Bairági who is a Vaishnava. He is celibate and the senior chela or disciple always succeeds his gurú. The mahant 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 dhera in Parthali. The
samādh or astral of Devi Dás Bairāgi has existed since the settlement of the village, 100 years ago. It contains brass images of Hanumān, Sālig Rām, Khaniyā, Rādhika and Shivji. The administration is carried on by a Bairāgi.

Another Gosāín mandir is that of Bāba Sāhib Mohini in Barota who died in S. 1893. Founded in S. 1901 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 akhāra of Bāwa Sehjigir in Halka Uncha Sewana was erected in commemoration of the Bāwa after whom it is called. It contains the tombs of many saints, and has a shivala in its precincts containing a stone image of Gaurān Parbatī and one of Sālig Rām, both 1 1/2 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 akhāra of the same Bāwa in Karnāl.

A shrine of obscure origin is the mutri of Saidul Singh in Karnāl. No fair is held here, and nothing is known of its history. It contains no image. Its administration vests in a celibate Jogi. No bhog is offered, but lamps are lit on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

The samādhs of Bālas Sītal Puri and Bāl Puri at Kaithal date from the Mughal times. The place is visited on the Dasehra and pūranmāshi in Phāgaun, when sweets are distributed among the visitors. The mahant is a Gosāín. Connected with these are 5 shivalas:—

(i) called Gobha, a very old building, containing a black stone image of Mahádeo:

(ii) of Nanda Mal, which contains the ling of Mahádeo, also of black stone:

(iii) of Dāni Rāi, which also contains a black stone ling of Mahádeo 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 Chaudhri:

(v) of Bhai Sher Singh.

These two last are modern, being only about 60 or 70 years old. They contain similar lings.

Other Puri shrines are:—

(i) the Dera of Brij Lāl Puri at Kaithal which contains an image of Bishan Bhagwán and a ling of Shiva. The priest is a Gosāín who is in special request at weddings and funerals. Connected with it are:—

(a) two mandirs of Thākar Ji, each containing stone images of Rādha and Krishna 1 cubit high:

(b) two small shivalās, each containing a stone ling of Shiva; and

(c) a mandir of Devī Kāli which contains an image of the goddess, 1 cubit high.

(ii) the samādh of Bāba Rāj Puri where an annual fair is held on the ikādāshi in Assuaj.
The shrines or samadhs of Ramthali are of some interest. The original samadhs are those of Bashisth-puri Sanias and his disciple Darbar-puri, but Bashisth-puri does not seem to have founded the succession, for we are told that at Kaithal and Delhi are the samadhs of Sital-puri who was the spiritual forerunner of Darbar-puri: in Agondh is the samad of Lal-puri, the spiritual great-grandfather of Darbar-puri; in Kheri Ghulam Ali is that of Deo-puri his disciple; while at Baram, Bhuna, Chika Nabha are samadhs of other disciples of his. In several villages of Patiala also samadhs of his disciples are to be found. Nothing seems to be known of Bashisth-puri or Darbar-puri's other predeces- sors, but he himself is said to have been a Kayasth by caste and a grandee of Shah Jahans court about 350 years ago. He resigned his wasirship and was offered 12 villages in muafi, but only accepted one, Ramthali, to which place he brought the remains of Bashisth-puri from Pasawal, a village some miles away. Here Darbari Lal, as his name was, settled down as the ascetic Darbar-puri, his fame gaining him thousands of followers. The dewal or brick building over the samad was built in the time of Mahant Nirbha-puri about 100 years ago. It is an octagon facing east and about 40 feet high, surmounted by a guilt kalas. Its interior is 12 feet square and contains the samadhs of Bashisth-puri and Darbar-puri. It opens to the north where there are samadhs of Anuparna, the sister of Darbar-puri and of his wife. No images exist. The samadhs are all circular, standing about 4 feet high above a platform and some 6 feet in circumference. Numerous other samadhs stand on the platform. Five smaller dewals stand on the east and south of the larger one and a temple to Sivaji (Mahadeo) is situated on the platform to the south of it. Two fairs are held, one on the phag, the day after the Holi, commemorating the day of Bashisth-puri's demise; the other, the bhangara on the 7th of Sawan badi the date of Darbar-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 Brahmins are employed. A supervisor (karbiri) looks to the cultivation of the land and other matters not directly under the management of the sadhus. Another man is in charge of the stores and is called kothar. But it is the pujari's duty to look after everything that appertains to the dewal. The whole of this administration is carried on by the mahant and under his supervision—external affairs he manages with the consent of his karbiri 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 Sawan badi satmi and perform the kawan on Chet sud ashtami.

The ritual is as follows:—The whole of the dewal and the platform is washed daily at 4 A. M. at all seasons. The samadhs are also washed and clothed. At 8 o'clock chandam and dhup are offered to all the shrines and to Mahadeo. Bhog is offered first to the samad and then the langar is declared open at noon. At 4 P. M. dhup is offered to all

1 But the same account also says that Darbar-puri obtained a grant of villages originally granted to Sital-puri of Kaithal. This was about 350 years ago. The institution then appears to have been originally at Kaithal.
the samâdhs. Arti begins at sunset, bhog is offered at 8 p.m. and then the doors are closed. The ceremonial offering of bhang at the samâdhs is in vogue, but there is no ceremonial use of châras or any other intoxicant in the sect. In Phâgan on the phag day as well as in Sâwan on the 7th bhad a special bhog is offered to the samâdhs which consists of fried gram and rotra (flour and sugar) and this is offered as prasad to any one that worships the samâdhs. A sacred lamp is kept lit day and night throughout the year. A special feature at Râmthali is that the doors of the langar are not closed against any body, equality being the guiding rule, the mahânt and men of the highest caste taking the same food as the lowest, excepting Chamârs and sweepers who are not allowed to ascend the platform but may worship from the ground. Offerings are not accepted from a Dúm, Bhtarí, Chubrá or Bîás. The shrines at Kaithal, Agondh, Baran, Kherí Ghulám Ali, Pahúna Chika, Mansa, Kishangarh, Khundepat, Radhrana, Masinghan in Pâtila, Nâbha town, Delhi town and Chhota Darieba are all connected with this shrine.

Panîpat.

The asthal of the Bairâgîs in Trikhú is connected with the Trikhu bathing fair founded by Bairâgi Sohlû Rám, a great devotee: it has been in existence for 500 years. It contains stone images of Krishna, Râdhika and Bal Deo, 1½ spans high and all set on a small square. Below them stand brass idols of Râdhika and Krishna, each 1 span high. There are also 4 brass images of Bâla Ji, each a span high, just before which are seated 6 brass idols of Gopál Jí. A few stone idols of Sâlig Rám also stand in front of them. The Bairâgî in charge is by caste Niyâwat and by got an Ûchat. A bhog of milk or sweetmeat is offered morning and evening, but the sacred lamp is lit only in the evening. Arti 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 Dûher, Lotha, Rehr, Brahmamájra, Alupur, Târî, Lohâri, Gangtha and Mondhlaâ in Rohtak and Hát in Jînd. These are all governed by the mahânt whose disciples are appointed to each temple. He goes on tour and examines all the accounts of income. At the election of a new mahânt a free distribution of food or bhûndâr is celebrated.

The Trikhu Tîrath at Pânîpat is visited on the sumti-amâwas, a bathing fair, to which great religious importance attaches. Trikhu means 'three-sided,' but its other meaning is 'to wash away the sins of all those who bathe in the tank.' The Tîrath dates from the time of the Mahâbhârata. West of it is the temple of Jakash which is very old. It contains the images of Jakhash and his spouse Jakhshni.

Karnal.

At the mandir of Tîrath Parâlsar in Balopura fair is held every year on the ikâdâhi. In the desert, where this temple now stands, Palra 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 mandirs and a tank. The image of Shiva is of stone, one span high. Of those of Râma and Sîta, Sâlig Rám, Gopál, Durga and Hânmânn, the first five are of metal and each is a cubit high. The
Shavism in the Western Punjab.

last named is of clay. The administration is carried on by a Gosain, by caste a Bhingam and got Atras. The use of charas 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 dehars of the Gosains at Hardwar and Karnal.

The mandir of Jugal Kishor in Guli is old having been in existence for 400 years. It contains 145 metal images of Radha, Krishna and Salig Ram, each 14 feet high. Its administration vests in a Bairagi puja, a Vaishnava, by got Aitgar. The use of charas 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, Purana, Karnal, Japuli, Gangu, Nismali and in Tabira.

The Katas fountain is a Tirth of the temple built round it the oldest is the one called Raghnath ji ka Mandir. Here the Katas Raj fair is held on 1st Baisakh, and the neighbouring villagers bathe on the somwati amavasya and at solar and lunar eclipses. Katas is derived from katalh, ‘an eye’ because at the creation water fell from the eye of Shiva at this spot and formed the spring. When the Pandus reached it all but Yudhishtara drank its water and became senseless, but he sprinkled some of the water on them and restored their senses. Hence it is also called Amarkund. On the north-west the water is very deep and is believed to be fathomless, so Katas is also called Dharti ka netri or ‘the eye of earth.’ Stone images of Rama Chandar, Lakshman, Sita and Hanuman stand in the Raghunath mandir. They are 5 ft high. The temple is in charge of Bairagis who recite Raghnath’s mantra. Other temples have been built by Rajas and private persons and shivalas are attached to them. The pujari is a Brahman.

The peak in Jhelum called Tilla is 25 miles south-west of the town of that name. Guru Gorakhnath settled at Tilla in the Trityug after Ramchandar and adopted Bal Nath as his disciple. Bal Nath underwent penance on Tilla hence it was called Bal Nath’s Tilla after him. Raja Bhartari, a disciple of Guru Gorakhnath, also learnt to practise penance from Bal Nath at Tilla and a cave at Tilla is named after him to this day. It is said that owing to a dispute between the Raja and his fellow disciples he cut off part of Tilla and carried it to Jhang where it forms the Kirana hill. Tilla is the head-quarters of the Jogis and from a remote period all the other places of the Jogis in the Punjab have been under it. The ancient mandirs on this hill were all destroyed during the Mihmammadan inroads, and the existing temples were all built in the reign of Raja Man. A fair is held here on the shivratri, but as the road is a difficult one and the water bad, people do not attend it in great numbers. Most of the Jogis visit the place on a shivratri in order to see the cave, and laymen go too there. Food is supplied by the gaddinasbin 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 six of oil in 24 hours. Jogis chant a mantra when they go to see it, but this mantra is not disclosed to any one but a Jogi. It is transmitted by one Jogi to another.

Kohat town possesses a than Jogian which is visited by Hindus from Kohat and Tirah. Its phra dress in red and have their ears torn.
Near Bawanna are the shrines of Barnáth and Lachi Rám. At the former Hindus assemble to bathe at the Baisákhī instead of going to Khuśshálghar. At the latter gatherings take place several times a year.

The mandirs of Nagar Jī and Gopál Náth Jī in tahsil Dera Ismail Khán were founded nearly 500 years ago, by Agú Jī Brahman. After his death his son went to Sindh where he became the disciple of a Gosáíma and acquired power to work miracles. On his return home he brought with him an image of Sri Gopál Náth 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 Nagar Jī, 1 foot high, seated on a throne. The other temple contains a similar image of Gopi Náth. Nagar Jī’s temple is managed by Gosáíns and Gopi Náth’s by a person employed by them. A Brahman is employed in each temple to perform worship etc. Bhog of sweetmeats, fruits and milk with sugar is offered thrice a day. A sacred lamp or jót is only kept burning in the mandir of Nagar Jī. Twelve mandirs and shiválas are connected with these.

The thela or wallet of Kewal Rám.—Kewal Rám left Dera Gházi Khán for Dera Ismail to become a devotee. There he dwelt in a secluded corner of Gopi Náth’s mandir, and spread out his wallet on which he sat absorbed in meditation. This thela (wallet) has been worshiped for 400 years. Hindus have their children’s hair cut here and make offerings in fulfillment of vows. The chōla 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 Baisákhi, in Chet and in Bhádon.

SAIVA CULTS IN THE HILLS.

THE CULT OF SHIRIGUL OR SHRIKUL IN SIRMÚR.

Síva is not extensively worshipped under that name in the Punjab Himalayas, but two cults, those of Shírigul and Maháśá, appear to be derivatives of Saivism. That of Shírigul is especially interesting and is described below. The home of this god is on the Cháur1 (Chúr) Peak which is visible from Simla. But he is worshipped chiefly in Sirmúr, from which State comes the following account of his myth, temples and cult:

Shírigul (or Sargul,2 fancifully derived from sara 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 Shírigul legend:—Shírigul’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 sattu (porridge) to eat, and, as he had no water, it gushed out near a field at Shaya, a village in the Karli

1 See article in the Imperial Gazetteer of India.
2 The name is probably a corruption of Sri Gúrú.
**The cult of Shrigul in Sirmur.**

Having washed he was about to eat the **sattu** 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 **bor**, or banyan tree, he knew that it had been sent by the wife of his servant (**bhur**), by name Churú, as a signal of distress. Shrigul at once returned and found that all the members of Churú’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 Churú’s family and is much venerated.

The following is another legend which is current regarding the origin of the cult: -One Bhakaru, a Rájpút, of Sháyá, had no offspring, and desiring a son he journeyed to Kashmir where dwelt Penán, a **pandit**, whose house he visited in order to consult him. The **pandit**’s wife, however, told Bhakaru that he was sleeping, and that he used to remain asleep for six months at a stretch.

Bhakaru was disappointed at not being able to consult the **pandit**, but being himself endowed with spiritual power, he created a cat which scratched the **pandit** and awoke him. Learning that Bhakaru had thus had power to disturb his sleep, the **pandit** admitted him and told him he was childless, because he had committed Brahman-hatía, or Bráhman-murder, and that he should in atonement marry a Brahman girl, by whom he would become the father of an incarnation. Bhakaru accordingly married a Bhát girl of high degree and to her were born two sons, Shrigul and Chaudésar, both the parents dying soon after their birth. The boys then went to their maternal uncle’s house and Shrigul was employed in grazing his sheep, while Chaudésar tended the cows. But one day their uncle’s wife in malice mixed flies and spiders with Shrigul’s **sattu** or porridge, and when he discovered this, Shrigul threw away the food and fled to the forest, whereupon the **sattu** turned into a swarm of wasps which attacked and killed the uncle’s wife. Shrigul took up his abode in the Chúr Dhúr, whence one day he saw Delhi, and, being seized with a desire to visit it, he left Churú, a Bhór1 Kanét by caste, in charge of his dwelling, collected a number of gifts and set out for the city. Halting near Jhíl Rain-ká, “the lake of Rainká”, his followers were attacked by a tiger which he overcame, but spared on condition that it should not again attack men. Again, at Kólár in the Kiárda Dún, 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 **pasang** or difference between the scales, but Shrigul in return sold him a skein of silk which he miraculously made to outweigh all that the trader possessed. The trader hastened to the Mughal emperor for redress and Shrigul was arrested while cooking his food on his feet, because in digging out a **chuída** he had found a bone in the soil. In the struggle to arrest Shrigul his cooking vessel was overturned and the food flowed out in a burning torrent which destroyed half the city.

1 Probably **bhur**, ‘servant,’ is meant, and, if so, we should read “Churú, the **bhur**, a Kanét by caste.”
Eventually Shirigul was taken before the emperor who cast him into prison, but Shirigul could not be fettered, so the emperor, in order to doisile him, had a cow killed and pinioned him with the thong of its hide. Upon this Shirigul wrote a letter to Gágá Pír of the Bágar in Bikanér and sent it to him by a crow. The Pír advanced with his army, defeated the emperor, and released Shirigul, whose bonds he severed with his teeth. Shirigul then returned to the Chúr Peak.

During his absence the demon Asur Dánún had attacked Churú, completely defeating him and taking possession of half the peak. Shirigul thereupon cursed Churú who was turned into a stone still to be seen on the spot, and assailed Asur Dánún, but without success, so he appealed to Indra, who sent lightning to his aid and expelled Asur Dánún from the Chúr. 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 Nádi and across the Dhára into the Tons river, by which he reached the ocean. The Dháría ravine still remains to prove the truth of the legend.

Another account says nothing of Shirigul's visit to Delhi, but makes Bhakarú the Ráné of Sháyá. It further says that Shirigul became a bhágat or devotee, who left his home to live on the Chúr Peak upon which Siva dwelt. Gaining greater spiritual power from Siva, Shirigul caused all the boys of the neighbourhood to be afflicted with worms while he himself assumed the form of a Bhát and wandered from village to village, proclaiming that if the boys' parents built him a temple on the Dhár he would give them all. The temple was built on the Chúr Peak and Shirigul began to be considered a separate deity.

The temple of Shirigul at Churidhar 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 (khinwar) of which is adorned with brass vessels (anda) fixed to it by pegs. Outside the temple is hung a necklace (málu) of small pieces of wood (kháráñ). There is only one door, on which figures etc. have been carved. Inside this temple is another smaller temple also of deodár, 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 jalakhri 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 Sivas's prowess, or attribute them to his emanations. Below is one attributed to Shirigul himself. The Shíkán ka Páni legend says that in the old times an inhabitant of Jhojar village went to Shirigul at the Chúr Peak and asked the deód to give him a canal in his village. He stayed three days at the peak and did not eat or drink anything. Shirigul appeared in a monk's garb and gave him a tambá full of water, which the god covered with a leaf telling the man not to open it on his way home, but at the place where he wanted the canal to run. On reaching Shíkán the man opened the tambá and found in it a snake which sprang out and ran away. Water flowed behind the snake, and a small canal still flows in Shíkán and waters several villages. Being thus disappointed, the man again went to the Chúr and the god again gave him a tambá, telling him to throw the water and say, Nische Jhojar, Upar Jhaja!—Jhojar village below and a waterfall above it—and he should have plenty of water. But the man again forgot and said Upar Jhojar, Nische Jhaja!—Jhojar 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 Bhát, who acts as pujári. The Bhát 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 ghí, not oil, before the idol. Then he takes a brass lotá of fresh water, and sprinkles it over the idol and the floor of the temple with a branch of the chiklon or chhánbar shrub. He next fills a spoon with fire, ghí, and the leaves of the katharchél and lāhêtri odoriferous plants found on the Dhár, 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 tiraths and avatáras only. After this office he blows a conch, terminating it with a prostration to the idol. It may be performed at any time. The játri or worshipper now bathes, puts on clean clothes, and prostrates himself before the idol. After this he may make the offerings which consist of a ratti1 of gold or silver, money, ghí (but not more than two chhitáas), a pice 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.

Jága or uninterrupted worship for a whole night can only be performed at the temple, as the ling must not be removed from it. A lamp in which ghí, not oil, is burnt, is placed all night before the ling, 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 pujári 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 pujári on his behalf, the remainder being cooked and eaten. Or the goat is not killed but let loose, and it then becomes the property of the Dewa.2

Another account says the two men, a pujári and a Dewa, accompany the worshipper, the former receiving the goat’s head, and the latter the other offerings.3

Other temples to Shirigul.

1.—At Mánal.

Shirigul has also a temple at Mánal, which was built by Ulga and Jojra, Dwás, as the following legend tells:—

1 Ratti is a weight equal to eight grains of rice or 1/2 of a grain (Eng. weight). 
2 The Dwás are a class of Kanets or Bháta, held to be peculiarly the men of the god. 
3 The pujári kindles fire on a stone and offers incense, made of ghí, póji and kátharchél leaves, while he recites the following mantra:—Ao aur wanspa’ô punarwar birió mákhto, Sarb sauch, soji ... barchak bha maang, nom, nam, gana sagnum, chäre hoti, naraaungnun, mano manui janto, malañ, jiyá buamou, mandar nû, odarkas tari gabe, mere insan, murya sagam, bhágam, jismar, j-sanwar, bhúshó jisamwad, pibá hîr, parabáu, pachhambán, haasth pharó, parbaráu, korsântû, sháman shanti, nek-kâl, dedá shanti, bhorânti, pâtri pharó, pâtri jharó, sauval daótá kí kûrê dâbêle, Bijal. Bijáí kí kâru dâbêle chir, wa mûr wa Dilqád kûrê dâbêle. Chár bhái Maháshó, kâru dâbêle, Gangó, Hardwár, Bâdri Kídár kûrê dâbêle, pâtri jharî.
placed with some lamps in a basin which he floated on the Jalal stream in Bhadon. The basin reached Shakohal village in Pachhid tahsil, and there a Rájpút of the Sapála (= sapēla or snake charmer) family of Chanálag 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 Rájpút took it to his home. Some days later it was revealed to him that the image was that of Shirigul, that it would never be revered by the Hindus who were ignorant of the mode of worship, and that it should be taken to Bakhuta where it was duly worshipped, and hence a Dewa, Bidan by name, stole it and brought it to Máonal.

A fair is held on the Hariálí, and another on any three days of Sáwan at Gelyon, a small plateau in the lands of Nahra, at a kós from Máonal. Men and women here dance the gi, a hill dance, and people exchange mora (wheat parched or boiled), maize, rice &c.

The temple at Máonal 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 khinwar or gable like the Chur temple. The whole of the woodwork is stained with gurú. The temple faces south-west.

The temple contains 12 images of Shirigul, all placed on wooden shelves (gambar) in the wall, and the principal of these is the idol brought by Bidan. This is made of aśt-dhát (bell-metal), and is five fingers high by two fingers broad, with a human face. It is clothed in masrú or silk cloth, with a piece of broad-cloth, studded with 100 rupees and 11 gold mohars 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 masrú 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 2, 2 3, 3, 3

the original image being in a silver chauki (throne), with a small umbrella over it.

2.—At Deona and Bandal.

The temples at Deona (Dabóna) and Bandal are similar to the one at Máonal. Each has a bhandár or store-room, in charge of a bhandári or store-keeper. These bhandáris are rich, and from them the pujáris, bájgis, and bhandáris are paid, and pilgrims and sádhús are fed. The Dewás also are maintained from the bhandárs.

The second class images of the Máonal and Deona temples can be taken home by a worshipper for the performance of a jágā, as can the

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1 Hariálí is the last day of Hár, and the Sankránt of Sáwan, and derives its name from kér, 'green.'

2 I.e. right metals.
first class image from that of Bandal. The image is conveyed in a copper coffer borne by a bare-footed pujaři on his back, and followed by 10 or 12 Dewás, of whom one waves a chaúri 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 mandwa. The arrival should be timed for the evening. The jāgā ritual is that already described. Next day the god is fed and taken back to his temple. The worshipper has to pay to the pujaři and bájgi each Re. 1, to the bhandári annas 4, and to the Dewá Rs. 2 or Rs. 3.

3.—At Jámná.

There is also a temple of Shirigul and Jámná in Bhoj Mast. Here the god is worshipped twice daily, in the morning and evening. The pujaři is a Bhát, who, with the bájgi, receives the offerings. When a he-goat is offered, the pujaři takes the head, the bájgi a thigh, while the rest is taken by the jātrí 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 Jámná, Pobhár, Kándon, Cháwag and Thána villages brought a stone from Chúr D hár and built this temple as a protection against disease. It contains an image which was obtained from Junga, and is furnished with a palanquin, canopy, singhásan or throne and an amráti 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 thoda or mock combat with bows and arrows.

4.—In the Páontá Tahsíl.

Shirigul has no special mandar in Páontá Tahsíl, but he has several small mandars 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 brahm balá.
Namón ad Náthí, namón shankha chakra
Gadá padam dhárí.
Namón machh kachh baráh avatári
Namón Náhar Singh kurb kí dharí.
Namón asht ashtengí, namón chhaut kári
Namón Sří Suraj deotá, namón namekárá.

‘I salute thee who wert in the beginning, who art great and supreme Brahma, who wert Lord of all that was in the beginning, who holdest
the conch, mace, quoit and lotus (in thy four hands), who revealst
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 Shirigul at Naoni village in the tahsil
of Nában. A fair is held here on the day of Hariśáli or first of Sáwan.
He-goats, halwa or ghi are offered. The people dread him greatly.

6.—At Sanglahán.

There is also a deothali or ‘place of the god,’ Shirigul, at Sanglahán.
The pujaři is a Brahman and the mode of worship and offer-
ings are similar to those at Jawála Mukhi’s temple. Goats are, how-
ever, not sacrificed here, only halwa being offered. The fair is held
on the Gyaś day, the Kaṭik suñā iákāśht of the lunar year, and the 30th of
Kaṭik 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 Gul Deota of Churi Dhar in Jubbal.

In Jubbal State, which lies to the north and east of the Chaur
Peak, a variant of the Shirigul legend is current. This variant is of
special interest, and it appears worth recording in full :—

In the Dwapar Yuga Krishna manifested himself, and, after killing
the rakshásas, 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 Chawkhat, some seven miles north of Churi Dhar. In the
beginning of the present age, the Kali Yuga, he harassed both men and
cattle, while another demon, Neshira, also plundered the subjects of
Bhokrú,1 chief of Shádgá, in the State of Sirmúr. The former asur
also raided the States of Jubbal, Taroch, Balsan, Theog, Ghond etc.
The people of these places invoked divine protection, while Bhokrú him-
self was compelled to flee to Kashmir, and being without heirs, he made
over his kingdom to his minister Dévi Rám. For twelve years Bhokrú
and his queen devoted themselves to religious meditation, and then,
directed by a celestial voice, they returned home and performed the
asvamedha, or great horse sacrifice. The voice also promised Bhokrú
two sons who should extirpate the demons, the elder becoming as mighty
as Siva, and the younger like Chandéśhwara and saving all men from
suffering. Ten months after their return, Bhokrú’s queen gave birth to
a ram, who was named Sri Gul. Two years later Chandéshwar2 was

1 The Bhokrú of the Sirmúr version. Shádgá and Shiyá would appear to be on
the same place.

2 The Chandéswar of the Sirmúr variant.
born. When the boys were aged 12 and 9½, respectively, the Raja 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 Churi Dhür, 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 Chuhru— for this was the name of Siva's devotee—to wait his return, as he too intended to live there. He then went to Shadgá and would have made his kingdom to Chandéshwar, but for the remonstrances 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 Shadgá during his own absence.

Sri Gul then set out for Delhi, where he arrived and put up at a Bhahrá'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 Hirru. So Sri Gul forgave him. He was about to return to the shop when he heard from Chuhru that a demon was about to pollute the Churi Peak, so that it could not become the abode of a god. Sri Gul thereupon created a horse, named Shanalwi and, mounted on it, set out for Churi Chaudhri. In the evening he reached Buriya, near Jagadhri, next day at noon Sirmur, and in the evening Shadgá, 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 Bhairóg in Jubbal, and halting at Kálábágh, 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 Churi 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 Chuhru 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 Aurfpolli. 1 to this day. It lies eight miles from the Churi 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 Chuhru to choose a place for both of them to live in, and he chose a spot between Churi Choti and Kálábágh. Sri Gul then sent for Dévi Rám and his

1 *Aurf* means an erect stone, *polli*, the hide of a cow or buffalo. It is also said that the cow's hide which the demon had on his hand, as well as the stone which Sri Gul threw at him, are still to be seen on the spot.
(the minister’s) two sons from Shádgá, and divided his kingdom among them, thus:—To Dévi Rám he gave, i.e. assigned, the State with the village of Kári; to the elder son Rabbú he gave Jorna, the pargana of Bháhal, Jalkháli in Jubbal State, Balsan, Theog, Ghond and Ratesh States, and pargana Pajhóta in Sirmúr, and to Chhínú, the younger son, he allotted Saráhán, with the following parganas: Hámil, Chhatta, Chandló, Chándná, Satótha, Panótra, Néwal, Shák, Chánjú, Bargón, Suntá, in Jubbal State, and Taróch, with Ládá and Kángra, in the Sirmúr State, as far as that part of Jaunáír which is now British territory. Dévi Rám and his two sons built a temple to Srí Gul between Chóti Chúrí and Kálábágh; which is still in existence, and the younger brother also built a baoli, which held no water until Srí Gul filled it.

When the three new rulers had finished building their rāj-āhanís Srí Gul sent for them and bade them govern their territories well, and he made the people swear allegiance to them. On Dévi Rám’s death, his third son, by his second wife, succeeded to his State. Srí 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 Chúhrú. 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, Srí Gul disappeared with Chúhrú, who became known as Chúhrú Bír, while Srí Gul was called Srí Gul Deóta.

Two centuries later, when the descendants of Rabbú and Chhínú had greatly multiplied, those of them who held Jorna migrated to Mánal in the Bharmaur iláqa, where they built a temple for Srí Gul’s image. The Rájá of Sirmúr assigned half the land of the pargana for its maintenance. Some of Chhínú’s descendants settled in Deóna, a village in Sirmúr, where they, too, built a temple.

According to this qusúi-historical legend Srí 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, Saráhán (in Jubbal State), and Shádgá (apparently in Sirmur) are, with Deóna, to this day the centres at which the grain collected on behalf of the god is stored. A patha is collected from every house.

1 Should probably read:—To Dévi Rám he assigned his own State of Shádgá with the addition of Kári; to Rabbú, Jorna, as his capital, with Bháhal etc., and to Chhínú Saráhán as his capital, with etc.

2 Royal residence or capital.

3 The god in Jorna is called Góvnú, from gon, ‘sky’ in the Pahári dialect. He has one eye turned towards the sky, and hence is so named.

4 The god in Saráhán is called Bijat.

5 The patha is a basket-like measure made of iron or brass and holding some two öhrs of grain.
Every year the descendants of Rabbú and Chínú who settled in Sírmúr take the god’s image from Sáráhan or Jorna in Jubba! to their own villages, in which temples have been built to him. Some 50 kárđárs (officials) and begdárís (coreé labourers) accompany the god, and each house offers him Re. 1 and a pathá of grain, but if any one desires to offer a gold coin, he must give the kárđárs, musicians and puýdrás Rs. 6, Rs. 12, or even Rs. 25. Anyone who refuses to make a dhiáñkra or offering will, it is believed, meet with ill luck.

Like many other gods in the hills, Sri Gul 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 Sáráhan and Jorna, in cases in which enquiry has failed to elicit the truth, by parties to cases in the States of Jubbal, Balsan, Tarōch and Sírmúr. 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 Shirígul is that of the dual god Bijat and his sister Bijdá.

The legend of Bijat, the lightning god, which is connected with that of Shirígul, relates that when the Asur Agyasur, the great demons who were hostile to the gods, assailed the ChúrPeak and the temple of Shirígul thereon, the god fell upon them in the form of lightning, whence an image fell to earth at Sáráhan in Jubbal, and at that place a temple was built for the image, which was placed, with other images, in it. From Sáráhan a Dewá, the ancestor of the present Děwás of Deona, brought a stone idol of Bijat to Deona, 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 fair of Bijat is held on any three days between Baisákh 1st and the end of Jēth. It is called Bisu, because it is usually held in Baisákh, and is held annually in Deona, and every third or fourth year in Chokar, Sanej and Andheri villages. It resembles the fair at Mánal, and the thōda game is played.

The temple of Bijat at Bándal was founded in this wise. The Děwás at Deona 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 Precedence of deities 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. Dependánts occupy lower seats in front. All the images face to the west in the high hills.
The goddess Ghatridi.

are of brass, with human faces. Only the five primary images are clothed, and these have garments studded with rupees and gold mohars. They are considered to possess more power than the remaining 47, and the principal of them, the one brought from Deona, is placed in the centre and reposes in a silver chauki.

Bijai, 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 Kanets, serve as prajâris. 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 s...
and the others remaining in Tathwa. The image of the goddess Bijáí fell to the men of Kándí, and is now at Batrol of Dasákná bhój, while Ghatriáí remained at Tathwa and her temple was established at Paniáhan in Thakri bhój.

Every year Bijat 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. Bijat always gives Bijáí twice as much as she gives him.

It is not expressly stated that Bijat 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 Bhúrí Singh the twin of Káli Singh.

At Pejarli in Sirmúr is a temple dedicated to Bhur Singh and his sister Debi (Devi), the children of a Bháí of Pánwáh village. When their mother died the Bháí 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 Bháí 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 dols over the cliff. The brother and sister are now worshipped together as Bhur Singh. There are two temples, one at Pejarli, the other on the high hill known as Bhur Singh ki dhár. The pujárits are two Bháíts, one for Bhur Singh and one for Debi, and at the fair, on the Káthik sudi ikádshi, no one dances save the pu árí 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 Panál 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 fora) brothers of Gugga, Arjan and Surjan, are also worshipped as Jaur.

Káli Singh and Bhúrí Singh sometimes have twin shrines and Nár Singh is said to be another name for one or both of them.
(B)—The Cult of Mahasū in Sirmūr.

The head-quarters of this god are at Sion, a village in Rainka tahsil, where he has a temple on a small hillock, at the foot of which flows the Giri. 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 gambur 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 Sirmūrī, who is the god of Sirmūr, 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 Shimlāsan. The idols on the immediate right of the big one only go to Hardwá 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 Sirmūrī and Shimlāsan, represent Mahāsū. 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 Sānkrānt. 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 Mahāsū who own buffaloes generally offer milk on the day of worship. If there is a death or birth in the family of the Déwā, the temple must be closed for 20 days because neither a jātri nor a Déwā can enter the temple within 20 days of a domestic occurrence. The Déwā 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 āhūp dénā and the evening sāndhīā. Legend says that one morning the god Mahāsū appeared in a dream and told the ancestor of the present Déwā to seek in the Giri and build him a temple in the village. Accordingly the Déwā went to the Giri and found on its banks the big idol, which is also called jālasan (i.e. set up in water). Mahāsū is not so widely believed in as Shirigul or Paras Rām. The present Déwā says he is 12th in descent from the man who found the idol.

The Jagra of Mahasū.—This festival, which is peculiar to Kangra in Tahsil Rainka, is celebrated on the 4th and 5th day of the dark half of Bādon. On the third of the same half the deotā'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 deotā 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 deotā's help. Some
Mahásu in the Simla Hills.

Mahásu, 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 Pabar rivers dwelt a race of evil spirits whose chief, Kirmat dánú, 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 Brahmans 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 funeral 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—“Mahásu—Mahásu—Mahásu—Mahásu of Kashmir will save our child.” Her husband, Una Bhat, could not interpret the portent for he had never heard Mahásu’s name, so he asked her what her raving meant. Still in her trance of inspiration she replied that in Kashmir there reigned Mahásu 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 Bhat 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 Devi in Hátkoti there was a Brahman who had seen the holy places of Kashmir. Thither then he turned and begged information from the priest. But Pandit Nág, 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 Bhat 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 Mahásu dwelt,

1 By H. W. Emerson, Eq., C. S.
though he knew it not. And as he stood in wonder on its margin
one of the god’s wise, Chekurya, by name, appeared before him and
asked him what he wanted. Una Bhát in eager words told him how
a race of cruel demons vexed his country, how their chief had slaugh-
tered six of his sons upon their altars and purposed to take the seventh,
and how his wife had trembled and called upon Mahásu’s name. When
Chekurya had heard all this he bade the Brahman retire to a field be-
hind the tank and there wait in silence for the coming of Mahásu who
would help him in his need. He had been gone but a short time when su-
ddenly from the ground beside him arose a golden image which he guessed
to be Mahásu. He clutched it tightly to his breast, pouring out a pitiful
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”
Mahásu comforted him with a promise of succour. “I have heard your
prayer”, he said, “and will surely save your child from the demon. Re-
turn 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 ut-
erred 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. There-
in 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 Sun-
day after his return he did his daily task but had only turned five furrows
when out of each sprang the image of a deity. From the first came
Bhotu, from the next Pabasi, out of the third rose Báschik and Chaldu
from the fourth. All these are brothers called by the common affix of
Mahásu. 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, Kapía. Kailu and Kailat, as well as
Chaharyá 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 dánú held his revels and
there they found the demon king attended by his hosts of evil spirits.
Forthwith Mahásu challenged him to mortal conflict and a sanguinary
battle followed which ranged along the river bank and up the neighbour-

ing hills. But the evil spirits had not the strength to stand before the
god so they were routed with much carnage and in a short time only
their leader Kirmat dánú still lived. Alone he fled across the mountains
until he reached the Pabar hard pressed by his relentless foes. They
cought him at Niwára in the Dhádi 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 Kaitu in Chambe 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 Madrāt, 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. Mahāsu, it will be remembered, had pledged his word to Una Bhāt 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 Bhāt to break its sun-baked crust and as he drove his plough three members of the family were injured by its blade. Bhoṭu was damaged in the knee so that thenceforth he was lame; Pabasi had a small piece cut out of his ear; whilst Bāshik's vision was obscured by the thrusting 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 Bhoṭu henceforth preferred to rest his injured leg within his temple at Anel and thence he exercises sway around its precincts. A portion of the Garhwāl 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 Garhwāl and though defective eyesight prevents his making lengthy tours he journeys in successive years to the four main centres of his worship. Chaldu, 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 Chaldu'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 Bhoṭu lives.

Chaldu Mahāsu 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 Chasrālu, with whom he long had carried on a bitter feud, but one day Mahāsu lured his foe within his reach and drawing his sword smote him, below the belt. With a gaping wound Chasrālu fled in terror taking his life with him, whilst Mahāsu 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. Chasrālu 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 Mahāsu, 'is bold enough to drive Chasrālu 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, 'stay 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.' Mahāsu 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 Nāg of Tangnu keeps guard upon the Pābar 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 Chillam and Narṣin who have their temples in Dudi and Ghoswāri. The last custodian is Nāg of Peka or Pekian who stays as sentinel upon the road.

Though Chasrālu, cribbed, cabined 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 r of. 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 year. The oracle was also omniscient 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 Chasrálú's days of glorious miracle have vanished for Mahásu 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 now 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 Mahásu 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 forsworn god, through fear of whose displeasure they shrink from asking at Chasrálú's oracle. Jákhp of Janglík has suffered in particular from the advent of his former lord, for previous to his intrusion there was an offshoot of Jákhp's worship in the isolated sub-division of Dódra Káwár. There the local deity is also Jákhp and till a few years ago a regular exchange of visits took place between the namesakes and their hands of worshippers. Now the people of Káwár deny that there has ever been affinity between the two but when hard pressed admit the bonds were broken when Mahásu entered into Janglík. 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 Janglík deity to come to them. The terrible Mahásu, 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 superstitions terrors inspired by Mahásu and the methods he pursues may be illustrated by the following instance:—At one place the mere mention of Mahásu is anathema, for the village is the cardinal seat of Shálú's worship, a deity with whom the Garhwál 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 Shálú, and the brazen vessels, horns and rags hanging to its walls give testimony of the veneration extended to the god by former generations. But a sanctuary to Mahásu 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 terraced fields had failed to yield its increase, or if by chance the crops were good some heaven-sent calamity destroyed them ere 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 Mahásu had come within the village boundaries and with it too had come the god, for Mahásu 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 Mahásu's cult in any way and as the oracle was therefore free from interested motives it would seem that the general terror of Mahásu'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 Mahásu. 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 wasís 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 perquisites which come his way; from which it would appear that, like their human counterparts, the under-waiters of the gods received but little. Mahásu 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
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 wasīr, 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 wasīrs for whose comfort fresh demands were certain to arise and as Mahāsu never asks 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. Shil 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 Garhwl set out upon a pilgrimage to the temple of Hātkoṭi, 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 saildār 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 saildār and headmen, carrying them with him to his capital. There he threw them into a gloomy dungeon, whose inky darkness knew no court 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 Garhwl 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 saildār 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 Mahásu would but free them from their bonds, they would forsake their ancient gods and cleave to him alone. By chance a few days later Deví vouchsafed an answer to the intercessions made by the prince before her altars, for to his favourite Ráuí 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 zaildáir and his friends amongst the rest. Mindful of their oath, they ascribed their freedom to the mercy of Mahásu, not to the power of the goddess Deví 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 Mahásu's worship into his own particular hamlet. The zaildáir on returning to his home at Shil 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 Shál, their ancestral god. But neither he nor they accepted Mahásu 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 wazírs, 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 demoniacal 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 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 re-echo 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 Mahásu 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 wazírs. 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 Mahasu still remains dissatisfied and the reason of his discontent is this:—Shalu, 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 Mahasu. But the latter would evict the local deity and take possession of the shrine, founding his claim on the oath the erstwhile sadbhav swore that if the god but freed him from the darkness of the dungeon he would forsake his other gods and follow him alone. Shalu however is himself no weak-kneed godling to truculently resist 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 herdsmen on their journey to the dangerous heights where the dread Kali 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 Pandarasan purgana 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 impelled 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 sent 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 Brahmans placed the image in the upper storey of the temple. At the same time they gave the name of Shalu to the god, for in the language of the hills shál is the term used for the grand assemblage before the sheep and goats are driven to the Alpin pasturces. 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 right 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 Shalu 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 journeyings 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 Shalu's worship are loath to oust their deity from his ancestral shrine in favour of a stranger. And in the meantime Manásu 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-
rents, like the other villagers, of Shálú their ancestral god. One night, only a few days after the annual festival in honour of Mahású 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 hill-side 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. Mahású 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 saíldár, a lineal descendant of the perjurer who brought such catastrophes upon the hamlet, recounted this story of Mahású's 'playing', as he termed it and at the end in answer to a question maintained his firm allegiance to the cause of Shálú. 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 landslide was also present at the time and was asked whether he too would like the home of Shálú 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 Shálú 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 Mahású 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 Mahású's chief masif, 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. Mahású's victory is assured and in all likelihood it only needs an unforeseen calamity to fall upon the saíldár 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 Mahású's cult, its entrance in the village being followed by a bitter feud with the native deity.
Nāgeshar, 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 Shālu, had not the courage to hold out against a series of misfortunes succeeding one upon another in all of which Mahāsu's hand was clearly visible. So since several generations Nāgeshar 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 Mahāsu, 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 testifed 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 Mahāsu 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 Mahāsu 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 Rājā of Garhwal, 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 Kulu. The youth had cherished 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 satīldar and his comrades to hold as hostages and cast them into prison, binding them first with iron fetters, but Mahāsu in answer to their prayers broke their chains asunder 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, protesting 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 Bhādon 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 hallowed 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
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 parda; except one small image which is set upon the car 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 revellers. 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 lopped 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 Mahásu 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 faggots. All through the night the fire is fed by branches of the pine tree which flash the flaming message of Mahásu's fame throughout the chain of villages which own his sway across the valleys and along the hills, whilst 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 manifests the well-known signs of supernatural possession. Then he must make an offering of a sweetened cake of wheaten flour, with a little butter to the god's wasit or, if well-to-do, must sacrifice a goat or ram. Sometimes a votary, snatching a burning torch from the fire, clasps 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 dawn such 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 Mahásu 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 Kângra hills, and in the Jaswân Dûn of Hosîhârâpur, and whose whistling sound announces his approach. Sindhu is apparently an incarnation of Shiva conceived of as the storm-wind in the hills, and there may be some connection between this cult and the Jogi's whistle which is worn as denoting an attribute of the god. Sindhu is generally regarded as a malignant 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, ghee 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 day 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 Dâriâla, and carrying a long basket (kîro) on his back, whence he is Kîromâlî. But he has several other titles: such as Lohe or Lohân Pâl, 'Lord of metals' Sanghîn Pâl or 'Lord of Chains' and Bhumî Pâl or 'Lord of the Earth.' In the form of invocation recorded in Kângra we find him addressed as grandson of Ngar Hîr, Chatarpâl, Lohpâl, Agrîpâl, Sangalpâl, Thikarpâl ('He of the potsherds'), daughter's son of Bhuînpâl, son of Mother Kunthardi and brother of Punia. And the invocation ends with the words: 'Let the voice of Mahâdeo work'.

Sindhu's principal shrine is at Basoli in Jammu territory, but he has smaller ones at Dhâr and Bhangûrî in Gurdâspur and at Gungtha in Kângra. Most Hindu cultivators in these parts have a lively faith in the Bir, and offer him a kardhâi or halwâs 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 chela, to be possessed by the Bir, offerings of kardhâi, 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 Sindhu's mythology is his association with the pairs of goddesses, Râri and Brâri, said to be worshipped in Chamba, Andlâ and Sandlî, two hill goddesses, the exact locality of whose cult is unknown, and Châhri and Chhatrâhri, also said to be worshipped in Chamba. The duality of these three pairs of god-

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1 In the Kângra District sindh or sindhi = a whistle, cf. Hindi sîf: Kângra Gazetteer, Vol. I, pp. 77-8.
2 See the Song of Sindhu Bir, Ind. Ant., 1909, p. 295. Loh, pl. lohâm, is said to = metal, not iron. Sindhu is said to have a chain (sangal) always with him, and so his votaries also keep one at home.
dresses recalls that of the two Bibis, wives of the Mián, whose cult is prevalent in the Hoshiárpur District. Bharmaní, a goddess of Barmaur in Chamba, is also said to dance with Sindhu.1

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 faqírs, akin to the Jogís, is specially addicted to his service; they besmear themselves with red powder and oil and go about the bazars, 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 Girnsar-parbat in Kathiawár, and the books which teach the worship of Bhairon are the Bhairavashhak and the Bhairava-stotar. That very old temple—the Bhairon-ká-sthán—near Iechra, in the suburbs of Lahore, is so named from a quaint legend regarding Bhairon, connected with its foundation. In the old days the Dhínwar girls of the Riwári tahâl used to be married to the god at Badooda, 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, Bhût 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 Thánesar is a picture of Kál Bhairon.2 He is black and holds a decapitated head in one hand.3 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 Gurdás pur the Hindu Kátil Rájpúts are said to consult Brahmans as to the auspicious time for reaping, and before the work is begun 5

1 This goddess is said to have a temple in Bhat or Bhûtán also. Sindhu is described as well-known and worshipped in Lahul and to affect mountainous regions generally.

2 This picture is faced by one of Handumán whose shrine is sometimes connected with one of Bhairon. Sometimes too a shrine of Gága will be found with a shrine to Goraksháth on one side and connected shrines to Handumán and Bhairon on the other.

3 East of the Jumna Kál Bhairon is worshipped to a considerable extent, offerings of intoxicating liquor being made at his shrine by his votaries who consume it themselves. Vaishnavas, 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 Jatí, or Bhairon the chaste, and is represented as the messenger
of Sakhi Sarwar.

The Cult of Deví.

Closely connected with the worship of Shiv, and far more widely
spread, is that of his consort, Deví. This goddess goes by many
names, -- Durgá, Kálí, Gaurí, Asurí, Párbatí, Kálká, Mahesrí, Bhiwání,
Asht-bhojí, and numberless others. According to the Hindu Skástas,
there are nine crores of Durgás, each with her separate name. The
humbler deities, Sítalá, the goddess of small-pox, Masání and other
goddesses of disease, are but manifestations of the same goddess. She
is called Mahádeví, the great goddess, Maháráni, the great queen, and
Deví Máí or Deví Máá, the goddess-mother. She is known, from the
places of her temples, as Jawáláji, Mansá Deví, Chhintpurní, Náína
Deví, and the like. In Kángra alone there are numerous local Devís,
and 860 of them assembled together at the founding of the Kángra
temple.

Deví is a popular object of veneration all over the Province, but
her worship is most in vogue and most diversified in Ambála, Hoshiár-
pur and Kángra. The celebrated shrines of Deví are for the most part
in those districts. At Mansá Deví near Manimája, in the Ambála
district, a huge fair is held twice a year, in spring and autumn, in her
honour.

Mansa Deví, sister of Sheesh Nág, counteracts the venom of snakes.
She is also called Jagadgaurí, the world’s beauty, Nítya and Padama-
vati. Her shrine is at Maní Máaja west of Kálka. With Sayyid
Bhúra, whose shrine is at Bári 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 Deví a fair is
held twice a year, on Chet südi 7th or Asauj südi 7th. This temple is
about 125 years old. It is two yards square and the roof is domed.
From the dome projects an iron bar from which hangs a dhaja or
small flag. Of the 4 images of the goddess, two are of brass and two
of marble, each about 3½ths 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 Deví’s ten incarnations, assumed to receive the thanks of gods and men for
the deliverance she had wrought.
3 S.C.B. VIII, pp. 268, 277 and 286. Bhúra is a title of Shíva.
4 Mansa in Hindi means the desire or object of the heart.
At Chintpurni, in Hoshiarpur, there are three fairs in the year, and the puja rais make large profits at the shrine. A large fair is held in Chet at Dharmpur in Hoshiarpur, and Nainá Deví, in Biláspur State, on the borders of the same district, is also a favourite place of pilgrimage. At Kánpura is the renowned shrine of Bejisari Deví, which Mahmúd of Ghazni and Fíroz Tughlak plundered in days gone by, and which is still one of the most famous in India. And at Jawalamukhi, in Kánpura, is another and equally famous temple, where jets of gas proceeding from the ground are kept ever burning, and the crowds of pilgrims provide a livelihood for a profligate miscellany of attendant Gosáins and Bhojús.

Jawalamukhi.—This Deví is the chief object of worship to the Telrája or Telirája faqirs who appear to be found chiefly in the United Provinces. The sect was founded by Mán Chandra, Rájá of Kánpura. He was attacked by leprosy, so the Deví bade 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 Kánpura and founded the order, Sri Chandra, a Brahman, being his first disciple. Initiation consists in paying a fee of Rs 5, or a multiple of that sum, and feeding the brethren. The novice then sips some sherbet upon which the guru has breathed. Some of Telrájas are Sikhs, others Hindus, but Deví Jawalamukhi is their principal deity. They beg oil from Hindu women who have only one son and put the oil on their clothes. When dead they are cremated. Some marry, others do not, and the only outward sign of the sect is that their clothes and bodies are smeared with oil.¹

¹ Deví is worshipped under various other names in Kánpura, e.g. as Janíání in Samlohi, Biláspá in Biláspur, Bharári in Siál, Jalá in Jawáli, Bala Sundari in Harsar, Baglá Mukhi at Nakhandi,² and Kotla³ and Chamda at Kotla and elsewhere. It is impossible to reduce anything connected with these temples. The priest is usually

² W. Cooke, N. I. N. Q., V., § 247. The Káskarían (literally gravel or pebbles) fair is held in Mák Kótla on Asauj atº 9th. When pilgrims set for Jawalamukhi to make the promised offerings, people accompany them on foot without shoes, so that pebbles may be trodden by their naked feet.

³ From Jáná village or 'from certain bushes which grew near by.' This temple was founded by Rájá Tej Chánd some 400 years ago. It is managed by a Bhojá.

⁴ Founded by Rájá Dalip Singh in S. 1726.

⁵ Founded by Faúja Wázir 230 years ago. Deví directed him to enshrine in it 'any stone on which people sharpened axes.'

⁶ Founded by a Ráni of Rájá Shambher Singh of Goler in S. 1458.

⁷ The story is that Rájá Hari Chánd of Goler once when out hunting near Harasar, fell into a well. The goddess directed him to build a temple on the spot, but he refused to do so as it was in foreign territory. This enraged the Deví and she prepared to punish him, caused him to fall into the well. In it again he remained 13 days worshipping the Deví and making vows to her. By chance some merchants passed by and one of them being thirsty went to the well and finding the 14th pulled him out. He then built a temple here to Deví Bala Sundari. It is said that the merchants also settled here. The Deví is only worshipped by the chiefs of Goler.

⁸ Founded by Rájá Hari Chánd of Goler in 1684 S. With this are connected the shrines of Shiva and Chhatarbhuji.
a Brahman\(^1\) but may be a Jogi or a Saniási. They may contain a single image or a number of images, varying in size and material. The ritual is equally diversified. For instance Deví Bharári is only worshiped on the Baisákhi, 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 Bálá Sundarí gets flowers in the morning and sweets &c. in the evening, but to Jalpá are offered rice and dál at morn and fruit at eve, and to Bagá Mukhi the morning bhog is offered after the images have been washed and in the evening patúšhas and gram after the árti.

Deví is usually regarded as an activity of a god, but at Lagpata is a temple to Kaniya Deví the virgin goddess, whose fair is held on 9th Hár. Her Brahman pujári is a Bhojki and bhog is only offered and a lamp lit in the evening.

Other temples to Deví in Kángra are:

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<tr>
<td>Hári Deví in Bagroli, Núrpur Tahal.</td>
<td>Godáín, got Attari</td>
<td>In Chot during the naurátra.</td>
<td>The temple contains a carving of an 8-sided figure on stone. Connected with it are temples of the Thakúrs and a tomb at which worship is performed simultaneously. These shrines contain stone pindás called Nár-singh.</td>
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</table>

\(^1\) Some of the Brahman gots mentioned in the accounts received do not appear in any list of Brahman gots in the notes furnished on that caste. E.g. Bídáa Deví's pujári is described as a Brahman of the Chhapal Bálmsk got.
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<tr>
<td>Deví Thal ('fr. atál, 'eternal').</td>
<td>Brahman, got Mitte, gotar Koshal. The 11 groups of pujári take it in turn to manage the affairs of the temple.</td>
<td>Baisákh 8th ...</td>
<td>Parihád or púri in the morning and bhdát (boiled rice) in the evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Bhagwati Kripá Sundri in Brí is said to have been founded by a Rájá of Bungáhal.</td>
<td>An Oastí Chandíáí Brahman.</td>
<td>The 3 days after the Holi in Pákán.</td>
<td>No bhog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Channandri Deví in Jadragal.</td>
<td>A Bhojki Brahman, caste Balóttu and got Gautam.</td>
<td>On the Shivrátri the people gain a sight of the goddess who is said to have killed the demons Chand and Mund.</td>
<td>The temple contains an image of the Deví engraved on a slab, 6 spans long and 3 broad. On it are also engraved images of Manthasur and Rakat Bij. The Chandial and Gokbar Brahmans revere the goddess as their family deity and perform the jâne ceremony here. Five sweet habru (oakes) in the morning and fried gram in the evening form the bhoj. Sandhý (vermillion) is also offered monthly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Mata Deví Bajar Shüriat Kângra. Once Brahma with other gods went to do homage to this goddess. Their example was followed by other gods but they could not gain access to the Deví. So they resort to Brahma who founded this temple where the goddess was enshrined. Many additions were made to it by rich votaries and Ráni Chand Kaur, widow of Khayar Singh, gilded the dome etc.</td>
<td>Bhojki Brahmans, whose castes and got are:—</td>
<td>A great fair during the navarátrés in Chét and Ásanj.</td>
<td>Worship is performed twice a day, morning and evening. Milk, fruits, sweet-meats, rice &amp;c. form the bhoj which is offered five times a day.</td>
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The following mandirs are connected with this:


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Pujári</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
<th>Ritual, offerings &amp;c.</th>
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<tr>
<td>The mandir of Jatanti Deví at Mandrol ands on a high ridge south of the Kángra fort. The meaning of the name is that the Deví killed all the rácákhasas which used to vex the gods, so in return they worshipped her.</td>
<td>A Bráman, Bhójki, got Bhárvitwáj.</td>
<td>None, but people come to see the image on the Shivrátri.</td>
<td>The Bráhmanas and Rájput's in the neighbourhood adore the Deví as their family deity. Worship is performed morning and evening. Bhog of taddú or pehó is offered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Amáká Deví in the Kángra fort dates from the times of the Kándavas. This Deví is the family deity of the Káóch family.</td>
<td>Brahmán, casta Sarial, got Sándal.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>The usance of bhog and lighting a lamp have ceased.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anjani Deví’s temple at Ghálána Kálá. This Deví was a daughter of Gautam 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 Jamádár Khushbáí Singáh of Lahore in S. 1899.</td>
<td>Udási</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 bállás or springs formed by her miraculous power. Worship is performed morning and evening. Milk in the morning, rice at n. on, and fried gram in the evening form the bhog. A sacred lamp is lit daily.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Sídá Mahádev in Tíka Basí.</td>
<td>A Gírá Gosáín, got Atála.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>It contains a píndí of Shíva, one span high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Sílka Deví in Pálampur.</td>
<td>Bhójki</td>
<td>Each Tuesday in Jeth and Hár.</td>
<td>The temple contains a stone píndí of the goddess. No bhog is offered.</td>
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### Devi in Karnal

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<tr>
<td><em>Mandir</em> of Devi Narsa Sarwa.</td>
<td>Brahman caste Gaddure, got Basaih.</td>
<td>Chet 12th. Formerly it used to last from 24th of Bhadon to 1st Asauj 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 Devi carved on it and a trident painted with sandhur. Bread is offered as bhog in the evening.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The <em>mandir</em> of Bhaddar Kali or Kalka Devi at Samirpur. Its foundation is ascribed to Panami Gurkha.</td>
<td>A Gir Gosain. 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>Ghar 9th</td>
<td>The <em>puja</em> lives on alms. and performs worship morning and evening. Rice in the morning and bread in the evening form the bhog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dholi Devi in Babana in Narpur. 500 years ago Dholi a Rajput girl, was being compelled to marry but she declined. When pressed she disappeared under ground on this spot.</td>
<td>Atari Gosain</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bhog is offered in the morning, <em>deiti</em> is performed and a lamp lighted every evening. The carving of the Devi, placed against a wall in the temple, is 2 ft. high. An image of Shiva 4 ft. high stands near it.</td>
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The shrines of Devi in other districts have seldom more than a very local reputation; the most famous, perhaps are the Bhaddar Kali temple at Nişabeg 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 mela'.

There are, however, temples to various Devi's scattered over the eastern districts and other parts of the province. Often associated with other cults the most important of these Devi's are Saraswati at Pehowa, Bhawani at Thanesar, Mansa Devi in Gurgon, Handka in Dera Ismail Khan and others:

The most important old temples in Pehowa are those of Devi Saraswati, Swami-Kārttika and Prithivishwara Mahādeva:

1. The two fairs at Sarawati's temple are held on Chet 1st, ghaurudeshi Krishnapaksha Kārttika shuklapaksha and purīmad. It is named after the daughter of Brahma and the stream on which it stands. When the Swami Vishvamitra in his jealousy of Swami Vasishtha invited Oghawati Saraswati to bring his rival to him the goddess carried the land on which Vasishtha sat to his abode, but divining his intention she bore the sage back again. Thereupon Vishvamitra 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 and the building is a largo dome and its interior is confoence. 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 Brahmans are Gurus of the Kanaujia got.

2. The temple of Kārttikeya is visited on the pūranmāsi in Kārtti. It contains his image but is dedicated to Kāma Skanda, the god of war, and was founded when the Mahābhārata was about to begin. The image of Kārttikeya has 6 faces and is said to have been repaired by one Kripālupuri Swāmī 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 sadhu pujāri, who is a Sanyāsi, is appointed and kept by the panchāyat of Brahmans and is removable at their will. The Brahmans also do pūja.

At the Bhawāni Dwāra at Thānesar the Devī’s image is seated in a small building in the precincts of the main temple. It is 8 fingers high. Small images of Kāli 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 sud of Chet and Asan. The offerings are estimated at Rs. 400 a year. Nearly 90 years ago one Jawāla of Fatehābād built the temple but the precise date of the year is not known. A chirāgh fed with ghī is lit twice a day during Chet and on each ashtami a virgin girl is fed with karāh or confection prepared for the occasion. When a goat is offered to the mandir, the pujāri paints its forehead with sandhūr and turns it loose. It is generally taken by the sweepers

1 The story goes that Kārttikeya on being deprived of the leadership of the deities tore 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 U/Olog and lights a lamp twice a day,
morning and evening.

In Kohat Devi has her abode on more than one peak. Thus
Hukum Devi occupies a peak in Shakkardarra which is visited by
Hindus at the Baisakhì.1 Chuka Mái is the highest peak on Shinghar;
and Hindus from afar visit it on the navradas and ashtoms. Khumari
Devi is found in the village of that name and Asa Devi in Nar-
Muhammadans also visit this village and call it sidrat Okhla.

The classical myths of Devi 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.2 As a
destructress she is Kali, as genetrix she is symbolised by the yoni, as
a type of beauty she is Uma, and as a malignant being Durga. But
she is also Satí, 'the faithful' spouse, Ambiká, Gauri, Bhawáni and
Tára. 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.4 In orthodox Hindu worship the Earth is
worshipped in the beginning as an 'Athar Shakti' or supporting force,
and in several other forms of worship Earth is taken as a personifica-
tion 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 a personifica-
tion of lust for blood. Devi 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.6 The
legend may recall in a dim way the extirpation of some tyrannical
form of priest craft. But Devi's achievement did not end with the
slaying of Durga. According to the Márkandeya Puráná, the goddess
assumed ten incarnations, including Káli the terrible and Chhinna-
mastaká, the headless.6 In the latter guise she gained her famous
victory over the rákshasa Nisumbha. Even the Káli incarnation was
assumed in order to overthrow Raktavija, the champion of another
rákshasa, Sumbha, just as that of Tára, the saviour, was assumed
to destroy Sumbha himself. Devi also overcame a Tunda rákshasa,
but his death is ascribed to Nahusha, the progenitor of the Lunar race,
and his son Vítunda was killed by Devi as Durga, the 'inaccessible.'7

1 Sir Iarly Chashma Baha Návak in Hangu is frequented by Hindus on the Baisákhi.
2 E. D. Martin, The Gods of India, p 90. For an account of her temple see infrn.
3 In the Simla Hills besides the Greater (Bari) Káli we find a Lesser (ChhoTí) whose
functions are not at all clear. The Bari Káli hunts the hills. She is worshipped with
sacrifices of goats, flowers, fruit, wheaten bread, and lamps. The difference between the
Bari and the ChhoTí Káli is this that the former has 10 hands and the latter only 4.
Similarly in these hills we find a Younger Loukra and a chhoTí 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 183.
6 Chinnamastaká is the modern Chambhá or Chanda.
7 S. C. R., VIII, p 276
Devī as the headless goddess.

But in Kulu the legend regarding Tundi Bhūt is that he was a dātit or demon at Manāli (in Kulu) who having conquered the dātitas demanded a sister of theirs in marriage. Basu Nāg on this proposed to deceive him by giving him a mason or Thāwi’s daughter named Timbar Shachka, who appears in other tales as rākhāna, and Manu the Biṣṭi consented to make Tundi accept her. He overcame the dātit 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 Phāgali—held in Phāgan—a khepra or mask (lit evil form) of Tundi rākhāna is carried about.¹

Kāli as Chāmunda, carrying her head in her hands, is worshipped at the Hoi, eight days before the Divālī. At the beginning of the Kuljug death, pestilence and famine desolated the world although Brahmans 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 Jhiwarinī, 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 Kātik till moonrise or on the 8th till starlight. During this fast the Jhiwarinī 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 Akārīk Māhibāda where Pirthivi Rāj 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 Moslims tried to convert by force. She took refuge in a Jhiwarinī’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.²

This goddess’ name appears to have been transferred to Bāba Chūda Bhandāri whose shrine at Batila is affected by the Bhandāri section of the Khatris³ and the ear-piercing rite is performed there by its members. At some fight 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.⁴

Legends of headless men are also common in other connections. Thus when Parjāpat, the Kumbhār (potter), began to build Pānpāt its walls and buildings fell down my night as fast as he built them by day

¹ N. I. N. Q. IV, § 35. The late Prof G. Oppert explained the story as a legendary account of the suppression of Kāli worship, with its human sacrifices, by a purer faith, but it looks rather like an account of the extermination of an old Tibetan demon-worship by a cult of Kāli herself.
³ S. C. E., VIII, p. 286.
and so the Brahmins 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.\(^1\) Cf. also the legend of Brahman Dat, *infra.*

But Devi has yet another attribute, that of self sacrifice. The classical story is that Umá'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 Hingula (Hinglaj) in Balochistán 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 Kasmíra, her tongue at Jawálamukhi, her right breast at Jál anchara, and her right antle at Kurukshetra.\(^2\)

The days most holy to Devi are the first nine days of the waxing moon in the months of the Chet (March-April) and Asauj (September-October). Some persons will fast in the name of Devi on the eighth lunar day (*ashtami*) 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-páth*, 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 close their shops in honour of the day. The greatest *ashtamis* of all are however those in the months above-mentioned; and of the two great yearly festivals, that of Asauj, the *saurátra* properly so called, is the greatest, following as it does immediately after the completion of the annual *şraddāḥ* 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 cut it and light a sacrificial fire (*hom*), 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\(^3\) On the 3rd of Chet *sudi*, 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 Rájpútána that this rite should be found in Kángra, 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 Chet and end on the *saukránt* of Baisákh and are traditionally supposed to commemorate the

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\(^1\) S. C. R., VIII, p. 298.


\(^3\) Special feasts are given to little girls twice a year and they are given fees, as if they were Brahmins, *P. N. Q.*, III, § 116.
suicide of a woman married to a boy much younger than herself, but a different explanation has been suggested. The deities Siva and Parbatí have been known to sacrifice their own children to the river. In this ceremony the bride is sent to her husband's home on the eve of the wedding day, and she is not allowed to leave her husband's house until the second day of the festival. During this time, the bride is expected to perform various tasks, such as cooking and cleaning, and she is also expected to perform religious rituals. The ceremony is performed to ensure a happy marriage and a prosperous life for the couple.

"The Rali fair."

The Rali fair is a traditional festival celebrated in the district of Kangra. The festival is held on the 1st and 3rd Mondays of the month of Chaitra (March-April) every year. The festival is celebrated in honour of Rali, the god of agriculture and prosperity. The festival is celebrated with great enthusiasm and joy, and people from all over the district come to participate in the fair.

During the fair, a large heap of grass and flowers is prepared, and it is decorated with images of gods and goddesses. The fair is considered to be a symbol of fertility and prosperity, and people hope for a good harvest and a prosperous life.

The fair is celebrated with great enthusiasm and joy, and people from all over the district come to participate in the fair. The fair is considered to be a symbol of fertility and prosperity, and people hope for a good harvest and a prosperous life.
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 Devís 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 Devís. 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 Deví 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 Deví-Purán, a part of the Márkanda Purán, the Chándi Path and the Purán Sahasranám.

In the west of the Province at any rate the Deví-upásak are chiefly Sunās, Khatris, Jogis, Saniásis etc. who follow the books specified above. Their places of pilgrimage are Jwálamukhi, Vaishno Deví in Kashmir and further the Vindhya hills, and Káli Deví near Calcutta. They are divided into two sects, the Vaishno Deví who abstain from flesh and wine and Káli worshippers who do not. They worship the image of Deví in temples, revere Gaúr Bráhmans, and pay special attention to sacrifices by fire (hóm), fast every fortnight, and on Mondays break their fast by eating food cooked on the Sunday night and 'lighting a flame worship Deví.'

The Bám-márgís.----The most notorious division of the Sháktiks, as the followers of Deví are called, is that of the Bám-márgís or Váma-cháris, the 'left-handed' worshippers of Káli. They are found in many districts, but they are said to be mostly prevalent in Kángra or Kashmir, and they are chiefly recruited from the Saniásís and Jogís. The sect is said to have been founded by the Jogí Kanípa; 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 miscellaneous debauchery. The Kundá-marg or Kundá-panthí preserve no distinctions of caste in eating, and they worship the fire. The Kona-marg appears to be called Kola-panth, Kola-marg or Kola-dharma, in the Punjab, and to be identical with the Kolá-chári who are worshippers of Saktí according to the left-hand ritual. They preserve caste distinctions, in so far as they eat from separate vessels, and they worship Deví under ten separate names, to wit, Matangi, Bhawaneshí or Bhavaneshari, Baglamukhi, Dhumawati, Bhairavi, Tára, Chensara, Bhagwatí, Sháma and Bála Sundarí. Each man has one of them as his ist or peculiar patron goddess, and the Jogís and Saniásís are said to affect more especially Bála Sundarí. The book of the sect is called the Kohanura, and their creed claims to be founded on the Shíva-Tántra.

1 The word "Márgí" means nothing more than one who follows a "path" or "sect." It may in some cases be a euphemism for Bám-márgí, but the greater part of the Márgís of our returns are from the Multán district, where the term is said to be applied generally to a class of followers of the Jain religion.

2 P. N. Q., II, §§ 648-650. An account, full but very inaccurate, of the Kolá-chári by Sírdáru Balbarí, of Kángra.

3 Or Dhumawai or Lalla-Dhumawai.

(Lalla?) Káí, Kamala and Vidya are given as variants of these four names or titles.
There are further and still more disreputable sections of the Bām-mārgis, the nature of whose orgies is indicated by their names, such as the Choli-mārg and the Birajpāni, whose peculiarities had better be left undescribed.

Orthodox Hindus will not sleep with their feet to the north, out of respect for the Devī who dwells in the Himalayas just as they will not sleep with them to the east out of respect for the Ganges.¹

The Baurias sacrifice to Devī 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, jhatkā, 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 Devī, 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 likhṇa.³

Akās Devī, 'the goddess of Heaven,' also called Gyāśī Devī, is worshipped in the villages round Ambāla. Her cult is said to be based on a passage in the Devī Bhāgavatī Purāṇa. Her temple contain no image. She is worshipped with the usual objects of procuring sons, effecting cures, and so on. Her temple stood originally at Jatwār village, but in a dream she bade the headman of Bhibāl transport five bricks from the Jatwār temple to Bhibāl 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 Brahmins. The fairs are held on the 8th and 14th sudi of Chet and on the same dates in Asanj sudi are called Gyāśīn kā mela.⁴

Behmātā 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 faqīr who did so was turned into a glow-worm and obliged to carry fire behind him for ever in his tail. Behmātā is Bidhimātā or Bidhnā, and the glow-worm is called hovula kira ( ? from hom or havan).

Kauyā Devī, who is worshipped in the Kāngra valley, was the daughter of Brahmā Rājā, who was so enamoured of her beauty that he would not give her away in marriage. When pursued by him, she

¹ I. N. Q., IV, § 193.
² P. N. Q., III, § 721.
³ Shib's mark is a circle with a line through it; a Siddh has a pair of foot-prints. cf. Oldham, in Contemporary Review, 1885, reprinted in P. N. Q., III, § 162.
Devi in Chamba.

flled to a small hill, wherein was a huge rock which split as under and gave her a refuge. At her curse the Rája 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 Rája’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 Munjeta or Pápnagara. Kaniyá Devi is worshipped like any other Devi.1

A shrine very similar to that of Bhúmia (but clearly one erected to a manifestation of Devi) is called Paththarwálí in Gurgaon. When a man who has in sickness put on the cord of Devi recovers he has to perform a pilgrimage to Nagarkot or Jawámukhi in Kángra, taking with him a bhagat or devotee of the goddess. While he is absent, the women of his family worship Paththarwálí.

Devi cults in Chamba.

The worship of Devi 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 Nágs. 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 Nágs. It is common to find a Nág and a Devi temple side by side, and similar attributes are ascribed to both. Some of them, like the Nágs, have the power to grant rain. The worship is similar to that at Nág 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 Nág temples. In front of the Devi temples may usually be seen the figure of a tiger in stone: this is the váhana or vehicle of the goddess. The most famous Devi temples are those of Lakhshana Devi at Brahaur, Shakti Devi at Chhatrari, Chhamunda Devi at Chamba and Devi Kothi, Míndhal Devi in Pángi, and Mirkula Devi in Lábul. Sen Devi at Shah in Sámrá has a temple ascribed to Músha Varma. Its fair is held on Baisákhi 3rd, and her chelas are Ráthis.2

The following is a list of the principal Devis worshipped in Brahaur and the southern part of the Sádr wizárat of Chamba:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name.</th>
<th>Village.</th>
<th>Pargana.</th>
<th>Date of fair.</th>
<th>Puțáras and chelas.</th>
<th>Founded in the reign of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bál Bhairon and Ban- khandi.</td>
<td>Bhairon- gháti.</td>
<td>Brahaur...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Charpat Jogis agánsi Gaddísa.</td>
<td>Sábil Varma.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 P. N. Q., II, § 668.
2 For some further details see Vol. II, pp. 218, 214, 269 and 271. On pp. 214 and 271 Chaund is undoubtedly to be Chámunda Devi.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name.</th>
<th>Village.</th>
<th>Pargana.</th>
<th>Date of fair.</th>
<th>Pujéas and chelas.</th>
<th>Founded in the reign of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bharári</td>
<td>Tohogá</td>
<td>Trehtá</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Shipyánu Brahman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharári</td>
<td>Cha nhot &amp; Lámun</td>
<td>Chanoté</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Ráthi ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharári</td>
<td>Gáglé</td>
<td>Kalundré</td>
<td>Katak, 6th-7th</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Ráthi ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmáni</td>
<td>Brahma</td>
<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Malik Gaddi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chámundá</td>
<td>Sírná</td>
<td>Mahlá</td>
<td>Jágó on Chet 80th.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Músh Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chámundá</td>
<td>Gawári</td>
<td>Sámrá</td>
<td>Asárh 7th or 8th.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chámundá</td>
<td>Sher</td>
<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>Bhédon 3rd</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Uren Gaddi ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chámundá</td>
<td>Sanáhan</td>
<td>Sámrá</td>
<td>Asárh 1st or 2nd &amp; Asauj 2nd or 3rd.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Sárso Brahman, Ráthi...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhatrárhi or Adhakti</td>
<td>Chhatrárhi</td>
<td>Píura</td>
<td>Jágó on the 8th shukal pak of Bhédon and 9th, 10th and 11th.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Sárso Bhár-dwáj Raítan Totrán Gaur Bhár...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hirimbá</td>
<td>Mahlá</td>
<td>Mahlá</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Thitán Brahman, Ghukán Gaddi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakhná</td>
<td>Grimá</td>
<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Mogu Gaddi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jálpá</td>
<td>Kareri</td>
<td>Mahlá</td>
<td>Jágó on Sáwan 1st.</td>
<td>Pehnán Gaddi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jálpá</td>
<td>Mahlá</td>
<td>Mahlá</td>
<td>Jágó on Sáwan 1st.</td>
<td>Ghukán Gaddi, Ghunkar Gaddi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jálpá</td>
<td>Mahlá</td>
<td>Mahlá</td>
<td>Há 6th-9th...</td>
<td>Ghukárán Gaddi and Thulyán Brahman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Devis in Chamba.
Devils in Chamba.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name.</th>
<th>Village.</th>
<th>Pargana.</th>
<th>Date of fair.</th>
<th>Puja or chelas.</th>
<th>Founded in the reign of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jálpé ...</td>
<td>Bhatyárk ...</td>
<td>Lil ...</td>
<td>Baisakhi 9th</td>
<td>Dumur Brahman.</td>
<td>Músh Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jálpé or Khandrásan</td>
<td>Khandrásan</td>
<td>Lil ...</td>
<td>Hari 10th-12th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jálpé ...</td>
<td>Girrer Mheusa.</td>
<td>Lil ...</td>
<td>Baisakhi</td>
<td>Latán Gaddis</td>
<td>Músh Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabré ...</td>
<td>Baloth ...</td>
<td>Lil ...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Ráthis</td>
<td>Músh Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapráli ...</td>
<td>Kulethá ...</td>
<td>Trehtá ...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Hilak Brahman.</td>
<td>Músh Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahá Káli...</td>
<td>Kalbotá ...</td>
<td>Lil ...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Gadiálas Gaddis</td>
<td>Músh Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahá Káli...</td>
<td>Graundi ...</td>
<td>Lil ...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Ráthís</td>
<td>Músh Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahá Káli...</td>
<td>Launá ...</td>
<td>Mahá ... Jará on Sáwan 4th.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahá Káli...</td>
<td>Auráh ...</td>
<td>Brahmaur Sáwan 6th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>Leundi ...</td>
<td>Brahmaur ...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Kurete Gaddis</td>
<td>Bijai Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>Tundáh ...</td>
<td>Brahmaur Jará on puramásh in Bhadon or Assauj.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Káli Deví ...</td>
<td>Thalá ...</td>
<td>Brahmaur ...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Dáhrán Gaddis</td>
<td>Sáhil Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Káli Deví ...</td>
<td>Mándhá ...</td>
<td>Brahmaur Assauj 1st</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Káli Deví ...</td>
<td>Thonká ...</td>
<td>Kothi Ranhu Bhádon 4th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Káli Deví ...</td>
<td>Auráh ...</td>
<td>Brahmaur Sáwan 4th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakhá Deví (Bhadrar Káli)</td>
<td>Brahmaur ...</td>
<td>Brahmaur Assauj 10th and Bhádon 11th.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maréli Deví</td>
<td>Chuhí ...</td>
<td>Brahmaur ...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Kavá Gaddis</td>
<td>Músh Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehlá Deví</td>
<td>Gadhú ...</td>
<td>Trehtá ...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Daraklu Brahman</td>
<td>Músh Varma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakti Deví</td>
<td>Brahmaur Badgrain.</td>
<td>Brahmaur ...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Harete Gaddis</td>
<td>Vidagdha Varma.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Devis in Chamba.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Pargana</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Pujāras and chelas</th>
<th>Founded in the reign of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shakti Devi</td>
<td>Janadot</td>
<td>Chhātrārhi</td>
<td>Daljātras in Bhādon or Assauj</td>
<td>Kalan Brahman</td>
<td>Mūsh Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiv Shakti Devi</td>
<td>Bakān</td>
<td>Bakān</td>
<td>Jāgrā on Hār 13th.</td>
<td>Rāthis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tungāsān Devī</td>
<td>Gosān</td>
<td>Brahmaur</td>
<td>Bhādon 1st</td>
<td>Rānān ādādīs</td>
<td>Yugākar Varma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Brahmani Devī's history is this. A Brahmani had a son, who had a pet chakor (partridge), which was killed by a peasant. The boy died of grief, and his mother became sati, burning herself with her son and the partridge, and began to afflict the people, so they built her a temple.

In Pāngi only four Devīs are noted—Singhāsān Devī at Surāt in pargana Darwās, Shil at Sākhi, and Chaund at Re, Manghāsān at Purthi, all three in Lāch.

Devī Chāmundā of Gawāri revealed herself in a dream to Rājā Sri Singh, and ordered him to remove her from Prithvijōr to this place. The temple at Sri was built by Rājā Ugger Singh who vowed to make it, if it ceased raining, it having rained incessantly when he had gone to bathe at Manī Mahesh.

Devī Chhatrāhāri or Ādshakti, "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 pindi or image, which he was taking to his home, when it stopped at a certain spot, and there its temple was built. 1 Rājā Bāla Bhadra (A. D. 1589 - 1641) granted it 36 lahrs 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 Pāngi, 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 Merū Varma (A. D. 680 - 700).
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	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 saasan grant for many centuries.¹

Devi cults in Sirmur.

There is a temple of Devi Jawalamukhi (‘goddess of the flaming mouth’) at Lāna Rawāna, concerning which the following legend is told:—Mahant Tvar Nath and the Devi met at Hardwar, where they had gone to bathe, and, when leaving, the mahant asked the Devi 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 pujari appointed. The pujari offers incense and bhog every Sunday morning and on the first day of the month (sankrānt). The fair is held on the Durgā Ashtmiy day in Asauj.

Nagarkotī Devī has her home at Shāyā Pajotha and Sharauli, and the legend states that the Pándavas 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. Āpāra is also associated with Nagarkotī Devī, but the place is one of peculiar sanctity whether the goddess be present or absent from it. There is also a Nagarkotī Devī at Dalāhān, known also as Dalāhān Devī.

Bis Nāna is the home of Bhārtī Devī, who is said to have been brought from Kidār Nāth Badri Narāin in Dehra Dān. She is also called Kūshki Devī.

There is a temple of Devī on the hill of Lai, built by Bhera Rangar,² the famous robber. Worship is performed here on the sankrānts and every Sunday and nawrātra in Asauj and Chet.

Devī Bhangain 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 Dasskna, 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 Bhangain, and is never clothed or ornamented. There is no special pujari, 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 pujari. 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 Bangauwāla in Ambala and of those of Sathīāla and Batabā in Gurdaspur. Khabanz Singh, Philoṣophic History of the Sikh Religion, Pt. 1, pp. 211. 216.
is held on different dates in Asār, and is attended by the goddesses Bijai and Ghatriāli. Only the people of Bhojes Ṭhakari and Dasākna attend.

The arrangements for the worship of Naina Devī at Baila are of interest. The pujaṛis 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 pujaṛis 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 (asthāpan). 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 rupees, silver ornament (sis-phul) on its head and a silver necklace (gaś-sīri) and has also a silver palanquin. The fair is held on the Rāṇwī Dhār above the village on the first three days of Sāvan, 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, Mashwa and Tattiāna 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 sankrānt 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 Shakūr, so they built a temple to her as the new goddess. At her fairs on the sankrānt 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 Simlāsaṇ.

Deví Kudin has her temple at Dūdam in Tahsīl Pachhad. The legend is that she was a daughter of Sur Parkāsh, Rājā of Sirmūr, who was blind, and lived in Neri 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 parohit of the princess brought her head to Dūdam 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 
parohit that he would find her at a certain spot, at which after a search 
the parohit found the image now in the temple. The fair is held on 
the ikdashi before the Diwali, on which day the image is placed on a 
singhásan or throne. This is also done on each Sunday in Hár.

At Náog, now in Patiála territory, lived Lagásan Deví, the 
sister of Kudín. Her temple is at Khargáon. Her fair is held on the 
ıkdashi before the Dewali. It is said that she appeared at the source 
of the river Giri, but others say she appeared from that river at 
Khargáon.

At Tilokpur is the temple of Deví Bála Sundri. There is held a 
large fair in her honour in the month of Chet when the Rájá attends 
and a buffalo and several be-goats are sacrificed. She is as commonly 
worshipped by hillmen as by people of the plains.

The goddess Katásan has a temple at Barában, seven miles south 
of Náhan on the road to Pauntu. In a battle between the Rájpúts and 
Ghulán Qadír, Rohilla, a woman appeared fighting for the former, 
when their defeat seemed imminent and the Muhammadans were routed. 
The temple was built to commemorate the Rájpút victory. On the sixth 
day of the naurátras in Asuaj and Chet havan is performed in the 
temple, and the Rájá occasionally visits the temple in person or deputes 
a member of the royal family to be present.

**Devi in the Simla Hills.**

*Devi Adshaktí or Durga Mátá.*—A Brahman of the Sakteru 
Pujára family relates that more than 100 generations ago his 
ancestors came from Káshi (Benáres) and settled at Hát Koći; and 
that one of them came to Kacherí village with Adshaktí 
Bhagwati. This goddess, with her sister and Koći Ishwar, were 
shut up in the bumhri as has been told in the account of Koći 
Ishwar. Adshaktí flew to the top of Tikkar hill above Ghámaná, 
a village in Kumhársein and settled there in the form of a ling. Her 
presence was revealed to a mawanná of Tikkar in a dream, and the 
ling was found and placed in a temple. The other pujárís of Kacherí 
say that Adshaktí, commonly called Bhagwati Mátá, no doubt came 
from Hát Koći, but that she was never imprisoned in a tumbi, and that 
when the pánda of Hát Koći had shut up Koći Ishwar in the tumbi the 
two Durga sisters accompanied him, one walking ahead and the other 
behind him, looking for an opportunity to release him. When the 
pánda fell and Koći Ishwar escaped the two sisters also flew away. 
First they went to Rahtári village and thence to Hátu, Durga Mátá 
settled at Tikkar in which neighbourhood Bhuría, once a powerful 
mawanná, had fallen into difficulties. He consulted Brahmins and then 
sent for a number of virgins and, having made them sit in a row, cried 
aloud that the spirit that distressed the mawanná, whether he were 
a god or a devil, should appear and reveal through one of the girls why 
he had harassed the mawanná. One of the girls began to dance in an 
eysta and said that Bhagwati Mátá was lying on Tikkar hill in the 
form of a ling and that of the two sisters one lived on Kanda, the top, 
and the other at Mundá, the foot of the hill. The mawanná and his
Brahmans excused themselves saying that they had not known of their presence, and they promised to build a temple for the Máti. The girl in a trance walked up the Tikkar hill, the other virgins, the Brahmans and the nawannas following her. The girl pointed out the spot where the ling lay, and on that spot was built the temple called Mátri Deori, which still exists. At that time Polas, a Brahman from the Sindhu Des, came to Lathi village and began to worship Durga Máti. He came to look after Kot Ishwar who would not appear before him, but at last after 12 years he revealed himself and then the Brahman began to worship him. Kot Ishwar gave the pujaðris of Batára village to Bhagwati Máti for worship. These pujaðris are said to have come from Korú Desh. The Mateog Brahmans were settled in Batára and they worship Kot Ishwar daily, but at the four Sankrants in Baisakh, Sáwan, and Mágh and at the Diwali the Sherkotu Brahmans officiate.

Kirti Singh, the first Ráná of the Kumhársain family, acknowledged Durga Bhagwati as sister of Kot Ishwar and built her a new temple at Kacheri. Every third year a Púja mela is held and the State pays the expenses.

According to the custom of the Kumhársain family the jadola ceremony (cutting the hair of a son or wearing nose or ear-rings by the girl) is performed at Mátri Deora. The Ráná and his Ránis go in person to this temple with their children for the ceremony. Similarly on ascending the gaddi the new Ráná with his family attends at the Mátri Deora a ceremony called the Jawá Játra. Bhagwati Máti holds a petty jágir from the State and also has a small kelon (deodár) forest. Goats are sacrificed to her, and every third year or when desired buffaloes are also killed before her at Mátri Deora. Some people believe that though Máti has temples at Mátri Deori and Kacheri she is always sitting at her brother Kot Ishwar’s side at Madholi. Benu and Bhuri are two bhors or servants of the Máti. Benu was a Chot from Bena in Kulu and Bhuri 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 Deví at Hát Koți 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. Formély its fellow stood on the other side, but one night in Bhádon 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 courtyard 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 rescue one and the second disappeared. The one thus saved is now securely chained to an image of Ganesh sitting in the temple, but sometimes still in the stormy nights of Sáwan and Bhádon 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.
Deví Kasúmba at Kheksu—Kheksu is on the north bank of Sutlej in Kulu. Kot Ishwar’s other sister, Kasumba Deví, settled here when he escaped from Pro. One of the Chhabishi Brahman’s of Goan, a village in Kulu Saraj, saw in a dream a pindi or ling. The goddess then told him of her presence, and desired to have a temple built for her at Kheksu. The people say that the artisan who made the image of Hát Kotí Durga was called in to make her image. When he had finished that image the mawannya of Hát Kotí 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 Kheksu. Ráná Kirtí Singh acknowledged this Deví as Kot Ishwar’s sister and gave her a jógir worth Rs. 42-2-9. The original intention was that 9 bhanoo of kiar land at Kheksu and goats should be given by the State on both the ashtamis, in Chet and Baiákh. This Deví also holds a jógir from Kotgarh and Kulu. When Kot Ishwar has any jóg she comes to Madholi and joins in it. A Deváli metá is held at Kheksu. There used to be a bhanda every 12 years at Kheksu, but Government has forbidden it owing to the risk of human life.

Braju Deo is the bhor or servant of Kasumba. He was brought from Jundla in Kumársain and was originally a devil.

In the Simla Hills was a goddess, who first settled in the Túñá forest (a part of Chambi Kúpar) without any one being aware of her advent. But in the time of Ráná Naráin Singh of Kot Khálí she came in a woman’s shape, but dressed in old and ragged clothing, to Halái (a village near Kiári) where the Ráná 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 Káli transformed herself into a kite and flew away saying—

Túne ri Kálka Kiári dekhan ñí.
Náráin Singh Thákure rope rám de lai.
‘Káli of Túñá came to see Kiári.
But Naráin Singh Thákur employed her to transplant rice plants in his kiar (irrigated fields).’

From that time Káli has been worshipped in the forest and is considered the most powerful of all the Kális.

Deví Gayáshín’s idol was brought to Shimánú village in Mahlog State by Surjá Brahman of Bhagri in the Kuthár State. All the members of his family had been killed by Badohí Kanés, who were at that period troublesome daúnts, so he left his village for ever and settled at Shimánú where he built a temple for the Deví image. Her fair is held on the first Tuesday in Chet.

Deví cults in Saraj.

Durga Deví, sister of Lachhmi Naráin, is also called Deví Dhár. Once a girl appeared at a spring near Daogí, and declared herself to be the goddess and Lachhmi Naráin to be her brother.

Deví Gárá Durga’s legend illustrates the disgrace which attaches to a girl’s marriage with an inferior. Once a Thákur 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 Thákur’s beauteous daughter in marriage; and bound by his pledge, the Thákur 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 Barí has a temple in Koṭhi Dhaul. She first manifested herself at Charakh near Barí by taking the milk of a Ráná’s cow. Convinced of the truth of his herdsman’s story of this miracle the Ráná 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 pujaři is always a Kanet and the Devi has a gur.

Dará Deví has a temple at Dará. A Thákur’s cowtrain was all carried off by ants to the Deví’s pindi, and so a temple was built in her honour.

Deví Kohla or the Deví 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 pujaři of the temple is always a pánda.

Pachlá Deví of Srígarh has also a curious tradition. Píchú Chand, Thákur 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. Thákur Jog Chand, his rival, in jealousy at his devotion, quarrelled with him and Píchú Chand made a vow on the goddess to kill him. He succeeded and built a temple to the goddess who was named Pichlá after him. This Deví has four temples: at Deohari, Kashta, Chaláma, and Rání. One fair at Deohari is held at the Diwáli in Maghar and another fair on the ashtami in Asauj at Kashta. At Deohari a shánd is celebrated annually.

Kasumbha Deví has two temples on the Súí Dhár or range, one at Khaksu, the other at Ruhra. A Rájá of Bashahr used to live at Khaksu, and in order to get a son he used to recite the páth of Kálí. She manifested herself to him in the form of a black stone image and bade him worship it, so he founded the temple at Khaksu and named it after himself. It contains a black stone image, 1 cubit high, and a female figure, 3 cubits high, in metal. The pujaři is always a Sársut Brahman. The goddess selects her own gur.

Deví Chebri’s temple was founded by Deví Kálí 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 Deví has a similar legend. Kálí defeated the asurs or demons and in her honour the people of Dhaná built her a temple.

Deví Pujárlí’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 Deví, Ambiká,
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. Ambika’s own temple at Nirmand is well known and Chand Devi is said to have slain two rākhhas, Chand and Mund. Her temple dates from the same year as that at Nirmand.

Naina Devī owes her temple in Kothi 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 Brāşanū, a Brahman who lived in Bāri phati. He was childless, and in order to get a son, used to recite pathi 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 bade 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 Rājā of Suket became a votary of Kāli and built a temple in her honour at Chhikianā.

Three fairs are held annually at as many places, one on the 9th of Baisakha at Bāri called the Taršūn fair. The Diwāli is held at Suket, when the Janamaśṭmi festival is also observed. The Shānd is observed every 12 years.

The cult of Devī Bālā Durga is associated with that of Mārkanda Deotā. The temple at Mārkanda was founded by a Sādhu from Triloknāth.

At Bargali is the mandir of Devī Durga called mandir Baggan Deora. A fair is held from 1st to 3rd Phāgan annually and is followed by the naauratas in Chet and Asanj during which girls are fed. On the Rikh Puniya 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 kārdār by cast a Kanet manages its temple affairs. The pujārī is a Sārut Brahman. The cheta or gur is a Kanet. Their offices are hereditary.

In Kulu proper the cult of Devī is even more popular than it is in Saraj. Her cult names are numerous. She is called Bhaga Sidh, Bhanthali, Bharari, Chamunda, Dasmi Bara, Garanpuri, Harnam Jagan Nāthi, Jaishari or Mahi Kashar, Jawalamukhi, Kāli Auri,1 Kāli Mahi Khasuri or Phungni, Khandāsān, Kodanta, Kovanah Mahā Mayā, Mahā Māj Jagni, Nainan, Phungāni and Phangani Bari Shakh, Sri Rāni Neoli, Sanohia, Sarwari, Singhāsān, Tripura Sundari and Rupashma.

1In Kulu there is at Harchandi village in pāṭi Nathān (Koṭhi Nagar) a temple to Kāli, the idol consisting of a stone or image. Auri 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 passes in Kulu, e.g. Auri 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 companions, 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 Archhandī.
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 Siddh Devi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Devi</th>
<th>Site of temple</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhága Siddh¹</td>
<td>Named after the goddess</td>
<td>12th and 13th Baisákhi and for 8 days from 31st Sáwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhága Siddh</td>
<td>Pera</td>
<td>7th Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhága Siddh</td>
<td>Pera Dughí Lag</td>
<td>1st of Chet, 3rd of the light halves of Phágán and Chet, 1st of Baisákhi, Jeth, Bhádon and Asan, and on the full moon day of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The goddess Hirmá</td>
<td>Dhungri Pera</td>
<td>Dhungri jídra on the 1st Jeth for three days, on the Phágali, on the 4th Mágh, 1st of Sáwan and Baisákhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deví Harman</td>
<td></td>
<td>7th and 16th Mágh, 1st Baisákhi and 1st Asan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deví Káli Auri</td>
<td>Deví in Köthi Mángarh</td>
<td>1st Baisákhi, 1st Bhádon and 3rd Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Káli Auri</td>
<td>Archhandi Pera</td>
<td>1st and 2nd of Chet, 1st to 3rd of Baisákhi, 1st of Bhádon and 1st of Asan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Káli Mahi Khasuri, Káli Auri or Phungni</td>
<td>Pera Deví in Köthi Raisan</td>
<td>1st of Baisákhi and Bhádon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deví Phungání</td>
<td>Pera Phungání in K. Mandalgarh</td>
<td>6th and 7th of the lunar months of Baisákhi and Phágán and on Wednesday and Thursday in the light halves of Sáwan and Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deví Phungání</td>
<td>Pera Deví Phungání in Bísar</td>
<td>1st of Chet, 3rd and 5th of the light halves of Baisákhi and Bhádon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deví Phungání²</td>
<td>Tian Pera in Köthi Mángarh</td>
<td>In addition to fairs in Sáwan, Asan, Maghar and Phágán, a fair is held on the 3rd, 5th and 7th in the dark half of Baisákhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deví Bhotanti²</td>
<td>Parní Pera in Köthi Chung</td>
<td>1st to 3rd Asan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The temples of the goddess Chámunda, of Narain, Doli Nág, the goddess Indarol and Dharat Pál are connected with this.
² South of the temple is a báhá (storehouse) of the goddess and to the west are two rooms for cooking food. At 100 paces in the latter direction is a marah where a fair is held in her honour.
³ Two temples are connected with this, those at Bháti Pera and Garam Pera. 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 Bhantthali...</td>
<td>Banthali Pera</td>
<td>7th of Jeṭh and 1st of Asauj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Bhalati ...</td>
<td>Mele ...</td>
<td>3rd Asauj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Chāmundā¹ ...</td>
<td>Dabogī Pera at Nashāla</td>
<td>On the dwddshi (12th) in the light half of Phāgan, 1st Chet, new year's day, 1st to 4th Baisākh, 1st Jeṭh, 1st Bhādon and 1st Asauj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Chāmundā ² ...</td>
<td>Nular Pera ...</td>
<td>1st Sāwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shri Devi Dasani Barada ...</td>
<td>Kalar Pera ...</td>
<td>1st to 3rd Chet, 31st Chet to 3rd Baisākh, 6th to 3rd Hār, 31st Sāwan to 5th Bhādon and a yag every 12 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The goddess Ducha and Mucha.</td>
<td>Gajjan and Karjan Peras.</td>
<td>The gajjan on the 4th Jeṭh and the chachpali on the full moon day of Chet, lasting four days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Garan Puri ...</td>
<td>Naraini Ganar Pera, Upar Rela Pera and Ringu Pera.</td>
<td>1st Phāgan, 1st Baisākh, 8th Baisākh, Ganesh chawdas in Sāwan, in Hār, 1st of Poh and 21st Baisākh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The goddess Jagannāthī</td>
<td>Jagannāthī Pera ...</td>
<td>8th to 11th of the light half of Baisākh, 7th to 10th of the light half of Hār, and 7th to 10th of the light half of Asauj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Jagannāthī Ji ...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Baisākh shudi asthami 3 days, Hār shudi asthami 3 days, Asauj shudi asthami 3 days, besides 15th Phāgan, 1st Chet, 1st of new year, 1st Baisākh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jayshari or Mahi Kashur²</td>
<td>Hat, in Bajaura Koṭhi</td>
<td>9th of Baisākh and 8th of Bhādon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jawālamukhi ...</td>
<td>Pera Pali Sari in Koṭhi Hurang.</td>
<td>1st of Baisākh, 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>Jawalalukhi ...</td>
<td>Shansuli Pera in Koṭhi Khokhan.</td>
<td>1st of Baisākh, Sāwan and Asauj, and on the full moon day of Maghār. Each lasts one day.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Another temple called Pera Nishīla is connected with this. It contains an image said to be that of the goddess Bhāga Sidh and it is worshipped in the same room as the other goddess.

²The temple also contains an image of Bhola Nāṭh. It is of stone, one cubit high. It is worshipped along with the goddess.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Devi</th>
<th>Site of temple</th>
<th>Dates of fairs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Devi Khaudásanu</td>
<td>Naumi Ñera</td>
<td>The Japari jātra in the beginning of the new year in the light half of the month of Chet for four days, and Sáwan jātra on the 91st of Sáwan for four days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Kodaula'</td>
<td>Gohi Ñera</td>
<td>2nd, 12th, 13th and 14th Baisákhi, and 2nd Asaúj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kowanaí</td>
<td>Ñera Soil</td>
<td>The shirdrá on the 4th of the dark half of Phágān, Phágli on the ekadashí of Phágān, chakopaší on the full moon day, on the bir śáre on the 1st of Baisákhi, the kar on the 1st of Jeth, the shee on the 1st of Sáwan and the sarí on the 1st of Asaúj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Mahá Máya</td>
<td>Mana Máya</td>
<td>Tuesday of the light half of Phágān.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahá Mai Jagul</td>
<td>Choppar</td>
<td>1st of Baisákhi, Sáwan and Bhádón, each lasting one day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nainau</td>
<td>Bhalang Ñera in Köthí Khokhan</td>
<td>3rd, 5th and 7th of the light half of Baisákhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaugni Bari Shahí</td>
<td>Ñera Phaugnáí</td>
<td>1st of Chet and 7th of the light half of Asaúj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaugni</td>
<td>Ñera Phaugni Gauñáí in Hauñáí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Ráni Neoli</td>
<td>Ráni</td>
<td>4th to 7th of the dark half of the month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Sandhia</td>
<td>Ñera Devi Sandhia</td>
<td>Naurí (8th) of Baisákhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarwari</td>
<td>Shuru Ñera</td>
<td>1st of Baisákhi and illuminations on the tfú (3rd) of Poh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Singhásanu</td>
<td>Singhásan Devi Ñera</td>
<td>6th to 10th Jeth, 1st of Asaúj, Durga ashfams in Asaúj, 3rd of the light half of Poh, one day in the light half of Chet, 2nd and 3rd Baisákhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tripura Sundari</td>
<td>Nagar</td>
<td>1st Baisákhi and yag every 3rd year on 2nd Bhádón.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devi Rupásahna</td>
<td>Sharani Berh in Köthí Harkaúdí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 No temple is connected with this, but fairs are held on the 21st Maghaú and 21st Sáwan when the gods and goddesses visit the fair and return in the evening.
Bhotánti Deví's original temple is at Jari in the Párbati valley. She and Parei Deví 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 hear a fire hissing they will say bhakh nind; hi karwā defect, 'consume the back-biter', because the hissing expresses the wrath of the goddess at the evil habit of back-biting.¹

In Outer Saraj Nirmand in the Núrpur Valley on the Sutlej Deví 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 Rishís, there were three kinds of sacrifice: the narmêti, gaunêti, and asvomêti, or sacrifices of men, kine and horses. These great sacrifices were performed by any one who had subdued the whole world, e.g. the Pándavas performed the horse-sacrifice. All the Rishís of renown used to assemble and sacrifice, and at the end of it they used to slaughter the man or animal, calling on the ieotà'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 melà is the old narmêti jog, and the customs and rites are the same. This great fair is held at Nirmand, because Jamdaggan Rikhi being angry for some cause with his wife Ambikâ, mother of Paras Rám, ordered the latter to beat her, and he did so. In expiation Paras Rám gave lands to the Brahmans of Nirmand who in return agreed to spend one-tenth of the produce on this Bhunda fair. As the Beṣa caste was appointed as before to ride down the rope, the fair was called Bhunda, though some say Bhunda is a corruption of bhandâr 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 Bharoji jog; three years after that the Bhatpur jog occurs; and again three years later, the Shând jog. These though attended by several devotees are of much less importance than the Bhunda. They have no connection with Paras Rám and a Beṣa is not lowered on a rope.

Before the recent² Bhunda at Nirmand there had been Bhundas at Níthar (Buddha Mahádev), at Shamsar (Mahádev) in Narángar, at Baihna (Mahádev) in Sirígarh, and in December, 1892, at Gorah in Rámpur State, at which latter a Beṣa 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 Beṣa himself makes it, performing constant ablutions while working at it. When

¹ P. N. Q., II, § 984. This is another instance of fire being a witness.
² This account was written in 1899
The Bhunda sacrifice.

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 remade. No one may approach it with shoes on or with anything likely to defile it. It is reverenced as a deota. 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 Redas is placed on it. No other caste can make or ride it and the Redas regard this as a privilege and deem it disgraceful to refuse the descent. It is a profitable venture, as the Reda 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 Brahmans pray and sacrifice daily by burning rice, fruit, ghi and goat’s flesh, the fire being placed in an earthen vessel sunk some four feet in the ground, an image of Kāli being set up opposite to it, and small brass images of that goddess being placed near it. This vessel is called nābhē kunṭ, 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 deotās are summoned, and the ceremony cannot take place until they come. The mohra or image of a deotā does not attend, the kāls or silver vessel full of water alone being brought. The deotās who must attend are those of Khān, Mahel (in Suket), Nīrk Nagar (in Rāmpur) and Nirmand (in Kulu). These are said to be five brothers. In addition there of Lalsah, Dīdsah, Saur and Sanglah (in Rāmpur) (called the tāli deotās) should also attend. Others may do so.

On a fixed day, called chhilbhchhli, a picture of a pine tree is made of sindur (vermillion) on a clean place in front of the temple, and the deotā who is to commence the fair is worshipped by the Brahmans. At this place also a fight takes place, and then all the kalsās of the deotās are collected and prayers recited. All the deotās then go into the koth of the temple (where the treasure-house &c. are) on to the upper storey, and a rath 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 kamsā filled with rice, and a cocoanut wrapped in silk clothes is placed on top of the rice. In places on the picture are put cakes, rice and wāsh cakes with lamps at each corner. The kalsās are brought in and placed in order round the goś or rath, and if any moħros of the deotās 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 chhamchani or invitation. Next day the deotās gur (gurū) comes with the deotā and the people cook cakes and worship round the village (astkāter) in which the temple is. Goats, sheep, and sungar (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 complete a number of sheep and goats are cruelly lain in the kith 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 kund (of sacrifice). The Brahman worships him, and he is considered a god, the same worship being paid him as is paid to a deotā. Five valuable things (parchrub) are placed
in his mouth, as is done at the death of a Hindu. Then he is clothed in a \textit{pagri} and \textit{kurta}, 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 \textit{kāraḍār}'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 \textit{kumbha} 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 \textit{jhuḍas} 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. 8 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 \textit{deotdi} and people, the fair ends. This is called the Beda \textit{tag}.

In 1893 a goat was lowered in place of a man, with the usual accompaniments. The rope is called \textit{borto} and one account is that the \textit{mnāfīḍārs} of the temples usually make the rope. The Bedas are a low caste of dancers. These fairs are held at Nirmand (Devi Ambkā), Nithar, Dalāsh, Dhamsa in Bashahr, and certain other places—all on the slopes running down to the Sutlej. Bhundas do not take place in Kulu itself, but very similar ceremonies (Ganer), 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 Bedas on ropes of their own making. Their names are recorded in the temple records and are remembered with honour. Further at \textit{kiti} (Sk. \textit{khyāt}?) festivals the \textit{panchkrat} or five precious things are placed in a man's mouth.\textsuperscript{1} The man who was sacrificed was called \textit{jidli}.

There is an account of a "Bhoonda" in Traill's \textit{Statistical Account of Kumdoon}, p. 69. (Reprinted from \textit{Asiatic Researches}, Vol. XLII, in Batten's \textit{Official Reports on Kumdoon}, 1851.) Captain Harcourt also gave a short account in his \textit{Himalayan Districts of Kuluoo, Lahouu and Spiti}, 1874.

The goddess Hirma, who is said to be a sister of Jamlu,\textsuperscript{2} is worshipped or at any rate invoked at the Kāli-ri-\textit{diāli} which is celebrated in Poh\textsuperscript{3}, late in December, not in November like the Divālī 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 indecent songs till a late hour, ending with a chorus in favour of Hirma. The dance is circular, each performer dragging his neighbour towards the inside or outside till one gets exhausted and lets go, sending

\textsuperscript{1} N. I. N. Q., IV. 1893, § 144.

\textsuperscript{2} See Vol. I11, p. 267, infra.

\textsuperscript{3} The \textit{Diāli} in Kulu proper takes place generally in Poh on the \textit{Amūwas} or last day before the new moon. But in Rūpī \textit{wosrd} it occurs from Magh 7th—14th and is called the \textit{sa\ ̄didi}, a corruption of \textit{sat diādi}. \textit{Didi} is said to mean house of mercy.
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.\(^1\) Three days later comes the Ganer. The Ganer (from gún, a knot?) is performed on the 14th or third day of the new moon, i.e. three days after the Diáli. 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 Míáus 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 Barágrán, a village on the west bank of the Beás (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 Deotá Jiv Naráyan 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 Deotá's power. Then the Nagar people insisted that the ceremony should be held henceforth at Nagar and not at the Rájá'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 Beás, four men of Jána village and four of Nagar racing with it to the cliff. If the Jána men won, they had to pay the Nagar people a goat and two loads (bháres) of rice; but if the Nagar people won, the Jána people had to pay them Rs. 500. It is said that this racing was discontinued many years ago. The people of Nagar and Jána now simply run three times with the rope a few hundred yards towards the Beás, bringing the rope back each time. It is then broken, the Jána 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 Chamár (currier) of a particular family of Nagar. This man is called the jathidáli and has a sort of headship over the other men of his caste, who are called his sevák or disciples. He gets an extra share of the clothing given to the Dágís 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 neghi, or headman of the kothi says—

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{He su mangal, kesu húth.} \\
&\text{He su mangal, Rájá húth.} \\
&\text{He su mangal, ri'ayát húth.} \\
&\text{He su mangal, súvád húth.} \\
&\text{He su mangal, dhaváir háth.} \\
&\text{He su mangal, Hirma háth.} \\
&\text{He su mangal, kesu húth.}
\end{align*}\]

"Oh god (and) blessed one, aid the fruits of the earth, the Rájá, the people, the princes, the land, the goddess Hirma, the fruits of the earth."

\(^1\) Kánga Gaastteer, Pt. 11, Kulu, p. 46.
\(^2\) N. I. N., Q., IV., § 1.
The negi 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 Dágans, or wives of the out-caste Dágis, 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, lit. "tuft of the mundál (pheasant) 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 Diwálí 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 Pál kings from Jagatsukh attacked the Ránás of Nagar, a ram fought for the latter, who were conquered, and the Páls captured him; but as he had fought so bravely, they honoured him by taking him to the Jagatípat or sacred stone (brought to Nagar by devotees 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 wazírs who fought for the Ránás were also captured. The Pál king pardoned them and made them dance before him as a sign of subjection to him. Their descendants still dance at the Ganeš, and are presented with a rupee each. The family is called Andrão, 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, Hirma Mái.**

Victory Mother-goddess Hirma.

**Terí kheí kholní lái.**

We begin to play thy game.

**Posha máh, Poh paráli.**

The month of Poh, Poh is the month of rice straw ricks.

**Thori bhosi, bahu jali.**

Mágha máh, churni lomi.

In Mágh the icicles are long.

**Derná yár, khati komi.**

Phágun máh, ila pila.

In Phágan, all is mud.

**Khanyu táud, thoku kela.**

In Chétr the place is dug.

**Moslu johá, leth patáká.**

As big as the flail, or pole for husking rice—membrisum virile erectum est.

**Baisákhu máh, báthe kápu.**

In Baisákhu the cuckoo calls.

**Pahle, pahle máuske laurá chápu**
Devi as disease-goddess.

Jeśhā māh, guruśi sidā.
Jīhun kuchā, tēhun piḍā.
Shārā māh, biar ronī.

In Hār, the rice-beds are full.
Bhale mānshā begāi nahān lenī

and so on. The lines not translated are hardly fit for translation.

It is clear that the whole festival is older than the myth, which is equally clearly in part historical and in part an attempt to account for the rites.

Devi as the small-pox goddess.

Sītāla, the small-pox goddess, also known as Mātā, or Devī, 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 Māsānī, Basanti, Māhā Māi, Polamde, Lamkariā, and Agwānī, whose small shrines generally cluster round the central one to Sītāla. One of them is also called Pahārwālī, or she of the mountains. Each is supposed to cause a specific disease, and Sītāla’s speciality is small-pox. These deities are never worshipped by men, but only by women and children, enormous numbers of whom attend the shrines of renown on Sītāla’s saptami, the 7th of the light half of Sāwan, when only light food is eaten. Every village has its local shrine also, at which the offerings are all impure. Sītāla rides upon a donkey, and gram 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 Sītāla, 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 Kurriā, he of the dunghill, or Bāhāru, the outcaste, or Māru, the worthless one, or Molar, bought, or Mangtū, borrowed, or Bhagwānā, 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, many mothers dress their children in old rags begged of their neighbours till they have passed the dangerous age.

In Rohtāk, where Sītāla is also called Gauwālī, her great days of worship are the Tuesdays in Chet, though in some villages Mondays appear to be preferred. At Rabra again the Wednesdays in Hār are p. 318 et seqg.

1 Sītāla means ‘cool,’ from sīt, and so small-pox is also known as Thanās, ‘cold.’ Cold water and cold food are offered at her shrines, either to propitiate her or as suitable food; P. N. Q. I., § 2. According to Sleeman, burning the bodies of children, who die of small-pox, aggravates the disease. Rambler I, pp. 318 et seqg.

2 In Māler Kothā the Mātā Rānī fair is held on the fourth Tuesday of Chet. Mātā, the goddess of small-pox, is then worshipped and sweet bread and rice offered to her.
The small-pox goddess.

auspicious and at Anwali there is a great day in Asauj. At her
shrine in Rohtak the concourse in Chet is a large one, and food is
distributed to Brahmanas, but the offerings are taken by sweepers.
Sick or well the worship is carried on, and the rupee often seen on a
boy's neck is frequently put on when he is supposed to be
attacked by Sitâla. It is particularly favourable to have a
shrine at a crossways, and the goddess is then called Chauganwa, 'she
of the four villages', or Chaurasta, 'she of the four ways', Matâ. At
Ukhalechana and Kosli in Rohtak Lakaria, her sister goddess, is also
represented at her temple, but her shrine faces west. This title may,
however, be only another name for Sitâla, for she is said to live in the
kikar (acacia arabica) and its roots are consequently watered night and
morning by Hindus. Her vehicle, the donkey, is for the same reason
fed with wet gram and fried eatables, the idea of cooling thus coming
into play. 2

The shrines of Sitâla, which are to be found near almost every
town and village, are about 2 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. 3 Her shrines are called Sitâla-
ghar or in Gurgaon Siyar, and the lamps burnt at them are of the
ekmukha type, a pan with one light, and are lit on Mondays and Tues-
days. In the South West Punjab a mass of clinker, strongly reminis-
cent of a countenance deeply pitted with small-pox, may sometimes
be noticed covered with ghâf, flowers and grain. These are offerings
to Sitâla, the clinker being used as a shrine or rather altar possibly
because in a country where Islam is dominant shrines could not be
built.

At the temple of Sitâla at Danathâ in Gurgaon fairs are held on
the Wednesdays in Chet. 150 years ago a fair used to be held at
Kharbala, but one Udâh, a Jât, who used to worship the goddess, saw
her in a vision and she bade him to remove her temple to Danathâ,
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
got is Shâli. The story is that a Jât used to beg in faqir's clothes and
so his descendants came to be called shâli, and have been professioned
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 Lamkaria appears to be another term for this goddess.—vide p. 350 supra.
2 I. N. Q., IV, § 150.
3 P. N. Q., II, § 646. When a child has small-pox, Hindus will also feed an ass
as Sitâla's chosen vehicle. In Kasîr this ceremony is said to be called jandipuja: 3
4 In Gurgaon Jâts take offerings to Sitâla. There is an obscure tradition in that part
of the Province that the Jâts are descended from 'Bhaddar, brother of Bhil,' but no con-
nection with Bhaddar Kâli is suggested.
Quite distinct from Sítalá is Kandi Máta, so-called from the ring of spots which forms round the neck when the particular pustular eruption due to her takes place. Her shrine is usually smaller than Sítalá's, but they are commonly many, not one. At Beri in Rohtak an avenue of them leads up to Deví's temple, as these shrines are usually built on recovery in fulfilment of a vow. The second Sunday after recovery is especially suitable for worship and Re. 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 Bahádurgárh the 5th of Sáwan is a great day for the Bánia women to worship this goddess at hair bushes, on the road to the station, by sticking gram on the thorns and giving chapatis etc. to Brahmans. It is becoming usual, especially with Bánias, for the bride, bridegroom and bridal party to do pujá at this goddess' shrine. Her shrines at Chirána are of peculiar interest. The Játs and Dhanakhs have separate rows of them and the Játs 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 to 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 Deví, whose half-completed shrine at Jasaúr attests her ill-will or inability to stay the disease. Jagta 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 eczema or itch, appears.

Másání's shrines are hardly distinguishable from Sítalá's. Most villages in Rohtak possess one. Másání is a disease that causes emaciation or atrophy in children, and she is propitiated to avert it. It occurs in Sirmúr where one of the two cures in vogue consists in burning mustard and other oils in a lamp called gatna, with 32 wicks and a hollow in the centre. In this hollow pistachio nuts, flowers and perfumes are placed. Seven marks are made with vermillion on the lamp and one on the child's forehead. All the 32 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 Gurgaon, the chief fair held in the district is that of the goddess of small pox, Másání, whose temple is at Gurgaon. A small melá takes place there every Tuesday, except in Sáwan, but the largest fairs are those held in Chet. 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 often amount to Rs. 20,000 were formerly appropriated by Begám Samru, but are now a perquisite of the land-owners of Gurgaon. Pilgrims visit the shrine on Mondays throughout the year but the biggest gatherings, amounting sometimes

1 Cf. Pahárwalí, above, as a title of one of Sítalá's sister devás.
2 For the other see Sirmúr Gañástra, p. 25.
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 Deví locally known as Masáni, at the village of Keshopur in Delhi. Some 250 years ago the goddess appeared in a dream to Singha a Ját, of some influence at Gurgaon, and saying that she wished to leave Keshopur 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 Benáres. A visit to it is an antidote 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 perquisite of the village headmen. The temple is called the mant or temple of Masáni, mant generally meaning the domed roof of a temple. The origin of the name Masáni is not known, but probably it is connected with the disease of masdu, to which children are very liable. Another story of its foundation is that the wife of the great saint Dronacharya, the gurú of the Pándus and Kuru, 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 dharmásálas 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 singláram. 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 Masáni fair is also held at the temple of Sítla or Budho in Mubáirkpur. As at Gurgaon the largest gatherings take place in Chet and Baisákh, but people come to worship the deví at all times of the year except in Sáwan and Asaúj. The fair is held on every Tuesday in Chet and continues till 10 A.M. on Wednesday.1

1 Whence the name Budho. But a more rationalistic explanation is that Mubáirkpur lies about 12 miles from Gurgaon, so pilgrims to the Masáni at Gurgaon from the Delhi and Rohtak side usually visit the Mubáirkpur shrine after they have worshipped the Masáni at Gurgaon. Generally they can only do this on a Wednesday, and so the मध्य has come to be called Budhómátí. But now of course Wednesday is deemed sacred to the goddess.
image is worshipped at night. Flowers, Mansúrí takkus, baddás and cocoanuts form the chief offerings. It is said that seven sisters became goddesses: one is at Mubáríkpur, another at Basant, the third at Gurgaon, the fourth at Kálka in Delhi while the whereabouts of the rest are unknown. The temple is 6 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 faqir came here and asked the Ját 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 Basti Ram Ját, who enlarged the temple in a dream and forbade him to do so. The management is carried on by the pujañá who sweeps the temple every morning and washes the painting. He is a Ját, by got Sahrawat, and takes the offerings but bears all expenses. The small mandhis outside the temple are also worshipped by the pilgrims.

A local account from Ambálawas that there are 10 Mahábídias or Adeshaktis, 'chief goddesses', one of whom is Mátangi Shakti, the small-pox goddess. She has eight names, Ranká, Ghranká, Melá, Mandlá, Sílala, Sidála, Durgá and Shankara Deví. By Masání is meant Má-tangi Deví 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 Jogís 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 chirágh or lamp.¹

Deví is in Hissár 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 gur is placed under a gharwanji, or stand on which pitchers are kept, and songs are sung. This is termed nám-rakhá, or 'naming' the disease. In the case of a severe attack it is termed dáéri Shukar, and on a Sunday a Brahman woman makes the child wear a rakh, or amulet with a gold bead, kapür (mercury), and maryan (a precious stone), fastened with red thread. Bhált 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 bhált and rice are cooked in the evening. On the Tuesday the child's forehead

¹ P. N. Q., II, § 647.
is marked with cow's urine and young girls are fed with the bhāt, with rice and milk, and pice or kaurīs given them. On the Sunday and following days the mother pours laṣṭi, or milk mixed with water, on a jang 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 laṣṭi on the jang tree, asking its forgiveness for her act. She should also sprinkle laṣṭi on this day on every tree on her road, and round a kil as well. On the Monday night following bhāt is given in alms and finally women go in procession to Devi's temple, carrying an umbrella of paper, and accompanied by musicians. Chhand or hymns are sung daily to Devi, but the name of Ráma may not be uttered, so he is addressed as Jaidewa. One of the lines sung is:—'O Devi, thou ridest a tiger under the shade of a canopy and a snake is thy whip.'

As long as the disease lasts dhūp 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. Ghūt may not be eaten in the house after the last visit to the jang tree, and the mother must avoid ghūt for forty days and fast every Monday. Visits of condolence, or receiving bhājīs or food distributed at marriages are forbidden, and if any one comes to enquire as to the child's welfare he asks 'mahā māt khush hai,' 'is the goddess pleased?' and the reply is 'mahā māt mihā hai,' 'she is kind.' The child is called 'mahā māt kā gola' 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 jang tree, with due apology, is an orthodox 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 Devi as riding a tiger, but the exact train of ideas is obscure.

The worship of Devi Mātā, who is propitiated by the lower classes of Muhammadans as well as by Hindus, is thus described in the Yādgār-i-Chishtī. When the child falls ill no one is allowed to enter the house, especially if he has bathed, washed or combed his hair, and any one who does come in is made to burn harmal 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 claps. For six or seven days, when the disease is at its height, the child is fed with raisins covered with silver leaf. When the pox has fully developed Devi 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 phoa or 'drop.' Kettle-drummers and Mirāsīs are then called in to make a procession to Devi'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

1 N. I. N. Q., II, § 11.
2 Peganum Harmala, a plant whose seeds are burnt to avert the evil eye or evil spirits: Punjabi Dicty, p. 433.
3 Mothers will also on such occasions ply their hand-mills to drown the noise of the thunder. P. N. Q., III, § 179.
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 Bīkāner inoculation for small-pox is not only practised but organised in a remarkable way. Many years ago a Huda, a tribe of Jāts also found in Rohtak, received from Mahādevi (sic) the kardan or gift of suppressing small-pox and the tribe has been ever since the licensed inoculators of a great tract including Mārwār and Bīkāner, 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 (tonohara) is paid in coppers 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

Māri Māi is the cholera goddess, and failure to worship her, equally with personal uncleanliness, produces cholera. But it can be expelled by taking a young male buffalo, painting it with sindhūr 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 1895 two women were seen crossing the river in the ferry boats of whom one of them was asked where she had been and whither 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

Māri Māi is in Kāngra propitiated by the panch-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 immolation of a pair of human beings, a woman as well as a man, to make up the mystic seven.³

Sīta, 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 I. N. Q. IV, § 152. Among the Slavs also small-pox is conceived of as a supernatural female, indeed the Servians candidly call her the goddess, while the Greeks placate her by epithets such as the gracious or pitiful one, and the Macedonians style her 'lady small-pox.' All this is as like popular Hinduism 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 gaunt old bag, on a par with the Indian notion which regards all diseases as manifestations of the goddess. Even scarlet fever is personified as the red woman or Bousa, just as the Persians typify that disorder as a blooming maid with locks of flame and cheeks all rosy red.—V. G. R. Abbott’s Macedonian Folk-Lore, pp. 40-43.


Traces of Devi-worship are to be found as far afield as Gilgit. In the Astor 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 Boh 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 Boh 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 Boh Bin survive, but the rites are no longer observed. A similar stone exists at Barmas near Gilgit where it is called Mul Kum. 1

In Gilgit the belief in giants (yāth, fem. yāthini) still subsists. At first the earth was enveloped in water, which was at some places frozen, and there some vāthas took up their abode under Yamlo Hal Sgl, their ruler. He said he knew of a cunning wolf who lived at a place called Milgamok (old ice) who could spread earth over the water, and so they sent Nogi (‘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 Cosus mountain Finally, Bojara 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. 2 The vāthas are here represented as benevolent, but the yāthinis were not so always. Thus one yāthini 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 (Daurād) named Soglio 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 yāthini, 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 yāthini, who is represented by a figure of Buddha sculptured on rock. 3

Devi Tārā of Tārāb.

The Devi is the family deity of the Rājā of Koonthal, and her arrival dates from the advent of the Rājā’s family in this part of the hills. Her legend is as follows:—Tārā Nāth, a jōgi, who had renounced the world and was possessed of miraculous power, came to Tārāb to practise austerities. He kindled his fire, dhūnā, in the jungle. When rain came not a drop fell on his sitting-place (ūsan), and it remained dry. Hearing of the supernatural deeds of the faqir, the Rājā went to visit him. The jōgi told the Rājā to erect a temple to his goddess, Tārā 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

3 ib., pp. 105-03. How the Buddhist Shri Badat became a man-eater and how his daughter, Migo Khāi Soni secretly married Shamashe and induced her father to disclose to her the secret that his sect could not stand intense heat as it was composed of ghī is told on pp 114-18. Shri Badat still lives under a big glacier and his return is so dreaded that the Tallio—at which singing and dancing round fires is kept up all night—and the Nisalo are held to prevent it; ibid, p. 118-10.
this object that he had taken up his abode on the hill. In compliance
with these directions, the Rájá ordered a temple to be built, in which
the jogi Tárá Náth placed the Deví’s idol according to the rules set
forth in the Hindu Shástras for ashtápan, or establishing an idol. The
Pato Bráhmans, who attended the jogi, were appointed pujáris of the
temple. This Deví 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 Tárab after him. As the Deví is the family
deity of the Rájá, she is revered by all his subjects, and it is well
known that whoever worships the Deví will prosper in this world in all
respects. It is also believed that she protects people against epide
mics, such as cholera and small-pox. It is likewise believed that if the Deví
be angry with anybody, she causes his cattle to be devoured by hyenas.
The samindáras of pargánas Kalánj and Khushálá have the sincerest
belief in the Deví. Whenever sickness breaks out, the people celebrate
jaga in her honour, and it is believed that pestilence is thus stayed.
Some nine or ten years ago, when cholera appeared in the Simla Dis-
trict, some members of the Jungá Darbar fell victims to the disease,
but the Rájá made a vow to the Deví, 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 Deví’s displeasure. Some four
years ago, and again last year, small-pox visited pargána Kalánj,
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 Tárab,
and the Deví revealed the cause of her displeasure to the people, who
promised to celebrate a jág in her honour. Since then no loss has
occurred.

Close to the temple of Deví is another, dedicated to Siva, which
was erected at the instance of the jogi Tárá Náth. The first temple of
the Deví was at Ganparí village in pargána Khushálá. This still
exists, and the usual worship is performed in it. The Deví’s original
seat is considered to be at Tárab. Her oldest image is a small one.

There is a legend that Rájá Balbír Sain placed in the temple at
Tárab an idol made by a blacksmith named Gosaún, under the follow-
ing circumstances:—One Bhawání Dat, a pandit, told Rájá Balbír
Sain that as Tárab 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 Rájá ordered Gosaún to make the
idol required. The blacksmith made an earthen image of the shape
suggested to him by the pandit, who told the Rájá that while the idol
was being moulded, he must offer five sacrifices. This the Rájá did not do, and moreover he had a brazen image prepared. Im-
mediately 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 Rájá was then convinced of the veracity of the pandit’s statement
and acted thenceforward according to his directions. He performed
all the requisite charities and sacrifices, and, having seated the idol,
took it to Tārab. He performed several havans in the temple and placed (asthapan) the idol in it. This Devī is the one who is mentioned in the Chandāki-Pothi by Mārkandā Rishi, who killed Mahi Kabāshor.¹

The fair of Devī Tārā is held at Tārab in October on the Durgā asthami, and lasts for a day. On the first naurātra, the Brahmans worship Durgā in the temple, and a he-goat is sacrificed daily, the Rājā bearing all expenses. On the morning of the asthami, the Rājā, with his Rāṇī, 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 Rāṇī, enters at about one in the afternoon. The Rājā first offers a gold mohar and sacrifices a he-goat, and each member of his family does the same.

Everyone presents from one to eight annas to the bhojī and the pujārī. After the ruling family has made its offerings, other people may make theirs, and money, fruits, flowers, ghī and grain are given by everyone according to his means. The bhojī and the pujārī 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 sankalp 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 pujārī 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 entreating 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 Devī-ji-ki-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 Chamārs, Kolis, 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 with 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.² After this sacrifice, food is offered to the Devī, and ārātī is performed at six in the evening.

¹ (This reference is clearly meant to be classical, and for Mahi Kabāshor read Mahisāsura.—Sir R. C. Temple.)

² Mahi Khusaba, Mahisāsura, who tormented the Devī, was a bull-buffalo, and, when he was killed, his descendents 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 (parda washīn), 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 Rājā, 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 con

vived at. There is much drinking and a good deal of immorality, with a great many petty thefts. The Rājā, with his family, spends the night on the site of the fair. The bhājki and the pujārī, who, with the bhandārī, receive the offerings received at the fair, are Sarsūt Brahmans of the Rai-Bhāt group, while the bhandārī is a Kanet. Brahmans girls are also brought to this temple, where they worship and are fed, and also receive money and dākhna (dakhna).

On the third day of the Dīşchra, the goddess is worshipped at 2 p.m., in the dārbār, all the weapons being first taken out of the arsenal and worshipped, and then all the musical instruments. The essential worship is that of the sword and flag. After this the Rājā holds a dārbār with full ceremonial and then visits the temple of Thākurji Ladhmi Nātāyān, whence the image is brought in a palanquin, while the Rājā walks just behind it, attended by all his officials, in order of precedence, to the plain 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 Rājā 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 wāzīr of the State should be present at this ceremony, and if he is unavoidably absent a representative, who wears an iron sanjuḍā, is appointed, and the heap is then fired. The man who cuts 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 Rājā. If no one is able to hit it, the man who represents Hanumān, 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 Rājā on behalf of the Thākurdwāra, while his attendants are given bhog and charnamrīt. Wreaths of flowers are then distributed. The festival is believed to commemorate the conquest of Ceylon by Rām Chandar, the ancestor of the Rājpūts, which was accomplished after worshipping Devī.

A somewhat similar festival is the Saer fair held at Khād Ashni :—On the morning of the first of Asūn, a barber, having lighted a lamp in a thāl (plate) and made an idol of Ganes in cow dung, comes to the Rājā and his officials and makes them worship the idol.

1 A fee for spiritual service.
2 The stack is called laūka.
3 The water with 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 alms, and, accompanied by a procession with a band and his Ránis, sets out for Khaj Ashní. 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 ghí &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 sweetmeats &c. 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. At five the people begin to disperse, and the Rájá returns to his ċánbáí. 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 rof is given to the god. This rof is made of $\frac{5}{2}$ sors of flour, $\frac{5}{2}$ of gur, $\frac{5}{2}$ of ghí. The flour is first kneaded in sharbát of gur and then made into a thick loaf, which is then fried in ghí. When it is cooked, it is taken with dhúp, 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 Gaur in Bengal and were an offshoot of the Sain dynasty. This festival is also observed in that country. It is said that the Rájás of the Sain dynasty were the devotees (upásak) of the Deví, who rejoices in fighting and the sacrifice of bull-buffaloes. Although this 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 Biru. 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 Bih people Biru Deota is called Badmún Deota.

**The Goddess Ath-Bhoja of Dharech.**

Legend.—A Rájá of Kotlehr in the Kángra 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 Gajindar Pál. On leaving Kotlehr, he brought with him an eight-handed image from the fort of Kāngra, and came to Bhajji, where he begot four sons, Chirú, Chánd, Lógú, and Bhógú. On his death, these four partitioned his dominions thus: Chirú took the ṭóqá of Bhajji, and Chánd that of Kotí, while Lógú, and Bhógú received pargana Phágú in jígir The descendants of Chirú and Chánd are to this day the Ránás of Bhajji and Kotí respectively. Bhógú married, and three families of his descendants, Marchítak, Phatík, and Halíták still exist in pargana Phágú. Lógú did not marry, but became a dacoit. In those days the country round Phágú was under the Ráná of Ratesh. Harassed by Lógú’s raids, the people complained to the Ráná, but Lógú was strong and brave and the Ráná could not capture him. At last he commissioned a Chanál1 to kill Lógú, promising him a reward if he succeeded, but though the Chanál pursued Lógú for some time, he failed to seize him. Lógú had a beard with a Brahman girl, and one day she was sitting with him under a tree, when the Chanál chanced to pass by, and, taking Lógú off his guard, smote off his head and carried it to the Ráná, leaving his body at Hohán 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 pindli (an idol having no special shape). On consulting the astrologers, they were told that Lógú had been transformed into a deota and that they should place (asthápán) the pindli in a temple and worship it as a god. Then Bhógú and other zamindárs established the eight-handed Deví, which Lógú’s father had brought from Kotlehr, at Kiliya in Dhiraj village and placed Lógú’s pindli in the jungle of Dawán. The Brahmáns who had come with the Rájá of Kotlehr’s sons were appointed pujáris 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 Bakhóg village, where he is daily worshipped. In Dawán hamlet he is worshipped once every three years.

A fair is held at Deví’s temple on the Durgá ashtami day and at that of Lógú on the Salónó, i.e. the púrānámáshi of Sáwan sudí, and at the Dewáli in the month of Kátak.

I.—The Zat Fair at Garen in Pargana Ratesh.

This fair is held on the 29th of Jeṭh. The images of the Deví Ratesh and Kalwa deota are brought in procession from the temple, where they are kept, to Garen, 400 or 500 persons accompanying them, and of these some 50 remain at Garen 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 dángrá (axe), with a band of musicians preceding them. A man in one of these bodies

1 Chaná is a low caste in the hills.
shouts:—Thadaiśi rā bhūkā, awau ji jhamuk lagi, thi, hō hō, I hunger for a shooting match: come, the fair has started, hō, hō The others call out hō, hō in reply. The tune called a thadairi 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 knee, and if he succeeds in doing so he takes a dānghā 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 hit his opponent he, too, dances in the same way, but if he fail his victor dances again crying, 'how could the arrow of such a jackal hit a tiger's cub?' This goes on until one or 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 used 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 devā's flag, when the players desist of their own accord.

On the third day a goat and two buffaloes are sacrificed to Devī. The latter are killed in the same way as those at the Tārab Fair, but the shambles are at a distance from the temple, and two picked men take their stand, one on the road to Fāgū, the other on that to Ratesh, 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 pujaśris will not allow this, as being the offerings of Devī's enemies, they must be slaughtered with as much cruelty as possible. After this rite the people make offerings to Devī, the money going to the temple fund, while the other things, such as grain, goats &c. are divided among the pujaśris. The chela of the Devī then begins to nod his head (kheima, 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 Devī's pardon, otherwise it is believed that some dire catastrophe will befall them, necessitating the payment of a still heavier fine. The Devī passes the night at the fair, returning to her temple on the morning of the fourth day.

II.—THE JĀT FAIR, BHALĀWAG.

This fair is held at Bhalāwag on the first Sunday in Hār. There is a legend that a sādhū once lived on the Chahal hill. He was famous

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1 Lit., 'you hunger after archery, come on, since you itch for it.' Thadairī, for thoda, an arrow, means archery, and one of the tunes or modes of the hill music 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 Mahâdēo 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 Gorkha conquest this tract was ceded to the Mahârâja of Patiâla in the time of Râjâ Raghûnâth Sain. Once Râjâ Sansâr Sain visited the fair, but a dispute arose, and the Patiâla officials having used unbecoming words against the Râjâ, he removed the ling of Mahâdēo to his own territory and established it at Bhalâwag, 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 bee is also thrown into it as a scapegoat (bhet) and some people throw money into it as an offering. In the temple of Mahâdēo, ghi, grain, and money are offered by the people according to their means. The pujâris of the temple, who are Brahmanes, divide the offering among themselves. Worship is performed there daily, and on the sankrânti days Brahmanes 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-hatiyâ 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 Tajaur to Mattiâna. 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 envious of the kindness shown to him by the Râjâ, fearing that he would be elevated to the rank of musâbi (courtier), and so 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 Jathâ Devi and the other at Sadu, both now places in Patiâla 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. It is said that after the making of the tanks, the Rájá celebrated a jag on a very large scale, and four years after was blessed with a tíká (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?
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 Sanñasi 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-lock (bodh). 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 gopïchandana. His place of worship is called a thakurdwara;
and his places of pilgrimage are Hardwâr, Gaya, Benares, Jaggannath,
Dwarka, Ajudhia, Badrinâraín, Pushkar, Bindrâban, Mathura, Pryág,
Râmeshar, and the like. His sacred books are the four Vedas, the
Râmâyana, the Mahabhârata, the Bhágavat Gîla, and the Vishnu-
purâna. 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 Vaishnava, 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
Vaishnava: 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 Vaishnava and the Shaiv is less marked in the Punjab than it is
in the United Provinces and Râjpútâna, where the mutual jealousy
of the two sects is often very acute; and the Vaishnavas of our
Census tables are mainly returned from the districts of the south-east
border.

The Vaishnavas also include those who more particularly
worship the god Vishnu under terms such as Bishnupuj, Bishni, and
Mahâbîshnu, or their adoration of the god as Thákur, Thâkurji or Sri
Mahârâj. He is also reverenced as Nirbhav, the fearless one, especially
in Multán and Muzaffargarh. He is known also as Nárain, and is wor-
shiped as Badrinâraín at the shrine of that name in the Himalayas.1
Another name for him which is common apparently in Hisssâr and Kângra
is Visvakarma, Biskarma or Biskam, the Maker of all things, the Great
Architect, and under this name is revered by the Tarkhán or carpenter
caste, who, on the night of the Diwali 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 avatârs of this deity, the only noticeable ones are
those of Nârsingh, the man lion, who tore into pieces the tyrant
Harnâkas (Hiranyakasipû) to save the pious Prahlâd; and Parâsvâm
the axe-hero, who fell with such fury on the Kshatri caste. The most

1 The Sat Nârâins of Râwalpînâi are more orthodox Hindus who observe the fast
of Sat Nârâin on the 18th day of the moon (puranmâsh).
popular incarnations are, however, of course those of Râmeñandar and
Krishna.

According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the various religious systems
which prevailed in India in the 4th century B. C. included such sects as
the Ajívakas and many others and those devoted to Vâsudeva, Baladeva,
Nâgas, Yakklhas, Suriya, India, Brahmâ, Deva, Daśa 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
supercession of that of fire, sun, moon and Brahmâ, as well as of
animal-worship. Worshippers of Vâsudeva were called Bhágavatas 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, adhiivâsâm, of all beings.
But the word may mean 'the son of Vâsudeva' and it would appear that
in the Mahâbhârata 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 Bhâgavângîlî and to have been promulgated
by Nârâyana himself. Possibly a religion of Tevotion 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
forms, vyâhâs, who presided over certain psychological categories and
the reformed sect became conterminous with the race of the Sâtvâs',
another name for the Vishnâns. 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 rishi, one of the composers of the Vedas, and Vâsudeva
seems to have been identified with him and given a genealogy in the
Vishnî race through Sûra and Vâsudeva, although Krishna's patronym
was Angiras 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 Kâshtriya, whereas Vâsudeva, the worshipful, belonged to
the Vishnî race: ibid., p. 4. It would be interesting to know if the Bâside Brahmanas,
who are still officiants at weddings among the Muhammadan Nâras in Jullundur, are in
any way connected with Vâsudeva.
2 The Ajívakas were a sect of Brahmâ ascetics devoted to Nârâyana, as a form of
Vishnu, according to Vincent Smith, Asoka, p. 145.
3 Other sects were the Jatilas or long-haired and the Ngâbanthas: Grundriss, der Indo-
Arischen Philologie etc. Vaisnavism, Shâivism etc., p. 8.
4 Bhandarkar, op. cit., pp. 5-9, where the story of Nârada's visit to the 'white island'
Svetaadârpa, is given. But why should dâopa be translated 'island'? In Sangalâdriip
it means at best a 'land between two rivers.'
5 Janârásnu and Keshava are the two others.
6 A Brahmana gotra could be assumed for a sacrificial purpose by a Kâshtriya. As
the only rishi ancestors of the Kâshtriya were Mânava, Aila and Prûdrâvâsa (which
rather seem to be patronyms derived from the names of râshâ) and as these names did not
distinguish one Kâshtriya family from another, the priest's gotra and ancestors were
assumed: ibid., p. 12.
Vásudeva assumed the title a Kárschnáyana and as such was called Krish-
na though it was a Brahmana-Páráshara gotra.

Just as Hari is older than Vásudeva so also is Náráyana or the
'place to which Náda or a collection of Nádas 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 Náráyanas. 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.1 The heaven
of this Náráyana was the Svetadvípa or 'white land,' which Nárada
visited to learn the monotheistic religion of Vásudeva. The sage Markan-
dara tells Yudhisthírī 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 Ahíśa, 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 ghosa or encampment, as when they left Vraja and encamped
in Vrindávan (Bindrában). Ghosa is defined as Abhiraphaili or the
'Ahir' enclosure' and the cow-herds thus seem to have been men of
that race who occupied the country from Madhuvana near Mathura to
the region about Dwárka. Mentioned in the Mahábarata 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 Panchanada, 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

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 Vāsudeva 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 gopīs or cow-herdresses 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 Govind 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 boar he found the earth (ga) in the waters.2 It would be quite in accordance with the laws of mythological evolution if Krishna took over Indra's title of Govinda when he supplanted him and if the legend of the Gokula and the gopīs were then all developed to explain the name Govind or Govind 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-lare 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 Balarāma, the other black, as Krishna. Soon after when Kansa was driving the rishi Vāsudeva and his wife Deokī 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 Deokī'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.3 And to this day the eighth child is unlucky to its father.

The Incarnations of Vishnu.—The incarnations (avatāras) of Nārāyana or Vishnu are variously given. The original six appear to be the boar (Varāha), man-lion (Nrisinha), dwarf (Vamana) Rāma of the Bhrigu race and that assumed for the destruction of Kansa (Vāsudeva-Krishna). Then to these were added Hamsa (the swan), Kurma (tortoise), Matsya (fish) and Kalkin, or future avatāras. The incarnations given however sometimes number as many as 23, and include sages like Nārada, Kapila, Dattātreya Rishīha, undoubtedly the Jain Tithānaka, Dhanvantari, the teacher of medicine, and the Budha. Finally ten incarnations seem to have been recognised as the orthodox number, and they were Matsya, Kurma, Varāha, Nrisinha, Vāman, Parasurāma, Rāma Chandr, Krishna, Buddha and Kalki. These avatāras or descents are the distinctive feature of Vishnu who, whenever any great calamity overtook

1 A mound in the characteristic shape of this mount may sometimes be noticed near a village by the side of a road in the Punjab.
2 Bhandarkar, op. cit., pp. 35-38.
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 cosmical 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.¹

**Ramchandar 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 *Rámadyan*. Every Hindu sees his triumph in the yearly festival of the Dusshera; and the repetition of his name is the common method of salutation between Hindus all over India. Rám (or Ramchand, or Rámavtár, or Raghu Rám, or Raghnáth, as he is variously called) of Ajudhia or Oudh was the husband of Sitá, the son-in-law of Janak, the brother of Lachman; and these names are not uncommonly mentioned along with his Sitá especially is often worshipped in conjunction with Rám as Rádbhá is with Krishna. Lachman, or Lachman Jati, the chaste, is supposed to have gained superhuman power by his austerities, and his worship is especially popular in the central portions of the Punjab. His shrines are often attended by Musalmán ministers.²

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 Gîta*, in which he is the principal speaker. The country round Mathra and Bindrâban and the holy shrines at Dwârka are the chief places of pilgrimage affected by his followers. Sri Krishnají himself goes by many names. He is called Devkinandán after his mother, Nand Lál after his foster-father, and Vásdev after his real father. He is known also as Kesho or Smalji or Murlidhar, as Gwalji or Gopál, the great herdsman, and as Ranchor, the coward, from his Horatian discretion in the battle with Jarâsindhá. He is worshipped also in connection with his brother Baldeo and his wife Rádbhá³; and one of the famous shrines of Rádbhá 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 Denzil Ibbetson did not classify the Hindu cults into Vaishnava and Shaiva. This was done by Sir Edward Maclagan and the

¹ Martin, op cit, pp. 90-100, citing Kennedy, *Hindu mythology*, p. 246

² He is said also to be known as Pápúji and to be worshipped as such in Mewár by the Thorí and other castes. His followers in the Punjab are all returned from the Pázilka and Muktasr taluks of Per-zepur. There is another Lachman, a Malik Jat, whose shrines are known as märts and who has a considerable reputation in Siátkot, more especially at a place called Budiána.

³ The Rádbhá-Srámis of our Census tables are a sect of recent origin, started by Ráí Salíg Rám of the Postal Department in the United Provinces; details regarding their tenets will be found in *Punjab Census Reps*, 1903, pp. 139-1, and 1912, p. 141.
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 dogmatizing
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 Dwirká, who was a great nature-god
of immemorial antiquity, worshipped in the Kábul mountains and the
Indus valley; the other the child Krishna. And in the Krishna of
Dwirká again three Krishnas can be traced: (i) there is the chief
of Dwirká, whom the bards of the Mahábharata compliment with the
rank of a Yádava, 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, Shúdras and Abhiras, and the Kshatriyas were far
inferior to those whom Parasuráma had destroyed.

(ii) As a god the dark Krishna is associated with his elder brother
the white Balaráma, 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 Daitya king Shálwa.

(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 Bhágavat 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. 287 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 avatáras and largely developed it. Usually translated ‘incarnation’, avatára has a much wider significance from their point of view and may be translated ‘descent’.1 The Supreme, as Avatárin or Descender, descends in one of four characters as (1) a Vyúha, or phase of conditioned spirit, (2) a Víbhù or Víbhava Avatára, (3) an Antaryámin or (4) Archá Avatára. Of these the Víbhù Avatáras interest us more for the present purpose which is to show how the bhakti sects reconcile their tenets with the older Hinduism. These Avatáras may be Púrna, ‘Complete,’ as were Ráma-Chandra, Krishna, the Man-lion and, according to some, the Dwarf; or they may be Ansa, ‘partial,’ as were the Fish, the Boar, the Tortoise, the Dwarf, Hari, Hayagriva, Dhuva’s Boon-giver, Nara-Náráyana, 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 Avatáras.

Another class of Avatáras is called Gauña or subordinate. It includes Shakti, ‘Power’ or Kárya, ‘purpose’; and Avesha, ‘taking possession’ Avatáras. Such are Parasu-Ráma, the Buddha, Kalki, Manvantara, the Vyása, Príthu, Yajna. Risába, Dhanvantari, Mohini, Lakshmi-nivása, and others. As the Bhágavata faith was originally propounded by Kshatriyas its followers naturally relegate Parasu-Ráma, the exterminator of the Kshatriya ‘race’, to a very subordinate place in the series of Avatáras.2

The Víbhúti Avatáras or Governance Descents include Bráhma, Nárada, Shiva, Manu, Sváyambhuva, Rámananda, and others.

Descent as an image or Archá Avatára 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.3

Thus the Bhágavata Víbhù descends alone number 2, as against the 10 avatáras 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 brethren4 who taught Nárada (whom some identify with the Swan), who taught Nimbárika, the founder of the oldest, the Nimbávata, church of modern Bhágavatism. The Swan also taught Brahmá who taught Subuddha, who taught Nara-

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2Ib., p. 625.
3Ib., p. 627.
4Sanakáddi is the collective term for Sanaka, Sananda, Sanatana and Sanat-kumára, the four mind-born sons of Brahmá. They enjoyed perpetual youth and innocence, and hence this incarnation is known as the Kumára Avatára, from Kumára, a youth. They are sometimes called the four “Sanas”: ib., p. 634.
Shiva as a bhakta.

bharī, who taught Madhva, founder of the Madhva-chāri church. Shiva who is the object of great veneration amongst all Bhágavatas, taught Náraṇa, who taught the Vyása of the Veda, who taught Shuka, who taught Vishnusvámī, who taught Paramávāda. Forty-eighth in spiritual descent from him Vishnusvámī was born again and then became the real founder of the Rudra sampradāya or Rudra church.

Shiva is regarded as himself the first or primeval bhakta or 'faithful' devotee by the Bhágavatas.

Bhágavatas 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 Bhágavata 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 Bhakta-māla tell two stories which they say are not generally known, but which illustrate Shiva's bhakti towards the Adorable. Herewith is given a free translation of Priya-dāsa's version of these, filling up lacunae from the commentary of Bhagawana Prasada and from the Bhakti-premākara of Kirti Simha. The latter tells the legends at greater length and in full detail.

Satī, the wife of Sankara (Shiva), once, under the influence of delusion, asked why, if Ráma (an incarnation of the Adorable) 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 Ráma's divine knowledge. As she departed Shiva cautioned her to be careful as to what she did. In spite of this Satī took Sītā's own form, and, so far as she could imagine, made herself Sītā's exact image. She approached Ráma as he was wandering in the forest, but he at once saw that she was not his beloved and would not speak to her. Satī 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 Satī as his wife or to be reconciled to her so long as she remained in her then birth. Satī accordingly destroyed herself by becoming 'suttee' at Daksha's sacrifice, and being born again as Páravati 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 Páravati went out riding on the bull Nandi to visit the earth. On the way as they passed two

2 Ibid., p. 639.
3 Ibid., p. 640.
4 A parallel to 'He saved others, himself he cannot save.' Most Vaishnavas sect worship Sītā as an incarnation of the Adorable, as well as Ráma. According to the usual account Satī 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. Párvatí 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 Ráma and Sítá, and who was supremely faithful (bhakta), and on the other, 10,000 years hence, will there be another king of bhaktás. For this reason both these places are to be highly reverenced by me." Párvatí heard these words and kept them in her heart. Therefrom her affection for bhaktás increased beyond limit, so that now it cannot even be described. Yea, the white garment of her heart is dyed deep with love for them.

With the Śiśuṭī Avatāra1 Rámánanda we enter the domain of history. He founded the Rámávat sect of Rámánuja’s Sri Sampradáya and to him Northern India really owes its conversion to modern Bhágavatism.

The following is a list of some of the principal Vaishnava shrines in Kángra:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The mandir of Thákur Brij Rai in Núrpur was founded by Rájá Jagat Singh of Núrpur some 450 years ago. He conquered Chatorgarh and thence brought the Thákur’s image.</th>
<th>Brahman, got Káshab.</th>
<th>Three fairs are annually held in Jeth, Hár and Bhádon on Nár Singh ekadás, nirjala akádshí and fanaś aśtví.</th>
<th>The temple contains a black stone image of the Thákur, 5 ft. high, and one of Lachhmi, 3 ft. high. Bhog is offered 4 times a day and consists of fruit, sugar, rice or bread. A sacred lamp, in which gás 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 Thákur Madan Mohan at Núrpur was founded by Rájá Madan Mohan nearly 1000 years ago. Shankar Swámi used to pay his devotions here.</td>
<td>A Sanítái, got Dáchhni who is celibate.</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Rice 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 Thákur and a brass image of Bil Bhaddar both 2½ feet high.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2 Connected with this are the shrines of Rám Chandjí, Lachhmi Nárásín, Ambká and Chaunda. The first contains images of Rám Chand and Sítá, Lachhman and Handáman, all of marble, set on a stone 5 feet high. The second Lachhmi and Nárásín—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 puñdrís are in charge of these temples—caste Brahman, got Sárdät.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temple Name</th>
<th>Custodian</th>
<th>Performer</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kidar Nath at Shurah</td>
<td>A Jogi Nath, got Chauban.</td>
<td>People gather on 26th Jeth and make offerings of wheat at every harvest.</td>
<td>The temple contains a black stone pindi of Shiva. 1 span high and one in circumference. Worship is performed twice a day, rice or bread being offered as bhog morning and evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidar Nath's mandir at Sahdra.</td>
<td>A Giri Gosain, got Bihangan.</td>
<td>The panchami thith following the amv was of Phagan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Rihu Chiri Lachhmi Narain.</td>
<td>Brahman, got Paramar.</td>
<td>On the day after the Diwali a jag called ankut.</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lachhmi Narain at Gharok.</td>
<td>A Dhanaswami Brahman, got a Beshist.</td>
<td>None...</td>
<td>The temple contains images of Narain and Lachmi, engraved on a stone slab which is one cubit square. A shied Madonna containing a pindi of Shiva is connected with it, in which occasional worship is performed. Bread in the morning and soaked gram in the evening are offered as bhog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mandir of Lachhmi Narain in Sangam on the Ban Ganga.</td>
<td>A Brahman, caste Doodal, got Koshal.</td>
<td>During the saurita people come to bathe at the temple and a small fair is held.</td>
<td>The old image or Lachhmi Narain has been replaced by one of Gauri Shankar engraved on a black stone slab, 1½ cubits long by 1 broad. Worship is performed only in the morning, when gram or fruit is offered as bhog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandir or Thakardwar Talpada at Ujain.</td>
<td>A Brahman caste, Lakhbura, got Sandal.</td>
<td>None...</td>
<td>It contains marble images of Radha and Krishna which are 1 foot high. The temple is 15 cubits high. Worship is performed morning and evening. Puro in the morning and fried gram in the evening form the bhog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandir Ganesh ji in Danaturalpur.</td>
<td>Brahman, caste Kamlay, got Kodina.</td>
<td>None...</td>
<td>Worship is only performed in the morning when milk, pears or fruit is offered as bhog.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the Kangra District about two-thirds of the women, and some of the men believe in Narsingh. It is said that he gives sons and assists in all difficulties. His worshipers keep a nārjil (cocoanut) and chandna (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 (thaṭi), first washing it with fresh water. Then they put a siāk of the chandna on it, just as Brahmanas mark their foreheads, and then an akhat 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 dhūp (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 Narsingh and the sweetmeats offered to it are subsequently distributed to the children and other members of the household and to the neighbours. Narsingh’s worshipers 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 Narsingh, her daughter or daughter-in-law must also do so. Barren women consulting a chela or a jogi are usually advised to worship Narsingh 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 Narsingh’s anger has caused it he orders a baṅṭhak. If she do not happen to have a bakuta, 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 baṅṭhak. The baṅṭhak ceremony is as follows:—On a Sunday, or any other fixed day, the chela comes with a baṅṭri or singer of sacred songs, who plays on a dopatra, an instrument made of two tumbus (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 baṅṭri sings his song and the chela repeats his magic words, and then Narsingh comes and shakes the woman’s body or of the chelas. 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 baṅṭhak. 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 baṅṭri sings an incantation, accompanying himself on the dopatra. The following is its translation:—

1. O friend born at the fort of Mathura, that wast incarnate in Gokal.

Refrain.
O my Narsingh, O great Naranjan!
O thou that hast captivated me (bis):
O thou that hast captivated the whole world;
O my Narsingh, O my Lord Naranjan.
The cult of Nārsingh.

2. O friend, son of Vāsudeva, child of Yāsodha.
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 pīpals, in young pīpals and the jasmines.
6. Red as red can be is thy turban flowered and crested, fine the robes on thy body.¹

In Kulu Nārsingh 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 Nārsingh; and he treats the afflicted woman as his own sister. Thenceforth he and Nārsingh are both regarded as her brothers. When Nārsingh cohabits with women in dreams he is said to wear white garments, but his usual dress is a white dhoti and a turban, and he carries a cocoanut huqqa. This cult is special, if not restricted, to the twice-born castes.

At Nagar in Suket Nārsingh is worshipped under the name of Pākhān, whose idol resembles those of Sālīg Rām to be found in Punjab temples and is kept in a locked coffer in which there is a narrow hole through which Pākhān may be seen, but permission to look upon him has to be obtained from the State and even the pujaři 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 śāhū who was once allowed to do so died and thieves who stole from his temple were struck blind.² In Mandi Nārsingh is found in temples to Gūga with many other deities.³

Other spirits classified with Nārsingh are Kalia Bir, Dakni, Slamsbān bhūt and Baneshera. 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 wōrerers and śāhūs as well as from Brahmans and the deotás themselves.

Kalia Bir seems to be the same as Kala Biru, Kala-bāhan or Kala Bnairon. 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 sadhak (?) 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.

Nārsingh phutār, at the petrifying spring and cascade in the Katha gorge in the Salt Range, is a place of pilgrimage.

¹ "Anār Singh is the Nrisinha avatāra of Vishnu, but the above song is to Krishna, some verses of which are commonly sung all over the Punjab at the Rās Līlā, which commemorates the dance of Krishna with the Gopīs. This mixing up of the Nrisinha and Krishna avatāras of Vishnu is very curious."—P. N. Q. I., §§ 555, 757. But this note confuses Vārsingh with Nārsingh who is the Man-Lion incarnation of Vishnu. In Chamba Nārsingh is regarded as the vasīr of Gugga Chauhān and the idea that he is identical with Nārsingh is ridiculed.

² Suket Gazetteer, p. 22
³ Mandi Gazetteer, p. 39.
<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>Amajgrán</td>
<td>Brahman, Rasontri by got and Gurg by gotra.</td>
<td>Badi ashtami in Bhádon.</td>
<td>As bhog, any food prepared by the pujári, twice a day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shálpur</td>
<td>Bairagi-Achhút.</td>
<td>Janam ashtami.</td>
<td>Food cooked by the pujári as bhog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirthi founded in the time of Rájá Umed Singh of Chamba, 150 years ago.</td>
<td>Brahman-Kosal.</td>
<td>None, but at the janam ashtami people collect and the idol is placed in a got (cradle) and worshipped.</td>
<td>Boiled rice in the morning, and bread in evening as bhog.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirthi</td>
<td>Brahman—a Kashmíri by got and by gotar a Kosal</td>
<td>No fair, but same rite is observed.</td>
<td>Same, fruit being offered as bhog during a fast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ribhu, founded by a Brahman over 100 years ago when Ribhu was a part of Chamba.</td>
<td>A Kashmíri Brahman, Káship got (sic).</td>
<td>Same rite. This temple, also contains a relief of Lachhmi.</td>
<td>Bread or rice in the morning and soaked gram in the evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghanhára, built 7 generations ago in time of Ráñá Partáip Singh Ghaniakarbh.</td>
<td>Brahman, got Chhatíran and gotar Batu.</td>
<td>Some 2w years ago Nársingh’s image was thrown into a stream and replaced by one of Lachhmi Nárái, carved in relief on a slab with Sheshnág on one side and two boys on the other.</td>
<td>It contains images of Rámd Chand, Bálía and Krishna, a pindi and a crane, made of marble and in height from one to two feet. Eleven lamps in which ghi is burnt are lit every evening. Muhammadans, Chamaras and other low castes are not allowed to make offerings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The temple of Thákur Nársingh in Fátehpur was founded by Mahant Mohau Dás, a man endowed with power to work miracles. He brought a stone pindi from the Deccan which he enshrined in this temple 800 years ago.
VAISHNAVA CULTS IN THE HIMALAYAS.1

In the Sirmur State, Punjab, the Hindus have two chief cults, one Vaishnava, the other Saiva. The former of these two is represented by the cult of Paras Ram and his derivative deities, which centres in Rainka-Ji,2 in the Rainka tahsil of the State at a great lake. Paras Ram's brothers are usually supposed to have become water, but, according to one local variant, Jamdaggan called his brothers cowards and turned them into women, so that now they are devas or goddesses, to wit: Læ Devi, Dornai, Bhadwachri or Bhadarkali, and Karni, all of whom have temples in the State. The local cult and ritual of Paras Ram are described in the Gazetteer of Sirmur, 1904, and to that description may be added the following mantra or prayer, and the kabis or couplets which are given below:—

TRANSLATION.

The story of Sri Rangnath of the thousand names, by whose grace we sing the praises of Hari.

Om! Om! Om! The stainless light of the letter Om!3 From the light the navel, from the navel the lotus, from the lotus was born Brahmä. He took his staff and bowl4 and went to bathe. Shankâsûr, the Dânava, was born.

1Compare Indian Antiquary, XXXII, p. 376. "Hinduism in the Himalayas."

2Jîo is apparently an old form of jî, and the localised form of the legend runs that Jamdaggan Rishi used to practise austerities at a peak called Jambu-Ki-Dhar, near Jambu, where a mûrî or temple still exists at the spot where the rishi had his dhâma or fire. The yûjî of Jambu still visits this mûrî every Sunday and sankrânti day to worship there. Jamdaggan's wife, Rainka Ji, had a sister Rainka who was married to Râjâ Sahasârâbhâna (of the thousand arms), and once when rishi celebrated a ja. Rainka asked Rainka to invite her to it. Rainka begged the rishi to do so, but at first he refused, because he could not afford to entertain a râjâ and his queen. He yielded, however, to Rainka's reiterated request and asked the God Indra to grant him Ka правило, the cow of plenty, Kapil-brikshu, the tree of paradise which yielded all manner of gifts, and Ku'.er, bhondeiri, the celestial steward who could supply all kinds of luxuries. When the râjâ arrived with all his court the rishi was thus enabled to entertain him sumptuously, and the râjâ was so mystified as to the source of the rishi's wealth, that he deputed his ha-baer to find out whence it came. Learning that Ka правило was the main source of supply, the râjâ asked for the cow as a gift, which the rishi refused, and so the râjâ determined to take her by force, but the rishi sent her into the sky to Indra. Thereupon the râjâ shot an arrow at the cow and wounded her in the foot, so the cow returned and attacked him. The râjâ attributing this to the rishi's sorcery, put him to death and returned home. Rainka, taking the rishi's body in her lap, was bewailing his death, when she was divinely told that Kubera, bhondeiri, had the amrut or elixir of life, and that a drop of it placed in the dead rishi's mouth would bring him back to life. So the rishi was restored to life and ordered his younger sons to kill Rainka, thinking that she had instigated his murder with intention of marrying Sahasârâbhâna, but they refused. Then the rishi summoned Paras Ram, his eldest son, who was then practising austerities in the Konkan, and who appeared in an instant. Paras Ram killed his mother, and then, in consequence of the divine curse which fell upon him, went to the plains (des), and swore to kill all the Chhatras and to swim in their blood, deeming Sahasârâbhâna the cause of all his misery. Waging his war of extermination against the Chhatras he had reached Karukhal, 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 Jamdaggan 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. Paras Ram in reply begged his father to restore his mother and brothers to life, and performed his mother's funereal rites. The rishi replied that his wife and sons had become jat sarâp or water, and that the former was in the larger and the latter in the smaller of the tanks at Rainka.

3S. c. first came the stainless light.

4S. c. the dund and karmandaí carried by jâgîra.
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 Shaukháwati, the father Purav Rishi, the teacher Mándhátá the birth-place Mánsarowar (Lake). He slew Shankhásur, the Dánav.

"Secondly, Nárain (Vishnu) assumed the Kurm (Tortoise) Incarnation. The mother of the Tortoise was Karnáwati, the father Bilochan Rishi, the teacher Dhagisat Báwá Rishi, the birth-place Dhangarpuri. He slew Mádhù Káitav, the Dánav.

"Thirdly, he assumed the Báráhrúp (Boar) Incarnation. The mother of the Boar was Liláwati, the father Kaul Rishi, the teacher Sahaj Rishi, the birth-place Kanakpur. He slew Hirnákashap, the Dánav.

"Fourthly, Nárain (Vishnu) assumed the Nársingh (Man-lion) Incarnation. The mother of the Man-lion was Chaudrawati, the father Hari-brahm Rishi, the teacher Káshi Rishi, the birth-place Multán purí. He slew Hirnákashap, the Dánav.

"Fifth, Nárain (Vishnu) assumed the Báwan incarnation. The mother of the Báwan was Langáwati, the father Bilchan Rishi, the teacher Káshap Rishi, the birth-place Benáres. He deceived Balrágá and slew him.

"Sixth, Nárain (Vishnu) assumed the Paras Rámjí Incarnation. The mother of Paras Rámjí was Rainkájí, the father Jámdragganjí, the teacher Agast Muníjí, the birth-place Kopalpurí. He slew Sahansár-báhu, the Dánav.

"Seventh, he assumed the Sri Rámchandarjí Incarnation. The mother of Ram Chandarjí was Kaushalyá, the father Dasrath, the teacher Bhiishó Muni, the birth-place Ajudhíapurí. He slew Dshárur Ráwan.

"Eighth, Sri Nárain (Vishnu) assumed the Krishn Incarnation. The mother of Krishn was Dewkí, the father Básdev, the teacher Durbháshá Rishi, the birth-place Mathorápúrí. He slew Kánsáaur.

"Ninthly, Nárain (Vishnu) assumed the Budh-rúp (Buddha) Incarnation. The mother of Budh was Padmáwati, the father Biloohan Rishi, the teacher Dhagisat Bánú Rishi, the birth-place Parsotampuri. He slew Gayásur, the Dánav.

"Tenthly, Nárain (Vishnu) will assume the tenth Incarnation. When will he assume it? Now! he will assume it in the month of Mágh, in the light half, in the Réwáti Nakshatra, on Saturday, the

At the following conjunction of the stars.
The cult of Paras Rám.

eighth 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 cloaks 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 Nishkalankî is Matangi, the father Dhanuk Rishi, the teacher Sahaj-rúp Rishi, the birth-place Sambhelángri. He slays Nishkalankî (?), the Dánav.

The following are some of the couplets or kabits addressed to Paras Rám at Rainká-joí:—

THE KABITS.

1
Parbat chir tal baná nír ghará jahán bhar mand hai,
Bádsháh ghártb ádïwën kaldh jahán 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
Ashânîn kí póp ját, ádhán kí táp ját,
Darshan kí sarác ját, máyá jahán aist akhanâ hai.
By bathing sins fly away, by devoutly meditating trouble
flees,
By looking at (it) curses depart, where such prosperity is ?

3
Ohanan samán kásha: jahán,
Kanchan samán pákhan jahán,
Shir samán nír jahán, aist ádhbat mand hai.
Wood is like sandal,
Stone like gold,
and water like milk at this wondrous place.

4
Rainká samán tírath nahé, lók tari lók bhawan me,n,
Gupat jágah báe kíto chdrón taraf jahán ban khanâ hai.
There is no place so sacred as Rainká,
The place that is holy and densely wooded all round

5
Kitnî hí tírath báe áld rahté hain ugyán,
Jinko ashánî kárâ phânsî ke bardbar ánd hai.
Some pilgrims are so foolish,
That to bathe is to them as great a penalty as hanging.

1 The name of the Teuth incarnation.
Man men dhidwem aur kám mukh se bōla jai Paras Rām,
Dim rāt parē karēn drām, īnke darshan kērān zēhr hai.

They are thinking of other things, while with their lips they say
'Jai Paras Rām.'

They take their ease night and day, but to visit a temple is poison
to them

Kaha Déw Déw Hīrā Lāl, men pdpt kēd ohhor khīāl,
Hot Paras Rām didi, Jīn par unkt mēhr hai.

Says Déwā Lāl, 'Take no thought of your sin,
Paras Rām favours those to whom he is gracious.

The following list shows how numerous and important the Vishnu
temples are in Kulu¹ and the variations in the dates on which the
fairs and festivals are held:—

| Deota Nārāin | Garauga Dera | Either on Sunday, Monday, Wednesday or Saturday in the light halves of Phāgān and Sāwān. A large fair is held every 12th year. |
| Ditto | Dera Nārāin | On the 3rd, 6th or 7th of the light half of Sāwān and Phāgān. |
| Ditto (a) | Dera | 1st, 3rd and 8th Baisakh, and 1st to 7th Māgh. |
| Ditto | Dera Bishkola in Bishkols. | Full moon day of Maghar, 9th, 15th and 16th of Bhaḍon and 2nd, 15th and 16th of Phāgān. |
| Ditto (b) | No special name. In Dunchiu | 1st Phāgān, in Chet, 1st to 11th and 21st Baisakh, 1st Jēth, 7th Har, in Sāwān, during the Anant Chaudas, 1st Asaun, in Har, 1st Meghar, and 1st Poh. |

| Deota Lachhmi Nārāin | Nārāin Sari | 1st Phāgān, in Chet, 1st to 11th and 21st Baisakh, 1st Jēth, 7th Har, in Sāwān, during the Anant Chaudas, 1st Asaun, in Har, 1st Meghar, and 1st Poh. |
| Ditto (c) | Dera Nārāin Nabi in Bhallān. Also called Dera Bhallān. | 1st, 9th and 11th Phāgān, 1st to 5th Baisakh, 6th and 14th Baisakh, 15th Baisakh, 1st to 6th Sāwān, 7th, 9th or 11th Bhādōn, in Bhādōn, 1st Asaun, 1st Maghar, and 1st Poh. |

| Thākur Lachhmi Nārāin (d). | | |
| Thākur Lachhmi Nārāin | Mandir Shaśtrī | Third of the lunar month of Poh. |

¹ For some further notes on Nārāin etc. in Kulu see under Hinduism in the Himalayas

(a) Three small temples are connected with this.
(b) Another temple of this god in Dunchiu is connected with this temple.
(c) The temple of Sheh Nāg is connected with this. It is called Sara Agha.
(d) These two temples are connected with that of Bēm Chander.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temple Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Important Days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>No particular name</td>
<td>No fairs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Lachhmi Narain</td>
<td>Kharasui and Batali</td>
<td>9th Baisakh and 6th Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaltu Narain</td>
<td>Dera Bhalta</td>
<td>On Sundays, Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays in Phagan, Sawan and Asauj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Chagard Narain</td>
<td>Chagari dera</td>
<td>1st of Chet and full moon day of Chet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakur Chhamaini Narain</td>
<td>Dera Chhamaini Narain</td>
<td>31st Chet, 1st Baisakh and 32nd Hari to 2nd Sawan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harangu Narain</td>
<td>Dera Gadvara</td>
<td>Sundays, Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays in the light halves of Phagan and Sawan, on the 2nd of Baisakh, the 3rd and 4th of Hari (Asarh), the 3rd of Asauj and on the full moon day of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Hebab Narain</td>
<td>Narasindi Dera</td>
<td>Ikadahi of the light half of Phagan for 6 days, 1st and 2nd Baisakh, 1st of Jeth, 2nd and 3rd Bhadon, 1st Asauj, Uchhach Atrain Sankrant for one day, first Thursday in Poh, and a yag after 12 years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Karchali Narain</td>
<td>Kalun Dera</td>
<td>On the 3rd, 5th, 7th, 8th and 10th of the dark halves of Sawan, Maghar, Phagan and Baisakh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karasi Narain</td>
<td>Narasindi Dera in K. Tarapur</td>
<td>Yearly from Sunday to Thursday in the dark half of Phagan and on the same days in Sawan. But in Baisakh the fairs are only held on the Wednesday and Thursday. Another is held for one day in Maghar. Every third year a large gathering takes place during five days in Sawan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Kasoli Narain</td>
<td>Kasoli Narain in K. Kanawar</td>
<td>1st of Chet and Shivratri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Kesho Narain</td>
<td>Dhara</td>
<td>1st Baisakh, 1st Chet and 1st Asauj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Khalari Narain</td>
<td>Dera Khalari Narain</td>
<td>No fairs, but two festivals during light halves of Phagan and Sawan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phalaini Narain</td>
<td>Dera Phallan</td>
<td>Sundays, Mondays, Wednesdays and Thursdays in the light halves of Sawan and Phagan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Sammon Narain</td>
<td>Dheidai</td>
<td>1st Phagan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) Two temples and a bhund are connected with this. The bhund and one temple are in Garaling village and the other temple in Rajung.

(f) The temples of the goddesses Nauti Hoti Mahajani and Phungani are connected with this. The expenses of their worship are borne by the god himself.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deota</th>
<th>Pera</th>
<th>Event/Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deota Sarashtı Nárāin</td>
<td>Basti Katon</td>
<td>First Sunday in Phágán, at the beginning of the new year and on the Dhourgari.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīm Nárāin</td>
<td>Pera Sīm Nárāin</td>
<td>On the dveddahi of the dark half of Phágán. Another on the 1st half of Assaj lasts for three days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Sikho Nárāin</td>
<td>Nagi Pera</td>
<td>1st of Baisākh, 7th of Sāwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Tarjogi Nárāin</td>
<td>Tarjogi Nárāin</td>
<td>13th Hār, Rām Nauni in Baisākh, Janam Ashtami in Bhādōn, Holi in Phágán, Ankut and Dewāl in Kātak; also a yag every 3rd year on 18th Hār.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Nárāin Lapas</td>
<td>Deota Nárāin</td>
<td>9th and 10th Sāwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Nárāin Mala</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Phágán.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Nárāin Pulga</td>
<td>Pera</td>
<td>1st of Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Chattar Bhoj in Kothī Dugi Lag</td>
<td>Thākur Dāwāla Dugi Lag</td>
<td>On the full moon days of Phágán and Chet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Gopāl</td>
<td>Thākur Dāwāla Sarsai</td>
<td>Japanese fair for half a day 3rd light half of the month of Chet, Uchhā Bān Nauni one day in the mouth of Chet, Uchhā Janam Ashtami one day in the mouth of Bhādōn, Ankut Dīp Māla for two days on the Amas of the light half of Kātak, Uchhā Phág one day in Phágán.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Gopāl Ji</td>
<td>Kastar Pera</td>
<td>One festival in the month of Chet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Hari Nárāin</td>
<td>Pera Nárāin</td>
<td>Full moon day of Maghar, on the 9th, 17th and 16th of Bhādōn and on the 9th, 15th and 16th of Phágán.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Jagan Nāth</td>
<td>Jagar Nāṭh in Dāwāla</td>
<td>Nauni of Chet, on the Janam Ashtami.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thākur Mānọ Hāi</td>
<td>Thākur Dāwāla Harṣpur</td>
<td>Dasahra for 6 days, Basant Panchami for 1 day, birthday of Rāma 1 day, Dev Nauni on ikkāsh, Janam Ashtami for two days, Hīli for 8 days, Dīp Māla of ikkāsh, Ankut for 1 day.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(g) Besides this there is another temple belonging to this god in Parogi Nárāin. The ceremonies performed at these places are the same.

(h) A temple of the god Manun Rikh is connected with this and is situated in Bhati village. Manun Rikh came to Manáli in the guise of a faqir. He saw a woman named Gauri Nauni and the rikh asked her for milk. She replied, 'my cow has gone to graze in the jungle I cannot get you milk at present.' The Rikh bade her, 'Milk these calves,' she did so and from them drew milk which the Rikh 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 pujārī is a Kanet of the Kāshhab got.

(i) Close to the big temple there is a smaller one.

(j) Another temple of this god in Kokari village is connected with this.

(k) A temple of the goddess Bhalamāsam is connected with this.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the god</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Temple</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thákur Murlidhar and Chatar Chug. (f)</td>
<td>Two temples which bear the names of the deities to whom they are dedicated</td>
<td>Ninth of Asan and lasts till full moon light half of Magh for one day, one day in the light half of Phágan, and one in Ješh.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thákur Murlidhar Jf ...</td>
<td>Name of the god.</td>
<td>Name of the god.</td>
<td>Dasehra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thákur Murlidhar attached to Rám Chandr Jf.</td>
<td>Thákur Dowára ...</td>
<td>No fair.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thákur Náresingh Jf ...</td>
<td>Thákurdwáná Náresingh Jf.</td>
<td>Ninth of the light half of Chet. On the Janam Ashamī, i.e. the 8th of the dark half of Bhádon and on the day of the full moon of Phágan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto ...</td>
<td>Dawála Karjan ...</td>
<td>In Mággh, Sáwan and Phágan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto ...</td>
<td>Haras Nánán Jf ...</td>
<td>Bám Naunmi in Chet, on the Janam Ashamī in Bhádon, on the Ankus in Kátak, on the Holl in Phágan and on the Dewálí in Kátak.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto ...</td>
<td>Thákur Dawála Washal</td>
<td>Bám Naunmi which may fall either in Baisakh or in the light half of Chet and Janam Ashamī in the light half of Bhádon for one day.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decta Naro Mani (m) ...</td>
<td>Dera in K. Kohli Kandhi</td>
<td>1st Baisakh, 1st Ješh, 16th Har, 3rd Bhádon and any day in Bhádon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thákur Náresingh Jf ...</td>
<td>In Jharin known by the name of the place.</td>
<td>One day in the month of Bhádon, 1 day in Kátak, 3 days during the dark half of Kátak, 1 in the light half of Phágan, one in the light half of Baisakh, and one in the light half of Sáwan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sîr Thákur Ragha Nâth Jf.</td>
<td>Called after the god in K. Shari.</td>
<td>10th to 16th of light half Asan, 5th of light half of Magh, full moon day in Phágan, 12th of light half of Baisakh, and (for) 12th of light half of Ješh.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thákur Rám Chandar Jf ...</td>
<td>Thákurdwáná Rám Chandar Jf in Dorab.</td>
<td>Full moon day of Asan or Kátak.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decta Rám Chandar ...</td>
<td>Known by the name of the god.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(f) The temple Chatar Bhuj is connected with this. Its worship is performed in the same way as that of Thákur Murlidhar.

(m) Inside the temple are images of Thákur Murlidhar and Sita Jf. They resemble a human being in appearance. Each of them is of stone and ½ cubits high. It is said that in the time of Rájá Kans who troubled Parchhat and oppressed the people, Sri Bhagwán appeared as an incarnation of Krishan and killed Kans. In the time of the hill chiefs these images were in Bir Kotgarh whence they were removed by the kshtris of Ad Brahmā and made over to a Bairági for worship since this territory passed into the hands of the Sikhs. When the Bairági died they were brought to this temple. No mūsa is attached to these images and the god Brahmā gives them some money as dharmic anna to meet the expenses of worship.

(a) Including the big temple there are six temples in all and at each fair are held and ceremonies performed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temple Name</th>
<th>Event(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thakur Ram Chander Ji</td>
<td>Dasahra on Dasami.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakurdawara</td>
<td>Rám Naumi in Baisák, Janam Ash-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ōmi in Bhádón, Holi in Phágán, Ankit and Diwáli in Káta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakur Sáliáram Ji</td>
<td>No fair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakurdawara</td>
<td>Ninth of the light half of each month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sita Ram Ji</td>
<td>Rám Naumi in Chét, on the Janam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ash-ōmi of Bhádón, on the Ankit and Holi in Phágán and on the Dip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malka (Diwáli) in Káta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sita Ram Ji, Kođhí</td>
<td>Dip Mála, Rám Janam, Baisák, Ichhia Tirpana, Bin Beher, Jai Bihar, Nár-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahárája.</td>
<td>singh Chandes, Janam Ash-ōmi, Dássami, Bensaú, Ankit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asanú, ankit, Phág. Rám Naumi, Dev Séti ikháši, Jai Bahar, Panj Bhes-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>šam, Dip Mála.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Jeṭh Bir Shiv on 1st of Chét, the Chashepáli for 5 days on the full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moon day of Chét, the Kanhiya Bir Shiv on 1st Baisák, the Devkhet for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>three days on 6th Baisák. Also the Kapu fair on 1st Jeṭh, the Sharhu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nu on 1st Har, the Dhori Parab on the 1st of Bhádón, the Janam Ash-ōmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in the dark half of Bhádón, the Sutarí on 1st Asanú.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lachhmi Náráín has at least four temples in Sarág. Regarding one the usual story, as usual, is that in the duápar yug, 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 faqír seated by the image, and he told them that it represented Náráín, 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 duápar yug, and is built of stone and wood. It contains a black stone image, 3

(o) The temples connected with this are those of Raghu Náth, Chár Bhuuj, Nár-singh, Murídhar and Lachhmi Nárán.

(p) No other temple is connected with this except a dharmédá where faqírs put up.

(q) No temple save that of Nág Duumal is connected with this. It contains an image of stone about a foot high. Its worship is performed by the pujári of Bishnu desá.
feet high and 2 broad. Its administration is carried on by a kār-
dār, by caste a Kanet and by got a Kāshab. He is married. The
pujārī is a Sārsut Brahman by caste and by got a Gautam. These
posts are hereditary. Thus in no respect does the temple differ from
those to a Nāg or any other dēto in Saraj. The ritual has no distinc-
tive features. A bhog of rice, dāl 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 Baisākh. Connect-
ed with this are the shrines of Thāch Deora and Dāogi. The fair at
the former is held on the 1st Baisākh and at the latter from 1st to
3rd Pāghan. The expenses incurred on these are borne by the
respective gods.

Lachhmi Nārāīn’s temple at Chīni was founded by a thākur who
bestowed a plot of land on a faqīr who declared himself to be Lachhmi
Nārāīn. It differs in no essentials from the one first described. Two
fairs are held, one on the 3rd Baisākh and the other on the pāramāshī
in Bhādōn.

Regarding the temple at Deori it is said that a sādhu came to a
brahman’s house there and sitting at the door began to dig up the
ground. In it he found a pindi 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 sādhu told him that the pindi was the
image of Nārāīn, and then disappeared under ground. The temple was
founded in the duāpar yug. It contains a stone pindi a foot high.
Its administration is carried on by a Sārsut Brahman kārdār and the
pujārī is also a Brahman. The god has two places for his worship, at
each of which a fair lasting from 1st to 3rd Bhādōn is held. Other
fairs are held on 7th Baisākh and 7th Asaūj every year.

The fourth temple at Chīr or Chīrā Kelūn, the deodār grove, owes its
origin to a very similar accident. As a thākur was ploughing his field
he saw a pindi appear above the ground. It told him that its name
was Lachhmi Nārāīn who desired to meditate on that spot, so he
brought it to Chīrā Kelūn where a temple was built in its honour in
the duāpar yug. It contains the stone pindi and its administration is
carried on by a kārdār. The pujārī is always a Brahman. The dis-
ciple is called gur 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 Phāghan. The Shivrātri festival is also observed. An-
other fair follows on 1st Chet. The 9th and 10th Baisākh are how-
ever the great festival days. The jag is annually celebrated on the
rikh puniya.

Rāmji has a temple at Rāmgār. 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 pindi at the spot where
the devotee Rāmji had disappeared underground, so a temple was built
and named after him. It has been in existence since the kṛitiya yug,
and contains a stone pindi a foot high. Its administration is carried on
by a kārdār a Kanet who is by got a Kāshab. There is also a
pujārī. Bhog is offered only once a month, on the sānikrānt, and a
sacred lamp is only lit during Bhádon and in the evening. She-goats only are sacrificed 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 Murlídhar in Chíní owes its origin to the Rájás of Mándí, the Thákur's image having been brought there from Máthra 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 2½ feet high. On either sides of it are seated the pindís of Shiva and Kidár Náth, each ½ foot high. Its affairs are managed by a kárdár and puṣṭári, both Brahmans of the Dharmíán got. The fairs are held on the púramáshi in Phágán, ránmauni in Chét, jánam ashtami in Bhádon and on the dasmi in Asauj every year.

The cult of Mándho Rai, who is Krishna in his avádtár of Murlídhar or the flute-player, is important in Mándí. He has a temple in the capital of that State which was dedicated to him by its Rájá Súraj Sain after the loss of his 18 sons,¹ and the god is still the head of the State. All the village deities visit this god at Mándí during the Shibrátrí játra.

Maclagan, § 88.

THE HINDU REVIVAL IN THE SOUTH-WEST.—In Montgomery, Multán and Muzaffargarh considerable reverence is paid to the shrine of Ganjamáli 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 of his wearing a necklace (mála) of gána seeds. He was a Gosái, a resident of Multán and a worshipper of Krishna; he is now looked on by many of the Aroras as their gúrú, and his cult is closely connected with that about to be described.

The most celebrated of all the Bairágti 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 Láljí. These two men were the leaders of a great revivalist movement among the Kirárs or Hindu traders of the south-west some three or four hundred year ago.

Shámjí, or Shám Dás, was a Khatri, a resident of Dipálpur, who went to Bindrában when he was twelve years old and became a disciple in the temple of Sri Chetan Mahá Prabhá. The Gosái 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 Sindh 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 (sowak). 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 Khatis and half a Chándia Baloch.¹ He settled down at Mauza Bapilmir

¹ Mándi Gazetteer, pp. 28 and 9. Súraj Sain had an image of the god made of silver. The number 18 seems to be conventional.
Fatteh Khan, and founded in the town of Dera Ghazi Khan a temple in honour of Krishna as Nannit-prayâs, the lover of butter. This temple is one of the oldest in those parts and its present head is Gossain Dharmi Dhar. There are other temples erected by or in honour of Shâmjî at Dera Ismâîl Khan, Kot Sultân, Kot Addu and Multân.

Shâmjî had three sons, Kahnjî, Dwârkânâthji and Jugal Khishorji; and his followers are derived from three sources—those belonging to the Gandia Jâts are called Rang Rangita, the Chândia Baloch are called Chhabala, and the Khatris Chhabihwale.

Lâljî was in a way the successor of Shâmjî. 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 Mathra and Bindraban, and while there in Sambat 1641 received from the god Krishna a divine errand similar to that of Shâmjî. 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 Lâljî set forth and on reaching the country west of Dera Ghâzi Khan he stopped and looked round. The idol then said: “You have stopped; and I too am going no further.” So Lâljî built a temple on the spot to Krishna under the name of Gopinâthji, and this temple still bears a considerable reputation in Dera Ghâzi Khan and its neighbourhood. Two other shrines were also established, one at Dera Ismâîl Khan, called Nâgarji and one at Bahâwalpur, called Sri Girdhari Ji. The miracles performed by Lâljî were a very convincing proof of his mission, and his descendants still hold the temple of Gopinâthji 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 those parts almost synonymous with being a follower of these Gossâins. The Khatris and Aroras of the south-west are divided into Sikhs and Sewaks—the followers of Nânak and the disciples of the Gossâins; and it is due to the exertions of Shâmjî and Lâljî that the latter are as numerous as they are. The only object of reverence, which can be said in any way to rival Krishna 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 Lâljî, who is addressed and worshipped as Amar Lâl, the immortal one.

The Gossâins or priests of Shâmjî and Lâljî live largely at Leïab and Bhakkar and are Khatris. The number of those who have succeeded the original pair is legion, and the sect itself is also known by various names such as Krishna Lâljî, Mahân Prabhû, Sewak, Lâlâ Dhar, Bânsî Dhar and the like. These however may be separate sects or off-shoots of the parent sect, like the CHABEL DASIS.

The Chenâb is famous for its saints, and these are by no means entirely Musalmâns. The Hindu saints of the Jhang district deserve

1 The saying is : Satluj Kîrî Râvî amîrî, Chenâb faqîrî, Jhelam shârîrî, wa Sind dîlîrî.
special motion, and the names of four of them, Rám Piára, Múla Sant, Bábá Shahána and Jinda Kaliána, may be noted. Of Rám Piára nothing can be ascertained except that he was bhágat, who generally resided in Jhang and Dera Ismáíl Khán and professed Vaishnava tenets.

There have been religious men of the name of Múla Sant both in Lahore and at Talagang in Jhelam, but the most celebrated Múla Sant was a famous Gaur Brahman of Wazirábd, who lived in the beginning of the 16th century. This man quarrelled with his caste-fellows in Wazirábd, 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 Jinda Sáhib (of whom more hereafter) to visit the shrine of Badrináráín; and at Badrináráín 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 Múla Sant were Vaishnava, and he is said to have spent 12 years worshipping in a hole which he had dug. His son Gosén 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 (jhanf ubánr) in honour of the saint. Fairs are held here in April and September. The Múlasanties or followers of Múla Sant are mainly found in Jhang, Sháhpur, and Gujránwála; they abstain from meat and wine, reverence dívám and worship no idols but merely the sáligrán. They are chiefly Aroras and make pilgrimages to his tomb at Sulimán.¹

Like Múla Sant, Bábá Sháhpána was not originally a native of the Jhang district. He was a Gaurí Khatré of Satghara in Montgomery who lived some 300 years ago. His original name was Míhra and his original occupation was boiling gram. One of his customers was a Musálmán faqirá, who made him his chéla and bestowed on him the name of Míhr Sháh. Míhr Sháh then emigrated to Leáb, in Miánwáli, where he converted two goldsmiths. From thence he moved to Kachian, a Khatré village on the Chenáb, in Jhang tahsil, which is now deserted; but his assumption of the Musálmán title Sháh offended the susceptibilities of the Khatris and led to a good deal of cursing on the part of the saint, who shifted his quarters once more to Khiva, a village of the Mahni Siáls. The saint appeared in bad spirits, and the inhabitants to prevent more cursing gave him a house, a well and a plot of ground, which are still in the possession of the Bábá Sháhpána faqirá. This restless devotee had however another and more celebrated residence at Gilmála, ½ miles from Jhang. He had shot an arrow into the air, and it fell at Gilmála, where now there is a large building inhabited by members of his order. A fair is held here on the first Friday in Phágán every year. The followers of Bábá Sháhpána do not respect the sádásárus as they should; they call themselves “Sháh,” and they use the name of “Sat Sháh” in their prayers.

¹ Shahpur Gazetteer, 1897, p. 84.
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 Gandhar Brahman of Pirkot Sadhana, in Jhang tahsil, who in early life was an Aghori faqir, and his chief residence was Massan, in the Vichand, a few miles from Jhang. Kaliána was a Sahar Brahman of Takht Hazara in the Shâhpur district, who left his home for Siâlkot and passed some time there in devotion on the bank of the Chenáb. From Siâlkot he went to the Kirána hill to compare his attainments with those of the Kirána piras. At Kirána his miraculous powers became well established, but the Piras 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 ascertained at the shrine of Jagannâth that he could drink a ser and a quarter of molten lead and pass it out in the ordinary way and had exhibited his ability to do this in the presence of ten faqirs, that he was able to renounce the old sect and enter the new. Jinda was a celibate and his chelas are the regular successors to the gaître 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 Gosaíns, are found in many villages of Jhang, are looked on with reverence by the people and are entertained with particular care by the godisâhins of the Massan shrine. The buildings at Massan are striking in appearance, and an annual fair is held there. The two samâhs of Jinda and Kaliána are there, and the mahant of the place honours them by blowing his shell (shankh) morning and evening. Their followers are chiefly Brahmans, Khatriis, Aroás, Sunárs and Bhátias. They worship no god but Brah, and they greet each other with the words ‘Sat Jinda Kaliána.’” Some accounts assert that Jinda and Kaliána were contemporaries of Gúrú Gobind Singh,¹ and others would class them with the Nânakpanthis 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 Massun at the Dasebra.

To give further details:—

Jinda or Zinda, ‘the living one,’ was a Bunjah Brahman of the Gohdar got, while Kaliána also a Bunjah was of the Sahar got. Kaliána’s natural descendants are now however Gosaíns by caste: but as Zinda was celibate his spiritual descendants are faqirs of Zinda-Kaliána.

The Mahant or Gúrú is one of the faqirs. They wear a cap of silk (darya or gubdán), round which they bind a black strip of woollen cloth (seli), shaving the head, but keeping the chofti or tuft of hair,

¹ If not honoured by him as stated in the Shâhpur *Gaz.,* 1897, page 63.

The Gohdar are the Brahmans of the Muhammadan Siáls of the Jhang Bár.
like Hindus, and the beard and moustaches. They also wear shoes, a majhla, or waist-cloth, a lingoti, a kurta or shirt and a chadar or shawl. They also carry a mala or rosary and a necklace of tulsi beads. The Mahant, however, may not wear a shirt or shoes, though when walking he is allowed sandals. He must always sleep on the ground, or on a manuba, 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 čusan, or mat, though the akhiras may eat on the same chauk, with one another or with Brahmans: they may also eat in the same chauk, but on separate čusans, with Khatrias and Aroras. The Mahant may also take food from Brahmans, Khatrias or Aroras, but he can only drink water drawn with a dur, or rope, in a lota, but his chelas may use water drawn in earthen-ware. He also has a separate hugga, but the faqirs may smoke with Brahmans, provided the latter are willing to allow them to do so.

The faqirs employ Brahmans for religious and ceremonial purposes but not so the Gosāins, 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 bhent or offerings made to the samādhs: the Gosāins receive ardas (alms) or dān. The former however now visit their followers to collect offerings. Near the takia, or residence of the Mahant, stand the samādhs or the tombs of Zinda, Kaliāna, Amadīlē, and Darya Sāhib, a chela of Zinda, while close by is a house in which a sacred fire (dhuān) 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 duḥh grass is reverenced. Bhang is offered daily and is also taken regularly by the Mahant. The faqirs, after preparing their own food, offer bhog (or sacramental food) to the samādhs. The faqirs and the public worship the samādhs, the dhuān or sacred fire, and a tulsi plant growing near by. The Gosāins or secular priests intermarry with all the Bunjāhi Brahmans: and of course avoid widow re-marriage.

Macgahan, § 67.

Some Minor Hindu Sects.—We have seen above that though the teaching of Ramānand was in the beginning an inroad 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 Ramānand, 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 Birbal-panthis 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 Birbal. In Peshawar and Kohat 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 Rajputana, 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 kochh khichri.

Lālā Jassae was a Khatri, whose shrine is in Dipalpur in Montgomery. A large number of Khatris put their faith in him and take their children to his shrine to have their heads shaved. He is reverenced also at Lahore, Amritsar, Jālandhar and Jagráon. Kesar Shāh was a faqār in Gujuránwāla. Bābā Sūraj of Chūhā Bhagtaī, in the Kabūta tahsil of Rawalpindi, was a Brahman, who served 200 years ago served a Jogi, and from him learnt a mantra by which he became a distinguished faqār. He is commonly known as Chūhwālā and his followers as Bhagtis. Bāl Gurū is a Kashmirī saint.

Mehr Dās was a faqār who resided at Ketās in the Pind Dādan Khān tahsil, and Jodha Rām was a pious Brahman who lived at Hazro in Rawalpindi. Regarding the Jairămīs little seems to be known, except that the founder of their sect was also known as Bābā Kūrewālā, or Bhangewālā which would point to a low origin.

The Telirājās have been noticed above and the Martans in Vol. III, p. 79.

Another and even smaller Vaishnava sect is the Diál-Bháwan-panth, founded by one Diál Bháwan, a cloth-seller of Giroṭ, who was attracted to religion by an exhibition of second sight (ilhám) in a Pathán woman with whom he was staying. Its followers are initiated at the Rameshr tank at Giroṭ where they are taught special prayers and have their heads shaved. Some wear the janco, others not. The great fair on the Baisákhi at Giroṭ is an auspicious day for a Hindu boy to have his head shaved and don the sacred thread.¹

The Bairāgīs also claim to have won tolerance from Jahāngír. When that emperor visited Kāhmūwán in Gurdāspur the celebrated Bairāgi faqār Bhagwānji avoided his attempt to make his acquaintance by burrowing through the ground to Pindori, 10 miles to the north, and thence to Dhamtal across the Chakki in Kāngra. The holes in the ground are still shown at Kāhmūwán and Pindori. Jahāngír subsequently found Narāin, Bhagwānji’s disciple, at Pindori, but failed to make him speak as he was then undergoing a penance of silence, so Jahāngír took him to Lahore and gave him 7 cups of poison each sufficient to kill an elephant, but he resisted its effects. Bhagwānji’s explanation however not only satisfied the emperor but induced him to build a temple, domed like a Muhammadan tomb, which still exists at Pindori. The daughter shrine at Dhamtal was founded by Bābā Harī Rāmji and possesses an inscribed magic crystal which dates from his time. At Pindori are 13 samādhis representing the 13 gods or successions of gurūs of the shrine. Close to that of Bābā Mahesh Dāsji, another disciple of Bhagwānji, is the samādh of his dog who is also said to have resisted a dose of 14 mans of opium administered to him by the gurū in proof of his powers. This shrine has 50 or 60 branches scattered all over India. Aahl near Dhāśwāl is an important branch and barren women

¹ Shahpur Gazetteer, 1897, pp. 88 and 88.
resort to it to obtain issue which the mahant is said to bring about by
the use of janta.¹

The Lāljīs are described as 'a sort of Bairāgīs, followers of Lāljī',
of Dhiānpur on the Rāvi in Gurdāspur. Their tenets are much the
same as the Vaishnava Bairāgīs. They appear to be Rāmānandīs and
Lāljī who lived in the time of Shah Jahān had frequent discussions
with that emperor's son, Dāra Shikoh on the subject of monotheism.
Pictures of these debates still exist on the walls of the main building
at Dhiānpur.² The Shahpur Gazetteer states that Dāra Shikoh was
also a friend of Dādāji, himself a disciple of Rāmānand, but Dādā's
date is open to much doubt; see Vol. II, p. 215, note³. It also adds
that the sacred tract of the Dādūpanthis is called Dādū Bilās which may
be distinct from the Dādū Bani alluded to on p. 216 of that volume.

A sect called Āpā-panthi is described very briefly in Vol. II, p. 13,
but the Āpā-panthi of Multān appear to be distinct from it. In Sep-
tember 1908 one Hem Rāj, son of Pokhar Dās, of Multān, who had
turned faqir some 10 years before and had inaugurated a religion which
he termed Āpā-panthi, died. His relatives and followers some 3,000
in number dressed his body in silk clothes, placed some tāki on his
forehead, a garland round his neck and a tilādār (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 P.M., put it in the water, proceeded to cook
and eat some khālāwā 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 Bhādon sukā 6th to 8th. The
temple contains an image of Baldevi. 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 pujārī is a Gaur Brahman. He only looks after the
temple and the image, bathing and worshipping it. Jhānikas are made
in Sāwan. Another fair is held at Bahim in tahsil Nūb, but no
temple exists there. It is held on Bhādon sukā 7th and lasts 2 days.

The Bisāh fair at Kāsan is held once a year on Bhādon sukā 13th,
when the pilgrims arrive, but the āśā or worship takes place on the
14th. There is no image in the temple, only a niche. Mansūrī pice
form the chief offering. The temple is ancient. The legend goes that
when Pūran Mal a Rājā's son was engaged in austerities here, a
Baujārā passed with loads of sugar in bags. On being asked what

¹ Gurdaspur Gazetteer 1914, pp. 16, 27 and 31.
² Ib., pp. 50-81.
³ Shahpur Gazetteer 1897, p. 83.
they contained he replied 'salt'. Púran Mal 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 Rája 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 chhatra over it. It has four doors and the roof is domed. From it projects an iron bar to which is attached a dhajá. The management vests in the Gaur Brahmán parohíts of the villagers, but 3th of the offerings go to Marnáth Jogi and the rest to the Brahmans.

The Tijóo fair is held at Gurgán and Sohna on Sáwan suddi 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 (Rám), they say, is great, but the name of God (Nám Rám Nám or Rám ká Nám) 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:—

'Teñ bhai lüe Rám ká Nám,
Jilhe tañ jáná hai.'

These words admit of no double 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 bidden: Simrö nit Bhaywán ká Nám, 'Call always on the Name of God' and again Japa karo Bhaywán ká Nám, 'Keep on repeating the Name of God'. She herself says once: kaho, to lán. Bhigwán ká Nám, '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:—

'Satt Nám ik mantar hai,
Jape soti phal pái.'

Here we have Nám, the 'Name', by itself, with the epithet satt '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
The worship of the Name.

clearly the relative position of Nám and Rám in the popular estimation.
In some parts of India, Kángra for instance, the 1st of Chet (March-April) instead of the 1st of Baisakh (April-May) is New Year’s Day, when it is the custom for dáms (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 dám has mentioned it. It is also a custom to dedicate the first spring flower seen on a tree to Nám and the second to Rám. Both these customs are exhibited in the dám’s New Year’s song:—

The first of flowers for thee, O Name!
The second, Rám for thee.
The first of Chet brings luck to him
That heard 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:—
Pahíla phulí tún Náma há!
Dájá nám Náráyaná.
which, translated literally, mean—
‘The first flower thine, O Name!
The second name Náráyan.’

Observe the canonization phulí, 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 Rám, with whom Nám is now specially associated, was an incarnation of Vishnu, to repeat whose thousand names (Sahasra-náma) 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 Námi and Náma-námika.

The custom is whenever a birth occurs in a house for dáms and musicians, such as Hijras,2 and other harpies who scent 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 Ráma 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 Dasaratha,


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.
in, another instance of what is so common and puzzling in be incarnations of God. There is a song the Tuesday and dwellings. Connected with this is the Doll fair (Gurjon kā meta) carried on during the whole of Sāwan, 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 (caused) 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 wagtails as a sign of the time for the Doll Fair having arrived. It is also sung in the Sāwan swings: —

Fly, fly the wagtails so;
Mother, 'tis 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.1

THE PATRON SAINTS OF THE TRADER AND ARTIZAN CASTES.

The system of saintly patronage, exemplified in Mediaeval 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 mediaeval Islam. Thus "Adam was the first builder and sower; Seth the first manufacturer of buttons and wool-carder; Noah the first carpenter and joiner (in the later tradition of the Moslems Joseph was venerated as a carpenter and Jacob as a joiner); Hud the first merchant; Sá'leth the first camel-driver; Abraham the first milkman and later, when he received from God the command to build the Ka'aba, the first builder; Isma'il 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 wazír, i.e. minister and representative; Sil-kefel 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 šaiikh; Jeremiah a surgeon; Samuel a sand-diviner; Lokmán a learned man; John a fisherman; Jesus a traveller; and Muhammad a merchant.2

Hence the patron saint of the Hindu weavers being Kabír they call themselves Kabírbansi, just as the tailors are called Námdevi from Nándeo and are offended by being called Juláhá or Darżí. So too Hindu barbers sometimes resent being called Náí and call themselves Saiubhágí.3 Sain Bhagat was a Rájá's barber and deeply religious. Once sunk in meditation he forgot to wait on the Rájá 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 Rámdásiás or followers of Gurú Rám Dás, but this term appears to be restricted to the Chamárs who live by weaving.4

2 Von Hammer: Constantinopel und der Bosporus, II, pp. 395-6. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. J. Horovitz.
4 Ib., § 153.
5 Ib., § 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 Juláhás, just as the 'Id-uz-zuhá is said to be held in special esteem by the Qassáhs, the Shab-i barát by the comb-makers (kaŋhíːɡáɾ), and the Muharram by the Sayyids.¹

Sádhuá bhagát 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 'Sádha,' 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: Omēs Karfm, Pir of the comb-makers; Sháh Madár, Pir of the jugglers; and Prem Tot, guri of the Udásís. But the last-named appears unknown to the Udásís themselves and nothing can be ascertained regarding him.

¹ N. I. N. Q., l, § 643.
² Íb., § 6.
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 given at least with 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 form, 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 supra, Mr. J. D. Anderson, C. S., writes:

"The Nāg never came down to Súni itself but stayed up round Tikkar, where the three States of Kumbársain, Madhán and Bhaijji join (is there always a Nāg at a trijunction). The Kōti people say that it ought to be a Ganesha, but this is, I think, a perversion. The Bhaijji god who kept the Nāg out from the Basantpur-Súni valley is called Dānu or Sareahan, 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 Arki and Súni 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 ilaqa 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 brobas under his protection, he is stricken with leprosy."

In Kulu the rainbow is called Budhi Nāgan the 'old she-snake': Diack, Kulūhi 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 púja and incense are offered to it. The sotar is another snake, uniform in thickness and believed to have a mouth at each end, whence it is called domunā, 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. 39.


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 those demons more or less malevolent character. The greater gods, indeed, are not represented in the Punjab Himalayas. There are the usual thākurdwāras sacred to Vishnu in some one of his forms, and shivalas dedicated to Shiva; but though Nāths, 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 Kāŋgra mountains; and to her, as well as to the thā 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 1882, 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 wor hip of the villager is confined to the thās or genii of the trees, rocks, and caves of Lāhlul, and the local spirits or demons of Kulu, variously known as déotās or godlings, Devīs who are apparently the corresponding female deities, Rikhīs and Munīs or local saints, Sidhs or genii of the hill-tops and high places, Jognīs or wood fairies, Nāgs 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.

1 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 Sipi 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 Bhāmba, 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 Denzil Ibbetson 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 lands of his former subjects. For example, the petty principality of Sairi was conquered by Bashahr many years ago and absorbed within the boundaries of the latter State. The peasantry, however, though compelled by force to pay regular imposts, steadily denied all obligation to contribute their monthly quota to the court, nor was it imposed upon them until two or three years ago. Also they still call the representative 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
Ihbetoen, § 238.

All misfortune or sickness is attributed to the malice of some local deity or saint, and the priest is consulted as is the bhagat 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 hastened and inspired state, and gasp 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 befell a village, the soothsayer, there called chela or 'disciple', is consulted, and he fixes upon inspiration upon some woman as the witch in fault. If the woman confesses, she is purified by them themselves relieved, and in tract still rely on a similar relation in dealing with their ancestral servants."

Mr. H. Fison, C. S., notes a somewhat similar case of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction having no relation to any political one:

"The Lagal siaga, which comprises the four kothis of Tarsapur, Chapanar and Mangarb in wassiri Lag Mahkadja, and Dughi Lag in wassiri Lag-Sari, has a separate system of deodas and devtas. At its head is Devi Phungni and below her are the Narasius of the kothis, the phati devas and village godlins. Of these Deo Gauriani alone seems to be not wholly of this siaga as he has a temple also at Dhabpur on the plain near Sultapur. Devi Phungni was called up by the Raja of Rupi the other day and reproached with not having sent rain. She was given a date for it to fall — and it came! The Klaikes ceremony is common and is probably a relic of human sacrifice as the man chosen (to represent the victim) is paled with stones, shame dead and carred round the village before he comes to again. But Lagal does not seem to have had a secular origin, for the people say that they never had a falseur of their own, but were always under the Raja of Kulh."

"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 frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If therefore a Lomal wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with a sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest is 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."

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, Brahmans 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 fulfilment of a vow. Each temple has its own feasts also, 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-borne deity is often pleased to join. There are also other domestic powers, such as Kala Bir, Nar Singh, the paris 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 Kala Bir and Nar Singh, a black and white oak 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.
the chela, 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. Tree worship still flourishes. Mr. Alexander Anderson wrote:

"In matters of every-day importance, such as cattle-disease, health, good crops &c., in short in worldly affairs generally, the people of Kulu go to the old deodár trees in the middle of the forest where there is often no temple at all, and present a piece of iron to propitiate the deity. Such trees are common in Kulu, 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 Brahmins 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 doubtful exceptions of Gúga Pír, and of Jamlu, a demon of Malána in Kulu, 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 uncanniness and the dread of their god as the means of wholesale extortion from their superstitious neighbours. Jamlu is said to be a Musalman 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 RA DEO, while his sister is called Prini Deví. The other deodás 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 Bāba Fattu, Bāba Bhopat, and their friends, and the majority of their worshippers are again Hindus.

In Suket the temple of the Sun, known as the Súraj Kund, was built by the Rájá Garúr Chand (or Sain) and his consort. In front of it is a tank or kund which gives it its name and adds to its beauty. The idol, of brass, is flanked by two horses, a bálisht in height, thus giving it the appearance of a chariot.

Memorial tablets are also found at Rám pur in Bashahr. Occasionally they contain figures of male servants who died with their chief.

1 The name deodár (Deva-daru) means 'the divine tree'. It is applied to the Himalayan cypress (Cupressus torulosa) in Kulu, and in Láhul to the Juniperus excelsa. The Himalayan cedar (Cedrus deodara) is called by the people dear or kelo, not deodár.—D. 1.

2 There is a tradition that they were deported to their present homes by one of the Emperors as a punishment for some offence. [D. 1.]

3 Mr. Fyson observes that the Prini people deny this relationship. Sir Alexander D'Arcy says that Gýephán, the god of Láhul, is Jamlu's brother and Tírún, the goddess to whom is attributed the peeling of kulu, his sister: Kuluhi Dialect of Hindi, p. 39.

4 Suket Gazetteer, pp. 26-7, where a full account of its administration is given. Apparently it was not the erection of this temple under the Ránil's influence which led to the excommunication of the nádh-na Hán Brahmans, but the Deví's warnings against the vardo and her infliction of epilepsy on his son.
a survival of the primitive idea that the Rajá must enjoy the same state in the next world as in this. Mr. H. W. Emerson has come across a curious sati superstition in Manjí. 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 Manjí with figures of deceased diviners carved on them. The idea here is that their spirits should serve the god.

**The Legend of Mahású Deota.**

Mahású, doubtless a corruption of Mahá-Siva, is the god who gives his name to the Mahású hills. In the legend that follows he appears in quadruple form as four brothers, just as Ráná Sur had four sons.1

When Krishna disappeared at the end of Dwarar Yug, the Pándavas followed him. On their road to Badrí-káshram they crossed the Tons, and Rajá Yudhishthír, struck with the beauty of the place, ordered Viswákarmá to build a temple there. Here the Pándavas, with Draupadí, halted 9 days. They named the place Hanol, and thence journeyed by the Gangotri and Jamnotrí ravines, through Kedár, to Badrí Náth, where they disappeared, and the Káli Yug began.

At its commencement demons wandered over the Uttarā Khanda, devouring the people and plundering towns and villages. The greatest of demons was Kirmar, who had Beshí, Sengí, and a host of minor demons under him at Maindárath, on the Tons, 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 Húná Brahman, who practised penance in the Deoban forest, went to bathe in the Tons 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. Kirtaká 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 Náwan. 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 Punjab*, III, pp. 864 et seqg.
Doha (couplet).

Puttar dukh dukhiā bhai.
Par-bal abalā āj.
Satti ko sat jāt hai.
Rākho, Ishwär, láj.

"I was distrest at the loss of my sons.
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-koti Ishwārī Mātā. So Hūna went to the goddess with his wife.
He first offered her flowers, and then prayed to Hātēshwārī Durga 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 fulfil
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-koti, at whose feet I bow
my head, and by whose favour I and my wife are so fortunate as to see
thee in Kālī Yug."

Uttar Khānḍ mēn rākhash base, manukho nā karte dhār.
Kul mulk barbadā kiyā, ābādī hogāti ujār.
Shiva as Maheda.

Tum hi Rudar, tum hi Bishnú Nand Gopal.
Dukh húé sur sádhúvan ko, máro rákshas tat-káš.
Sít puttar mujh dás ke nahán gae jab parbháti,
Jab gháál gaye nádi Tons ke jiníc Kirmar kháyo ek sáth.

"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 Gopál, 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 Tons, Kirmar ate them at once""

The god Siva was pleased at these words and said :—"O Rikhi, the people of the Káli Yúg 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".

Dohá (couplet).

Bidá kiyó jab Bipra ko, áiyé akshát, phúl, chírág.
Sakti rúp pahle pargat gai Maindárath ke bág.
Ghar jáo Bipra apné, rakho mujh par jék.
Sakti rúp ke ang se, ho-gaye dáb anék.
Pargate ang se dábte, rom rom se bír.
Istri sahit bidá kiyé, ' rakho man meñ dhír'.

"When (the god) bade the Brahman farewell, he gave him rice, flowers and a lamp. A Sakti (goddess) first appeared in the garden at Maindárath. Go home, Brahman, and place reliance on me. Countless divinities arose from the body of the Sakti. Gods appeared from her body, and heroes from her every hair. She dismissed him with his wife, saying 'keep patience in thy heart'."

When the god gave Húna Rikhi leave to go, he gave him rice, a vessel containing flower and a lamp, and said, "O Rishi, go home and keep thy confidence in me. A Sakti (goddess) will first appear in the

1 Explained to mean 'the son of Nand, i.e. Krishna'.
garden at Maindāra. Numerous demons will come out of her thimble, and every hair of her body will send forth a hero. 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 anuvās of Bhādōn and thereafter worship me with a sincere heart. Also perform a jagarun on that date 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 Chauth or Mahāsū, will appear on the fourth of the light half of Bhādōn. Those who appear on the following day, i.e. the 5th, will be called Kiyālu and Banār. 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 Hanol, which was founded by the Pāṇḍavas.

When this boon was granted to Hūna Rikhī, he walked round the god and paid him obeisance. After this he went his way homewards and the god disappeared.

After many days the Rikhī 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 anuvās of Bhādōn he worshipped and lighted the lamp. On the third day a fountain sprung up, wherein the Sakti appeared.

Chaupāi.

Bhūmi se upnī Mātā Deo Lārī.
Thān Deo Mātā ko Kongo re Bārī.

'Mother Deo Lārī appeared from the earth.
The temple of Deo Mātā (was named) the Bārī of Kongo'.

Tū hi yog, yugti, tū hi yog māi.
De, Mātā, bahan de prinde men lāi.

"Thou 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''.

Māthe bale Māi re aqni re gēthā.
Bothā rājī Mahāsū hoī sūraj re bhekha.

"On the Mother's head burnt a fire of faggots.
Mahāsū was born with lustre like the rays of the sun''.

Jāgaran (from Sanskrit jāgarana) means keeping awake the whole night in devotion.

* By Mahāsū, because it was close to his own temple.
"Placing her hand round her breast,
The Mother brought forth her son, Chálda.

Mátá Deo Lári ne háth kíe khare
Báshak Pabásí dono háth do jharc.

"Mother Deo Lári raised her hands.
Báshak and Pabásí both sprang from her two hands.

Chauth men upne Mahású chár.
Panchmi huí tithi dí Deo Kiyálú Bandú.

"The four Mahásús were born on the fourth.
On the fifth were created the gods Kiyálú and Banár.

Sher Káliá Kiyálú hoe Dothé re wazír.
Romo hoc romo de nau lákh bir.

"Shér Káliá and Kiyálú became the ministers of Dothé.
Nine lákhs of heroes sprang from every hair.

Háth jore Hána gayá paire pe jdi:
'Sab manukh lie, Malkät, rákhasá kháí'.

"Hána fell at her feet with clasped hands:
'All mankind has been devoured by the demens, O Mistress'.

Háth bandë paire shir láyá jáná:
'Maínáráth Tálo dā Kirmar dánó'.

"With clasped hands and feet he placed his head on her knees:
'Kirmar, the demon (dwells) in the Maínáráth Lake'.

Káthší hoí sainá Maínáráth ke bág.
Chárd hídá Mahású kardí re dág.

"The armies were arrayed in the garden of Maínáráth.
The four Mahású brothers were like the fire.'
Hune jaise rikhie ati binti lai:
Ist ke karan char Mahasú ái

"Húna, the Rishi, made a great prayer:

'The four Mahásus for this purpose have come'."

Sabhí jabí deite ne binti lái:
'Kyá dewe ágyá Deo Lári Máí'?

"All the gods made a prayer (saying):

'What are the orders of the goddess Deo Lári Máí'?"

Jab dé ágyá Srí Deví Máí:
'Kírmár Keshí rðkhás ko tum do ghái'.

'Then Srí Deví Máí gave orders:

'You must kill the demons Kírmár and Késhí'."

Chambola.
Rájá Rikh-choliyá láyo tero náw.
Rájan ko ráj náw tero náw.

"Thy name is king of Rikh-choliyá.
Thy name is king of kings'."

Kungú, kastúri, Rájá, guglá ko dhúp,
Chár Bháí Mahású Nàrdin ko rúp.
Rájan ko ráj náw tero náw.

"With saffron, musk, and fragrant resin and incense, Rájá,
The four Mahású brothers are Nàrdin incarnate.¹
Thy name is king of kings'."

Háthi shankhi, chakkar, gálu sámp ke háv,
Chár bháí Mahású Buddar avatár;
Bhekh-dhári rájan ko ráj, náw tero náw.

"With conch and quoit in their hands, and serpents round their necks,
The four brothers Mahású are Buddar incarnate,
In spite of all disguise, thy name is king of kings'."

Háthi shankh, chakkar gajjá, tirtháit,
Nách láyo pari ro, bákhá hón phál,
Bhekh-dhári rájá láyo tero náw.
Rájan ko ráj, náw tero náw.

¹ i.e., Sriva.
"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 jáyo.
Kashmíre chhorí Rájá Maindárath áyo.
Ráján ko ráj, náw tero náw.

"Uliyá’s grandson and Rájá Bhimlá’s son has been born,
The Rájá left Kashmír and came to Maindárath,
Thy name is king of kings ".

Dohá (couplet).

Tháro ant koít nahí ne, lúlí pàrun apárá.
Bhujat kít kárne tum kúi hidh sete ko antávr.

"None knoweth thy infinity, thy glory is infinite,
Thou dost take many shapes in order to do good ".

Bintí sun rikhí kí, parsan hue atyant.
Hikám diye saimópaton ko ‘máro 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, Maháású kí mungar liyo háth.
Mahán rath par Cháláka bashe nau lákh saíná sáth.

"Receiving the orders, the Maháásus took bludzeons in their hands.
Cháláka sat in his great war chariot at the head of nine lákhs of men”

Pirtham yudh huá Maindárath men, saíná márí apárá,
Aise Shiv Shankar bháe ja santan prán aadhár.

"Battle was first joined at Maindárath and armies were slain.
It was Shiv Shankar who thus came to save his disciples ".

When the whole army of the rákhshasas had been killed, Kirmar
beat a retreat and came to Majhog, the abode of Singí, the demon.
There they collected their scattered forces, intending to give battle
afresh.

Dohá (couplet).

Jáb Majhog men devat pahúne dün,
Singí máro jáb dait, huá yudh ghamsán

"When the déotás reached Majhog,
They killed Singí, the demon and a desperate battle was fought ”.
On hearing of the slaying of Singi Rákhshás by Sher Kúli, and that most of his men were slain, Kirmar fled to Khánḍá, a village on the river bank, but was pursued by the deytás. When he was about to hide in a ravine of Mount Khánḍá, he was overtaken by Chálḍá Mahású, who rode on a throne of flowers borne by two soldiers.

Dohá (couplet in Paháři).

*Khánḍá jáne khe pāwá thá tháo,*

*Bir bháne6 the Rájje khánḍí ré láo*

"He took refuge under a rock in the village of Khánḍá,*

Intending to smite with his sword his opponent".

When Sú Chálḍá7 killed the demon, a large force of other gods reached him.

Dohá (couplet in Paháři).

*Sát híruu deoote kharie8 khánḍí,*

*Ghái huwe9 rákhshás lúi lái bámé.*

"All the gods attacked with their swords

And cut the demons to pieces".

After killing the demon Kirmar, all the gods threw flowers over Sú Chálḍá and paid homage to him.

Dohá (couplet).

*Ádī Kálī Fung men Kirmar kiyo ráj,*

*Sant mahátma ko diyo diyo dám samáj.*

"Kirmar ruled the world in the beginning of the Kálī Fung."* 

The demon brotherhood caused great trouble to the saints and the men of God".

*Sab devan ke deb hai Mahású kartár,*

*Kirmar ádī mírke, dár kiyo mahi-bhár.*

"The lord Mahású is the god of all gods,

Killing the great Kirmar, he has lightened the burden of the World".

*Yuh charitr Mahádeval ká chit de sune jo koi,*

*Suká rahe suká sampadá aur muki phal hoi.*

"He who listens to this story of Mahádev with a sincere heart,

Will always remain happy and attain the fruit of salvation". 

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1 From báhá-á, to break, in Paháří.
2 Lit., ‘raising high’.
3 I. e., Mahású.
4 Ghái huwe, ‘are killing’. 
5 From lúi, to break, in Paháří.
After killing Kirmar, all the gods encamped in a field near Khandái and the place came to be called Dev-ká-khatál. It still forms the jágir of Dev Banár. The place in Khandái, 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 Mahású.

Next morning at daybreak Húna Rikhí came to Mahású with clasped hands and expressed joy at Kirmar’s death. He further begged that the demon, Kesli, 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 demon, 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 Salá Patti, a village in Ráwingarh, near which lived another demon in a tank, receiving its water from the Pabar. When the flower-throne of Mahású reached this spot he saw a demon dancing in the tank and making a noise. Sri Naṭári Jí said to Mahású:—‘This is a fearsome sight.’ When Mahású heard Umá Shankwri’s words he knew by the might of his knowledge that this was the demon spoken of by the rikhí. 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.

Dohá.

Bájá jari-bhartá deote re bájá,
Botha Rájá Mahású Hanola khe birájá.

“Jari-bhartá, the music of the gods, was played,
When Botha, Rájá and Mahású left for Hanol”.

Maháráj Mahású Chálá Pabáśi,
Hanol dékhiro bahute mano dé háśé.

“Maháráj Mahású, Chálās and Pabáśi,
The gods laughed greatly in their hearts on seeing Hanol’.

Chhoṭe chhoṭe bahuté deo,
Sri Botha Mahású deote rá deo.

“There are many minor gods,
But Sri Botha Mahású is the god of gods.”

When Sri Mahású reached Hanol with his army, he asked Húna Rikhí if it was the resort of Kesli 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 Chalda with Sher Kaliya, 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 Hanole, Raja, phulon ki bari,
Chad bhadi Mahasu Mat Deo Lari.
Rajon ko raj, naw tero nax.
Bhesh-dhari Raja-ji
Rani, Rajaya naxe, parjale niwe.'

"Raja thou hast a garden of flowers in thy Hanol,
The abode of the four Mahasus 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.

Khanjai daku namu chor,
Le chalo pungi meri ubhi Masmor.
Rajon ko raj, naw tero nax.
Kashmiri Raja dewa kethi? Bhimla ki or.

"Thieves and robbers of Khanjai,
Bear ye my palanquin up to Masmor.
Thy name is king of kings.
Whither is the king of Kashmir gone? He is gone towards Bhimla'.

Kailas Kashmir chhoro rajasthan Maindarath ayah.
Rajon ko raj, naw tero nax.

"Thou hast left Kailas and Kashmir and came to Maindarath.
Thy name is king of kings'.

When Sri Chalda's throne reached the hill with his bandmen playing
music, the demon Keshi witnessed his arrival, and thought him to
be the same who had killed his lord Kirmar, 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
Chalda ordered Sher Kaliya 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 Mahasu.
"All the hill people rejoiced:

'Accept as thy revenue the offerings made out of our (share of the) produce'.

"We will work and send tribute in our turn to Hanol, and will bring the god for worship to Bharánsí every twelve years'.

"O Mahású, we say this land is thine for ever.

And we will give thee each year every kind of grain in due season'.

"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 Chálđa Mahású seated himself on his throne and came with his forces to Hanol in great state. He brought with him all the offerings in gold and silver, as well as a gold kaddú. taken from the demons.

On reaching the place he recounted the death of Keshí to Botha Mahású, 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 Mahású said: "O Sri Chálđa, 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 jágrá on the Nág-chauth and Nág-panchami days, which fall each year in Bhádon. 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 málikándá dues
Shiva as Mahású.

for each place to the other gods. When a grand yajra is performed, thou wilt be invited to present offerings to me".

Báje tál mardang shankh báje ghánte
Sabhi Śrī Mahású ji ne deoton kó rág díno bánte.

"The cymbal, the mardang and the conch were sounded and bells were rung

When Śrī Mahású divided his kingdom among his minor gods".

Rág sabé deoton kó is tarah bánte,
Rájdhání Pabáse dená Deban rá şanád.

'He divided his State to the gods thus,

Giving the territory of Mount Dehan to Pabási'

Báshuk ko Bánvar díno poru Bilo bolí Sáthe,
Pabási Bel díno punwáso jo Bel Páshe.

"To Báshuk he gave the whole of the Bánvar territory with the part of Bilo on this side of Sáthi.

To Pabási he also gave the country of Sháthi which is on the bank of the Patwál'.

Kálu Kotlá hú díno Kyáluë Banér,
Bothé Chálda Mahású ro rág howá sarab pahár.

"To Kálu and Banér he gave Kálú and Kotlá also.

And Botha and Chálda Mahású became rulers of the whole of the hill tract"

Bothá Chálda Mahású sab deban re deo.
Pújané rá Mahású re jánade né asau.

"Botha and Chálda Mahású are the gods of all the gods.

The people do not know how to worship Mahású".

Sab richá dení Húná Rikhi khe Vedo rí batú
'Isí bidhí kár mere debte rí pújan karát'

"The hymns of the Vedas" were dictated to Húná Rikhi:

'Perform my worship according to them'.

Sab guwe debte apne sacháno khe jíi,
Vedo rí richá dení pújane lái,

1 This is the meaning as explained by the descendant of Káverú, lit. the translation appears to be — to Pabási he gave Bel on the day of the full moon, and so it is (now) called Bel Páshe.

2 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.

Sr. Mahású ke sāth sab deve gae ái,
Is Khané Uttar men detm mánté karái.

All the gods who had come with Mahású,
Are worshipped in this Northern Region.

Notáre Pokho chhópá jo maréshwar Mahádeo.
Hanol men Bothá Mahású jo sab deban ke deo.

Notáre and Pokhú remain, Mahádev the god of the burning places.

Bothá Mahású is the god of gods in Hanol.

Chúrí men Chúreshwar wahi Mahású hai deo.
Desh chhore dehora Púm údi Bhindrá deo.

That same Mahású as Chúrishwar is the god of the Chúr Peak.
Púm, Bhindrá and others are in charge of the other parts of the plain country.

Narán, Ruddar, Dhaulú, Ghorú deve gayé Bashahro vi náll.
Hát-koti men Máta Hátéshwari sur pahár pahár men Kálí.

The gods Narán, Ruddar, Dhaulú and Ghorú were sent towards the valley of Bashahr.

Mother Háté-shwari was in Hát-koti and on every hil was Kálí.

Sabhán ki pújā Bháí hui ‘jai jai’ kár.
Kirmar údi már ke ánand bhayo sansár.

All worship the Brothers and give them (the cry of) ‘victory.’
The world became very happy at the death of Kirmár and the other demons.

Desh huwá muluk, Sri Cháláa, tumhárá.
Hanoló khe bhejñá kúto rá kárá.

Sri Cháláa, 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. Húná Bikhí was loaded with blessings in money. After this, Mahású disappeared and an image of him with four arms appeared of its own accord. It is worshipped to this day.

Sab gaye deve apne apne asthán,
Jab Bothá húe Shrí Mahású-jí antar-dhyán.

All the gods went to their own places,
And then Botha Sri Mahású disappeared.

1 In Gaghwáli.
Kiyālū Banār dīnd upāo,
Kū ṛi serī dā pākṛā thāo.

"Kiyālū and Banār flew away,
And took possession of the fields of Kū".1

The following story is connected with these two places:—The capital of the two gods is Pujārli, a village at the foot of the Burgā Hill, beyond the Pabar stream.

When all the gods had gone to their own places, all the land was regarded as the kingdom of Mahāsū, and his capital was Hanol. 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 Mahāsū to have such power that if a person who has lost anything worships the god with sincere heart, he will undoubtedly achieve his desire.

Dohā (couplet).

Lālā iški bārnan sakke koī kaun?
Adī deban ke ṛe ṛaṭi, Mahāsū kahāwe jaun.

"Who can praise him?
He is the chief god of all gods, and is called Mahāsū".

Jo jān āṁ-ha-kar unho ḍhyāwe,
Woh ant samay man-bāṁchhit phal pāwe

"He who remembers him with humble mind,
Shall at last have all his desires fulfilled"

Aise bhae yih Ruddar avatār,
Jīn tārā sakal sansār.

"So (great) is the incarnation of Ruddar,2
That all the world is delivered from transmigration".

Woh Shīb Shankar avatār,
Jīnkī māyā ne bāṁchhit sansār.

"He is Shiv Shankar incarnate,
And the whole world is enthralled by his illusion".

Aise hain woh Shīb Shankar āṁandā,
Jīn ke simran se kīte hār phandā.

"Such is Shiv Shankar ever pleased,
Who remembers him passes safely through the whole maze".

Jīs ne is mēn shankā uṭhāe,
Woh naruk hāi mēn Shambhū ne pāi.

"He who has doubts as to these things,
Is doomed to hell by Shambhū".

1 Kū is a place in Rawasinghī, near the Burga Mountains.
2 Shivā.

3 Or we may read Har phandā and translate: ‘By remembrance of him (mankind) may be delivered from the maze of Har (Shiv)’. 

DDD
Wooh Shib Shankar antarjámi,
Jin ko dhyáwat sur nar gyáni.

"He is Shiv Shankar, the heart-searcher,
On whom meditate the heroes and the sages".

Yih Shambhu Jagat sukh dáí,
Jin ká pár koú nahí n pái.

"He is Shambhu and gives blessings to the world.
And no one can fathom his doings".

Bháva, Sharva, Rudra, Pashu-pati, Girisha, Mahesha, mahán,
Jin ke gunánu vád ko dávi Veda Purán.

"He is Bháva, Sharva, Rudra, Pashu-pati, Girisha, Mahesha, the great one,
Whose virtue is sung in the Vedás and Puránas".

Aise bhae woh Mahású sukh-dáíyí,
Jal tháí meñ jo rahe samáíyí.

"Mahású comforts every man,
And his glory pervades both sea and land".

Kóu baraná ná sake unki prabhutáí;
Brahmá, Vishnu, Sárádá ant nahí n pái.

"We lack words to tell his greatness;
Brahmá, Vishnu, and even Sárádá could not know his reality".

Tín lok ke náth hai* ant nahí kachku pái:
Brahmá, Vishnu, Sárádá, hár gaye man meñí.

"He is the king of the three worlds and is infinite:
Even the gods Brahmá, Vishnú and Sárádá could not stand before him".

Háth jorké Brahmd, Vishnu, khuri Sárádá máí:
‘Tín lok meñ játe bhae pár kine nahí n pái’.

"Brahmá, Vishnú and Mother Sárádá stood with clasped hands
before him:
‘We have been round the three worlds, but could find no end (to
his glory)’".

Hár máñ kar thakat bhae pár nahí n jáb páí,
Háth jorkar thadé bhae náth-pad sís náí.

“When they could find no end to his glory,
They came before him; with clasped hands and bowed heads”.

Shiva as Mahású.
They bow their heads to the god and praised him aloud.

They art the god of all gods and wondrous is thy glory.

Thou art Mahāsū, the creator and destroyer of the three worlds.

Thou art Mahāsū, the creator and destroyer of the three worlds.

His place is in the Northern Region:

His temple is built on the bank of the river Tons.

Shiv worship is very common in Mandi, both in the town and in the ilāqa — much more so than in Bashahr where Kāli worship is far more important. The veneration of Shiva however is not universal. In several ilāqas adjacent to Kulu the shivrātri receives very casual notice whereas Devī worship is general there. Mr. H. W. Emerson 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 shivrātri. There is also a close association between Shaivism and Nāg worship — the Nāgs are his (or Kāli’s) favourite servants. Lingaṃs are common and in more or less orthodox temples are found with the yoni. Near the entrance to the karam sarāi there is a very horrible image of Durga with a realistic lingam in front round which a cobra is coiled with the canopy over the top of the
The rishis in Kulu.

The shivaratri is the great official festival of Mandi, corresponding to the Dasehra of Kulu. The gods are all brought in and do obeisance first to Madhu Rai, the real ruler of the State, and then to the Raja his vice-regent. The latter always goes behind Madhu Rai in the procession.

In Mandi the cults of Shiva are chiefly affected by Brahmans, Rajputs, 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 Mandi town a temple is dedicated to Shiva Ardhanareshwara or Shiva as half himself and half his consort Gaura or Parbati, the first creator of all things, older than sex itself. On the left bank of the Bisas is a temple to the Pancha-baktara or 'five-faced' Shiva and on the right bank one to Triloknath, '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 Dera Din Panah in Muzaffargarh. Another and a very old temple to Shiva is that of Bhat Nath in Mandi 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 Raja Ajbar Sain (c. 1500 A.D.) discovered the idol and founded the temple in consequence of a dream.1 Balkanath, son of Shiva, has a temple on the bank of the Beas. He is not to be confounded with Balak Rupi. Bhairou2 is a disciple of Shiva2 and a Siddh, and Gaupati or Ganesh is his most dutiful son, as elsewhere. In Suket Raja Madan Sain founded a temple to Astan (7 Shambha) Nath, apparently a form of Shiva.

Although out of 49 fancies in Mandi town no less than 24 are dedicated to Shiva, the Gosains, his votaries, have declined in importance.3

In Kulu the tradition is that the deotas represent the rishis and other great men who were in existence at the time of the Mahabhарат. After that war the deotas and rishis of that epoch came and settled in the Kulu valley and the autochthones 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 Manikaran (Ramchandar's), Sultanpur (Raghunath), Maharaaja and Jagat Sukh are ascribed to the time of Maharaja Jagat Singh while the Sikh temple at Haripur was erected by Raja Hari Singh.

In Mandi Tomasha rishi is still worshipped by Brahmans at Rawalser lake, as well as by Buddhists under the name of Padmasambhara.4

1 Women visit this temple every Monday and sing hymns with lamps in their hands. For a beautiful illustration of a temple to Bhakt Natha in Madras see Arch. Surs. Ind., 1913-14, Pt I—Pl VIII.
2 In the Hills Ganesh is known as Bunayak or Sidhi-Bunayak and in Kangra his picture, called jag-jup, is carved in stone or wood and set up in the house-door when ready: J. A. S. B., 1911, pp. 133, 235, 175. Havell's explanation of Ganesh's elephant head is worth citing. He describes him as the god of worldly wisdom and as the 'protector of households', representing the wisdom which brings to mankind a great store of this world's goods; the majesty of an elephant which keeps the mind tied to earth, not the spiritual power of Shiva, which can take wings and lift the soul to heaven; whereas he is the patron deity of scribes and publishers. But how much of this explanation is due to Mr. Havell's own ingenuity and how much to orthodox or current belief? The Ideals of Indian Art, pp. 51, 82.
4 Fraucke's Antiquities of Indian Tibet, p. 123.
The following is a list of the temples in Kulu dedicated to various rishis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of rishi</th>
<th>Site of temple</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
</tr>
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<td>Dera at Sheoosar</td>
<td>5th of Baisakāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Dera or Dera</td>
<td>6th of the light half of Baisakāh, 1st of Chet, commencement of the new year in Chet, and 1st of Bhāドon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Dera at Shauhar</td>
<td>5th of lunar part of Baisakāh, 20th Bhāドon and 20th Māgh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapal Muni</td>
<td>Dera at Kapoth</td>
<td>On the Rām Nauni, the 16th of Chet, and the janam ashṭami, the 21st of Bhāドon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
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<td>21st Baisakāh and a yag every year on 1st and 2nd Sāwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāshist Rikhi</td>
<td>Dera</td>
<td>1st of Baisakāh and 12th of Kāтak,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gautam Rikhi</td>
<td>Dera Gautam Rikhi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gautam Rikhi or Ghanal Rikhi</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Dera</td>
<td>7th Phāグan, 11th Baisakāh, and 5th Jēṭh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Chiman Rikhi</td>
<td>1st of Phāグan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāndal Rikhi</td>
<td>Dera Kābim in K. Manali</td>
<td>8th of Phāグan, 2nd of Baisakāh, and the janam ashṭami, the 20th of Sāwan,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mā zwykda</td>
<td>Mūkrah temple</td>
<td>1st Phāグan, 1st Baisakāh, and 20th Sāwan.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. The temple of Bēsā Rikhi is connected with this. The Purāṇas say that the place where he practised penance was the source of the river Bim. Any one visiting Bes Kūḍū is fed here. The pujārs are Gaṇes, Kavats and Bāलrāgīs.
2. Another temple the chariot of the god is kept. It is decorated with fine clothes. As well as ornaments of silver and gold, and the images of gods are arranged in it. The chariot is also worshipped at the fair.
3. A temple called Guran Dera is connected with this. When the chariot is conveyed, the god is kept in the temple.
4. This rishi also has a temple in Sanor in Maudi (Gazetteer, p. 40).
5. Two other temples are connected with this.
6. Māungkin fair is held annually on the 1st Baisakāh in Kāŋgra. Mā磙kanda was an ascetic, but his name is now applied to any water which flows eastward. On the Sankrānti of each month people bathe in this water and give alms. In Kulu proper Mā磙kanda's image seems to have been placed on bridges and as guardian of bridges he would appear to have been known as Mangleshar—unless that was the name of his spouse. The god Mangleshar Dō is alluded to in the triplet:
Māṅglī Rānt, Mangleshār Dēo
Dhāmā phāṣṭi, Saunā erē,
Mā磙kanda Mā磙rāl neō.

"When Mangli was queen Mangleshar's drum was burst; the bridge of Saunā carried the god Mā磙kanda to Mā磙rāl".

And the legend goes that when queen Mangli ruled at Sia, at the junction of the Bēsā and Pār̕hātī rivers, the latter used to be spanned by a bridge at Saunā, just above the confluence. When the drum used in the worship of Mangleshār burst the bridge fell, but the idol of Mā磙kanda, which was on the bridge when it fell, was carried on the timbers of the fallen structure down the river to Mā磙rāl where Mā磙kanda's temple now stands; andair, Kālūhī Diwālat, p. 69.
In Saraj there are several minor cults of interest. Besides that of Jamlu who is identifiable with Jamdagni rishi, Markanda and Shringa rishis are the objects of worship. The former has three temples. That at Manglaur, which derives its name from one name of the temple, is also called Kanderi. From 1st to 5th Phagan a fair is held here every third year, and on the shivaratri in Chet a bramhboj (free distribution of food) is celebrated and girls are feasted. On 1st Baisakh 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 Baisakhi. During Bhadon the god is invited by all the neighbouring villages, and for many nights an illumination is made before him. Throughout Poh and Magh the god is shut up in the temple which is re-opened in Phagan. Once upon a time, the story goes, a Rana in Manglaur asked a Brahman to recite the Chandi to him and while he was doing so a sadhu 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 Aundhi for the maintenance of his shrine. After the Raja's death a thakurdeva was built at Manglaur in his memory, but the exact date of its foundation is not known. It contains a stone pinhti, 2 feet high, as well as a stone image. Its affairs are managed by a kardar by caste a Gaur Brahman. A Sarasit pujari is employed for worship. The gur is also a Brahman. These persons are not celibate and their offices are hereditary. A bhog of sweetmeats, ghrit, 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 Triloknath in Lahul, 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 Makrach, while the rest set out for Kanglaur. 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 thakur whom the devotee killed and took possession of his territory. After this Markanda disappeared below the earth, whereupon a pinhti of stone appeared. Two temples were built at this place. The date of their foundation is not known. One of them contains a stone pinhti 3 feet high, and the other a chariot of the god. Their administration is carried on jointly by a kardar and the villagers. The pujari is Bhadawaj 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 pujari. The usage of bhog is not known. No sacred lamp is lit, nor is fire maintained. Connected with this are the shrines in Nur and Nol. The annual fair is held on 19th and 20th Baisakhi Afig is celebrated after every 12 years, at which a few he-goats 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 Hol it lasts from the end of

1 Popularly called Singa rishi
Chot to the 10th of Baisākh. Other fairs are also held on 12th and 15th Baisākh. During the navārātra festivals also virgins are fed and worship performed. The story is that once a sādhū came from Triloknāth and declared that the places should be consecrated to the worship of the Devī and Mārkanda. Accordingly they were installed here. The temple was founded in the Dvāpar Yuga. It contains a stone pindī. Its affairs are managed by a kārdār. For worship a Brahan is employed. The kārdār is a Gaur Brahan and the pujadāri a Sārsut. All the questions put to the god are answered through a gur.

Deota Shringā Rikhi in Chaihni has two temples: one in Sikarū and the other in Bijapur. The fair at the former is held annually on the last day of Baisākh, and at the latter on any auspicious date in Phāgan. Besides these, a fair is held at Banjār on 2nd Jeth. The story is that Shri-tāngan, a Kanet of Rikli, was once ploughing his field on the Tītīrān Khad 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 Baisākh a pindī in the image of a man emerged from the Khad and approached the man. It directed him to carry it to the place where during the Dvāpar Yuga it had performed asceticism. On the way it stopped at two places, Bijapur and Sikarū, where the temples were afterwards built. Here a chela, during the night, learnt in a vision that the god’s name was Sūrangā Rikhi. The temples were founded in the Dvāpar Yuga. It contains a black stone pindī, 2½ feet long. Its administration is carried on by a Kanet kārdār. A Brahan pujadi is employed to perform all the rites. His caste is Sārsut and got Dharmān. A bhog of rice, dāl, milk, ghi 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 Chaihni and Bāgi.

In Sarāj Jamla and Devi Jalpā have a temple at Galun Deora, where a fair is held every year from 21st to 28th Phāgan, and another from 21st to 26th Sāwan. The navārātras in Chet and Asauj are also observed as fairs. Virgins are worshipped and a pāth is recited. The story goes that a sādhū was found in Galun sitting absorbed in meditation. A thākūr asked him who he was and whence he came. He replied that people called him Jamdaγgan Rishi and added that he desired a temple to be built in his name. The thākūr built a temple, but it did not satisfy the sādhū who, taking an image of the devi 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 Dvāpar Yuga, and contains stone pindīs of the god and goddess. A silver club and a silver horse are also kept in it. Its administration is carried on by a kārdār, by caste a Kanet. A Brahman pujadi 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 pujadi’s position is good, but special reverence is paid to the gur who answers all questions put to the god. A bhog of sweetmeat, milk, rice etc. is offered daily, and the sacred lamp lighted every evening. Connected with this is the shrine in Sinch.
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 p.m. to 4 a.m. Men and women dance in crowds, a dance which is called nati. All offerings below two annas, including sweetmeats, grain and fruit, go to the pujaras, 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 handolas, sing the songs called jhanhotis and make other forms of merriment. A considerable amount of trade also takes place.

The Cult of Jamlu (Jamdaggan).

The cult of Jamdaggan 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 Kadeo.

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>Kharou Mandir in Kothi Malana</td>
<td>10th of Maghar, full moon day of Maghar, one day in the dark half of Poh, one Thursday in Magha, one day in the light half of Magha, one in the light half of Phagan, 8 days in Phagan, 2 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 Bhadoon, Sherni Shankrnat for 2 days, 5 in the light half of Ashauj, and 1st of Katak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu Saman in Saman</td>
<td></td>
<td>1st of Chet, 1st of Bhadoon, lasting 4 days, and full moon of Maghar for 2 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamdaggan Rishi in Sati</td>
<td></td>
<td>One lasting 4 days from the ikadshi of the light half of the month, another on 1st of Chet, a third lasting 4 days in Bhadoon, and a fourth 2 days on the full moon day of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu</td>
<td>Dera Daifri in Daifri</td>
<td>4 days in the light half of Phagan, 2 from 1st Chet and Baisakh, 4 days from 1st Bhadoon, in Sawan, and 2 days on the full moon day of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dera Shangchar in Shangchar</td>
<td>7 days on the ikadshi of the light half of Phagan, 2 days beginning on 1st of Chet, 1st of Baisakh, and 1st of Bhadoon, 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>Dera Shegli Jamlu in Shaigli</td>
<td>4 days on the ḍādehi of the light half of Phāgan, 2 days on the 1st of Chet and Baisakh, 4 days on 1st Bhādron, and in Sāwan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Sakho Sah in Parain</td>
<td>Phāgī from 7th to 10th Phāgan, Khauni Phāgī on 1st of Chet, and Sāwan ḍātra on 1st Bhādron.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera Jamdagan Rishi in Jagat Sukh</td>
<td>Phāgan and Chet, a Sāwan ḍātra in Sāwan and Bhādron, and a fair on the full moon day of Maghar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera in mausa Bhish</td>
<td>1st Baisakh and 24th Sāwan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera in Jamdagan Rikhi Ursu village</td>
<td>7th Baisakh.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāshi Dera or Khalangoha Dera in Pāshi</td>
<td>On the ḍādehi and ḍādehi of Phāgan, 1st of Chet and Bhādron, and on the full moon day of Maghar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamdagan Rishi’s temple in Neri</td>
<td>12th Bhādron, 3rd Phāgan, and 1st and 3rd Baisakh.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dera in village Sisr</td>
<td>8 days from the ḍādehi of the light half of Phāgan, 1st of Chet for 2 days, 1st of Baisakh for 2 days, 1st of Bhādron for 5 days, in Sāwan, and on the full moon day of Maghar for 2 days.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu Budagan</td>
<td>5 days in the light half of Phāgan, 3 in the light part of Chet, 3 days on the 1st of Bhādron, and nohhab bir ḍātra for one day.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu Baharka</td>
<td>1st of Chet.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu Gajjan Wala, Deota Jamlu Karjan Wala</td>
<td>Phāgī in Māgh on the ḍādehi of the lunar month for 2 days, Phāgī on the full moon day of Chet, Sāwan, ḍātra from 1st to 4th of Bhādron, and in Maghar on the full moon day.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu Kasheri</td>
<td>On the ḍādehi of the light half of Phāgan for 3 days, 1st of Baisakh for 2 days, 1st of Chet for 2 days, 1st of Bhādron for 4 days, and 1st of Asanī for 2 days.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Devis in Mandi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of god</th>
<th>Site of temple</th>
<th>Date of fair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamli Kulang</td>
<td>Dera Jamlu</td>
<td>7th of Phāgan till 10th and Sāwan jātra on 1st Bhādōn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu Majachh</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>Phādki jātra, phādki and Sāwan jātra on 7th Phāgan, 1st Chet, and 1st Bhādōn, respectively.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakohri Jamlu</td>
<td>Mehr Bari</td>
<td>On the Holi in Sāwan and on the 11th of Maghar. A large gathering also takes place every third year in Sāwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu Soi Wāla</td>
<td>Pheri Narol</td>
<td>5 days in Bhādōn, phādki in Phāgan and Chet, dhara rāsī in Asanaj and pone for 2 days in Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu Tapri</td>
<td>Dera Jamlu</td>
<td>Ikvidhi and dvādāsī of the light half of Chet, 1st Friday of Bhādōn, and 1st of Bhādōn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deota Jamlu Tosa</td>
<td>Deota Jamlu</td>
<td>Tuesday of the light half of Bhādōn.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Mandi the tradition is much the same. In that State most of the deovīs are rishi, or saints of Hindu mythology, but others are named after the hills on which their temples stand. Devis, especially, control rain, like Phagni Devī in Chohār and so do Narāin and Pusakot. The two latter also dislike smoking. Tandi, Laogli and Tungas are well-known deities in Mandi Saraj. Barārta Deo, whose fair is held on Sāwan 2nd on Lindi Dhār or ridge, is effective in curing barrenness in she-buffaloes.¹

But the Devī-cults in Mandi are of a higher type than those of a mere rain-god. Śrīvidya or Rājēshwari is not only popular but ancient as the old Rājās used to worship her. Bagla-mukhī or the heron-faced Devī is affected by the parohīts of the ruling family. She wears yellow and holds a club in one hand, in the other a demon’s tongue. Like Śrīvidya, Bāla and Tāra have four arms, but their attributes are different. Kālī assumes many forms. Dichhat Brahmanes are her chief devotees, and her shrine is on the large tank at Mandi. Less orthodox devis are Shikāri or the huntress in Nachan, who dwells on a lofty hill and is fond of the blood of goats, Tunga in Sanor who is angered by evil deeds and when offended kills people by lightning, and Nawahi in whose honour a great fair is held on Baisākh 5th at Anantapur, where her temple is surrounded by many smaller ones of some antiquity.² The ruling family of Sukot has been long under the protection of Devī. Rājā Madan Sain removed his capital from Pāngua on her warning him in a dream that it was her ancient asthān and by her Gārū Sain was admonished against his disloyal, though apparently hereditary, parohīts who were ex-communicated by his successor and were not re-instated for some time.

¹ Mandi Gazetteer, pp. 40-1.
² Ib., pp. 89 and 81.
In this State Hindu women observe the *chiryna-barot* on the 3rd of the bright half of Bhadon. This fast is kept by eating no food prepared on a hearth and no plantains, 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 e-ring put in the beak of each, and then given to Brahmans, while the mud images are given to children. Pārbatī 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 Kāmpū which cannot be classified with any certainty:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Date of fair</th>
<th>Images, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mandir Bāwa Bhūpa in Pargor. The story is that the Bāwa before his death desired his heirs to burn his remains at this place. This was done and his tomb erected where the present mandir stands. There is also a dharmādha in its precincts.</td>
<td>Rājpūt</td>
<td>Jeth 1st</td>
<td>It contains images of the Bāwa carved on a stone. Worship is performed morning and evening. <em>halwa</em> being offered as bhog every morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td></td>
<td>The fair on 3rd Jeth has been held for 20 years. It is patronized mostly by the villagers.</td>
<td>It contains a tomb on which is seated a brown stone pindi of Gauri-shankar, 2 spans high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goriya Sidh’s mandir at Sidhībāī. A Rājpūt sept lived at this spot, and owing to the attacks of Bhātā of Chamba they resorted to a Goriya Gesān who lived at their gate. He bade them cast themselves into a well, and he himself followed their example, after he had covered it with a stone slab. Shortly after the curse or <em>khot</em> of the dead men tormented the villagers who began to propitiate and worship them as their family deities or <em>kātā</em> in the morning, milk or gram in the evening form the bhog.</td>
<td>Abdhūt Gesān</td>
<td>Jeth 11th</td>
<td>The stone image of the Sidh is a span high. Bread or rice in the morning, milk or gram in the evening form the bhog.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Suket Gazetteer, pp. 8, 12 and 22.
In conclusion, attention must 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 Udah Devi's temple at Bhagwára is that

<table>
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<th>Site of temple</th>
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<th>Images, etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thákur Gupteshwar's mandir in Khad Mandai in Gahra.</td>
<td>恰当</td>
<td></td>
<td>The stone image lies under a large slab of stone and is 4 fingers high.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirti to Rai Singh of Chamba who fell in battle against R. Parách Chand of Golér and Sansar Chand Katóch in S. 1860.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rice in the morning and bread in the evening is offered as bhog; soaked gram or fruit is also used in worship. It is said while the Rájá 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. Worship is performed morning and evening, but a bhog of halwa is offered only once a year, at the festival. Connected with this is the same Bawa's shrine at Nandpur at which a fair is held simultaneously.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandir Bawa Janti Dás in Mátur. Founded in Sikh times.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The temple contains a stone image of Apara, the fairy, 1¼ cubits high. By its side is a pindi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandir Apsara Kund. Hindu women most frequent this temple and offer fresh grain during Phagán, Chet, Baisákñ, Jeth and Hár. It is also frequented by people of the neighbouring towns, who often bathe in the kund or spring, which is fed by the Gupt Ganga with water from the Rau Ganga.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the mandir of Ajia Pál in Terí no fair is held. Ajia Pál was a Rájá 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 Rájá himself. The temple has existed for 400 years, but the old building was replaced by one of masonry under Sikhu Brahmán some 60 years ago. It contains a conical stone 2 spans high called Ajia Pál.

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 Udah Devi's temple at Bhagwára is that

1 The mandir of Fláh Mandár is connected with it and all offerings made by Muhammadan women bathing in the kund are taken by the Muhammadan faqirs who are the guardians of the shrine.
once it was revealed in a vision to Rájá Tej Chand that he should go to Básan, where she would appear, and worship her there if he desired to regain territory lost to the Rájá of Mandi. Before long he achieved a complete success. When the news of his defeat reached the Rájá of Mandi, he carried away the Devi’s image in a pílki, but when it reached the Kángra 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 Kángra men came and tried to carry it back, but equally in vain. So Rájá 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 chabútra. It contains a stone píndi of the goddess, the height of which is only equal to the breadth of 2 fingers.

List of unclassed deotás in Kulu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of god.</th>
<th>Site of temple.</th>
<th>Date of fair.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beradhi Bhr</td>
<td>Nandi Dera</td>
<td>Full moon in Maghar and on the Janam-aashfami.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berruthan</td>
<td>Berraithan in K. Mahárája.</td>
<td>From end of Phágan to 1st of Baisák, from end of Chet to beginning of Baisák, from end of Sawan to beginning of Bhádón.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panj Bhr</td>
<td>Dera</td>
<td>In Sawan and Baisák.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhr Náth</td>
<td>Dera Bhr Náth Vandrel in K. Pasau.</td>
<td>1st Baisák, in Bhádón, 1st Asan, during saudárás, 1st Phág, 1st Phág, and in Phág.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri</td>
<td>Dera Gauhri in Chot.</td>
<td>12th of Baisák and full moon of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhr Náth</td>
<td>Dera Bhr Náth Dachani in Doar.</td>
<td>1st of Baisák, Chet and Asan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri</td>
<td>Lakri Shiva</td>
<td>1st of Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhr Náth or Gauhri</td>
<td>Dera Gauhri in Dhar.</td>
<td>1st of Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doct Bhr Náth</td>
<td>Dera Bhr Náth.</td>
<td>6th Phágan and 3rd Baisák.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri</td>
<td>Dera Gauhri in Karain.</td>
<td>2nd of Chet and one day at the new year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri</td>
<td>Dera</td>
<td>1st of Chet and Baisák, and on the 16th of Baisák.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri</td>
<td>Dheri Bhos Jeth Bhr Shiv in Bhos.</td>
<td>1st of Chet and Baisák, and on the 16th of Baisák.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhr Náth or Gauhri</td>
<td>Gauhri Dorn in K. Mahârája.</td>
<td>1st of Chet and Baisák, and on the 16th of Baisák.</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 Nath</td>
<td>Dera Sargati Padhar in Paukan.</td>
<td>1st of Chet, 1st of Jeth, light half of Sawan, 1st of Asanj, 5th of light half of Asanj, 10th (Basehra) of the light half of Asanj, light half of Maghar, 12th of Phangan, and light half of Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri or Bhr Nath</td>
<td></td>
<td>4th of Bhadon, 1st of Baisakh, Bhadon and Asanj, and on the day of the full moon of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri or Bhr Nath</td>
<td>Hatai Dera</td>
<td>1st of Asanj and 3rd, 5th and 7th of dark half of Phangan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basheshar Nath</td>
<td>Hatai Dera</td>
<td>No fair.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmal</td>
<td>Ajmal Naraindi</td>
<td>1st to 7th Phaghan, 31st Baisakh and 1st Jeth. Every 12 years a yag from 1st to 3rd Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amal</td>
<td>Naraindi Dera</td>
<td>Seven days in the light part of Phangan, 3rd of Baisakh, 1st of Har, and in Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arjan Gophar</td>
<td>Arjan Gophar</td>
<td>From Sunday to Thursday in the dark half of Sawan and Phangan and on 1st of Magh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bania Masko</td>
<td>Lain Dera</td>
<td>1st to 3rd Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chânga Shin</td>
<td>ChÂkhan Dera</td>
<td>1st Aranj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damohal</td>
<td>Maror</td>
<td>Friday to Monday in Phangan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhobnal</td>
<td>Dera Doota Dhobal in K. Hawang.</td>
<td>11th to 20th of Phangan and on Tuesday.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhobnal</td>
<td>Dera Dhobal in K. Badagar.</td>
<td>1st Baisakh, 11th Baisakh, 28th Baisakh, 9th Jeth, on dev varai ikhâsî in Asanj or Bhadon, 5th Poh Amânas in Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durbha Sharahi</td>
<td>Pagli Dera, Dhara Dera, Gahra Dera,</td>
<td>For three days from 1st of Baisakh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rawara Dera and Mohani Dera.</td>
<td>Amânas in Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donkhru</td>
<td>Mewa</td>
<td>Shivarâtri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauhri Mahu Khat</td>
<td>Gahri Mahu Khat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagitam</td>
<td>Narain-dì Dera in K. Badagar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagti pat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagmatá</td>
<td>Dhara Dera</td>
<td>Amânas in Bhadon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamardon</td>
<td></td>
<td>In Phangan, on the 1st of Asanj and on the full moon of Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandasen</td>
<td>Dera</td>
<td>29th Chet, 8th Baisakh, 28th Baisakh and 5th Asanj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of god</td>
<td>Site of temple</td>
<td>Date of fair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawami ...</td>
<td>Kasanti Pera</td>
<td>3rd, 5th, 7th and 8th of the dark half of Baisakh, Phágan and Maghar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pith ...</td>
<td>Shikai</td>
<td>7th Baisák and 1st Asuaj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainal ...</td>
<td>Dera Narol in K. Bhalat, Narain Nabhi</td>
<td>Bhog on 11th Baisák, 9th or 11th Maghar, lek on 9th or 11th Baisák, nákri panchami in Bhádon, and par-schain on 1st Phágan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kupal ...</td>
<td>Lohal Dera in K. Khokhan</td>
<td>1st of Cheit and Baisák, on the 23rd and 24th of Baisák, and on the 1st of Sáwan and Bhádon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reali ...</td>
<td>Talrah Dera or Rurah Dera, Bhemol Deota, Gausari Dera, Chanula Dera, Pabhiari Koit, Pabhiari Koit, Pabhiari Parol, Ghat Koit, Kaniargi Dera, Kaniargi Mara, Kaniargi Koit, and Rupial Dera in Bhai Koit.</td>
<td>9th and 10th Baisák, 9th and 10th Bhádon, 11th Baisák, 11th Bhádon, dwaddi of Sáwan, 1st Phágan, 3rd to 5th Phágan, 1st of Chét, and first Sunday of Sáwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurj Resna</td>
<td>Dhara in K. Pera</td>
<td>12th Baisák and 9th Hář.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rikhi Chashbún</td>
<td>Gara Pera</td>
<td>Rakhri pujás, birthday, skdwan-fitra, after 6th and 11th days of the birthday, jánam-ashfam in Bhádon, Koshari jitra on 1st Asuaj, mahila jitra on Penu Bhikha ashfam, pachhám jitra on 1st Phágan, and bir shiv jitra on 1st Baisák.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rasha ...</td>
<td>Mahshuhi Pera</td>
<td>7th Jeth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surajpal ...</td>
<td>Dera</td>
<td>1st of Hář.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thán ...</td>
<td>Banthi Dera in K. Tárápar</td>
<td>1st of Cheit, Baisák, Sáwan, Bhádon, and Asuaj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thán ...</td>
<td>Thán</td>
<td>1st of Cheit, 7th of Baisák, and 1st of Asuaj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thán Bahraja</td>
<td>Dera Deota Thán</td>
<td>1st of Phágan, 7th Mág, and 1st Bhádon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thir Mal</td>
<td>Narlan-di Dera</td>
<td>1st to 9th Phágan and 1st to 5th Bhádon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shargan</td>
<td>Dera Doota Shargan</td>
<td>1st and 2nd or 3rd of Cheit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shubh ...</td>
<td>Narain-di Dera</td>
<td>9th of Phágan 1st of Hář, and 1st of Baisák.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawal ...</td>
<td>Dera in Varahan</td>
<td>2nd and 3rd Bhádon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. ...</td>
<td>Rawal in Uvh</td>
<td>9th and 10th Baisák.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nauni is a jogni, a malignant demon, who is worshipped at Khopri in Tarapur kothi and at Kashanti, a village above Karaun. No other deota is worshipped there. She has no image.

Gramang deota at Rujag in Churupa has two temples (dehru), the smaller up the hill-side, the larger lower down. In the light halves of Sawan and Maghar he visits the village for a day, and pays it a longer visit of three days in the light half of Phagan, spending an hour or two in the upper temple and the rest of the time in the lower. He is one of the lesser Narains and though regarded as Parmeshar he is not asked for rain, as that is demanded of Phungni devi — in Tiun and Mangar. Gramang Narain came from Dariain in Mangar kothi, where he has a dehru. In Gramang, a village in Balh phati, Narain has two dehrus and a bhandar in which a chhowdi or umbrella is kept, but no pindi or image. No oaths are taken on him, and his pujari etc. are all Kanets. The villagers go to Rujag for the fair in Phagan and the utsahs, held in Sawan and Maghar, which are lesser fêtes. Related to this Narain are Kadrusi Narain in Tarapur, Phalani in Dughi lag and Hurang Narain in Tandari. Hurang Narain came from Hurang near Sil Baddwani in Mandi, but the Kulu gods have now no relations in Mandi, though, it is noted, the Kulu people intermarry with those of Mandi. From this part of the valley hail fell when the deotas all went to the Dasehra at Sultanpur, so now only Hurangn of Tandari, Ghilru Thani of Bhuthi in Tarapur and Bhagya Sid of Dughi Lag go to it.

Kudraisi Narain has a temple at Bhuthi in phati Bhaliani on a soh called Dochig where the real bends to descend to a bridge. He has a jach, e.g. in Baisakh obiti or light half, at the same times and places as Ghilru Thani, though he is a great deota, ranking above Gramang Narain. Ropri may however be regarded as his head village and he has three places there, a dehru, a mark and a bhandar. He also has a temple at Chathani, a hamlet in phati Bhaliani — and one in phati Bhamtir, where he is worshipped with Shela Dev. In other villages too he is worshipped but not alone, Gauri Dev and Gramang Narain being also worshipped. Deo Gabri ranks below him and his pujari etc. are all Kanets. He has a temple at Sultanpur and another, with a bhandar at Brahman village, which contains a ch’al or canopy and a white stone but no murat.

In Kulu Deo Amal has nine small temples in all, the chief being at Jugogi hamlet.

Another godling Dani, also called Rachhpali, is worshipped for increase of the flocks and for prosperity in general, a sheep or goat being

1 Ghilru means goitre and thdn a place where the earth split and a pindi emerged. Ghilru Thani as a deota has however no apparent connection with goitre, though the water of the Sarwari is supposed to cause that disease. Though his temple is at Bhuthi his bhandar is at Nanadi and there his pujari and gur live, while his kardar is at Kashier. He has no big fair but utsahs on 1st Baisakh, Chet and Sawan, with dancing as well as one at the new moon in Chet when the new samvat year begins. No villages but Bhuthi, Naraini, Kashier and Bhaliane worship Ghilru Thani. A thdn can be made by placing a stone under a bhedki bush, and then sacrifices are made at it for good harvests.

2 The mark is a place where lights are placed and food cooked on one day in the year.
Feudatory gods in Kulu.

offered to him. But he is not avoided (?) in any way. A puñāri worships him on the sacrificer’s behalf.

In Kulu Gash deota takes the place of Kashgi in the Simla Hills. His cult is peculiar to Brahmans 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 eat some of his leavings (jāṭha). 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-bateri, Thumbardevi, Suthankal, Karani, Nanhda, Tharapere of Shamshi, 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 nihāsa or gāl.

To avert such a curse, the transgressor must placate the man he has injured by the chhidra rite, which is thus performed:—

A piece of kusha grass or sarphara 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 chela of the local deota asks them to take oath that if so-and-so have injured such a one, ‘it is his chhidra,’ and he hereby begs his pardon: after this the Nar or chela cuts the grass in the middle, a goat or sheep is sacrificed, and the villagers and relations are entertained. Sometimes some barley corns are also thrown over the grass before it is cut.

precedence.—The principal temple of a Thakur is that of Raghunath, near the Itāi’s palace at Sultānpur. All the other thakurs are dependent on him and have to make him certain offerings. Originally their jugirs and muñís were a part of his muñís and he allotted them as grants in return for presents.

All the gods have to wait on Raghunath at Dhalpur at the Dasehra. They have also to visit their place of origin (phalgis) in Phāgan. 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 kothis in which the villages lie 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 necessaries.

Subordinate gods.—The following are the subordinates of each god in Kulu, namely, Kokal, Chrugru, Thomhar, Dohangnu, Makal, Mahti, Sarmkaul. They are called his bāhau. At each festival or feast these are given a sheep and a pinda.

A superior has the following subordinate deotas:—

(1) Jagru, (2) Dani, (3) Dohangnu, (4) Phangi etc.

These appear to be called, collectively, bāhau, minor godlings or second-class deotas.¹

¹ Dinak, Kuluhi Dialect, p. 50.
At the festivals held in the temples and at a wedding or a jag these servient deotis are given a bhedu or bakra (a sheep or goat).

The thákurs 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 bhuvānā or kothī. These are picturesque structures in no way differing from ordinary dwelling-houses except that the deotis' 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 thákurs'bhās and shivalās. Stone structures, called shail, for the most part, they generally have only one storey. In the shail is kept the image of the thákur, 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 dehri, dehra, and mark: but the god only comes to live in them at fairs and festivals.¹

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 chela to play on.

In Himri kothī the house in which the image is kept is generally one-storied,² while the buildings attached to it have from 2 to 4 storeys.³

In Chamba little 'chapels of ease' exist. They are called pāduka or foot-print pillars and consist of a pile of stones covered by a flat slab, on which is carved a trident (trīśūl), 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.³ No trace of such pādukas seems to exist in Kulu.

Position of images.—An image of Sri Rámchandar or Raghunáth should be placed on the right hand, and that of Jánki or Sita on the left of Krishna's. An image of Rádhika 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 servient one to his left hand according to their spiritual positions.

In a thákurs'bhās it is necessary to have an image of Garúra placed near that of the latter: in a shivala the presence of a bull is necessary as Shiv's vehicle: where there is an image of Rámchandar there must be one of Hanúman: and in a devi-dwīla the presence of a lion is essential, because they are considered to be the attendants of that god or of the goddess.

¹ Other houses attached to every temple are the Chhişt Devī, Mārā Cinglāndi and Kothī Mandhar.
² In the temples of Ĥarij, where the number of stores and rooms varies from 1 to 7, the image is by preference kept in the north-eastern room.
³ Chapter Gazetteer, pp. 48-9.
The *pujjaris* are generally Brahmans, but may be Kanets, Kumbhars or goldsmiths by caste. All the offerings are placed in the god's store-house; the *pujjaris* do not get any share in them as a rupee. But Brahman or Bhojki *pujjaris* often get a share out of the offerings, besides holding the revenue-free lands assigned in *mutra* 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 *kârdâr* (manager). The bhog presented to the image is taken by the *pujjaris*, tenants and other office-holders. All offerings are voluntary. The *kârdâr* 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 pûja. A jar full of water is placed in the *deota's* compound and a *maudap* (a place for him to sit) is prepared, and the *naugraha* (nine *deotas*) worshipped. A stick of the *rakhâl* tree 1½ *kâthi* long is set up by the *deota's* *thân* (resting place). This is followed by *shânti-havan* and the sacrifice of a sheep to the *naugraha*. A large fire (*jagra*) 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 *thân* (place), and it is then taken out by the people who accompanied the *deota's* *rath*. 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 *shânti-havan* is performed and the *parshat* is given *dakhshna* amounting to annas 8 or Re. 1. This part of the ceremony is called *shând* or *sutarbandh*.

Early next morning a Dâgi (called the *jathâlâli*), with an empty *kila* (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 *satnâjâ* (7 kinds of grain), wool and nails are put in the *kâla* which the *jathâlâli* 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 auspiciousness of the number 20. Sometimes a *jantar* is made so that the figures in each line, whether added perpendicularly or lengthways, make 20. This is called the *bia* *jantar* and as the proverb goes:—

*Jis ke ghar ho jantar bina,
Us ke ghar men part bhare jat dina;*

but few know this *jantar* and it is very difficult to make it complete (*sthâ karma*). It is worshipped for the first time during an eclipse or on some other auspicious day with *mantras*, and when *sthâ* or complete it is carefully preserved in the house and worshipped at every festival.
a crab, brought with them, are killed and the jathidli throws the kul'ta
into the water: this finishes the ceremony and the party returns to the
doota's sob, where the parohni is given annas 8 or 4 at least as dakshina.
The villagers entertain each other, sur or lugri being drunk.

As in the Sinla Hills, the gharasni, which consists in killing a goat
and worshipping the family priest at home, is observed in Outer Saraj.
But in Kulu the ghara'sni 1 jag is unknown and another ceremony, the
sutarbandh, takes its place: the parohni 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 rakhát, '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 parohni gets from annas 4 to 8 as dakshina
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 kelu tree are pitched in the form of a square
tied at their tops with a piece of cloth, this is called kahi.2 Beneath
it the parohni performs the shanti-hawan, and a man selected from the
Nar caste performs the chhida4 shanti ceremony with a wooden drum.
The Nar together with his wife and an unmarried girl of that caste and
the doota's sorcerers dance before the doota: a turban and some cash
by way of dakshina are given to the Nar and a dopatta to the Nar
girl. The fair lasts all day, people offering pice, fruit and flowers to
the doota and joining with the Nar in the performance of the chhida.
In the evening the doota's chela shoots the Nar with an arrow in the
breast, making him insensible and a rupee is put in his mouth. He is
taken into the kahika with two yards of cloth on his body as a shroud,
and the chelais by reading mantras and burning dháp (incense) restore
him to his senses. This jag is celebrated during the shukla paksh (full
moon days) of Jeth at Shirraj in Ko'thi Raisan, every second year in
memory of Káli Nág doota. The other dootás can only afford to per-
form this jag at considerable intervals.

When rain is wanted a feast is given either by the samindiúrs
themselves or by the local doota. In the latter case the cost is met from
the doota's treasury, in the former from subscriptions raised by the
samindiúrs themselves. The feast is called paret pujan, phungni or jogni.
A lamb is sacrificed on a hill, jogni doota is worshipped, and a flat
stone adorned with flour, pings of dung, and the heart of the lamb be-
ing offered to the jogni. Formerly the Rájà used to pay for such feasts,
but now local deities or the samindiúrs do so.

The phungni 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 ping (ball) of flour
are placed on top of it. When a new animal is brought home branches

1 Fr. ghar mani.
2 In Kulu called kai I think, or khat, Sansk. khat, expiation.
3 We shall come across the chhida later.
of the bhekhal after being touched by the animal are buried beneath a large stone. Great precautions are taken in bringing grain home during the bhadra nakshatra. 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 Somvriti amavas in Bhadon, in addition to the goat sacrifice and a hawan 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 jagnu jay is performed when on account of illness offerings have to be made to the deota. 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 chhidra or chhuna kholu 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 Brahmu bhoj. Or both parties contribute one goat each and some flour to the local god's temple, loaves are prepared and given to those present. This is called, chhuna kholna or reconciliation.'

In Himri kothi both parties go to the temple of the village god and worship the earth there : the god is offered Ps. 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 jogaun lives there, he abandons it as inauspicious. He will also show some earth from inside it to the deota'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 gifting the land etc. to the god.

If the gur or sorcerer of a deota declares a thing to be needed by any demon or god, it is abandoned in his name or stored in the local god's bhandar (treasury).

First fruits. The usages regarding first-fruits are variously described. Speaking generally, food is given to Brahmans, sudhus 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 Brahmans etc. are also fed. Then the neighbours and relations invited for the occasion are fed, and the guests say ago bhdi do, 'give in future too'; and the spirit in reply says ago bhdi khao, 'eat in future too'. On this occasion sometimes goats are also killed, while Kanets and other Sudras drink lugri and sur.
The chala of a deota 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 (salhor)\(^1\) 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 giári.

Equally various are the beliefs regarding cracks in the soil and other omens. The bejiundri is called waliyati, and an ol or khol is called kháman 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 Sarmáj, where a crack is called hasindri, 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 kothi (Outer Sarmáj) a crack which suddenly appears in a field is called halui.

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.\(^3\) If one stalk brings forth two ears it is a good omen\(^4\) as is also a bird building its nest in a field out of ears taken from it. But if it builds its nest elsewhere than in the field from which it took the ears the omen is unfavourable.

In Kulu if a snake (sianlu) 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 páth 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 superiors 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 Chambhú deota in Randal two fairs are annually held on the 7th Baisákh and on a date fixed by the people in Maghar. At these all visitors are fed free. The story is that all the Ráná, save one of Somibadgani, were killed by this god, who then took up his abode in the dense forest at Randal. Here he manifested himself

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1 Salhar: on 1st (Śijá) of Jeth, Diack, p. 87. The offerings to the deota are essential, feeding Brahmins being optional. At the harvest-home in Kulu no ceremony is performed.

2 Or bejundri batdi, 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.

4 But it is also said :—

Two cobs sprouting out of one ear, the falling of a heap of grain on the khirmángáh 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 pindi in the forest. One day the Brahman saw this and inferred that the pindi was possessed of miraculous powers, so he told his Rána, 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 pindi, 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 kârdâr, by got a Gautam. The pujaři is also a Brahman, by got a Gautam also. Neither is celibate and succession is governed by natural relationship. The gur receives special reverence, but the rites are performed by the pujaři. Bhog of rice, milk, ghī etc. is offered daily, and the sacred lamp is lit morning and evening at the times 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 Chambhú at Kasholt two fairs are held, one on Ist Jeth and the other on the chaudás in Maghar. To both other gods are invited and fed free. The story is that Chambú had three brothers, all bearing the same name. One night the Rána 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 Ambiká Devī 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 jāman 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 kârdâr, by got a Bhárgú. The pujaři is a Brahman, got Bhárdawáj. 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 charan is not known. A bhog of ghī, 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 Dakhnashúri in Nirmand an annual fair is held on the satni in Bhádon. 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 3 feet high. Its affairs are managed by a Brahman kârdâr who is generally appointed by a committee of the god's votaries. He is by caste a Bhát, got Káshab. The pujaři 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 Nir and see C. v. o. Inscriptions in Indic. Aaw.
At the mandir of the Chaurási Sidh at Pekhri 1 fairs are held on 3rd Phágán and 3rd Baisákhi every year. Once a shepherd grazed as thákur'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 thákur, 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 Chaurási 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 kárdr, by caste a Kanet, got Káshab. The pujiári is also a Kanet. They are married and are always of this caste. Bhog of ghí &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 Jalándí's annual fairs are held on 1st Sáwan and at the Diwáli in Maghar. The tradition is that once a thákur, named P'airam, daily went to bathe in a pool called Mansarowar. One day the god manifested himself and the thákur 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 (Kharshú 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 kárdr who is also its pujiári. By caste he is a Nolu 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 Kandu Shailtor, Barámgarh, Bag Deora and Saráhan.

Mandir Khudijal in Deokri.—The tradition is that in former times a thákur, named Thulá, had a cow called Káli who used to yield her milk to a black stone pindi in Khudi 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 Jamdaggan 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 worshipping it and eventually a temple was built on this spot. The date of its foundation is not known. It contains a black stone pindi, 2 feet high. Its administration is carried on by a Kanet kárdr. The pujiári is a Brahman, by got a Bhar dhwáj. 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 parvanmásí in Sáwan or Bhádon the fair is in full swing. The place is also enlivened by visitors at the Diwáli. Small fairs such as shánd or thárasú are held on 1st and 16th Phágán, 9th Baisákhi and 20th Hár.

1 In Uchandi kothi.
Some fairs in Saraj.

Deota Chambhú 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 pujaři is always recruited from the Brahmans. He is not celibate either. The gur is held in greater respect than either the kárdár or pujaři. The use of chháras 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 Baisakh, 12th Bhádou, and on 2nd, and 3rd Assauj. Illustrations are also displayed on the Diwáli in Maghar.

Pubhári, 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 Baisakh, 12th Sáwan, on the Diwáli in Maghar, and on the 1st of Phágán; at Dim on 20th Sáwan; at Jalauri on 15th Sáwan and 3rd Kátak; at Kanár on 3rd Phágán; and on 18th Baisák at Sariwalsar. The story is that a man of Kota Thirshu chanced to find a metal mask which bade 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 pujaři, all Karaunks. 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 Jaum.

Konerí deota has a temple in Kuinri. His main fair is held annually at the Diwáli in Maghar, and it is followed by small fairs called chánd and thirshu, on 1st and 16th Phágán, 9th and 20th Hár. The story is that Karm Deo, a Brahman of the village, used to bathe daily in a spring. One day he found a black stone or pindí in the water which said it was Bías rishí and had come from Kuinri. 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 pindí, 2½ feet high. Its administration is carried on by a Kanet kárdár. The pujaři is always recruited from the Brahmans. His got is Bhárhdhwág. 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. Brir, but a he-goat is sacrificed at the šangkránt of Assauj 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 perchance it 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 bīrs (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 1 foot high. Its administration is carried on by a Kanet kārdār, by got a Kāshab. The pujārī is a Brahman, by caste a Gaur and by got Sārsut. He is not celibate. Special reverence is paid to the gur. Bhog is offered on the first of every month and particularly on the shankrānts of Phāgan and Asauj, 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 Kothi Shānggarh. Three fairs are held annually, one on the 3rd Hār at Camardwārā, another on the 1st Asauj at Nagari, and the 3rd on 8th Phāgan at Batāhr. The story goes that a cow used to yield her milk to a stone pindī hidden under ground. A Brahman observed this and dug up the place. The pindī 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 pindī, a foot high. Mohras of gold and silver are also kept in the temple. Its administration is carried on by a kārdār who is also pujārī and gur. His caste is Gaur and got Sārsut. 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 Batāhr, Jiladhura, Dharadeora, Nagari and Lapa.

Deota Sandeo has 3 temples at which annual fairs are held on the last day of Sāwan, and on the 2nd and 8th of Phāgan. On these occasions a hawrī or sacrificial fire is lighted, and the rite is repeated on the 2nd Baisākh every year. It is said that three gods sprang from a hailstone. Two of them carved out principalities in Nohanda, while the third took up his abode in Shrikot which had already been occupied by the god Mārkanda, so the latter left the place and went to Mauglaur. 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 kārdār. The gur and pujārī are also Kanets. They are not celibate. Special reverence is paid only to the gur. A bhog of rice, ghī, 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 Narāin, 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.
Cults in the Simla Hills.

To complete the political analogy the godlings often have their wazirs 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 Tīkās of Junga. At its head stands Junga's new cult. Junga, it should be observed, is not the family god of the Rājā of Keonthal. That function is fulfilled by the Devī Tāra.¹

THE CULT OF JUNGA.²

Legend.—The Rājā of Koṭlehr had two sons, who dwelt in Nādaun. 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 Koṭi State. Next morning the Mīán, 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 deota, 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 kemú 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 deota who required a temple to live in. Then the people began to worship the image and appointed a chela 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 Nādaun prince they joined the party. The god ordered temples to be built at Nain, Bojārī, Thond, and Koṭi in succession, and indeed in every village he visited, until he reached Nādaun, where the Rājā, his brother, refused to allow any temple to be built, as he already had a family god of his own named Jipūr. Junga, the new god, said he would settle matters with Jipūr, and while the discussion was going on, he destroyed Jipūr's temple and all its images by lightning, whereupon the Rājā made Junga his own deity and placed him in a house in his darbār.

Jipūr 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 Jipūr, 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 Tuluvas on the West Coast, very far to the South, is worthy of comparison by the student. See Devil Worship of the Tuluvas, 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 Rájá, on which occasion a *jágra* is performed. On other occasions the images made subsequently are alone worshipped in this temple. The ritual is that observed in a *shwila*, and no sacrifice is offered. There are 22 *tikás* 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 dues of Junga’s temple are paid. Thus Junga is regarded as the real god and the others his children.

The Twenty-Two *Tikás* 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.* Kotí, Theog, Madhán, Gúnd and Ratesh. Excluding these States, it comprises six detached tracts, which are divided into eighteen *parganas*, thus:—


III.—Pargana Ráwin, and

IV.—Pargana Púnnar, together forming Ráwin tahsil.

V.—Pargana Rámpur, and

VI.—Pargana Wákñá, both in Jungá tahsil.

The three *tahsíl* s are modern Revenue divisions, but the 22 *parganas* are ancient and correspond in number to the 22 *tikás*, which are described below. It does not appear, however, that each *pargana* has its *tika*, and the number may be a mere coincidence. The fondness for the Nos. 12, 22, 32, 42, 52 etc. in the Punjab, and indeed, through out India, is well known, and goes back at least to Buddhist times.

The following are the 22 *Tikás* of Jungá:

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<th>1</th>
<th>Kalaur</th>
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<th>Kulthi</th>
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<td>Manúni</td>
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<td>Dhánún</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Kaneti</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Dúm</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Deo Chand.</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Shaneti</td>
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<td>Mahánpha.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Chadei.</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Shanei and Jáu.</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Dhúru.</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Kávali Deo</td>
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(1) The Cult of Kalaur.

Legend.—A Brahman once fled from Kulu and settled in Dawan, a village in pargana Ratesh. There he incurred the enmity of a Kanet woman, who put poison in his food. The Brahman detected the poison, but went to a spot called Bangpani, 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 murderers. His body disappeared. In the Garhali-Dhur plain was a bakhal plant. One day a Brahman of Garawag 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 pujari. 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, Dhefi and Chandi, were famed for their courage and strength, and so they were sent to Lawi and Paliw, two villages in Sirmur State, disguised as faqirs, and thence they stole an aik-bhajavali, ‘eight-handed’, image of Devi, which they brought to Dhawar in Ratesh. The people met them with music and made offerings to the stolen image, which they took to Walan and there built a temple for it, ceasing to worship Kalaur. The plague also ceased. The people of one village Charej, however, still affect Kalaur.

Manuni is Mahadeo, and is so called because his first temple was on the hill of Manuni.

Legend.—A Brahman of Parali, in the Jamrot pargana of the Patiala hill territory, a pujari of Devi Dhur, and others, went to buy salt in Mandi, and on their way back halted for the night in Mahuni Nag’s temple at Mahun in the Suket State. The Brahman and the pujari with some of the company, who were of good caste, slept in the temple, the rest sleeping outside. The pujari was a chela of the god Dharto, at that time a famous deota, revered throughout the northern part of the Keonthal State. On starting in the morning, a swarm of bees settled on the baggage of the Brahman and the pujari, and could not be driven off. When the party reached Munda, where the temple of Hanumán now stands, the swarm left the baggage and settled on a tree. Here, too, the pujari 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 pujari would not recover. Meanwhile the pujari 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 pujari then led the people to Munda, where the bees had settled.
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 pujaří 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 Patíšála territory, and to Bhajji State, and temples were erected there. The Brahmans of Paráli were appointed Bhojús and the pujařís of Kotí Dhár pujařís 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 threw 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. Beside 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 pujaří of Manúnì 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 pujaří 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 Manúnì, whose wazír he has become.

(3) The Cult of Kaneti.

Legend.—After the war of the Mahábhárta, when the Pándavaś 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 Kwára on the borders of Garhwál and Bashály, and there are around this temple five villages, which are still known after the Pándavaś. Dodra and Kwára are two of these. The people of the former wanted to have a temple of their own, but those of Kwára objected and so enmity arose between them. The Dodra people then stole an image from the Kwára 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, Kolás and Túris, left Dodra and reached Dagon, in Keonthal State, where was the temple of Jípur, the god of the Rája'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. Aíchá, Brahman, was then wazír of Keonthal, and he made a vow that if his progeny increased, he would cease to worship Jípur and affect Kaneti. His descendants soon numbered 1500 houses. Similarly, the Bhaler tribe made a vow to Kaneti, that if their repute for courage increased, they would desert Jípur.
The feudalatories of Junga.

(4) The Cult of Deo Chand.

Legend.—Deo Chand, the ancestor of the Khanogo sect of the Kanets, was wazir 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 pujâris refused him, although they accepted his first invitation, and asked him to fix another day. Deo Chand could not do this or induce the pujâris 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 Shaneti.

There are two groups of Kanets, the Painoi or Painúi and the Shainti. Owing to some dispute with the pujâris, the Shaintis made a separate god for themselves and called him Shaneti.

(6) The Cult of Mahántha.

The Chibhar Kanets of Jatil pargana borrowed an image of Junga and established a separate temple.

(7) The Cult of Tiru.

Legend.—Tiru is the god of the Jâtik people, who are a sept of the Brahmans. A Tiru Brahman went to petition the Râjâ 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 Tiru, and he is now worshipped as the jathera of the Jâtiks.

(8) The Cult of Khateshwar.

The Brahmans of Bhakar borrowed an image of Junga and built a separate temple for it at a place called Koti, whence the god's name.

(9) The Cult of Chadri.

The Nawáwan sept of the Kanets brought this god from pargana Ratesh, and built his temple at Charol, whence the god's name.

(10) The Cult of Shaneti and ján.

Junga on his birth made a tour through the Keonthal territory, and having visited Shaint and Jáa villages, ordered temples to be built in each of them. Shaneti is subordinate to Junga, and Jáu to Shaneti. Both these temples are in the village of Koti.

(11) The Cult of Dhúru.

A very ancient god of the Jai pargana of Keonthal. All the zamindârs who affected Dhúru died childless. The temple is financed by the Râjâs and the god is subordinate to Junga.

(12) The Cult of Kûlthî.

The Chibhar sept of the Kanets affect this god. His temple is at a place called Kawâlath.
The cult of Dhanán.

Legend.—The image of this god came, borne on the wind, from Nádaun, after Junga's arrival in the country. It first alighted on Jhako 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 cowherdess 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 Dhanán (from dhdnd, rice), and the smaller is deemed the wazt and is called wavo (meaning 'tyrant' in the Pahari 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 Bharo bo sept, 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 skádsis of Hár and Khútik sutí. The Brahman's descendants are still pujáris of the temple and parohís of the village, and they held Bhiyár free of revenue until Rájá Chandar Sain resumed the grant. They now hold Sigar in lieu of service to the god.

The cult of Dúm.

Dúm has a temple in Katián, a village of Phágū tahsil, and goes on tour every five or ten years though Keonthal, Kothár, Mahlog, Bashahr. Kot Khái, Jubbal, Khanár, Bághal, Kotí and other States. In Sambat 1150 he visited Delhi, then under the rule of the Tunwars, 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) Ráitá.

This god has a temple in pargana Parálí.

(16) Chamaná.

He is the deity of the Doli Brahmans.

(17) Gaun.

The image is that of Jungá, who was established by the Rawal people.

(18) Biju.

Biju 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 Đum.

(Regarding Nos. (19) Kûshêlî Deo, (20) Bîl Deo, (21) Rawâl Deo and (22) Kawâtî Deo, no particulars are available.)

The deotâs 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 Nâgs, another of Đums and a third called Marechh, besides the more orthodox families of Keôth Íshwar and the Devis.

THE CULT OF THE ĐUMS.

One of the most remarkable cults of the Simla Hills is that of Đum, who appears also as one of the twenty-two tikas of Keônthal. 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 Kumbhârsain. Zavnindârs offer him ghî every time they clarify butter, otherwise he would prevent their cows yielding milk. Every three years the accumulated ghî is spent on the god’s entertainment. He is closely allied with pâp or newâ, and one account thus describes his origin:—Khalnidh, an aged Kanet, went to worship Hâtkoti devî, 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 pâp or khot began to vex the people of this iîâdâ, so they were propitiated by worship; and one of them stayed in the State while the other took up his abode at Kuthân in Keônthal.

The deota Đum or Nagarkotia, as he is also called, of Katiân (properly Gathân), a village in the Shilli pargana of the Phâgu tahsil of Keônthal, is the brother of Đum deota of Sharmaî,1 which is his capital, lying in the Kumbhârsain State. The latter’s history is as follows:

An old Kanet, named Shura, living in Hemri village (now in pargana Châgân in Kumbhârsain), had no son. His wife, Pârgî, was also old and she asked her husband to marry a second wife in order to get a son, but Shura refused on account of his advanced age. His wife induced him to go to the goddess Hâtkoti Durga and implore her aid, threatening to fast even unto death unless she promised him a son. Shura reached Hâtkoti in seven days (though it was only a two days’ journey) and for seven days sat before Durga Devî fasting. The goddess was so pleased at his devotion that she appeared before him with all her attributes (the saukh, chakkar, gulda, padam and other weapons in her right hands) 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 Kapri. While quite young the orphans showed signs of superhuman power. Their sister too soon died

1 Sharmaî lies in pargana Shil of Kumbhârsain and Đum is worshipped by all the people of pargana Ubedesh and by some of pargana Shil.

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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 Darkoti, 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 Dehli, 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 (chera) full of coins which they could not lift, and they were about to depart when two deotás, Mahású and Shrígul, who were prisoners at Dehli, 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 deotás’ release, and their request was granted. The deotás 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 deotás told the brothers to mount their aerial steeds, look towards the Kailás 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 Binu, a place near Gathán village. The gods went to their dominions and the vessel full of coin was buried at Binu, where it turned into water, which was made into the baoli now on the boundary of Kumbársain and Keonthal. The aerial steeds disappeared on Mount Kailás after leaving the young Dúms at Binu. Binu then belonged to the Thákurs of Rajána, and the Dúm brothers made themselves very troublesome, breaking with their arrows the ghárdás 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 páp, 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 deotás Mahású and Shrígul were captives kept at Dehli for being devil oppressors in the hills.

2 See the note in the account of Gâga.

3 The descendants of Kon settled in Keonthal State and are called Kathán.
Dûm's legend.

Deota was also called Nagarkotia deota of Sharmalla. One image was brought to Sharmalla, where Dûm was established, while the image of Kon was taken to Gathân 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 deotâs to their houses, but the Sharmalla people refused to send them to Gathân, and so the people of the latter place stole one of the deotâs and established him there. Dûm of Sharmalla is worshipped daily by Brahmans, but his gur (the man into whom the spirit comes and through whom it speaks) is always a Kanet. The deota has his kârdârs, the chief among them being the bhandâri in charge of the stores. The Sharmalla women call him by the pet name of Nân, but other people call him Dûm. His annual mela is held on the Bishu day in Baisakh, but his jâtra is held every 7th or 8th year. When a new Ránâ ascends the gaddâ a rajâvi mela is held and the deota tours in the villages of his devotees. The Shânt mela is held every 50 years. The deotâ's followers are found mostly in Ubdeh pargana, but he is also worshipped in several other scattered villages in Bashahr, Khaneti, Theog and Shill. He used to have a mela at Shamokhâr.

Some say that the deotâs Magneshwar, Koṭ Ishwar and Dûm 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 chershî of Rs. 30 to Maûnûn or Magneshwar every third year. The deota helped Kumhârsain to gain its victory over Koonthal, and when besought by a Ránâ of Jubbal blessed him with a son for which the Rânâ presented him with a gold image. Dûm's original image is of brass, but a few smaller images have been added as its companions. The Thûkur of Rajâna was also blessed with a son at an advanced age, and he presented Dûm with a silver chain worth Rs. 140. The deota is rich, having silver instruments (marisinga and karudîl) of music, while a necklace of gold mohars and gold ornaments always adorn him. He is not dhudadhari, 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 Dûm of Gathân has a much larger one. The Dûm of Sharmalla had seven khâns (descendants of mawis or mawunnas) who recognised his authority. These are—Baghalu and Charogu in Khaneti, Aţnet and Relu in Bashahr, Dogre and Rachla in Kumhârsain and Dharongu in Balân. The Charogu, Relu and Dharogu valleys were seized by Dûm of Gathân and added to his dominions.

The following is another account of this strange quarrel:—The worshippers of Maûni deota, whose real name is Magneshwar Mahâdev and whose temple is in Maûni, a village in Shil, are

1 Cheshti is a fine levied thus:—The god every third year visits the villages from which the fine is due. This fine comprises a goat, Re. 1-4-0, and as much grain as will suffice for the worshippers who accompany the god.

2 Khâns also appears to mean a tract of country. The Khâns Kanets are in Bashahr distinguished from the Ghâra Kanets. They are sometimes called Nûr or Nirô, and certain religious ceremonies, such as the khanda and shâs, are only performed in villages where there are Khâns Kanets.—Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bashahr, p. 31.
confined to that *pargana*. Nearly 70 years ago the worshippers of both the gods, Mauni and Dûm, used to assemble with their gods at a fair held at Shamokhar, an open space on the borders of the Ubedesh and Shil *pargana*. About 65 years ago, in the time of Rânâ Pritam Singh, of Kumbârsain, the worshippers of Dûm 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 Rânâ, who in Sambat 1907 decided that if Mauni *deota* was not allowed to be brought into Shamokhar, the inhabitants of Dakûn, Rabog and Jadûn (the worshippers of Dûm) should pay a fine called *chershi* to Mauni *deota*.

**Koṭeshar deota** (also called the *deota Koṭi*), the State god who has a temple in Madhôli village, was offended by the above decision, so he prohibited both the gods from coming to Shamokhar. As he was the State god, the Rânâ was bound to obey his orders, so both the *deotâs* were prevented from coming. When the worshippers of Mauni found that the decision went against them, they solicited the aid of a favourite *khawâs* of the Rânâ who was a daughter of Utenun, a Kanet of the Moroshla family and a worshipper of Mauni. Through her persuasion the Rânâ 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 *chershi* continued to be paid as usual to Mauni *deota*. During the chief’s minority payment of the *chershi* 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 *chershi* should be paid to them; but no decision was given, and the dispute was not settled. Subsequently the *chershi* 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 *chershi* to Mauni.

The *deota* Dûm of Hemri has the same history as the Dûm of Sharmalla. Shura and Pârgi lived at Hemri, and it is said that when the Dûm brothers were killed their images were brought to Hemri and thence taken to Sharmalla and Gathân. Some say that the Dûm brothers were killed by *mânis* even before the Thâkurs of Rajâna ruled the country. There is an image of Dûm at Hemri temple where the people of Hemri, Kathrol and Guma worship him. This *deota*, when necessary, goes to Kânga on a pilgrimage (*jâtrâ*). A *mela* is held at Hemri on the Shârâno (Salono) day in Bhâód. The Balti *mela* is held every third year. A Brahman is his *pujâri*, but he is generally worshipped by the Kolâs and Lohârs of Hemri.

Dûm of Karel is worshipped at a temple in that village. He too is also an offshoot of the Dûm brothers. People say that Dûm first went from Hemri to Gathân, whence an image of him was brought to Karel, although Hemri and Karel are close together. The Karel people worship Dûm in Gathân, 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 Bhûnda *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 dhi-dhíaus and sons-in-law and
their children. The Bharech Brahman does púja in the morning only.

Bhát deota also resides with Dúm in the Karel temple. Originally
a Sársut Brahman living at Mateog, a village just above Kumhársain
itself. Bhát was prosecuted by a Ráná of Kumhársain and ordered to be
arrested, but ne fled to the Kulu side pursued by the Karel sepy who
had been sent to seize him. He was caught on the bank of the Sutlej,
but asked the sepy to allow him to bathe in the river before being
taken back to Kumhársain, and then drowned himself. He became a
demon and haunted the sepy in his sleep until the latter made an image
in his name and began to worship him at Karel. The other people of
Karel out of respect for the image placed it in the temple besides that
of Dúm.

The people of Jhangroli in Chagaon pargana also brought an image
of Dúm from Gathán and made him a temple. He is worshipped with
dhúp dip every 5th day, but has no daily púja. The people hold Gathán
Dúm to be their family deota, but the temple is maintained in the
village as a mark of respect.

Though the Dúm deotás have their chief temples at Gathán and
Sharmalla, there are a number of Dúms with temples in Saráj, as already
noted. Dúm also came in Shadhoch and there are four temples to Dúm
in the following villages of pargana Chebishi :

(1) Dúm of Pharal.—It is not known when this Dúm was
brought from Sharmalla. A man of this pargana lived in Saráj, whence he brought an image and placed it in a
temple at Pharal with the express permission of Malendu
deota, who is the family deota of the Chebishi people.
This Dúm 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 ghi produced from the first
few days' milk is given to him as dhúp. No khin is per-
formed for him, but Kanets give him dhúp dip daily. He
has no bhor.

(2) Dúm of Kotla.—Kotla has always been held in jágir by
the Kauwars or Miáns of Kumhársain, and the Dúm
temple there was founded by one of them.

(3) Dúm of Kupri.—The people of Kupri village say that more
than 700 years ago they came from Rewag, a village in
Ubdesh pargana in Saráj and settled at Kupri in the
Chebishi pargana of Shadoch. Their ancestors brought
with them Dúm, their family deota's image, and placed
it in a temple. A field at Kupri 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 Dúm in the Kupri temple and a small
pátri (bed) where it is believed a Bhagwati lives with him.
The Kanets are his pujáris and also his gurs. A Khin.
mela is held every three or four years at night and goats
are sacrificed.
The gods Marechh.

(4) Dùm of Parojusha.—Nearly 200 years ago, Káji, a Shadhoch man who had lived in Saráj, returned to his village and brought with him an image of Dùm, which he presented to his fellow-villagers at Besheľa, 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 sádhu whose spirit would not allow the people to live at ease in their village, so they all left it and settled in Parojusha. A Bhagwati is believed to live with him in the temple. The Kanets worship him but their family god is Malendu. He has no bhor.

The Family of Marechh.

The Marechh family is represented by seven members.\(^1\) The deota called Dithu or Marechh has his temple at Dholaser, close to Kumhárśain itself. The story goes that he came from the Mansarowar lake nearly 4000 years ago.\(^2\) On his way down he met Bhambu Ráí at a place now called Bhambu Ráiká Tibba, a peak between Bágbi and Kadrála, where the ruins of his palace are said to still exist. Bhambu Ráo, who was a Rájput\(^3\) Rájá like Káns, is looked upon as a muleksh or daint (devil). His favourite meal was a woman's breast and he ate one every day. He used to go to bath in the Sutlej, thence go to Hátkotí 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 (in pargana Kanchin of Bashahr) killed him. But after his death his evil spirit (páp) 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 Ráo 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 Kadrála refused to let him pass, so a great fight was fought in which Bhambu Ráo was worsted. Dithu then halted on his way at Máñi in a ravine near Madhávani in the valley north of Nárkanḍa in Kumhárśain, hid himself in a cave and ate human flesh. He used also to accept human sacrifice. A long time after, when the deota Koṭ Ishwar held his melá at Chhachhori, Dithu hearing the notes of the karnál and narsinga came out of his cave and joined in the fair. Both the deotas made friends, and Koṭ Ishwar invited Dithu to his temple at Koṭi. When Koṭ Ishwar and Bhura deota entered the temple two goats were, as usual, offered for sacrifice, but Koṭ 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

\(^1\)Of whom three are found in Kumhárśain, two in Shángri, one in Kotgarh and one in Kulu, thus:—(1) Dithu at Dholaser, (2) Marechh of Malendu at Malendi, (3) at Bareog in Kumhárśain, (4) at Shawan in Shángri, (5) at Banur in Shángri, (6) at Kirtí in Kotgarh and (7) at Bains in Kulu.

\(^2\)In the year 1000 of Yudhíthir's era, or 4000 years ago.

\(^3\)He is said to have come from the Bängar Des, apparently meaning the Kurukshetra. He was called Bão or Rái.
should be sacrificed. Koṭ 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 Koṭ Ishwar and he made Dithu his \textit{wasīr}. He was given a place called Dholascar, where his temple still exists. Koṭ Ishwar also assigned him his favourite Kotālu, the \textit{mawanna}, as his \textit{kārdār}, and to this family was given Bai, a village close to Dholascar. Dithu brought with him from Mārni a \textit{mohru} tree, which, with some \textit{kelo} trees, still stands near his temple. Rānā Kirti Singh, founder of the Kumbhārsain State, affected this \textit{deota}.

Dithu comes out of his temple when Koṭ Ishwar rides on his \textit{rath} at a \textit{mela}. A Balti \textit{mela} is held every third year.

The Marechh of Malendi is also called Malendu, or ‘he of Malendi’.

The people of Chebishi \textit{pargana}, who are his devotees, say that the seven Marechh brothers came from the Mansarowar lake and fought with Bhambu Rāo when he barred their way. After his overthrow they came to Hātu, whence they scattered. Malendu went to Chhichhār forest and after a time flew to the top of the Dertu hill above Chebishi \textit{pargana}. A Kāli or Kālka called Bhāgwati, 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 \textit{pargana}, as it was subsequently named. So this \textit{deota} Marechh left the Kālka and came to Lanki forest. Thence he descended to the Nālā and reached Janjhat, a place where he found a brass \textit{bāoli} with brass steps leading down to the water. But some say either that he did not reach the brass \textit{bāoli} or that from the \textit{bāoli} he went to Deongli and sat under a \textit{bes} 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 Deongli Brahman. When he came the serpent resumed his original form—an \textit{ashtadātu} image—and sat in his lap. The Brahman gave him \textit{dhūp dip}. At that time the \textit{mavannas} of Bashera and Pharal were powerful, so the Brahman carried the image to Bashera and the Bashera \textit{mavanna} in consultation with him of Pharal informed \textit{deota} Koṭ Ishwār of the new arrival. Koṭ Ishwar treated Marechh kindly and gave him the present Chebishi \textit{pargana}, but only on condition that he would not oppress the people, and that he should only be allowed goats and rams, \textit{kāḍu} but not \textit{bher}, to eat. He was given a \textit{fādgr} in four villages, as well as fields in several others. It was also agreed that Malendu should not go out for a ride on a \textit{rath} unless Koṭ Ishwar gave him leave and his \textit{rath} is never decorated until Koṭ Ishwar sends him a piece of \textit{masru} cloth in token of his permission. Like Dithu he only comes out of his temple when Koṭ Ishwar does so. Malendu was further ordered to observe the following \textit{teohārs} or festivals (at each of which Koṭ Ishwar sends him a goat), \textit{viz.} the Bishu, Rehāli, Dewali, \textit{Māgh} 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 Bashera and Pharal \textit{mavannas}. It is believed that this \textit{deota} is absent from his temple on the \textit{Māghi} Shankrānti 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 rākṣasas and daints at Bhonda Bil, somewhere in Bashahr, and returns after bathing at Kidārnāth. On his return the temple is re-opened and his gur or deva dances in a trance (chirna) and through him the deota relates all his strife with the rākṣasas. Strange to say, if the rākṣasas have won, it is believed that a bumper harvest will result; but if the deota's win, there is danger of famine. Yet, though there be good harvest, if the rākṣasas win, there is a danger that pestilence may afflict men or cattle, and if the deota's 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 bhandāri or a kārīdār will die. If Kot Ishwar throw dust towards a rākṣasa and retire from the field, there may be famine or some part of Kumbārsain will be encroached upon or given to another State. There is a pond at Bhonda Bil and a Brahman of Bashahr puts up two hedges—one on the side believed to be the deota's side and another on that believed to be the rākṣasa's side. If the hedge on the deota's side falls down, they are believed to have suffered defeat, but if the rākṣasa's hedge falls, they are worsted. No one but Maon Nág of Suket plunges into the pond, and by the flash of his plunge the other deota bathe in the water sprayed on its banks. If defeated, the deota says he is chut chipat ('impure') and then a Balti pūja is held on an auspicious day. On the Shankrānti days Brahmans do pūja, reciting mantras and offering dhūp dip. These mantras are not found in any Veda, but are eulogies of those concerned in the Mahābhārata war. They are called karasni.1 The bell is rung and dhūp dip is given in a dhurna or karāch.

Certain Brahmans are believed to know Sabar-bidia or magic2 lore. Their books are written in a character something like Tānkri, but the language is different and very quaint. Sabar-bidia is only known to a few Brahmans, 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 asht-dhāt (eight metals), and is seated on a pūrī or small four-sided bed, but it has no singhāsan. The deota has a jāgir, and one of his kārīdārs, called mashāna, is appointed by the State. A mashāna is changed when necessary by the State. His gur is also called a ghanītta and his kārīdārs are commonly called mahtas.

Malendu has two ohors, Jhata and Lata. Jhata is of an uch or superior, while Lata is of a nīch or low caste. Jhata lived at Urebu, a place also called Jhaila; so he is also called Jhaila

1 The Mahābhārata praises a song called ' Karasni '.

2 (1) Tantar; (2) Manto; (3) Jadu.
The god Mul Padoi. 457

at Urshu. 1

Some say that Kot Ishwar gave Jhatak as wazir to Malendu. On one occasion Lata left Malendu and fled to Kot Ishwar, but on Malendu’s complaint Kot Ishwar restored him to his master who took him back to Malendu.

Banka is another bhor who lives at Shelag. Kolis generally worship him, and he drives away ghosts etc. He was originally a devil in a forest, but was subdued by Malendu.

The Mareeh deota of Bhareog is the family god of the Sheon pargana people, and a small jagir is held by him of the State.

Paochi, a Brahman village, in pargana Chebishi, has a temple to Shawan Mareeh. His image was brought from Shawan, a village in Shangri, and set up here.

Concerning Mareeh of Kirti two traditions are current. One is that his image was brought by the villagers of Kirti from a place known as Marni, situated on the borders of the Kumbharsain and Kanchehi States, and that it was called Marich after the name of that village. The other is that originally the worship of this deota consisted in burning the hair of the dead in ghni, whence he was called Malichh or ‘dirty’, and that name has been corrupted into Marichh.

THE CULT OF MUL PADOI.

But beside these families there are several independent deotas. Examples of these are Mul Padoi, who has temples at several villages in the States of Bhajji, Shangri and Kumbharsain. He is one of the biggest deotis in the Simla Hills, and appeared from a cave called Chunjar Malana near Mathiana 1500 years ago. About that time a prince named Dewa Singh had come from Sirmir, as he had quarrelled with his brothers, and accompanied by a few of his kardars or officials took refuge in that cave. He also had with him his family god, now called Narolia. While he was dwelling in the cave, Padoi, who was also called Mul, used to play musical instruments and then cry out, chutun, 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

1He became Malendu’s wazir soon after he came to Malendu and his dwelling is a thana, a log or wood which stands before the temple. The wazir’s function is to drive away evil spirits (bhut, pret and churut), if they possess anything or man. He also protects people under Malendu’s orders from visitations of any chot chidars, plague, famine etc. Lata was originally a Koli by caste who lived at Kalum village. He died under the influence of some evil spirit and became a ghost. As he troubled the Kolis of Kalum and Shelag, they complained to the deota, who accompanied by Jhatak visited the place and caught him. At first Lata would not come to terms, but deota Malendu promised him his protection, and that he should be worshipped by the Kolis and a rof (loaf) be given him on the four shankarsants (Bishu, Kehali, Dewali and Mahi), and that he should be presented regularly with dhup dip after he had himself received it, and that Kolis should sacrifice ewes (beri) to him. Lata accepted these terms and swore to trouble the people no more, but he explained that he could not sit still, and so Malendu erected the wooden log in front of his temple, and in it Lata is doubtless ever moving.

2Dewa Singh was also the name of one of his descendants who held Koti State in Kandru.
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 Padōi 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 Kumbhārsain, 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 (kharen), which consist of a small quantity of grain. A few generations later it befell that a Thākur of Koṭi \(^1\) had four sons who quarrelled about the partition of the State. One son established himself first in Kulu and then at Kangal (now in Shāngri): the second went to Thāru in Bhajji State: and the third settled at Malag, now in Bhajji, while the Šikka 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 Kumbhārsain took it. Koṭi appears, however, to have been reconstituted as a State soon after the disruption of Rajāna, and the latter State is only remembered in connection with Mul deota's story and the songs (bars) sung in his honour in Bhajji.

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, Shir, Sadrel and Thathlu and their temples are at Koṭi, Padōi and Kangal in the Simla Hills and at Saran in Suket. 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 Padōi. His principal temple is at Padōi in Bhajji, on the east bank of the Sutlej, but Koṭi is his Jethu-Sthān or Senior Place. Shanglu and Rirku are his bhops or ministers.

Rirku was a deota at Padōi 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 bhūt-pret when commanded by Mul. The same tale is told of Shanglu.

Thathlu deota is the waṣīr to the Mul of Koṭi, and when a rupee is presented to him 4 annas are given to Thathlu. Thathlu's temple is at Thatha in Kumbhārsain and in it his image is kept, but people

\(^1\) The parent State appears to have been known as Rajāna. Its capital was at Koṭi, and it split up into four States, Koṭi, Kangal, Thāru and Malag. The samindūr of Thathlu village claim to be descendants from the Sirmūr prince, though they have now sunk to Kanot status. The Mīnās of Gheti and Kariō, in pargana Chebīshī are descendants of the ex-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 dháp dip. Thathlu calls Mul his dådu (elder). Mul goes to Suni every year at the Dasahra, and his spirit also goes to Shuli to bathe. Padoi and Darograj in Bhajji have large temples to Mul, and there is a big temple at Parol in Shángri also. Mul Padoi is very useful if his help is asked in hunting and shooting.

There are also two temples to Padoi in Chebishi pargana at Shaila and Gheti.

When the Thákur of Kangal fled or died his fort was burned by the Rájá of Kulu, and his descendants came to Kumbhársain. This happened in the time of Rává Rám Singh, who gave them Gheti village in jágfr. 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 Thákur settled in village Kariot. The Gheti people too were carrying their family god to Kariot, but on the road they came to Shaila. Nág deota used to be the god of the Shaila people, but a leper in that village laid himself on the path and begged Padoi to cure him. Padoi said that if he cured him, he must disown the Nág deota who was living in the village. The leper promised to do so and was cured. The people thus convinced of Padoi's superiority over the Nág sent the latter off to Dhali village where the people still worship him, but his temple at Shaila was taken over by Padoi and he lives there to this day.

Only a couple of years ago a devotee of Padoi went to Theog and there built him a temple. It is said that with the prince from Sirmür came a Brahman, a Kanet named Gosson and a Turi (musician) whose descendants are to be found in Kumbhársain, Bhajji and Shángri.

Some minor cults of the Simla Hills.

The cult of the deota Maheshwar Mount of Mánun.

At a village called Jalandhar in Kulu lived a Brahman whose wife gave birth to a girl when she was 12 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

1 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 pargana of Rajnang, Mathiana, Shilli, Sheol and Chadara now in Pungu tahsil in Koonthal. It was called Rajjana 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 Rajjana village, commonly called Mul Rajna, in Shilli pargana. The Brahman settled at Manun, a village to the north-west of Rajjana 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 burnt all his property, certain Mawis who resisted being cruelly put to death by the devotees of the new deota. Doori Dhur village was set on fire and the people burnt alive in it. Later on when the Guaru family of the Kumharsain chiefs had established themselves in the country the deota helped the Thakur of Kumharsain to gain a victory over the Sirmur Raja. The Kumharsain State gave a jagir now worth Rs. 166 to the Magneshwar deota of Manun. He has a large temple and the chief among his khardars is the bhadar who keeps the jagir accounts. Sadhe banyat (alms) are given to sadhus, faqirs and Brahmanas. He is worshipped daily morning and evening by his pujaaris. A mela is held annually at Manun on the 17th or 18th Baisakh and another at the Divali by night. Every third year another mela called the Shilaur Puja is held. A big pyna mela is performed every 7th or 8th year and a still bigger one called Shant every 30 years. When a new Rana ascends the gaddi the deota tours the country belonging to him. This is called rajaoli jatra. The Nagarkotia or Dum deota of Sharmalla 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 Melau 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 Khai and Kanehti chiefs and of the Thakur of Karangla. More than 3000 years ago when there were no Rajas or Ranas in the country (excepting perhaps Banasur in Bshahr) the people obeyed the deotas as spiritual lords of the land, while mawanas held parts of the country. Deota Kana was supreme in Kotgarh and the Kaneht Shadhoc country. As he had only one eye he was called kuna. He delighted in human sacrifice and every month on the shankrant 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 Raja divided the rice among his three Ranas, 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 Manun.
devoured by Kána Deo and the turn of the fifth was fixed for the shankránt. A contemporary god called Khachli Nág dwelt in a forest called Jarol near a pond in Kanehtí below Sidhpur (on the Hindustán-Tibet road to Kotgarh). The mother went to him complaining that Kána 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 Nág to save her daughter and he having compassion on her said that when Kána Deo’s men came to take the girl for the bali she should look towards the Nág and think of him. The woman returned home and when Kána 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 Kána 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 Nála. 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 Nág deota of Khachli 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 melá days he should ride in a rath, be carried from place to place and worshipped as he pleased. But as Nág 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 raths for a melá at Dudhibali (in pargana Jao, now in Kumbhárasain) and the Shadhoch people proceeded to obtain a deota as king over their country. While the three Kharán brothers were dancing in their raths they prayed in their hearts that whichever chose to be their god might turn his rath as lightly as a flower, while the other raths 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 Bhaiá near the Sutlej to Kupar above Jubbál. The custom is still that no sheep or she-goat is sacrificed before Chaur 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 melá and dancing bore it 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 Nág mysteriously helped them and Chatur Mukh by his miraculous power turned the pursuers' arrows against their own breasts and their dangras flew 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 Shadhla village (in Kotgarh) choosing a place in the centre of the country so that the god might not be forcibly carried off by the Kharán and Jao people. Then 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 nearly a furlong from the ruined temple of Kána 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 Kidár Náth on a jātra (pilgrimage), and when returning home he visited Mahású deota at Nol, a village in Kiran (once in Sirmúr), as his guest. But one of Mahású's attendant deotás 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. Mahású 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 (lashkar) 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. Mahású was dismayed and fell on his knees to beg for pardon. Chatur Mukh demanded the surrender of Mahású's devil attendant and he was compelled to hand him over. This devil's name is Shirpál.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 wusir, as he still is, at Melan. Shirpál ministers in the temple and all religious disputes are decided by him, e.g., if anyone is outcasted or any other case of chua arises, his decision is accepted and men are re-admitted into caste as he decrees. Some other minor deotás are also subordinate to Chatur Mukh, the chief among them being:—(1) Benn, (2) Janeru, (3) Khoru, (4) Merelu and (5) Basara.

These Deos are commonly called his bhors (servants). The people cannot tell anything about their origin, but they are generally believed to be rākṣasas who oppressed the people in this country until Chatur Mukh subdued them and made them his servants. These bhors are his attendants and work as watchmen (chaukidórs) at the temple gate. Benu is said to have come from Pena in Kulu. He was at

¹ Shír means stairs and pál means watch; hence Shirpál means a servant at the gate.
Stories of Chatur Mukh.

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. Jameru 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. Khoru appeared from Khoru Kiar in Kumharsain. He too was originally a devil and when Raja Mahi Prakash of Sirmur held his court at Khoru 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. Merelu came out of a marghat (crematorium). He too is looked upon as a jamandar or rakshasa. He had frightened the people at Sainja in Kotgarh, but was captured and made a chaukidar at Melan. Basara Deo is said to have come from Bashahr State, and some say that he was a subordinate Deo of Basara Deota at Gaoro and troubled his master, so Basam handed him over to Chatur Mukh, but others say that Powari, wazir of Bashahr, invoked Chatur Mukh's aid as he was distressed by the devil Basara. The people of Kirti village in Kotgarh worship Marechh Deota. Less than 100 years ago Deota Chatur Mukh came to dance in a kirti jubhar and Marechh 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-hatia (murder of a Brahman). Chatur Mukh feeling himself polluted by a Brahman's blood gave Marechh 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 Dudhbali accompanies him. They are called the 9 Kuin and 9 Kashi. Kuin means originally people of respectable families and Kashi means 'those who swore' as the 9 Kuin had taken with them 9 men who swore to help them to carry Chatur Mukh from Dudbhali. When the deota returns from his tour these 18 families are each given a pagri as a vidagi or parting gift and all the people respect them. An annual mela is held at Dudbhali to which Chatur Mukh goes to meet his two Kharan brothers. A big Divali 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 Shabroch pargana of Kanehti 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 favourite jatra is to Kidar Nath and this he performs every 50 or 60 years. He does not approve of the bhund 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-

1 This utensil is still kept at Melan.
times falls and is killed. Chatur Mukh however goes to see the bhumi at Kharán though he does not allow one at Melan. There is a Bal fair at Melan every 3rd year. The deota's image is of brass and silver. When he returns from Kidár Náth a diápan jag meía is held. People believe that Chatur Mukh is away from his temple in Mágh every year for 15 days, and that he goes to bathe at Kidár Náth with his attendants. They say that the spirits fly to Kidár Náth and all work is stopped in those days. His bhandár (store-house) is also closed and his deota or ĺur (through whom he speaks) does not appear in public or perform hingána. The people believe that Chatur Mukh returns on the 15th of Mágh and then his temple is opened amid rejoicings. Some say that there is a place in Bashahr called Bhandi Bil where the hill râkshasas and devils assemble every year early in Mágh, and Chatur Mukh with other hill deotás 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. One was once robbed of some images. The deota holds a large jagir from the Bashahr, Kumhársain, Kot Khói and Kannehi chiefs, as well as one from Government worth Rs. 80. Kumhársain has given him a jagir of Rs. 11 and Kannehi one of Rs. 22. The three Kharán brothers once held certain parganas in jagir, pargana Raik belonging to Jesbar, pargana Jao to Chatur Mukh, and pargana Samat to Ishvar, but they have been resumed. Nearly 150 years ago Melan temple was accidentally burnt down and when a Sirmí Ráni 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 deota jest at Chatur Mukh's powers. Till some 7 generations ago the Ránas of Kot Khói lived there and then transferred their residence to Kotgarh. When at Kotgarh the Tíka of one of the Ránas fell seriously ill and the people prayed Chatur Mukh to restore him. Chatur Mukh declared he would do so, but, even as the ĺur was saying that the Tíka would soon recover, news of his death was received. Thereupon one Jhingri killed the ĺur with his dangra, but the Ráni was displeased with him and the family of the murderer is still refused admission to the palace. Some say that the blow of the dangra was not fatal and that the ĺur was carried by a Koli of Batarí to Kannehi where he recovered. Chatur Mukh has given the Kannehi men the privilege of carrying him in front when riding in his rath while the Kotgarh men hold it behind. Another mark of honour is that when Chatur Mukh sits his face is always kept towards Kannehi. 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

1 His chief kúddás are the ĺur, bhandár, khadbhoo and dârotha of accounts: four of them being from Kotgarh and two from Kannehi. All business is transacted by a pancháya.
bhors 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 Khachli Nāg who has the dignity of being his guru or spiritual master. Deota Kepu at Kepu in Kotgarh is Mahādeo and Chatur Mukh considers him as his second guru. Dūm deota at Pamlai in Kotgarh, a derivative of Dūm of Gathān in Keonthál, is considered subordinate to Chatur Mukh and has a separate temple at a distance. Marechh deota of Kirti and Mahādeo of Kepu can accept a cloth spread over the dead, but Chatur Mukh and Dūm cannot do so. What became of Kāna deota after the deluge at Melan cannot be ascertained, but a story believed by some is that he took shelter in a small cistern in Sawāri Khaḍ. A woman long after the deluge tried to measure the depth of the cistern with a stick and Kāna 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 Kāna in a box and when she opened 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 mouth; 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 Khād (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 Jit Dānon (Mahlog State).

Jit Dānon, a Kanet of Sherla 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 Jatāon village while grazing, and on his following 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 Jatāon, telling her that she would have no butter, milk etc. until she worshipped him. He remained at Jatāon and worshipped God all his life. After his death he was worshipped by the people as a deota or dānon and since then he has been called Jit Dānon. Every man in the State offers him a goat and 1½ jāt (khām) of jāt 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 Ghurka (Mahlog State).

Ghurka, who fought bravely in the Mahābhārata war, was the
son of Bhīm (one of the Pāndus) by a Rākhshani, named Harimbhā. On his death a temple was built to him in Gharshi, a village on the Ghurka Dhār (hill). Another dhār opposite Ghurka dhār is called Harimba, 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 Nāhan in Sirmūr, and at first he dwelt at a place in the Kalāla Forest, called Chortha. One day a woman of the Rerh tribe while grazing her cattle assed 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 deodār tree': whereupon she was at once transformed into a deodār, 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 Pujárli.

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 Pujárli where a temple was built for it. Another temple was erected at the fountain in Nandhrāri.

The deota Baneshwar of Pujárli.

Pujárli is a village in the Ubdeon pargana of Kumbharsain and its deota is said to be very ancient. Some say that in the early times of the mawanas three māwis lived to the south of Bagli, at Kero, Gahleo and Nali. The Kero māwi's fort lay in the modern Kanchehi and the Gahleo māwi's in Kôt Khái, while the Nali māwi had theirs at Mal, now in Kumbharsain, below Háthu and close to Bagli.1 The māwis of Gahleo brought this deota from Bala Hat in Garhwál and built him a temple at Chela, a village in Kôt Khái, as he was the family deota of all three māwis.2 But they were nearly all killed by Sirmūr and their houses burnt, so the surviving Gahleo māwis concealed the deota in a cave in the cliffs above Chela. 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 coin, and the third had a gold chain hung from his house to the temple. Two of the māwis appear to have been named Nalo and Gahlo.

2 His family was called Mota, but only one house of it survives. The present Brahmanas of Pujárli hail from Tikargah in Basahhr. The pujáras of Pujárli appear to be called Kacheri (by got or family) and they founded Kacheri, a village near Kumbharsain.
of hells and the scent of dháp, so a Brahman of Pujárli went to the cave and brought the deota to a temple at Pujárli. He is regarded as their family deota by the people of Pujárli, Nagan, Karáli and Banal. As he is dákshadhárí, goats are not sacrificed to him. When the spirit of the deota enters (chirna) his gua the deota says through him:—Ndíwá, Gahlwa ! na dp chhare, na as chhara, ' Nahlo, Ghalo ! You spared neither yourselves nor me'!—because the máwis had involved him in their own ruin.

The following are the principal deotas of the Kotí State. It will be noticed that though all are described as Deo, yet they are of very diverse origins:

(1) Klánú Deo.—The name Klánú is from ‘Kulá-fa-andá’ meaning ‘brought from Kulu.’ In Kulu the god is called Jarná from the Sanskrit Jamadhágni. Apparently the deity was a saint called Dúdádhári, Sanskr., Dudábhári, ‘vegetarian.’ Being a saint he never accepts animal sacrifice. His temple is near Kiár on a ridge called Deodhár.

(2) Sip Deo (probably from Shiva) came with the ancestors of the present Ríná of Kotí from Sidhupur in Kángra. His temple is on a small ridge near Mul Kotí. He is worshipped by the people of Shuahwali and Dharthí parganas in Kotí, but they believe that he is Nrisingha Vishnu or Násinge.

(3) Sharáli Deo is also called the Deo Junga because he was brought from Junga. He too is Dúdádhári. His temple in the Sharál village in Kotí territory.

(4) Gambhir Deo, the legend of whose origin goes thus:—Dhír Chand and Gambhir Chand were two sons of Thákár Jálhár Chand of Kotí, the former by his Kumbháreain and the latter by his Kotgarh Rání. They were born on 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 Chanari village just opposite Kotí, as his jágir, but as it was already held by Brahmins 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 pigtails 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 60 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 Chanári to which local Brahmins were appointed punjáris and díváns. 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) Dhándi Deo, whose legend is thus described: Dhándi and Gándhi were two brothers, Kanets by caste, living in Pagoj, a village in Kotí. Dándhi devoted much time to the worship of Klánú, so much so that he used to bring milk every day from Pagoj to Deodhár, a distance of about 6 miles. Klánú Deo was so pleased with him that
he accepted him as a deity on his death. So Dhándi became a deity, and
his temples are at Pagog and Kambali in Koti. The potters of these
villages became his pujařis and ḍiwāns, and are now looked upon
as respected Kanets.

(6) Bhāt Deo.—The legend goes thus:—There was a Brahman
living with his wife in Badaih 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 Bhāt, mean-
ing a Brahman, has become the deity of Badaih village.

(7) Korgan Deo.—The temple of this deity is at Chhabalri village in
Koti State. The history is as follows:—There was a Rājpūt in Sirmūr
State, who fell in love with a woman. The samindārs 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 Tīka of Kotī went on a trip to
Sirmūr, and the deity was much pleased with him, and told him that
he would accompany him to Kotī. Thus he was brought to Kotī and
a temple was erected for him in the Chhabalri village.

(8) Nnāl Deo.—This deity was brought by Kogi pargana people
who are immigrants from Suket State. His temple is at Kogi village
under Nālera, and there is also a small temple at Nālera, which
means ‘the temple of Nnāl’. It is said that this deity is not on
good terms with Sīp deity, so it never goes anywhere beyond the Kogi
pargana.

(9) Dhānu Deo is a deity of the Keonthal State, and was brought
with them by the people of Chhabrog pargana, originally natives of
Keonthal. His temple is at Chhabrog village in Koti State as well as
in Keonthal.

(10) Shyāni Deo.—His temple is at Kyāli village in Kalāthi par-
gana of Kotī State. He is supposed to be a cook residing with all of the
aforesaid nine deities.

Bāghal State boasts three Deos, two of whom are Shiva, while a
third is the spirit of a sonless man. They are:

(1) Bāra Deo, who has a temple on the Bari dāhar, a ridge run-
ing in a north-westerly direction from Bahādurpur fort in Bilāspur to the
junction of the Gumbhar and Jol streams. The temple is on the high-
est point of the ridge, 5,789 feet above the sea level. A fair is held on
the 1st Asāh. The god is properly Shiva, but as is usual he is generally
called by the name of his place of worship.

(2) Har Sang Deo, whose home is at the highest point of the Har
Sang dāhar, which runs northwards to the Sutlej on the boundary of
Bāghal and Bhajji States. This god’s fair takes place on the 1st Sāwan.
He too is Shiva.

1 Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Kotī, 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 Baisakh. This deity was originally a sonless 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. 1

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 Jeth at Sairai in Pātiāla 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 in of the spirit of the god, such as takes place at the bāsthak of Nārsingh (see Kāngra Gazetteer). A similar fair on a larger scale, which lasts eight or nine days, is held at Joharji, also in Pātiāla, 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. Like Dewat Siddh, Sūr is worshipped on the first Sunday of the month 2.

Another Biju, not to be confounded with Biju or Bijat, the lightning god, is a deota in Kutiār and its neighbourhood. Ajāl Pāt, a Rājā of Kōṭguru, 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 faqīr, 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. 3

As 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 then, but the other four and his daughter crossed the Sutlej into Mal Bhajji in the Nanti valley below Mahāsu. Chiru and Chand founded the dynasties of Bhajji and Kotī, but the third son, Shogu, became a deota at Fagu, 4 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 Lonkra.

The difference between the Barī and the Chhoti Kāli is this that the former has 10 hands and the latter only 4.

The Barī Kāli haunts the hills. She is worshipped with sacrifices of goats, flowers, fruit, wheaten bread, and lamps.

1 Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bāghal, p. 6.
2 ib., Bilāspur, p. 10, and Baghāt, p. 7.
3 Kuthār, p 5; Bāghnāt, p. 7.
4 The fourth, Bhoga, married a Kanet girl and begat the Fagāna Kanets, id., Kotī, p. 6.
Yáma, 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.

Besides the gods, spirits of various kinds are believed in and propitiated.

Such are the bhúts or ghosts, partis, especially the jal-partis, or water-sprites, also called jal-mátris, the chhidras and banshira.

The bhút is the ghost of the cremating ground.

Pret is the term applied to the ghost for one year after the death of the deceased: ríshet is its name from the end of that year to the fourth.

Jal-partis 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 banshira 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 pája, called kunjhain, is offered to Káli and to partis or mátris. 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.

Dágs 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 dág.

Dúdádhári or mánoshári haunts burning gháts, and is averted by wearing a silver picture round one's neck. If possessed by the former one should abstain from meat.

Ghatidiú or Gaterir is a demon known in Dhámi. He is said to possess people, and is propitiated by the sacrifice of a kádhú (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 Bhajji State.

Newa is a spirit also, closely resembling the Páp. When a man dies sonless and his brethren inherit they are frequently haunted by his ghost and so a Brahman must be consulted. He directs an image of silver, copper or stone to be made and worshipped after the amávas. Then one of the heirs hangs the image, if of metal, round his neck, and, if of stone, places it in a water-trough. This image is called newa och, dis or in Kanaar gurohách. In some places a plot of land

1Pr. ríshet, a sage.

Like brooks and springs, hádás or cisterns are supposed to be haunted by jal-partis (water-sprites) and mátris. Simla District Gazetteer, p. 42. The object probably is to confer fertility on the newa in the next life.
Hindu festivals in the Hills.

called sog 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 amavas. Sometimes a newa, like a pap, attains to the position of a deota in course of time.¹

Pap 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 dareoti and flowers are often offered at it by the family which believes that the spirit has been safely lodged in it.² Otherwise the pap 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 pap ká chauntání.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 Asauj are called the navaráttras, or 9 nights on which a fast is kept and the goddess worshipped. Batri, from Sanskrit vrata, = a fast. In the upper hills they call the fast or the 9 days of it karáli also.

Sája in Kulu is the 1st of any month (Diack, Kulúhi Dialect, p. 87). In the Simla Hills, Sáer sáji is the 1st of Asauj, sáji being the actual passage of the sun from one zodiacal sign to another: Tika Rám Joshi in J. A. S B., 1911, p. 228. In Kulu the 1st of Chet is called lingtái.

The Chár or spring festival in Chamba celebrates the defeat of winter. The latter, personified as an evil demon (kulinísa) 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 gámi and mezmi or masks which represent a man and a woman, respectively, at Triloknáth.⁴

Narathe, navarátri, are also defined to be the 9 days of Chet and Asauj in which Devi is worshipped.

These and other festivals some of which are peculiar to the Hills are given below in chronological order:

Lingti.⁵
Narathe.
Chitráli.
Naumi.
Salhor.

Mrig Satáí.
Ledar.
Dasúni.
Gíl.
Rakharpunia.

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. 188, 217, 218 and 228.
Hindu festivals in the Hills.

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The Chitráli 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. 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 Asaúj, on which Devi is generally worshipped. They are regarded as fast days.

On Jeth 1st an offering (sáthor) of flowers is made to deotás, and on 1st Baisákh the gcid’s history is recited (ubáthka) at most temples: Diack, op. cit., pp. 87 and 47. On the 1st Baisákh also satn, 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 (kárkì) holds (or constitutes) him and is kept in the verandah or sometimes tadoors (p. 70).

Mrig-satái, the fortnight from 22nd Jeth to 8th Hár, during which sunshine is wanted for crops.

Ledar, a feast held on 1st Hár.

Dasúni, Dsúni, a festival observed on the 11th of the bright half of Hár.

Gf, the 16 days, including the last week in Hár and the first in Sáwan, believed to be auspicious for planting trees.

Rkhrunya, from rakhí, a thread, and punya, full moon, is a festival held on the full moon in Sáwan when the twice-born castes don a new sacred thread consecrated by Vedic hymns and a thread (rakshá, rákhi or rakhrá) is tied by a Brahman round one’s wrist to protect one for a year. Gifts are made to Brahmans and friends feasted.

Sgo'h, the 16 days, including the last week of Sáwan and the first in Bhádon, during which sunshine is undesirable.

Janmashámi, or 8th of dark half of Bhádon.

The Badranjo in Kulu is a festival held in Bhádon in honour of the plough-cattle which are decked with flowers and not worked on that
Hindu festivals in the Hills.

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 Shiva. It takes place on the 5th of the bright half of Bhádon, whence it is also called Bhadronji.

The Chrewal or 1st Bhádon, at which gods (Shiva) are made of clay and worshipped, light being shown to the god (Shivling) every evening throughout the month. This is called Párthivapája.

Dagiáli, the chaudiás and amáwas of the dark half of Bhádon, on which date the dags assemble.

Every year on the night of the 16th Bhádon all the deotás congregate at Dhár Kambogir in the Mándi State. The four jogníás 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 jogníás 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 dhár. On the night mentioned the owners of cattle bring their she-buffaloes down from the Dhar Kambogir lest the jogníás kill them.

2) On the night of the 16th Bhádon Hindus of the Hill States in the neighbourhood of Mándi distribute rapeseed in order to avert the influence of the jogníás.

Málpunya, a festival held on the full moon in September, at which cows are worshipped and fed. At Koṭi it is followed by the Bháj.

Sáer-sáji, 1st Asanj.

Bháj-dúj, a festival held on the 2nd of the bright half of Kátañ, 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 Kátañ.

Deoθhan, a festival held on the 11th of the bright half of Kátañ.

Pandru, a festival observed on the 15th Poh in Jubból, Kotgarh and Kot Khái, Simla Hills.

At Rámpur in Bashahr the Rájás shikářt 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 Dicek, Kutilā Dialect, pp. 48 and 70 (s. v. Kandú).

2 For festival days in the Simla hills see Tika Rám Joush, Dicty. of Pakhrú, in J. A. S. B., 1911, pp. 211, 200, 207, 149, 155, 167, 226, 231, 170, 147, 228, 208, 165, 217, 202 and 195; also pp. 139, 217, 218 and 226.
Traditions of the Kulu Rájás.

Mágh 1st is the Tarain sája (Kuláki Dialect, p. 94).

Khraín, a festival observed in Mágh by Kanets. It resembles a jágra, but instead of remaining for the night in his host's house the devta 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. Vishuva: (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 Baisákhí sankrán, called bishu.

Pánjag, the sakrátras Dhanista, Shatbikha, Púrvábhádrapádá, Uttarábhádrapádá and Revati, S. panchaká.

Pařewi, 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 Jubbal States, Simla Hills.

Perhaps the most characteristic festival of the Hills is the Sheri or Saer, held on Asaúj 1st, when barbers show well-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 round the image, and it is worshipped.

Jágra, from Sanskrit jágarana, 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 pargána 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 Kulu:—In Rája Jagat Singh's time (A. D. 1637-72) a large grant of rice land was conferred on his Ráj-gurú—or spiritual preceptor—as a reward for a spell which he had woven for the Rája and contrary to custom the land was settled on the Ráj-gurú'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 Rája wanted to possess and which the owner refused to give up. After repeated refusals the Brahman told the Rája 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 Rája's avarice. On re-entering his palace at Makaráha 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 Rája having the image of Raghunáth brought from Ajodhia to whom he assigned his kingdom and ruled only as the god's vicegerent. The
assignment to Raghunáth under the name of Mádho Ráí 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:

Tikrál 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 Rajpút thákur whose descendants give their place of origin as Gaṅhvál. While their invasion and conquest must be placed at a comparatively early date, it is doubtful whether the inhabitants of the remote portions of their thákuráí 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 jana. 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 palanquins at the temple of Nág of Pekha, a member of the pancháyat. 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 animated the image Jakh of Junglik, 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 jana he bows his head in token of acceptance and the other four do likewise 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 taboos be 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 dissensions 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 Chasrālu cannot be celebrated without the presence of a jana. These take place at intervals of 3 or 5 years at Chasrālu'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 relictence 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 descente its 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
As regards his jurisdiction in mundane matters it must be remembered that 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 Rājā 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 dupe 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
The functions of the divine child.

A theocratic ruler of a group of Kanets, 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 ke 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 *jina* 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 Narain 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 Kālī, 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 the 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 Basahr 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 Bashahr, and my information with regard to it is incomplete. But I believe that it is widely practised in Kangra, more particularly during the Dasahra when the worship of maidens as representatives of Bhagwati is considered essential. There appear to be no taboos observed as with the \textit{juna}, but there is the same condition that the girls should not have reached years of understanding. At times other than the Dasahira, 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 Lankra, the \textit{bir} or minister of Kali. The worship should be performed in the early morning before its objects have tasted food; but apparently this is the only restriction. The sayings of the girls are, or were, regarded as inspired, and there is one well-authenticated case in which a faqir 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 \textit{juna}; 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. Nevertheless, 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 \textit{juna} in Bashahr 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 superstition 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, he 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 \textit{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 doittes: whom they never failed to betray. Odin took them for his heralds and councilors, but could not trust them, and they blasphemed the secrets of Valhalla. They were the scandal-mongers of Olympus, and to their evil tongues poor Coronis owed her death. Indra, 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 Kurâns are well advised to screen their jana 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 jana 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 Frazier, 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 point 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 jana. And at first sight the jana 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 ipso 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 jana 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
Theories as to his functions.

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 jana 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 emerods. 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 vakf1 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 jana 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 jags, 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 pavings of his nails, he can work
what will he likes. This is of course the reason why in Bashahr 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 juna.
One more illustration of this superstition must suffice, and as it is appro-
priate 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 Rájás of Kumán) (as given in Atkinson’s Himalayan Gazetteer):

They were these:—He should see that the cook did his duties conscien-
tiously 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 con-
stantly 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 dharg, 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 Kumán
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 bribe the neighbouring chieftains to
fight against their overlord. One of these envoys found his way to
Chíni, then the capital of a semi-independent thákur, whom the
Rájá of Bashahr had lately reduced to vassalage. Uncertain of his
loyalty, the latter sent his warning that if he helped his country’s ene-
mies it would be a daróhi and he would have to pay the penalty. The
warning was a solemn one, for daróhi was a form of oath the Rájá could
impose upon his subjects, by which he lay a prohibition on any pur-
poused course 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 supernaturo

1This word reappears in south India. Rájá-droha was the offence of ‘injuring the
interests of the king’, and grámi-droha, one who injure the interests of the village:
Mathai, Village Government in British India, London, 1910, p. 86, citing Madras Epigra-
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 darobi, a sin, against your ruler.' In the vast majority of cases, the cooly goes; but should he prove recalcitrant, a headman can bring him before a magistrate who imposes a trifling fine upon the culprit. But superstitious qualms rather than fear of civil punishment supply the sanctions by which the system works. Again, resort is often made to this expedient 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 courts,' he threatens, 'it will be darobi.' As a rule the intruder stops his ploughing.

But on the occasion now in question, it so happened that the Thákur of Chíní chose to ignore the warning and joined his forces to the Tibetan hordes. Another of the Rájá'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 Káli 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 Rájá free to wreak his vengeance on his treacherous subjects. He again reduced the Chíní thákur to vassalage, and as a general warning to traitors ordered that a man of Chíní should henceforth present himself at Kamru on every triennial celebration held there in honour of the goddess Káli. This festival is still observed, its national character being apparent both from the grants made from the State treasury and from the presence of Brahmans of the ruling family who bring with them small images of Bhíma Káli from Saráhan. 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 Chíní, called the Chínchang, 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 Chínchang 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 superstitious 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 Kāli, 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, consoled only by the hope that the lamps they keep burning day and night inside the house will win the mercy of Narśin, the village god.

The second story associated with Kauru is likewise concerned with human sacrifice and, here again, Kāli in her form of Pārvati, the mountain goddess, plays a leading part. The only road to Kamru from the Sutlej valley lies along the Baspa river which for some 10 miles above its junction with the Sutlej 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 Kailās 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 summits of the line of jagged peaks are the favourite thrones of Kāli, 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 superstitious terrors inspired by the nearness of her presence were shared alike by prince and peasant, and so it happened that the visits of a Rājā to his capital were attended by ceremonies of some significance.

During the first stages of his progress, continues Mr. Emerson’s account, the Rājā 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 Kāli’s home burst on the
vision, a halt was called. While still sheltered from her eyes and those of her sentinels the Rájá descended from his palanquin, donning robes, ornaments and head-dress, in which a Matas of Sapni, a village near by, attired himself, while the Rájá 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 Rájá, 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 Rája-ki-bali or king's sacrifice, and as in the case of the Chinchang 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 Matas' 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 Káli's envy may fall before it reaches the Rájá. 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 Bhima Káli, who was regarded as the ruler of the land, she having granted the regency to the Rájá'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 Kumbhásain vests in Kot Ishwar Mahádev, and it is he who installs each Ráná on its throne. Jagat Singh, Rájá of Kángra, carried the fiction further when he placed Thákur Raghunath's image on the throne, and proclaimed himself to be only chief ministrant of his temple. From that time the Rájá was, in constitutional theory, only the god’s chief priest, the god himself being ruler of Kángra.
Some historical notes on Kulu.

Makaraṇa.

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 Lábul speaks of Bahádúr Singh residing at ‘Makarsang’—and this is the Bunán locative of Makarsa—and means ‘at Makarsa’. The name Makarsa in the Bunán dialect of Lábul means ‘the place of Makar’. All tradition in Kulu supports the statement of the Chronicle of Tinán and the statement of Hardil Singh that Bahádúr Singh of Kulu re-built the ruined town of Makaraṇa. This lies on the plain on the left bank of the Beás near the débouchement of the Hurá Khad, south of Nagar and easily accessible from Bajaura. 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 Bahádúr Singh and his descendants used to like to live at Makaraṇa, and imagine that they were descended from the great kings who built this town. Most unfortunately some British officials with unpardonable iconoclasm used most of the beautiful stone carvings of Makaraṇa to build the bridge over the Beás at Dilsáni 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 Budáis, 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 Makaraṇa, of those in its immediate neighbourhood near Bajaura, and of Nast near Jagat Súkh 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 Bahádúr Singh, Makaraṇa was doubtless a convenient place of residence for him during the time that his generals were campaigning in Saráj. He never took the field himself apparently, and as long as the right bank of the Sáínj Nála was occupied by his troops he would be quite safe at Makaraṇa and in touch at once with Nagar and the army in the field.

This valuable account of Makaraṇa, which seems to mean the land of alligators (mugar) or that of sea-monsters (makar), is from the pen of

1 The Makaraṇa referred to is nearly opposite Bajaura 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 Bahádúr Singh, 1592-59, who rebuilt it and virtually made it his capital. From his time Kulu was called Makaraṇa or Nagar, from the name of this town, the proper spelling of which is Makaraṇa—the region of Makar, who was the founder of a primitive dynasty of Rájás in Kulu, before the Páli dynasty. S is pronounced as h in many parts of the hills to this day, and in ancient times this pronunciation was universal. You will find it Makarāvara in some places, but the final r must be redundant. Harcourt has the correct spelling in his book. It seems probable that Nagar also was called Makaraṇa as late as the time of Moorcroft who calls it by this name. We have documents in Chamier in which Kulu is called Makaraṇa as late as A.D. 1859. The Kulu Rajá continued to reside at Makaraṇa till the reign of Rajá Jagat Singh, A.D. 1639-72, who conquered the neighbouring state of Lag on the right bank of the Beás and then transferred the capital to Suldúpor and lived there. After this Makaraṇa was again deserted and fell into ruins.

2 Plinio, Historioli Dic., p. 1068.
Some historical notes on Kulu.

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Mr. G. C. L. Howell, I. C. S., as is that which follows. By a coincidence Dionysius Periegetes gives the name Megarasa to the Sutlej.1 This may give a clue to the origin of the name and to the extent of Makarasa. 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 Makarasa on the upper Beas with Megarasa, the Sutlej or some section of that river. The Mirich2 in Kulu do not appear to have been inhabitants of Makarasa 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 ineradicable 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 Ladhul 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 Ladhul. 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 cañon, 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. S. R., II, p. 12. Cunningham suggested some connection between the Megarasa and the Meghi tribe, but the seat of the Meghas is not on the Sutlej. It lies along the Jammu border, west of the Ravi for the most part: see Vol. III, p. 77, infra.

2 Vol. III, p. 130, infra.
Arrived at the summit of the Baralacha Pass the Tibetans turned sharp to their left and followed down the left bank of the Chandra. Here was pasturage 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 Runci (split rock) still known as the 'plain of the Kanauris'. There the middlemen from Kanaur in Bashahr and probably from Kothi Kanaur at the head of the Párbari 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 Bashabri sheep marched off, not laden so heavily as the Tibetan liangis 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 Párbari 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 1836, 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 Spiti, and finally destroyed the old trade route. The Spiti 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 Losar. 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 Láhul and Malána, have left their name on the 'Kanauris' Plain' near the modern camping ground of Phati Runci and the whole of the upper Párbari 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 Sindh 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 Samani 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 Iraq, 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 Ghazni was far from finding in Multan a point d'appui for his inroads into the Punjab. Its ruler, Abu'1-Fath, the Lawi, indeed, actually allied himself with Anandpal, and necessitated Mahmud's third expedition into India in 1006.

That the Qarmatian heresy had taken deep root in Sindh is proved by the fact that the Sumras had been won over to it before 1032, in which year an epistle, preserved in the sacred books of the Druses, was sent by Muktana Bahá-ud-Din, the chief apostle of Hamza and the principal compiler of the Druse scriptures, to the Unitarians of Multan and Hindustan in general, and to Shaikh Ibn Súmar Rájá Bal in particular.

The assassination of Muhammad of Ghor in 1206 is ascribed to the Khokhars by some and to the Maláhidah by earlier and better authorities. The Imam Fakhr-ud-Din Rázi was accused of having brought it

1 Mahdib's invasion of 864 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 Punnu and Lahore: E. H. I., I., p. 116.
2 E. H. I., I., p. 470.
3 16°, p. 491.
about on account of his friendship with Sultán Muhammad, the Khwárazm Shah.\(^1\)

In 1175 Muhammad of Ghor led his forces to Múltán 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 Fírúzí College to which in 1227 Minháj-i-Saraj, the historian, was appointed, and he also held the Qázi ship of the forces of Álú-d-Dí'n Bahrám Sháh, son of Násir-úd-Dín Qábácha.

In 1229 Altamsh received a diploma of investiture from the Abbási Khalífa of Baghídád, confirming him in the sovereignty of Hindustán.\(^2\)

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 Abbáís, made diligent enquiries from many travellers about the Khalífás of that time, and learned that its representatives were the Khalífás of Egypt. Accordingly he sent despatches to Egypt, had his own name and title removed from his coins and those of the Khalifa substituted. In 1343 Háji Sa'úd Sarsari 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.\(^3\) The historian Zia-úd-Dí'n Baráni indeed writes as if some previous Sultáns had received such confirmation but not all.\(^4\) In 1356 however Sultán Fíroz III followed this precedent and was invested by the Khalífa with the title of Sayyíd-ús-Salátín, robes being also sent at the same time to him and to his heir and principal minister.\(^5\)

Meanwhile Delhi had replaced Uch as the centre of Moslem learning. In 1232 Altamsh made Minháj-i-Saraj, the historian, Qázi, Kháib and Imám of Gwálíor, and five years later he was made chief of the Násirah College at Delhi and Qázi of the empire in 1242, but in the following year he resigned those appointments. In 1246 he was reappointed to the college, and obtained the lectureship of the Jámí' Masjíd with the Qázi ship of Gwálíor. In 1251 he again became Qázi of the empire and the capital, but was deprived of the post in 1253.

He was however appointed Qázi for a third time in 1256 and probably retained the office till his death.\(^6\) His name does not however appear in the list of the Qázi s of the court of Altamsh, but that

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3. Paríshta, Persian text, Pt. I., p. 66; Thomas, Chronicles, p. 47; Lane Poole, Muhammadan Dynasties, p. 296.
4. He had probably solicited it in 1340; Duff, pp. 219, 220, E. H. I., I., pp. 249 and 250. But the date is not certain; cf. p. 568, note 1. For Delhi as Dár-ul-Kháfíat under Quth-ud-Dí'n Húm, cf. T. N., p. 525; Faríshta, Persian text, Pt. I., p. 140.
6. T. N., pp. 268-269. Raevity adds some interesting information regarding Minháj. He was a Súfí, a scholar and one of those who would become filled with religious excitement, on hearing the singing at sikhs and fáshírs, and when he became Qázi of Hindustán that office assumed integrity and rectitude: id., p. 333.
office may have been separate from those he held. We read of three such Qāzīs and a fourth was styled 'Qāzi of the army'.

In the beginning of Sultan Raziyyat's reign one Nūr, a Turk, incited an outbreak among the Qirāmita and Mulāhidā 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 Islam, the mob listening openly to the harangues of Nūr. He used to denounce the Ulamā as Nāsibi (setters-up) and Murjīs (procrastinators), especially those of the Hanāfi and Shi'a sects. In 1237 these sectaries made a desperate attack on the Muhammadans in the Muizzi College, which they had mistaken for the Jāmi' Masjid, but they were suppressed not without much bloodshed.

Khwāja Qutb-ud-Dīn Bakhtyār Kāki of Ush near Baghdād came to Multān, in the time of Nāsir-ud-Dīn Qabācha, and subsequently to Delhi, where Altamsh offered him the office of Shaikh-ul-Islām which he refused. To his memory Altamsh erected the great Qutb Minār at Old Delhi. He died in 1235.

He was, it is said, the disciple of Qāzi Muhammad Hamīd-ud-Dīn Nāgauri, and the following table of spiritual descent may be drawn up according to the Chishti tradition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hamīd-ud-Dīn of Nāgaur.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qutb-ud-Dīn Bakhtyār.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farīd-ud-Dīn Shakarganj.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khwāja Nizām-ud-Dīn Aulia.</td>
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<td>Nāsir-ud-Dīn Chiragh-i-Delhi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fakhr-ud-Dīn.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shāh Nizāh Ahmad.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nūr Muhammad of Māhrān.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khwāja Shāh Sultāmān of Taunsa Sharif.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At Kot Karor was born in 1170 Shaikh Bahā-ud-Dīn Zakaria, who subsequently became a pupil of Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn Subarwardi of Baghdād. Thence he returned to Multān and became the intimate friend of Shaikh Fārīd-ud-Dīn Shakarganj. The latter, perhaps the most famous Muhammadan saint of the Punjab, flourished in the 13th century.

Nizām-ud-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 Amīr Khushru.

1 Who consider good works unnecessary and believe that faith alone suffices for a Moslem's salvation, hell, being reserved for infidels: Sale, Koran, pp. 122, and 130-1.
2 T. N., pp. 646-7.
3 Sleeman says that Qutb-ud-Dīn was a disciple of Moin-ud-Dīn of Ajmer, the greatest of all their saints: Rambles and Recollections, II., p. 165.
5 Born in 1173, he died in 1265 at the advanced age of 92, ib., p 129. 569 H. = 664 H.
6 He was born at Budīsh in 1239 and died in Delhi in 1325, age 89. 634 H. = 72.
The Shaikh Jamál-ud-Dín, Bustámi, was the first to hold the office of Shaikh-ul-Islám at Delhi and on his death, according to Raverty, Altamsh wished the Khwája Quth-ud-Dín Khán to accept the office. This is, however, very doubtful for the latter saint die in 1235 and the former in 1239. However this may be, the Shaikh-ul-Islám took part in politics at a very early period, for it was on secret instructions received from Shaikh Jamál-ud-Dín, the Sayyid Quth-ud-Dín and the Qázi Shams-ud-Dín Bahráchi that the rebels under Ulugh Khán attacked Delhi in 1257. Jamál Dín then must have lived till after 1257 and on his death two years later could not have been succeeded by the Khwája.

Jalál-ud-Dín Firoz Sháh I 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 Sidi Maula, a darwesh from the upper country, 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 khánqáh he expended thousands. He visited Shaikh Faríd at Ajodhan, but disregarded that saint’s advice to abstain from meddling with politics and made a disciple of the Sultán’s eldest son who called himself the Sidi’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 Sidi was to be proclaimed khalífa and marry a daughter of Sultán Násir-ud-Dín. Information of this conspiracy was, however, soon brought to the Sultán, but the conspirators strenuously denied their guilt and no evidence could be obtained against them. Nevertheless Sidi Maula, despite the failure of the legal process against him, was destined to suffer death. The Sultán bade the darweshes 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 Siwálk in that same year. This event must have occurred about 1295. Yet when a thousand thágs were captured he refused to execute any one of them and sent them in boats towards Lakhnauti where they were set free.

The year 1296 was marked by a remarkable assassination. The saint Nizám-ud-Dín Aulíá, whose shrine is at Delhi, had roused the jealousy

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1 T. N., pp. 718, 622 and 707. According to D. H. Macdonald (Muslim Theology, p. 118) the dignity of Shaikh-ul-Islám was not created in Turkey till 1453.

2 Wildyat-i-mulk-i-bád.

3 It was not, says the Tárikh-i-Firoz Sháhí, the custom in those days to extort confession by beating. A large fine 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 Qázi Jalál Kashání actually sent as Qázi to Búdham, the remainder being banished.

4 E. H. I., III, pp. 144-6.

5 ib., 141.

of the emperor Jaiî-ud-Dîn Firoz Shâh Khilji by his influence and display,1 and he had threatened to humble the proud priest on his return to Delhi from the Deccan. The saint’s friends urged him to quit the city and seek safety elsewhere, but his invariable reply to their entreaties was Hunoz Delhi durr ast,2 ‘Delhi is yet afar’, a saying which has passed into a proverb. His courage or confidence was justified by the event. Firoz Shâh was treacherously murdered at Karrâ on the Ganges by his nephew and son-in-law Alâ-ud-Dîn and never reached the capital.3 With reference to this event Sleemân writes as follows:—

“One is tempted to ask why Nizâm-ud-Dîn Aulîa countenanced Firoz Shâh II’s murder if he was a thiq of great note, seeing that the Sultan had been, as we have seen, extremely, not to say absurdly, lenient towards that fraternity ’4, and Mr. Muhammad Hamîd adds:—‘The phrase ‘Delhi is far off yet’ is said to have been uttered by Shâh Nizâm-ud-Dîn, Mahbûb-i-Ilâhi, of Delhi—wrongly supposed by some European scholars to be the pîr of thieves and robbers—when he was pressed under threats of death to repay several lacas of rupees which he had received as alms from Nasir-ud-Dîn Khusrav Khân. Though Tughlât Shâh had already reached Kîlokheri, 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’. Sleemân clearly did not believe the tradition that Nizâm-ud-Dîn was the patron saint of thieves. The origin of the tradition will be discussed later.

Alâ-ud-Dîn’s reign was also marked by an outbreak of religious fanaticism at Delhi itself. In 1300 one Hájî, a mauola, i.e. a slave or rather client of a kothâ, seized his opportunity while the Sultan Alâ-ud-Dîn was besieging Rentambhôr 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 Tûrgâi invested Delhi, where Alâ-ud-Dîn unable to meet them in the open field entrenched his camp. Their retreat after a two months’ siege was attributed to the power of the famous saint Nizâm-ud-Dîn Aulîa.

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 Sârîn-i-‘Arisfâ and the Insâkrîh-i-Anâyî-r-i-Sîndh mention the sudden death of Ghiyâs-ud-Dîn Tughlât Shâh in 1325 owing to a curse uttered by the great Shâh Rukn-i-‘Alam of Multân, who felt insulted at some remarks made by that sovereign.

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1 He was believed to possess the dast-i-qhâsil, or invisible hand because his expenditure was even more lavish than the emperor’s own, though he had no ostensible source of income.
2 Equivalent to ‘there’s many a slip ’twixt the cup and the lip’.
4 Sleemân says ‘it is very likely that he did strike this army with a curse by cutting some of their leaders assassinated in one night’. There appears to be a similar event to whatever to support this conjecture.
Firos Sháh III owed his elevation to the throne of Delhi in 1351 in large measure to the support of the shaikhs.  

Firos Sháh built a large number of cities, forts, bands, mosques and tombs. His cities were Hisár Firozáb, Fatehábád, Firozábád, Firozábád Harni Kháírá, Tughlaqpur Aínsa, Tughlaqpur Malúk-i-Makút and Jaunpur, and everywhere he erected strong places for halts in travelling. His palaces were also numerous and he erected several bands, including the Band-i-Fath-Khání, Band-i-Malája (to which he supplied Ab-i-Zunzam), Band-i-Máhpálpur, Band-i-Shakr Kháání, Band-i-Sáhára, Band-i-Sábhiáná, and Band-i-Wazirábánd. He also built monasteries and inns for travellers. It is recorded that he erected 120 monasteries in Delhi and Firozábád 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. Malik Gházi Sháhna was their chief architect, and held the gold staff of office while Abíl Haq (Jáhir Sundhár) had a golden axe. A capable shahna (superintendent) was appointed over each class of artisans. Firoz Sháh 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 takhts (sofas or beds) of sandal wood. At the close of his life Firoz Sháh took special pains to repair mosques, and appointed to each of them a muzzrin and an imám. He also provided for light and carpets.  

Firos Sháh 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 mahuq, by having his head shaved like a qalándar.  

Firos Sháh 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 dánghá, an impost levied at one danga per tanka; mustakhal or ground rent, also called kárá-zámin; jazar, an impost on butchers at 12 jítals for every ox killed; duri or rozi, 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 Firozábád on bullocks. Firoz Sháh levied jasya from the Brahmins who had been exempt in former reigns. They protested but finally agreed to pay it at the lowest rate, i.e. 10 tankas and 50 jítals per head.  

Firos Sháh visited the tombs of the saints of Bhakkar, and renewed the former grants of the people of that place. Thence he

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1 E. H. I., III, pp. 275-6.
2 Zamzam is the well at Mecca held sacred by auhhamadas.
3 Tārīkh-i Firoz Sháh by Sháma Siráj Afif, Persian text, pp. 329-33. Takht here is explained to mean the Hindi chaparkhát—a bed with a canopy. What the king actually presented were canopies supported on a sandal-wood frame and pillars.
4 Ib., p. 511.
5 Ib., pp. 271-2.
6 A jitał = 1/3rd of an anna.
7 Tārīkh-i Firoz Sháh, pp. 373-79.
8 Ib., pp. 382-4.
went to Uch where he rebuilt the monastery of Shaikh Jamál-ud-Dín of Uch, and restored villages and gardens to his sons and bestowed fresh pensions and presents on them and other people of Uch. He also repaired the monastery of Shaikh Firdús-ud-Dín at Ajudhan, and granted robes of honor to his descendants and confirmed them in possession of their villages and lands.

Sultán Fíroz has left an interesting account of the heretical movements of his reign—and of his methods of dealing with them. He suppressed the Rawákzíz, a Shi’a sect, by burning their writings and punishing them in various ways, but apparently without bloodshed. Another sect of heretical sectarians, mulhid abántián, used to meet by night to drink wine and indulge, he writes, in promiscuous intercourse. He beheaded its leaders and banished or imprisoned other members of it. Another sect he describes as atheistical and at the same time as worshippers of one Ahmad Bahári who was regarded as God. Its members were imprisoned and banished. Another self-styled prophet, Rukn-ud-Dín, asserted himself to be the Imam Mahdí, 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. Sultán Fíroz based his fiscal system on the letter of the law at a considerable sacrifice of revenue, and in return for the tax of toleration (sur-i-zimníyá) exacted the abolition of new idol temples and put down proselytising innovations with great severity. But he appears to have respected existing Hindu institutions. The reign of Sultán Fíroz, however, was chiefly remarkable for his educational policy and his reorganization of existing institutions. To enable us to realize 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 Muizzí college at Delhi, doubtless founded by Muhammad of Ghor or one of his successors in the Muizzia dynasty which he founded and which was called after his name of Muizz-ud-Dín. Next in point of time came the Fírúzí College at Uch (c. 1227). Jalándhar probably possessed another ancient college, but the origin of the famous Saints of Jalándhar dates

1 Táríkh-i-Fíroz Sháhí by Zia-i-Harní, Persian text, pp. 688-9.
2 This Sultán’s orthodoxy is highly commended by his historian. He showed great respect to the Shaikh-ul-Islám Ahs-ud-Dín and his successor Firdús-ud-Dín of Ajudhan. Towards the close of his reign he himself took the tonsure and became a wáhíd. A less pleasing feature of his reign was the levy of the jizya from Brahmans: E. H. I., III, pp. 362-3 and 366.
3 Th., p. 434.
5 Th., p. 364.
6 Th., p. 360.
7 It is only alluded to in T. N., p. 646. It was not among the buildings repaired by Sultán Fíroz : E. H. I., III, p. 383 f.
8 Raverty’s Tabáqát-i-Násirí, London, 1881, p. 541; it was probably founded by the Malik Fírúz-ud-Dín, Aláma, the Sálár, prince of Khwárazm, Th., p. 626, a noble of the Sultán Altamah.
9 Th., p. 679.
Later educational institutions.

from a much later period, probably not earlier than the close of the 18th century. These saints were of Afghan or kindred origin and among the earliest was the Imam Nasir-ud-Din Shafi. Another was an ancestor of the saint, influential in the Afghan hills, known as the Pir Roshan, the founder of the Roshanâschism.1 But Delhi was the principal centre of religious instruction. The Nâsiriah college was founded there, probably by Altamash 2 who appointed the Persian historian Mitbâj-ud-Din, formerly principal of the college at Uch, to this foundation in 1237 A. D.

The later and more orthodox Muhammadians 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 Muhammadian world, and still prevails.

(i) After the Muizzî and Nâsiriah colleges at Delhi comes Ala-ud-Din’s college, which was attached to his tomb near the Qutb Minâr, within its enclosure. It was repaired by Firoz Shâh.3 The building is totally ruined but has recently been cleared from debris.

(ii) Firoz Shâh, 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 Ala-‘tank and known by the name of Madrasa-i-Firoz Shâhi. Zia-i-Barni, a contemporary historian, has lavished much praise on this building and says that Maulana Jalâl-ud-Din Rûmî, a scholar of great repute, was appointed to teach fiqh (commentaries on the Qur’an), hadîth (tradition), fiqh (Muhammadian Law) in the madrasa.4

(iii) The second madrasa built by Firoz Shâh was at Sirî. It also has been greatly praised by Zia-i-Barnî who records that Najin-ud-Din of Samarqand, a great scholar of the time, gave religious instruction in that madrasa.5

(iv) There was also a third madrasa built by Firoz Shâh in connection with his son Fateh Khân’s tomb known as Qadam Sharîf.6

(v) In the year 1561 Maham Angah, the wet nurse of Akbar, built a madrasa attached to the mosque known as Khair-ul-Manâzil7 near the old Fort.

(vi) There was a college or madrasa on the roof of the tomb of Humâyûn. It was at one time an institution of some importance and men of learning such as Maulana Nûr-ud-Din Tarkhân were appointed to the charge of the place.8

1 Temple, Legends, III, p. 150 f.
2 One of his titles was Nâsir-ud-Dîn Khabja, since Sultan Firoz relates how he rebuilt the college (madrasa) of Altamash which had been destroyed: E. H. I., III, p. 393.
4 Tahir-ki-Firoz Shâhi by Zia-i-Barnî, p. 503-5.
5 lb., pp. 56-57.
7 Ib., ch. III, p. 54.
8 Carr Stephen, Delhi, u. 207.
(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 Raushan-ud-Daula associated with a mosque in Daría Bazar, Sháhjahánábád, 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, Dái Ládo, wet nurse of Jahangír, founded a school which continued to flourish till the collapse of the Mughal power.

During the reign of Bahol Khán Lodi in 1472 A D Batála in Gurdás pur was founded by Rai Rám Deo, a Bhatti, to whom the tract between the Sutlej and Chenáb had been farmed by Tátár Khán, viceroy of Lahore. Rám Deo was converted by Shaikh Muhammad Qádirí of Lahore. In later times Batála enjoyed a great reputation for learning and the saints Sháháb-ud-Dín Bukhári, Sháh Ismaíl Sháh Nía matulla and Shaikh Alláh Dád lived there. The tomb of the first-named still exists in the quarter occupied by his descendants, the Bukhári Snyyids, and that of his still more distinguished kinsman Mauj Darya stands at Khán Fateh, five miles to the west of the town. But the last-named may be really buried at Lahore.

Agha Badi-ud-dín Shahid, 11th in descent from Sayyid Abdul Qádir Jfáni, migrated to India in the time of Humáyún, and 6th in descent from him was Khán Bahádúr Qázi Ináyatulla whose eldest son Sayyid Muhammad Akram was qázi in Montgomery. Another son, Muhammad Fazl Dín, settled in Batála about 300 years ago. He founded its Madrasa Qádirí in Aurangzeb’s reign, and in that of Farrukhsír about 100 villages were granted him in jíjífr. On his death S. Ghulám Qádir Sháh, whose books on fízro were well-known in the Punjab, became saijída-nashí and obtained villages worth Rs. 12,000 a year from Ahmad Sháh Abdáli. His qádi is still held by his descendants, 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 Sharíf. Banda indeed set fire to the whole town and pillaged it, beginning with the Qázi’s mahált, then its wealthiest quarter.

Mulláh Abdul Hákím and Sádulláh ‘Allami, afterwards the grand wasír of Sháh Juhán, were class-fellows and studied together in the

1 Carr Stephen, Delhi, pp. 263 et seq.
2 A. S. Sanddád, ch. III, p. 81.
3 Hist. of Lahore, p. 286.
4 Qázi of Sialkot, in Montgomery, Kashmir and Kábul from time to time, and founder of Chah Qázi in Gurdás pur, where he died.
5 Gurdás pur GAZETTER, 1914, p. 28.
6 Khazán Singh, PHILOSOphlE Hist. of the SEKH RELIGION, I., p. 216.
mukta\-b at the Kashmiri mosque near the Imám Sáhib's mausoleum.
Both were poor and Mullah Abdul Hákim's parents were weavers.
The most famous of his teachers was Mullah Kámal Akhund of
Kashmir. Abdul Hákim distinguished himself in logic and philo-
sophy, but his renown did not spread abroad until his introduction
to the court of Sháh Jahán which occurred in this way: Sádullah
'Allamí, when he rose to the dignity of wá\.fí, remembered his
class-fellow as they had been great friends in early days. He men-
tioned 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. Mullah 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 mullah 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 mullah lived for a long time
at court, but finally came back to Siálkot 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 dis-
courses, even from Basra, Egypt, Baghdád, Pengál, Kashmir Turki-
stán 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
Siálkotí' is still used and appreciated by students of philosophy. It
is a text-book in the Colleges there. Besides this his 'elucidations' or
Háshiáh 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 Jahán was so pleased with the mullah that when he came
back from Delhi to Siálkot 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 Mullah Abdul Hákim professed the
Shafáí doctrine of Islám, 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 Mián Ghausá disposed
of all his valuable manuscripts out of sheer poverty. Mián Ghausá
died recently and now nothing remains of the old philosopher but a con-
fused heap of stones to mark the last resting place of one who once ruled
the intellectual world of India. He is buried at Siálkot 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 Islam:—

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 Sufi, but disapproved the ecstatics 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-Jahán 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 jaháds or accession of a new king. But the department had become most corrupt and especially so in the administration of the sayárgání or grants. Akbar's Sadras were:

1. Shaikh Gadáí, until 988 H.  
2. Khwája Muhammad Sálib, until 971 H.  
3. Shaikh Abdunnabi, until 986 H.

1 See the guarded account in the Aín-i-Akbari; Blochmann's Trans., III, p. 420 f.
2 Blochmann, op cit., p. 440.
3 E. H. I., VI, pp. 29-30, and Aín, I, 189.
4 Aín, I, p. 270.
5 To the vitriolic pen of Al-Badauni we owe many details regarding these Sadras. Akbar's efforts to revise the lists of religious grants seem to have given offense to Al-Badauni. Possibly his own pocket had been affected.

Shaikh Gadáí, Kamboh, was the son of Jamál, Kamboh, a poet of Delhi, who after the second defeat during the 'exit to Gujrat' had come to the Khán Khánán. Through his influence he was appointed Sadr in 995 H. The Khán Khánán and even the emperor himself attended singing parties at his house, which Al-Badauni describes in severe terms. Shaikh Gadáí drew the pen of obloquy through the grants and pensions of old servants of the Crown, but to any one who dissemi himself by attending his ladies he gave a sayárgání. He died in 978 H. : Muntakhab-ul-Tawdríkh, translation W. H. Howe, II, pp. 22 and 124; Mawar-ul-Umara, II, pp. 540-41.

6 In 989 H. Khwáji Muhammad Sálib of Hirát, grandson of Khwája Abdulla Marwárid, a well-known wáhir, was appointed Sadr, but without absolutely absolute powers of granting 'asáf, and subsistence (ma'âtis 'máš), as they were subject to administrative control: Muntakhab-ul-Tawdríkh, Howe, II, pp. 49-9.

7 In 972 or 971 H. Akbar sent for Shaikh Abd-un-Nabi, the traditionalist, grandson of Shaikh Abd-ul-Qádús of Ganguh, one of the greatest Shaikhs of Hind, and made him chief Sadr, so that acting with Muzaffar Khán, he might pay the pensions. He soon acquired absolute power over the grants of allowances, lands and pensions, but by degrees matters reverted to their old position. About 933 H., when Shaikh Abd-un-Nabi was rising to power, the emperor used to go to his house to hear lectures on the traditions of the Prophet, and make Jahángir attend his school to learn the 40 shádas of the renowned master, Muntakhab-ul-Tawdríkh, Howe, II, pp. 9-9.

8 In this year Akbar gave orders that no 'aimas in the empire should be recognised by the karófi (revenue officer) of a pargana, unless the farmás by which the
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 Birkkar 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 Reazil, the
Rheat's headman, or his chamberlains, door-keepers andweepers. Many of the Shaik's
died without effecting their object from the heat caused by the crowds. The Shaikh would
for example allow a teacher of the Hidaya and other books 100 bighas more or less; and
though such a man might have held a big possession of a greater area, the Shaikh would
take it away. But to men of no estate, even to Hindus, he would grant lands. Thus
learning and learned men fell daily in estimation. Even in the hall of audience the
Shaikh used to insult great Ansars 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 shaikh Abd-an-Nabi told Akbar that a certain mujaddid 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 957 H. Shaikh
Abd-an-Nabi and the Makhdum-ul-Mulk tempted mankind by suggesting that the
Qur'a was a forgery, by casting doubts on the authority of the prophets and Imams and
denying the existence of demons, angels, all mysteries, signs and miracles. At length
owing to the enmity 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 986 H. Shaikh Abd-an-Nabi and his enemy the Makhdum-ul-Mulk were banished to
Mecca, the post of Sadir being conferred on Sultan Khwaaja. In 999 H. they
returned to Gujrat, where the Makhdum-ul-Mulk died at Ahmadabad. Shaikh Abd-an-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 Raja Todar Mal and imprisoned like a defaulting tax-gatherer and the histor-
ian adds, that one night a mobstrangled him. This took place in 991 H.: op cit.,
276, 311 and 83.

4. Sultan Khwaaja, until his death in 993 H. 1
5. Amir Fatullah Shtrazi, till 997. 2

1 In 984 H. Sultan Khwaaja (Abdul Azim, son of Khawaaja Khwaid Mahmud) was
appointed Mir Haijji and given six lakhs of rupees to distribute among the deserving poor
of Mecca and Medina and build a khana in the sacred precincts. He returned in 986 H.,
bringing back Arab horses, Abyssinian slaves, and other presents for the emperor, who made
him Sadir of all Hindustan with the rank of 1000. A disciple of the emperor, he died in
992 H. and was buried in Fathpur fort. Akbar bestowed his daughter in marriage on
him as the prince Daulat: Mundakkab-ul-Tawirik, Lowe, II, pp. 241 and 275: and

2 In 990 H. Mir Fatullah of Shtraz who in theology, mathematics, physics and all
sciences, both logical and traditional, and in talismans, incantations and discovering treasure
was unrivalled in that age, in obedience to a farmdn, left Abd Khan in the Deccan and
came to Fathpur. The Khan Khwaidn and Hakim Abdul Path by imperial command met
him, and brought him to the presence. He was made Sadir, but his only duty was to
consecrate the lands of the poor. When the emperor learnt that he had been a pupil of
Mir Ghiyas-ul-Din Mansur of Shtraz, who was none too strict in religion, he fancied that
he would gladly accept his schemes, but Fatullah was so staunch Shrs that even in the hall
of State he said the Shis prayers with perfect composure, a thing no one else would have
dared to. His Majesty thereforeclassed him as a bigot, but connived at his practices,
and married him to a daughter of Muzaffar Khan, associating him in the wazibusip with
Raja Todar 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-Daulat and a present of Rs. 3000, appointing him sadr-in-chief of Hindos-
tan, but posted him to the Deccan. His deputy Kamali Shtrazi remained at the capital
to bring to court the lackland a'madara, some of whom were still left scattered here and
there. Under him the desert reached its zenith, but by degrees things came to such a
pass that Shah Fatullah, for all his pomp, could not grant 5 bighas of land. Nay, after
the withdrawal of the grants the very soil became the haunt of wild beasts instead of
a'madara, and husbandmen. In 998 H. Akbar sent Azad-ul-Daulat from the Court to
Malwa, in 995 H. he was sent to govern Basar and in 995 H. he received Basar in jagir,
with all its charity lands. In 997 H. he died of fever in Kashmir and was buried on the
Takh-i-Sulaimn, a hill near a city of that province: Mundakkab-ul-Tawirik, Lowe,
6. Sadr Jahán, whose name coincided with his title. He had been *Musti-i-mundîlik-i-mubruss* and continual to serve under Jahángir. 2

Another Sadr was Maulána Ablul Báiq, of unknown date. Shaikh Gadálí 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 Sultán Khwája 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. 3

In 989 H. Akbar again entrusted the Punjab to Saíd Khán, Rájá Bhagwán Dási, and Mán Singh. To investigate the management of grants in the province, he appointed a Sadr to each Doáb, viz. Mullah Ilahídád of Amroha, Sherí the poet, Ilahídád Nabawí of Sultánpur, and Sháh Muhammad of Shábábád. The first two were remarkable for their goodness and the last two for their badness. He also appointed Shaikh Faízi Sadr of a Doáb (probably that between the Sutlej and Beás). But Hakím Humam and Hakím Abdul Fath, the Sadors of the capital, he sent beyond the Ganges. 4

Akbar presumably conducted ecclesiastical business in much the same way as his successors, for instance Sháh Jahán, 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 Sadors. He also brought to his notice cases of needy scholars, Sayyids, Shaikhs and holy men and obtained grants of money for them. 5

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 987 H. signed a document declaring the superiority of the Imám-i-ádíil or just leader over the _mufti-hid_. 6

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1 Besides these there were provincial Sadr-i-sud in each Sábah under the (direct ?) orders of the Sadr-i-Jahán, Sadr-i-Kul or Sadr-i-Sudár as he was also called. The Sadr-i-Jahán often wielded great power, e.g. Abdunnabi had two men put to death for heresy: *ib.*, III, 271.

2 Sadr Jahán, _mufti_ of the imperial dominions, who had been appointed to a command-ership of 1000, joined the Divine Faith, as did also his two foolish sons in 1004 H: *Muntakhab-ul-Zawírih*, Lowe, I, p. 419.

3 *Ib.*, III, pp. 273-4 and 270. These grants were designated _a'íma_, and the holders _a'imaddr_. The former word is still found as a place-name in the Punjab, e.g. in Hoshi-ápur.


6 _Muntakhab-ul-Zawírih_, Lowe, I, pp. 185-6. This document was signed, not with- out much debate and many mental reservations, by Qázi Jásid-ud-Dín of Multán, Qázi-i-n- quzzât, Abdunnabi, Sadr Jahán as _mufti_ of the empire and others.
This document made Akbar supreme head of the faith and was soon followed by the attempt of Hájí Ibrahim of Sirhind, who is said to have translated the Atharva Veda, 1 to adduce proofs that the emperor was the Sáhib-i-Zamán, or ‘Man of the Age’, a title frequently given to the Imám Mahdí, who was to reconcile the 72 sects of Islám, and in 988 H. this movement received some support from the learned. 2 Among Moslem doctors who are mentioned as having influenced Akbar’s conduct is Shaikh Táj-ud-Dín of Delhi, son of Shaikh Zakaria of Ajodhan and a disciple of Shaikh Zamán of Pánipat. Táj-ud-Dín was styled Táj-ul-Arinín, or crown of the Súfis, and the emperor listened whole nights to his ‘Súfic trifles’ according to Al-Budáuní. 3

Muhammad Akram was appointed Qázi of the imperial court in 1698 and died in 1705. 4 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 ulamá as a class appear to have come in for very severe treatment and many Shaikhs and ćaqfís were sent to Qandahár and elsewhere to be exchanged for horses. The sect of the Iláhíís met with similar treatment. 5

The story of Dárá Shikoh may now be read in J. N. Sarkar’s History of Aurangzeb 6 and his place in literature in Pandít Sheo Narain’s paper. 7 In the Saifná卜-ul-Aulía he calls himself a Hanafi and his poetical name was Qádii, 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 Qádiria order by Muhammad Sháh Tisán-ullah in 1049 H., he may have been influenced by political motives to adopt a vague Súñism 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 Bábá Lál show that

1 Muntakhab-ul-Tawárikh, pp. 189 and 105.
2 Ib., p. 190. The Muntakhab-ul-Tawárikh, Lowe, II, p. 395 (Persian text, pp. 286-7) ascribes this incident to 990 H. and adds that Khwája Manlána of Shiráx, ʿthe heretic of Jafrán’, brought a pamphlet by some of the šari'ís of Mecca, which quoted a tradition that the earth would exist for 7000 years, and as that period was now over the promised Mahdí 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)’. 8
3 Ib., p. 181. Shaikh Zamán was in Súñism and pantheism second only to Shaikh-ibn-Árabí. He was the author of one commentary on the Ládwá and of another comprehensive one on the Nushat-ul-Ara’idh.
4 Sarkar, op. cit., p. 142. The kind of question that was referred to the muftís is illustrated by an incident of Aurangzeb’s reign. Some Hindus were taken prisoner at the siege of ñatára and the emperor directed the Court Qázi Muhammad Akram to investigate the question with the help of the muftís. He reported that under the canon law they could be released if they accepted Islám—but that the Muslims taken should be imprisoned for 8 years; ib., p. 141. But he soon reviewed his decision in the light of the Fátawá-ul-Álamgíri and the prisoners were impartially executed. The function of mufti was to expound the law and assist the Qázi by supplying him with fatawa or decisions; p. 142.
5 Muntakhab-ul-Tawárikh, pp. 278 & 191.
6 Two vols., Calcutta, 1912.
they are founded on fact. Though specially fond of Lahore his influence was felt further afield, and the shrine of Jati Abdál or the chaste Abdál at Rámpur in Kabírwálá tahsil, Multán, was founded by one of his servants. No woman is admitted into this shrine. 1

The austere orthodoxy of Aurangzeb found no nobler field for its activity than the reformation of abuses within the fold of Islám 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 Sháfi'í tenets 2 he recognised in legal matters the authority of the Hanáfi School and caused a digest of the conflicting rulings of the qází’s and muftís, which had been delivered without any authority, to be drawn up by a commission under Sháikh Nizám. As its members were well paid this commission cost about two lákhs of rupees. 3 The Fátwa-i-Álamgírí, which is known at Mecca as a Fatwa-i-Hind, was composed of extracts in Arabic from several collections of fatwás of older date and also from other legal treatises of a more abstract character by writers of the Hanáfi School. It was commenced in the 11th year of Aurangzeb’s reign (1670 A.D.) and was completed before his death. 4 Sarkár describes it as a mere compilation though it cost nearly two lákhs of rupees. 5

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. 6

Aurangzeb changed the title of the imperial slaves from ghulám to chela because he considered it an act of impious presumption for one man to call another ghulám, men being slaves of God alone. 7

In 1650 the emperor re-imposed the jizya, a measure which led to a commotion at Delhi. The Muntakhab-ul-Lubáb implies that it was imposed to curb the infidels, i.e., the Satnámís, who had broken out just before. But the Ma’dísí places that outbreak five years before the re-imposition. 8

It was again abolished in the brief reign of Abul Barakát (1719). 9

1 Multan Gazetteer, p. 22.
2 E. H. I., VII, p. 158.
3 Íb., pp. 159-60.
4 Two books of this digest are translated in a condensed form in Baillie’s Moohammedan Law of Sale (London, 1850), and it was largely used by the same author in his Digest of Moohammedan Law (London, 1875). But no translation of the work as a whole exists in English.
7 Sarkár, op. cit., p. 101. Does this account for the existence of a Chela sect among the Si-lás, Vol. III, p. 419, infra? Possibly the Cholás were originally Ghuláms, as on the frontier.
8 E. H.I., VII, p. 298.
9 Íb., p. 479.
No trace seems to exist in the Punjab of the hisba jurisdiction, though Sarkar cites an order of Aurangzeb reproving the Prince Muhammad Azam Sháh for taking upon himself the functions of the muhtasis or 'censor of morals'. 1 The muhtasis 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 Maan, taught there, one of his pupils being Shaikh Muhammad Baká, author of the Miráti-Allám and a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad of Sirhind. 2

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. 3

Sialkot also held some position in the learned world, for Chulpi Abdulla, son of the celebrated Maulana Abdul Hakim of Sialkot, was employed to translate the Fatáwa-i-Allámgi into Persian. 4

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 Ali in the khutba. Against this innovation Ján Muhammad and Háji Yár Muhammad, two of the most eminent scholars in the city, protested and after other and more violent protests had been ignored the khatib of the mosque was stabbed by a Túrání Mughal and finished off by the mob in the forecourt of the mosque. 5 Apparently the imperial order implied a claim by the emperor to be styled or regarded as the Khalifa. Háji Yár 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. 6

Islamic Theology. 7

In order to understand the present position of Islám 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 Islám has been that of a conflict between two principles, the authority of the Qurán and the various influences which sought to modify it. The contribution made by the Prophet to Islám was legislation pure and simple. Since his death there has been no legislation, properly so-called, but only interpretation of the Qurán. This is the more momentous in that the sphere of law is much wider in Islám than it has ever been with western nations. Passing over the various sources,

such as the hadīṣ or tradition, which were drawn up to interpret, amplify and modify the Qurān we find four great legal schools developing in succession. Of these the first was that of Abu Hanīfah, 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 istīḥādān 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 Hanīfah died in 722 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 istīlāḥ 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 Hanīfah, and it had little influence in the east.

We next pass from simple development to development through conflict. Hitherto dissension 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 Qurān 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-Shāfi‘ī (died 819 A.D.) struck out a middle course. An absolutely authentic tradition he regarded as of equally divine authority with the Qurān, 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-Shāfi‘ī erected the theory of ijmā‘ or agreement, already adumbrated by Mālik, into a principle, and taught that whatever the community of Islām has agreed upon is of God. But he also accepted gīyās (analogy) as a guide and thus gave elasticity to his system. Ash-Shāfi‘ī 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 Kehals as an excuse for eating the flesh of unclean animals.

Against Ash-Shāfi‘ī’s teaching the principal revolt was headed by his own pupil Dāūd-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 Aḥl-i-hadīṣ of

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1 Lit. ‘approving, praising’, or ‘considering as a favour’; Catalogo.
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 (qanûns) 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 Ibâdite 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 Imám. They utterly reject the idea of co-ordinate schools of law, and to the doctrine of ikhtilaf or 'variability' under local conditions they oppose his authority. They still have mujtahids, 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 Turís, the office of mujtahid 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 Murji'ites 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 ruler of the time, even though his personal un worthiness were plain, must have had important consequences throughout Islám. The sect with which we are more nearly concerned is that of the Qadarites. Deriving its name from the tenet that a man possessed qadr or 'power' over his actions, it disappeared as a sect much earlier, it would seem, than the Murji'ites, 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 Wásl ibn-i- 'Ata² and his disciple in the second generation Abu-Husail Muhammad-ul-Allâf. Those founded the sect of the Mu'tazila or Secessionists, from an expression used by Al-Hasan-al-Basri himself. Wásl accepted the doctrines of qadr and of faith as sufficient for salvation, but he taught that if a believer (mo'min) died unrepentant of great sin he went to hell but after a time would be permitted to enter heaven. Abu Husail further developed the doctrine of qadr. 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 alqabih, the unseen world.³ and taught that it

1 Macdonald, op. cit., p. 115, says: 'Practically only the Wahhabites in Central Arabia are Hanbalites,' but as literalists the Ahl-i-Hadîs wherever they may be found must accept or be influenced by Hanbalite doctrine.

² Died 191 H. Others say that Amr-bin-Ubaid was the pupil of Al-Basri who seceded from his teaching. He died in 144 H. For a sketch of Hasan Basri's life and teachings see Claud Field, Mystics and Saints of Islam, p. 22f.

³ The place given to dreams in Moslem works on and means of spiritual re-union with God has puzzled some writers; e.g. Major J. Stephenson in his translation of the Hadful.
The progressive Fatimid movement.

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 *āwbā* 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 Mutaẓilite ascendency if great was destined to be short-lived. Its chief opponent was the jurist Ahmad ibn Hanbal, who staunchly maintained the authority of tradition (*naql*) in theology as against reason (*'aqīd*) 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-Fārābī into encyclopaedism.

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 Islām. Closely allied with the movement and with Al-Fārābī was the semi-secret society of the Khwān-as-safā 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 questions, and it is possible that its elevated eclecticism was the real doctrine of the Fatimids, the Ismailians, the Qarmatians and the Druses. Another eclectic sect, but based on very different principles, was that of the Qarramites, of which Mālimūd of Ghazni was an adherent. Murjites in that they held faith to be only acknowledged with the tongue, the Qarramites took the Qurān

ul-Haqqīqat of Ḥakīm Abī al-Majdī Ṣanā'ī of Ghazna says: "A portion of the book (pp. 61-6) is, curiously, devoted to the interpretation of dreams; after which the author treats of the incompatibility of the two worlds, again of the abandonment of earth and self, and of the attainment of the utmost degree of self-annihilation (pp. 66-8) see p. xxix of the Introduction. Ṣanā'ī's chain of thought is perfectly logical as dreams are revelations or communications from the 'invisible world'. Ibn Khaldūn writes on the 'Science of the interpretation of dreams' after his description of Sufism (De Sane, Les Prodiguères d'Ibn Khaldoun, III, pp. 114 ff., Paris, 1968). 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 whom troubles and affliction are all changed to good fortune'; and so on with every thing and person that may be dreamt of. The unseen world has its *pir* and the *dast-i-ghais* is a feature in countless legends of saints.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 165. On p. 106 he points out that Al-Ma'mūn had combined the establishment of a great university at Baghdād with a favoursing of the Ahlā and the Fatimids in Cairo and all their influence for the advancement of learning. The obscenity and pacity 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 Abū Abdullah ibn Kharram, an ascetic of Seistan, who died in 256 H. 070 A. D.
The beginnings of Sufism.

in its most literal sense.  

By this time the doctrine of kashf, 'revelation', the unveiling of the mysteries which supplemented tradition and reason—naql and 'aqil—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 mockery in Islám; it was influenced from the earliest times by the hānifs or recluses of pre-Muhammadan Arabia and the sā'īhs or 'wanderers' and rāhīds or monks of Christianity and other creeds. Their Muslim imitators were called Súfis, sā'īhs (ascetics), dāhīds (devotees) and wālis or saints, but these terms had also special significance as will be seen later. With the accession of the Abbassides 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. This spirit has unfortunately survived to the present day and leads some of the finest characters in Islám to stand rigidly aloof from civil life. The mystics of Islám are numerous and only a few of their names can be barely mentioned here. One of the earliest was Ibráhím ibn Adham, a wanderer of royal blood who drifted from Balkh to Basra and Mecca. Another, Al Fadail ibn Iyaz, was a native of Khorásán. These earlier ascetics were contemplative quietists. But ecstatic mysticism soon displaced quietism. The famous Ma'ruf al Karkhi adopted similes from human love and earthly wine and his greater disciple Sari-as-Saqati followed him. The latter is also credited with the first use of the term tāvīkād to denote union of the soul with God.

But perhaps the greatest name in early Sufism is that of Al-Junaid, on whom no shadow of heresy ever fell. Ash-Shibli 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. The earlier Súfis had fled into the wilderness from the wrath to come, and wandering singly or in companies was the special sign of the true Súfi. But they soon began to gather in little circles of disciples round 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 Khorásán. The organization of these institutions followed later.

1 Macdonald (op. cit., p. 171) speaks of the Karramite movement as 'a frank recoil to the crudest anthropomorphism', but it must not be forgotten that under the Ghaznivides Ghaznavi was a brilliant centre of learning and culture.

*Macdonald, pp. 174-5.

A. D. 777. A long poem current in the Jumna valley describes Adham faqir and his marriage with a king's daughter. It doubtless preserves a tradition of this mystic. For a sketch of his teaching see Field, op. cit., pp. 36 ff. His story recalls the renunciation of Budhu, and he may have been influenced by Gnostic doctrines: Nicholson, The Mystics of Islam, pp. 14 and 16.

803 A. D. Died in 161 H.  For a sketch of his teaching see Field, op. cit., pp. 46 ff.

818 A. D. Died in 200 H.  Karkh is a suburb of Bagdad.

791 A. D. Died in 257 H.

909 A. D. Died in 297 H.


986 A. D.  Died in 386 H.
The Súfis provoked orthodox criticism less by their theological speculations, of which Islám 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 súfís were fiercely attacked by the orthodox as opposed to recognised public worship. The Súf principle of tawakkal or dependence upon God was also reprobated, and even the more sober Súfís approved the principle of kásb 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 Súfism had also made headway and when it gained the upper hand ákhid (ascetic) and Súf 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 Yazíd al-Bístámi was from the standpoint of orthodox, he could not unite with that nature except by means of an incarnation or an infusion (husál) of the divine spirit. The Hulúsí, who believe in incarnation, are repudiated by the Súfís in general quite as vehemently as by orthodox Moslems: Nicholson, op. cit. pp. 150-1.

The našf of Halláj 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.

A. D. 875

921 A. D.

There is a striking resemblance between the Súfís, seeking by patient introspection to see the actual light of God's presence in their hearts, and the Greek monks in Athos, sitting solitary in their cells and seeking the divine. For a sketch of (Husain ibn) manṣúr Halláj see Field, op. cit., pp. 68ff. His teaching was from the Moslem standpoint a heresy of the worst kind, for he preached a doctrine of personal dedication, saying, náqi-Hagg, 'I am God'. He held that as the humanity (náqi) of God comprised the whole bodily and spiritual nature of man, God's látód, 'divinity' could not unite with that nature except by means of an incarnation or an infusion (husál) of the divine spirit. The Hulúsí, who believe in incarnation, are repudiated by the Súfís in general quite as vehemently as by orthodox Moslems: Nicholson, op. cit. pp. 150-1. The našf of Halláj 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.

The Islámic hierarchy.

The office of Qázi-ul-quzát or head of the Qázís (judges), also known as Sadr-i-Jabán, 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 Sultáns. Known also at Dehlí, as the

1 There is a striking resemblance between the Súfís, seeking by patient introspection to see the actual light of God's presence in their hearts, and the Greek monks in Athos, sitting solitary in their cells and seeking the divine.

2 For Abu Yazíd al-Bístámi (Bavazíd Bístámi) see infra. p. 540. See also Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 17 and passim.

3 For a sketch of (Husain ibn) manṣúr Halláj see Field, op. cit., pp. 68ff. His teaching was from the Moslem standpoint a heresy of the worst kind, for he preached a doctrine of personal dedication, saying, náqi-Hagg, 'I am God'. He held that as the humanity (náqi) of God comprised the whole bodily and spiritual nature of man, God's látód, 'divinity' could not unite with that nature except by means of an incarnation or an infusion (husál) of the divine spirit. The Hulúsí, who believe in incarnation, are repudiated by the Súfís in general quite as vehemently as by orthodox Moslems: Nicholson, op. cit. pp. 150-1. The našf of Halláj 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.

4 For a sketch of (Husain ibn) manṣúr Halláj see Field, op. cit., pp. 68ff. He was a great exponent of súfí and anticipated Jalál-ad-dín Rúmí'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. 24, 46 and 96.

5 T. N., p. 9. At Cairo the dignity of grandmaster of the lodge, dai-ul-had entries was frequently combined with that of qázi-ul-quzát or chief justice. Von Hammer gives the following classification of the degrees of the Assassins:

Šahíkh, grand-master.
Daí-ul-kabir, grand prior, or the daí-ul-kirbal, three in number who ruled the three provinces of the Assassins.
Daí, master or prior, and fully initiated.
Rafík, fellows, in process of initiation who were clothed in white with red insignia.
Budí, fáti, agent or devoted one, or the young men employed to carry out secret murders who were intoxicated with kásb.
Lájik, lay brother or aspirant: History of the Assassins, pp. 79 and 80. But daí appears to have been synonymous with khalífa and kusht (hujjat): p. 108.
The two classes of priests.

Sadr-ul-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-ush-Shuyúkh, had similar jurisdiction over all faqír, 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 Altamsh it was held by Wajih-ud-Dín Kásáni 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-Dín Muhammad, son of Burhán-ud-Dín, of Ghazni, who occupied it under Muhammad Tughlák.

In Peshawar, if anywhere, one would expect to find the Muham- mad priesthood organised on regular lines. Bearing in mind that the people of this district are nearly all Sunnis and the Afgháns generally of the Hanafi sect3 it is not surprising to find the clergy fairly well organised. The mulláhs or priests, as distinguished from the astánadárs or holders of a place (astán) who may or may not be devoted to religion, are the active clergy and are divided into four classes viz. the imám, the mulláh proper, the shaikh and the táfih-ul-im. The imám is merely the leader of the congregation (jamá' al) of a mosque in prayer, but he can hardly be described as the head official attached to it. Several mulláhs are generally attached to each mosque and one of them generally succeeds to the office of imám. They also act as his deputy when absent and call the azádán, but they are mostly occupied in teaching the village children. The Shaikh is one who having renounced worldly pleasures has become the disciple (muftí) of a bázurg or saint, while the táfih-ul-im is in theory a seeker after knowledge.

Alongside the regular clergy and independent of their organization is the hierarchy whose members are collectively styled astánadár, a term which implies that its holder had an ancestor who acquired the title of bázurg or bázury 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 astán or záhrán. Any Músalmán may

The dái was also called naqáb, but while the dái corresponded to time the bujiat corresponded to space: *Encyclopedia of Islam*, p. 896.

The people ranked below these degrees or formed the lowest of them.

Another series of ISLAMIAN grades was:

The Imam

The bujist or proof, designated by the Imam and also called iids, or seal. He corresponded to the grand-master.

The sun assu, corresponding to the grand-prior.

The dái, missioners.

The mulkalláh, or doglike, corresponding to the lay-brethren.

The munkáni, believers, or pupils: *ibid*, p. 68.

1 E. H. I., 111, pp. 678-79. According to Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 113, 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, *urf or adat, of the country, and the will of the ruler of the country, often expressed in statutes *qándás*.

2 *Ib.*, p. 691.

3 *Ib.*, pp. 690, 694.

4 Peshawar Gazetteer, 1897-8, p. 110.

5 *Ib.*, p. 112.
become the founder of such a family of astánadárs, but the Afghán recognizes four classes among them whose precedence is based on descent. First come the Sayyids, always addressed as ‘Sháh’ and claiming sacred descent. Next come the pírs, descendants of Afgháns, addressed as bádsháh and endowed with many privileges including the curtse to the women’s apartments. Third come the miáns whose ancestors were not Afgháns but hamsáyas, enjoying similar privileges except the right of entrance specified. Last come the sáhibzádas, of a somewhat lower sanctity and less numerous though more wealthy than the pírs and miáns. Practically synonymous with sáhibzáda is the term akhúndzáda. These terms do not denote the sect of the holder. For instance, the pír Abdul Waháb was an akl-i-hadís by sect and was called the Manki mullákh from his residence at Manki in Naushahra tahsíl.1

The famous akhúnd of Swájt Abdul Qhasír was a Gujar who earned that title by his learning and his descendants are styled Akhúndzáda or collectively Akhúnd Khel. The latter term is applied to many Awáns and Gujars who have little claim to the title, but who very often pretend to be Sayyids. They cannot be correctly classed as mullákh as they perform no priestly functions but cultivate land or graze cattle like Patháns. In Hazará, however, any one who has studied the religious books of Islán appears to be styled mullákh or among the Afghán tribes akhúndzáda.2

Less than half a century after the Hijra the first Moslem anchorite appeared in southern Arabia. This was Íwás or Ovais bin Úmr, called al-Karani, from Karu his birthplace in Yemen. By command of the archangel Gabriel whom he saw is a dream Ovais abandoned the world and led in the desert a life of contemplation and penitence — 639-59 H. His followers became the Awísía or Ovaíssí order, and in memory of the two teeth lost by the Prophet at the battle of Ohod Ovais had all his removed and imposed on them the same sacrifice.3 In the pedigrees of the Patháns the name of a Sultán Wáis or Uvais appears and this may signify their spiritual descent from this hermit.

But the mystic teachers of Islán form two great schools, according to the two-fold system of purification which they inculcate. The interiorists or Bántína, themselves sub-divided into two classes, form one school and the Záhirí or ‘exterioristes’ 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. Thence 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

— Poshiwár Gazetteer, pp. 144-5.
2 Hazání Gazetteer, 1883-4, p. 59.
of that organ. By repetition the religious' chief invoked absorbs the aspirant in the fullness of his being. The Zâhirîs instead of aiming at absorption in the Divine by quietism aspire to attain it by voiced prayers designed to draw the spirit in the ocean of the divine being. The most efficacious of their formulas is of course the Lâ'îha-ill-Allâh. 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 Islâmic orders have adopted one or the other of these two methods, so that all are in some degree either interiorists or exteriorists; but the Naqshbandîs allow both of them simultaneously.  

The Shi'a tenets.—The usûl or fundamental tenets of the Shi'âs or 'followers' 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 Khâlîfah and his descendants from Hasan to 'Alî-Mâhdi, the 12 Imâmâs, and (5) the resurrection. Of these the fourth has led to the greatest dissensions in Islâm. It is based on the doctrine of appointment (alqâ'âtû bilânâs) held by the ahl-i-Imâmâ as adherents of Ali and the holy children of Fâtima as contrasted with the ashâb-ul-îkhtiar) or doctrine of election held by the khanîqâh Murjia, some of the Mutazala, and a section of the Zaidia. 2 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 Khalifah must be of the Quraysh 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 Sûfî doctrines, which occurred in the second century of the Hijra, and had been preceded even then by an earlier mysticism. The initial inspiration (îhâm) is gained by repeating in absolute seclusion the name of Allâh, until the utterance becomes mechanical, and then divine enlightenment ensues, as in the yogâ. The esoteric teaching of the Sûfis compares sensuality to ecstasy, and in this too has analogies in the Shâktak practices. As an organization Sufism recognizes two grades, persons of admitted piety and acknowledged sanctity, being divided into two classes, viz.:—(1) the mujaz, or those who are authorized to establish ba'îtâ, 3 or spiritual discipleship, and (2) the ghair-mu'îzâr or those not

1 Petit, op. cit., pp. 35-37.
2 For a sketch of the philosophy of the Mutazâla see Amfr Ali, op. cit., p. 385ff.
3 The term Qadâris was applied by their opponents to the extreme Mutazâla who held the doctrine of tâ'fûs or absolute liberty (free-will).
4 For a note on ba'îtâ or self-surrender see end of this section. Latter-day Shi'âism is essentially quietist and the Nim or Khâlîf Shi'âs are hardly to be distinguished from the Sunnis: Multan G preload, p. 119.
so authorized, who are engaged only in the amelioration of nafs or self. The Qurán 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 Gurú-sikhi 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 Imámás are prophets and divine, and this heritage is inalienable. Thus the second Imám, Hasan, the eldest son of Ali, could resign his title of Khalifa, but not his Imámát which had descended to him and on his death passed by his inheritance to Husain. Its subsequent devolution followed the natural line of descent, thus :

Yazdijird, the last Sassanide king of Persia.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ALI (the 1st Imám).</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hasan (the 2nd Imám).</td>
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<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hussin (3rd)</td>
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<td>Zaid.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muhammad Báqir (5th).</td>
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<td>Ja’Br-us Sadiq (6th).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muhammad-ih-bn-Abdulla,</td>
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<tr>
<td>al-Nafe-uz-zakia,</td>
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<td>‘the pure soul’.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muhammad-ul-Maktum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muhammad Taqi (9th).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ali IV (10th).</td>
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<td>Hasan Askari (11th).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muhammad Abdu’l-Qásim, or Imám Mahdi (12th).</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In the time of Ali II, the fourth Imám, 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’aschism, which arose out of a dispute as to the succession to the Imamate. Jáfir, the sixth Imám, nominated Ismail, his eldest son, but on the latter’s premature death he declared that Músa was his heir, to the exclusion of Ismail’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 Ismail were supported by one party among the Shi’as, despite the declaration of Jáfir, and thus was founded the Ismáilía sect. The other party, the Imamites, supported the claims of Músa, and this sect of the Shi’as believes that the twelfth Imám, Muhammad, is still alive, that he wanders over the earth, and is
The Ismailians.

The Ismailians on the other hand hold that the last visible Imám was Isma'il, after whom commenced the succession of the concealed Imáms. And to go back for a moment the Nossairians held that Ali was the last, as well as the first, Imám, and it thus appears that the Shi'a sects originated, historically, in divergent views as to the personal claims of the Prophet's natural descendants to succeed to the Imamate.

Ross. § 45. The Ismailians.—The history of the Ismailians 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 Sabiún because it acknowledged seven Imams, ending with Ja'far-us-Sádiq and Isma'il; and yet it held that the Imamate descended to Isma'il's son, etc. History does not tell us what became of the children of Isma'il, but their sacred character lent itself to the foundation of one of the most remarkable and important organizations known to history. The Ismailians were first organised by Abdullah, a native of the Persian province of Khuzistán, who retained or revived the organization of the sect into orders which had been introduced in the time of the fourth Imám. His successors however gave an entirely new character to the sect. The descendant—probably a spiritual not a natural descendant—of Abdullah the Ismailian proclaimed himself the legitimate descendant of Ali and Fátima, and assuming the title of Al-Mahdi, usually given to the last Imám, founded the Fatimite dynasty in Egypt. His descendant Muhammad-iba-Isma'il indeed went a step further and accepted the doctrine that the Khalifa was an incarnation of the invisible Imám and as such a god on earth, abandoning apparently the pretense 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 Imáms to that title. In India Shaikh Alai of Agra claimed to be Al-Mahdi and as among his disciples was Shaikh Mubárik, the father of Abdul Faiz, the wazir of Akbar, it is probable that that emperor was greatly influenced by Mahdavi ideas. To the same teaching may be ascribed the origin of the Bábí 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 Ismailians were on the wane, the sect was revived, in Syria, by Hasan Ibn Sabáh,1 who was like Umr Khayyám a companion and protégé of Nizám-ul-Mulk, wazir of Alp Arslán, Seljuk. Hasan reorganized the order, which he divided into four grades, the fiúwi, or 'consecrated,' rafik, dai, and

1 His full name was Alá-ud-Dín, Hasan, son of Ali, son of Muhammad, son of Jafar son of Husain, son of Muhammad, who claimed descent from Ya-s-Sabbáh-ul-Hamairi: Raverty, Tabaqát-I-Násíri, II, p. 1187.

2 Other authorities say seven but Amir Ali says that the Eastern Ismailians (Alamúitas or Muláhidús of Kohistán) had four degrees. He ascribes the foundation of the Eastern Ismailians to Abdulla ibn Maimún, a Magian according to his enemies, a descendant of Ali according to his followers. Amir Ali traces his sect to the Manicheans through the Paulicians. It branched off into sub-sects.—(i) The Egyptian Fatimites held that Isma'il was not the last Imám, the Imám having re-appeared in Obaidulláh-al-Mahdi; Abu Muhammad Abdullah the son of Muhammad-al-Habib, the last revealed Imám: (ii) The Qaramitas (Qarmatians), founded by Hamadán: pp. 309-7.
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 Khab, 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 Genghis 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 Irak and the anti-Libanus. Its present head, a lineal descendant of the fourth Shaikh, is His Highness the Agha 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 rawáfiz who are also styled Zaidias. The Imamate passed, according to one branch of the Zaidias, from Ibrahim to Idris, the founder of the Idriside dynasty of Mauritania. Other dissenting Shi'as are the ghair-mukallad or Rafi-ud-din, and the mukalladin. 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 ghair-mukallad, whose head-quarters are at Delhi under Názir Husain, have a separate mosque at Bhiwáni.

Lastly the Jibriyas had a preceptor at Hánî in Saráj-ul-Haq—a descendant of the four Qutbs. He was against 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 Sanskrit Haratli, would seem to have been famous for its hemp (Soma) in Vedic times: Oldenberg, Religion der Veda, p. 178. Elburz means 'eagle's nest,' in Turki. Amîr Ali describes it as 'near Kâzwîn in Upper Persia.'

2 The fourth Grand Master was the Alâ-Zakrihi-us-Salâm, 'Zikr-us-Salâm', and from him the Agha Khán is descended: Sir Amîr Ali, The Spirit of Islam, p. 313. Some authorities say he was descended from the fifth Imam.


4 Further the Zaidias split into four sub-sects:

(i) Jâridias, who deny the succession of Isâ, maintaining the claims of Muhammad Nafa-uz-zakiya.

(ii) Sulaimánias, who preach a secular Imamate.

(iii) Tabarías, who accept as rightful the khilafat of Abu Bakr and Umr.

(iv) Sâlehiyas, but not that of Osman: Spirit 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 Tabarías are a very ancient sect in Islam. They were rigid adherents of the doctrine of predestination: Amîr Ali, op. cit., p. 331-2. They had three sects, and at least two off-shoots, the Sifiatias, 'attributists', and the Mushahhâhis.
A priest, one Isá Qázi, a follower of this sect in Toshám, was dismissed from his post as being unorthodox.

**The Sects and Orders in Islám.**

'It is a fairly safe rule', writes Lukach, 'to measure the orthodoxy 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 Khalîfsa include many sects of which the Imánía may be regarded as orthodox Shi'as. They believe in a succession of 12 Imáms of whom Ali, his sons Hasan and Husain were the first and the last named's direct descendant Muhammad Abu'l-Qásim 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 Imám-ul-Mahdi or the Imám or 'Director'.

The Shi'as proper are Asna-az-sharí'as, 'duo-decimians' as they believe in the twelve Imáms, but they are now called Shi'a or Imámíás *par excellence*. At an early period they were divided into two main sects or schools, the *usuli* guided by principles, and the *akhtári* or traditionists. Other Shi'a sects were the Kásáíyas and Hashimíás (now extinct), the Ghállías or Ghullát—extravagantists, really descendants of the Gnostics—and the Nusairís who believed in the divinity of Ali while the Iskákías, Numáníás and Khítábíás were anthropomorphists, believers in incarnations and the metempsychosis.

According to von Noer Muhi'tár ibn-Abáid's heretical hordes followed a decorated chair said to be Ali's, and so too Umer Roshánía had Báyázd's bones placed in an ark and borne before him in battle etc.: II, p. 169. Amír Ali says: the Rosháníás were the exact counterpart of the Illuminati of Christendom and that Báyázd, an Afghan of Arab extraction, acquired a taint of Manichæism from the Ismaíliás who still flourished in the hills of Khorásán. His later teaching was that all existing objects are but forms of the Deity, that the *pir* represented Him and that the ordinances of the law have a mystical meaning: perfection being once attained through the *pir's* instructions and religious exercises, its exterior ordinances cease to be binding: numbers of Ismaíliás are to be found in Gilgit and Hunza: *op. cit.*, pages 314-15.

It is often said that Islám 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 *firqat-i-najít* or party of salvation. This accords with Muhammad's prophecy that his followers would separate into 73 sects and that of these all but one, the Nájía or ‘Saved Ones’, would go to hell.

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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 Sunni of him, as Sunnis believe in four Khalífs while Shi'as only acknowledge one: P. N. Q., I, § 538.

Shi'as do not eat the hare because it was originally born of a woman and they say that by washing its flesh all ruus away in the water, leaving only the bones: *Ib.*, II, § 990 —see I, § 108.

SUFISM.

In the belief of the orthodox Sunni sect itself the instruction imparted by the Prophet was of two kinds:

1. *Ilm-i-zāḥīr* or knowledge of the rules and regulations of religion by books. Those learned in this knowledge are called *muhādhis* and *muntariss*.

2. *Ilm-i-bāḥūn* or the concentration of the mind on God by worship. Those who apply their minds in this concentration call themselves Sūfī.

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 Basrī.
4. Qumāl, son of Zyād.

The principal obstacles to a clear description of the Sūfī doctrines are the fact that the term is applied generally 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 Sūfī is derived from *sūf*, '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 woolen garments in imitation of the Christian *rāhīs* or the Arabian *hanīfās*, 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 penance to wear it, and where its use cannot have been very common.

With a vague tradition that the original order was the Sabātia, the ancient Sabians, the Sūfis were early divided into two orders, or schools, the Hulūlia or inspired which held that the divine spirit enters into all who are devout, and the Ittihādīa, or unionists who hold that the soul by union with God becomes God.\(^1\)

From these two schools sprang five sub-orders, *viz.*—

The Wāstia, 'joined' to God.

'Ashaqia, 'lovers' of God.

'Talqīnia, 'instructed'.

'Zakia, 'penetrated'.

'Wāhidia, 'solitary'.

\(^1\) Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 130. E. B. Havell has called attention to the fact that the word *ura*, which in Buddhist (and other) images symbolized 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. 80-1.

\(^2\) God is joined with every sentient being. He is as flame and the soul as charcoal. Brown (The *Dervishes*, p. 53) gives all these seven orders, but calls the Wāstia 'Wasūlia', the Zakia 'Zarikia', and the Wāhidia 'Wahidattia'. 
The Sufi institutions.

The term Batti, 'Esoterio', is applied to several Sufi sects, according to Wilberforce Clarke, 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—pindakh jismán:

- tariqát, the path,
- mārifát, divine knowledge or intuition,
- haqiqát, truth, and
- wājil, 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 (=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 penances. They are said to have taken the name of sūf, but it is also said that that term was first employed by Abū Hāshim, a Syrian sahi who died in 780 A. D. However this may be, during Muhammad's lifetime Abu Bakr, afterwards the first Khalifa, and Ali had established jam'at, 'assemblies', wherein vows were made and exercises practised; and in 657 A. D. Uvais-i-Karānī had established the first religious order of the greatest austerity. Abu Hāshim appears to have built the first takīd, 'convent'...

The institution of the khānqāh, 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 khānqāh, unless their time be spent in devotion. The dwellers are again divided into three groups, the akh-i-khilmat or servitors, the akh-i-suhbat or associates and the akh-i-khilwat 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 Yakúb, Sūsí, commends retreat (khilwat) to the old and suhbat 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 sūfis. Exclusion was inflicted as a punishment, but the seeker of the pardon

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1 It was also applied to sects outside Islam, such as the Mazdakites, a Manichean sect. In Iraq the Battiites were called Qarmatians and Mazdakites, in Khorásán they were called Manichaei; Encyclopedia of Islam, p. 679.

could be re-admitted on payment of a fine (gharámat) which took the form of victuals.

Khánqáhs were sometimes endowed, and sometimes not. If endowed and 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 (tārgat) it was unlawful to expend it on the habituated, i.e. on professional beggars, or the crowd that from bodily sins 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.

Khánqáhs without an endowment were ruled by the head or if the brotherhood had no head (ghnákh) it had a discretion, like a head who could direct the brethren to abandon kásb and, putting them on tawakkul, 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 faqīrs, the latter course is commended, but weaker brotherhoods could choose either kásb or mendicancy.

It is curious to observe the transformation in meaning which the term khánqáh has undergone. It now means ordinarily a tomb, especially that of a pir or faqīr, a saint or holy man, not necessarily one of the regular clergy. Such khánqáhs become surrounded by trees as no one dare cut one down or even remove fallen wood from a faqīr’s grave. They also tend to become sanctuaries for property as no one will venture to steal in the vicinity of a faqīr’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 (mannat) to such tombs, branches of the trees above them are often full of rags (herak) 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 khánqáh too may itself cure disease. Thus one at Isha’r in Sháhpur 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 Kathwál in the Salt Range is a shrine to Gorra, ancestor of all the local Awáns. As he passes it an Awán vows to put up a stone there if successful in his journey and so the trees around are full of such stones.

The adoption of the khirqa or darvesh’s mantle is not prescribed by the annat but only by the hadis or tradition of Umm-i-Khálid. The khirqa is of two kinds, that of desire and that of blessing. When

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1 W. Clarke translates kásb by ‘acquisition’, but it clearly means ‘industry’ in this context: see Cat.igo’s Arabic Dictionary, p. 305. Industry was permissible just as it was and is to certain religious orders in Christendom. Macdonald translates kásb by gaining of daily bread by labour: op. cit., p. 179.

2 Shahpur Gaz., 1697, p. 32.
the shaikh is convinced of the murid’s desire for God he induces 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 khirqa of holiness, which is bestowed when the shaikh wishes to appoint a murid his own khalifa. Thus the khirqa 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 khirqa 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 khirqa 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 sunnat is only for shaikhs that have gained freedom from nafs, 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 appeareth blue and that colour is suitable to the hâl or ‘mystic state’ of the Sûfi.

Each order has moreover its distinctive khirqa. Thus in Egypt the Rafa’i wore a black turban with a red edging at one end. The patched khirqa or muraqa’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 mihrâj 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 mystic to his disciples. The rending of the khirqa 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 masjid or in a private chamber, and generally on the occasion of a nativity (maulâd).

Most of the orders distinguish between the daily zikr or zikr-ul-aqîf and the ‘solemn’ zikr-ul-jallîn. 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 Khâlidis, a Turkish branch of the Naqshbandis, has adopted almost exclusively the zikr-ul-khâfî or mental and silent zikr. But the Naqshbandis
generally belong to the Zihiriá school and so they especially affect a deep-toned *zikr*.¹

The *zikr* sit cross-legged, in a circle, within which are four candles. At one end of it are the *murshids* (verse-reciters) and the player on the flute (*nay*). The *shaikh* of the *zikr* exclaims *al Fátihah* and all recite that, the opening chapter of the Qurán. Then begins the *zikr* 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 *zikr*rs ejaculate the words rapidly, turning their heads violently, shaking the whole body and leaping.

The recitation of the whole of the Qurán is called *khálm* and is performed by *taqíls*. When performed after a death its merit is transferred to the soul of the deceased.

Peregrination (sáfr) is commended as spiritually beneficial and the Súfis are in sympathy with Isá (Christ) because throughout His life He was in sáfr. Twelve rules are laid down for the guidance of pilgrims.

The men of this path, the path of the Súfí, are of three grades, the *muttaháyián* or beginners, whose will is surrendered to the *shaikh* and to whom no raiment, goods or aught else is lawful save by his desire; the *mutawaasitán* or middle ones, who have surrendered their will to God and who submit, as occasion demands: and the *muttahiyán* or perfected who, by God's will, are absolute, what they choose being His will.

Observing retreat (*khilwat*) in the way of the Súfís is another innovation on the *sunnat*, although Muhammad himself used to practise it in the caves of Hara, passing nights there in *zikr* 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 *náfs* and in austerities (*ridat*) such as eating and speaking little, shunning companionship, perseverance in *zikr*, denying thoughts and steadfast awe and contemplation. But in the opinion of the Súfís *khilwat* is not restricted to 40 days. The practice of *khilwat* translates into action, so to speak the renunciation of the world (*ázílat án un-nás*), the vigil, *as-sáfr*, and abstinence, *as-siáma*. 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 *sunnat* of prayer and, at other times, *zikr*. For a middle one assiduity in reciting the Qurán after the performance of divine precepts is best.

The *sunnár* in Súfí parlance means something whereby they may attain oneness. Háfitz alludes to it in the story of Shaikh Saná’N, a Qalandar who in the paths of wandering or apostacy held mention of the rosary of the King, in the girdle of the *sunnár*. Being in love with a Christian damsel he left Islám and took to music, wine and swine-herding but he put on the religious cord,³ strove to be even

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¹ Petit, op. cit., p. 52.
³ The passage in the Diván (I, p. 170) is obscure. Apparently the religious girdle of a Christian order is alluded to. Shaikh Saná’N however never abandoned the Muslim rosary of 99 beads (p. 169). Elsewhere Háfitz calls the patched garment the *sunnár* of the way *karíqat*; II, p. 307.
as the beloved (Christian) and within the religious cord mentioned his love (of God?). He had been influenced by the evil prayer of Ghaus-ul-'azam, but was brought to Islam by an invisible hand and with his beloved made a pilgrimage to Mecca.

The institution known as pir muridī 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 shaikh of the Sufi. Next in order to a prophet ranks the shaikh, 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 shuyukhiyat 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 sāqi or cup-bearer, the murid or minstrel.

The perfect murshid is termed the vintner, khammár.

The murshid of love who calleth the disciples to the path of God is called the māllāh, sailor.

Jibr'īl, Muhammad's murshid, has his mansion in Sidra, the tree of Paradise which is sometimes identified with the Tūha or lotus tree (Ziayphus Lotus), but more generally with the tree of Paradise. Sāmiri, a sorcerer of Sāmra, cast dust from Jibr'īl's path into a calf of silver and gold, whereby it became alive and spoke: I, p. 311: cf. Exodus VI, 1-6.

Thus in Muzaffargarh every Muhammadan has a pir, but he need not be learned or even of known piety—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 bukal which is collected by the pir himself or his deputies in the most shameless way, even force being resorted to.¹

SUFI LITERATURE.


¹Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, 1883-4, p. 63: cf. p. 66 also. Wilberforce Clarke mentions an extreme development of the institution. An order of the Sūfis called the Murūzā 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 Khaṣbat-ul-Asfiya by M. Ghulām Sarwar of Lahore, the Qāmūn-i-Isḥq, the commentary on the kāfis of Hazrat Bulla Shāh of Kasur, the Majmū’ah-i-Qāmūn-i-tauhid, the Qāmūn-i-suluk, the Qāmūn-i-warish, and a lecture on Muhammadan Sufi Philosophy by H. Anwar Ali of Rohtak, the Tuhfat-ul-‘Ashiqin, the Gulsar-ul-‘Arifī and the Kasbat-ul-mahjūb.

A monthly journal issued at Lahore is devoted specially to the subject of Sufism. Its name is the Anwar-ul-Sufiyyah and an association called the Anjuman Khuddam-us-Sufiyah, whom president is Sayyid Hāji Jamā’at Ali Shāh of Alipur Sanyidān in Pasrūr Tahsil, Siālkot, also exists.


A modern historical work is the Sair-ul-‘Arifīn by Maulavi Ghulām Ahmad of Sambhā.

The special books of the Qadiri teaching are:—the Guldasta-i-Karāmāt of Hazrat Shāh-i-Jīlān Ghauth-i’Azam Mīrān Muḥy-ud-Din (Pīr Sāhib Baghdadī): the Mandaqbat of Hazrat Mahbūb-i-Subhānī the Pīr Dastgīr who has about 99 names: the Mandqībat-i-Hazrat Shāh Kangāl which is greatly revered in Kashmir, Kāshghar and other places.

As to the Chishtī, the only book known in Hazāra is the Māfu’dt-i-Chishtī.

Muḥammadans in general and especially the Sūfīs hold that the whole world is divided into circles (wilāyāt) each in charge of a living wali or saint, called shib-i-wilāyāt, who controls all temporal affairs therein. For instance this belief is expressly stated to prevail in the Ambāla District.

The doctrine of the aulīa appears to owe its origin to Abu Huzail Muḥammad al-Allāf who taught that there were at all times in the world these '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 Sūfīs recognised walis or women walis, but none appear to be known in the modern Punjab. The last of the Muwahide or his disciples extended the doctrine and held the wali to be higher than the prophet, nāsīr or rasûl. Later Islām regarded all members of a religious order as darweḥ, but only those gifted by God with miraculous powers as walis. But Ash-Sha’rānī
developed the doctrine at length, teaching that the \textit{wallis} possess a certain illumination (\textit{ištām}) 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 rule or \textit{tarīqa} may be, but that of al-Junaid is the best. Their \textit{karamāt} 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, \textit{wallis} stand under a regular hierarchy headed by the Qutb, 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 \textit{wallis} stood higher than even the prophets themselves. The Wahābis rejected the intercession of the \textit{wallis} with God, but for the body of the people lives of the \textit{wallis} abounding in tales of their miraculous achievements still command credence.

The doctrine of the \textit{wallis} was however extended by various Sūfī writers on lines already familiar to us from the accounts above given of the spiritual degrees among the Ismailians. Hujwieri, the great exponent of this teaching, tells us that the saints form an invisible hierarchy at whose head is the Qutb (axis), the most eminent Sūfī 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 \textit{akhūyār} or 'good,' and the 40 \textit{abdāl} (substitutes) and then come the seven \textit{abrār} 'pious'; then four \textit{autād} (supporters) and the three \textit{naqabād} or overseers. The members of this celestial hierarchy can only act by mutual consent, but it is the special task of the \textit{autād} to go round the whole world every night and if on any place their eyes do not fall, some flaw appears in it next day and they must then inform the Qutb 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 Ghaus-ul-Alam\(^2\) or 'refuge of the world.' At the head of the hierarchy is the Ghaus-ul-Azam or 'great refuge,' the saviour whose merits can atone for the sins of others without compromising his own salvation. No one knows him, nor does he know himself. Next to him comes his \textit{wazir}, the Qutb, the most influential saint of his generation, the pole round which humanity revolves unceasingly. More precisely he is called the Qutb-ul-Waqf, or 'Pole of the Age,' or Qutb-ul-Aqtūb, 'the Pole of Poles.' Below him come the \textit{autād} or 'pickets,' one for each of the cardinal points, with Mecca for centre. Contrasted with the \textit{autād} are the \textit{khiār} or 'elect,' only seven in number but ever on their proselytizing journeys to spread the light of Islam. Petit

\(^1\) \textit{The Mystics of Islam}, in the Quest Series, pp. 123-4.

\(^2\) Ghaus is a title of Mūsām saints whose limbs in the ardour of their devotion fall asunder. Its literal meaning is said to be 'redress.' Ghaus-ul-Azam was a title of Abdul Qādir Jilāl.
translates "addh 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 najab or 'excellent,' 70 in number,
prefer Egypt, while the 300 nagab or heads of groups protect the rest of
Africa. Wali is a title only borne by dead saints, so that it results from
a kind of popular canonization.1

Somewhat analagous to but not apparently connected with this
system of walis is the belief in the Pir Ghâib, regarding whom
Mr. Muhammad Hamid writes:—"The Pir Ghâib or Ghâib 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 Imâm (Imâm
Mahdi), however, the Ghâib Pîrs do not seem to have any connection.
I know of a shrine of a Ghâib Pir at Jâlâlî (Allâgarh District), whose
name is not otherwise known and it is this ignorance of his name that
has probably given him the epithet of Ghâib Pir. Pir Ghâib is the
name of a place at Jullundur regarding which a remarkable legend is
current. Imâm Nasîr-ud-Dîn was a native of Nakshab.2 He lived from
1222-324 H. 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 Imâm converted
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 Ghâib. The
Imâm Nasîr-ud-Dîn appears in the Saints of Jâlândhur as Nasir-ud-Dîn
Shirâzî. To make room for the mosque erected in his memory the shrine
of the Jogi Jâlândhur Nách is said to have been pulled down—a highly
probable tradition, though it is difficult to think that he was not earlier
than Nasîr-ud-Dîn Awadhi, the preceptor of Nizâm-ud-Dîn Aulia, as
Temple has suggested.3

Sûfî Orders.

The Sûfîs are divided into 14 orders—9 of which are Qâdiria and 5
Chishtia. In the former are included the Subarwardi. These three,
with the Naqshbandi and Naushâhia 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 Kâshâ in Bokhârâ's Purser
Jullundur S. R., § 17, p. 56. But Nakshab is the place where the veiled prophet of
Khorasan performed his miracle of making moonshine.
3 Legends of the Punjab, III, pp. 158, 199.
table 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>Kaamil</th>
<th>Imám Hasan</th>
<th>Imám Hasain</th>
<th>Kh. Hasan Basri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Kh. Habib Ajmi
  (Founder of the Ajmefs) | K. Abdul Wáhbi
  (Founder of the Zaidis) |
| Kh. Tafúr
  (Founder of the Tafúrs) | Kh. Dádd |
| Kh. Marúf Karkhi
  (Founder of the Kharkhís) | K. Ibrahim Adnari
  (Founder of the Adhamís) |
| Kh. Siri Sîqtí
  (Founder of the Sîqtís) | K. Hazíka |
| S. Jânáid
  (Founder of the Jánáids) | K. Haber |
| K. Abú |
| K. Jeâk Shámí
  (Founder of the Chishtís) |


Of the four principal spiritual orders, descended from the Prophet, the Naqshband, descend through the Caliph Abū Bakr, the Subharwádi through the Caliph Ozar, and the Chishti and Qâdiri through the Caliph Ali. Below is given the genealogical table of the Subhirí sub-division of the Chishtís. The names are given as spiritually descended, and are not the only ones. For example Caliph Ali had many disciples besides the Imám Haan Basri, but they have their own lines of descent and that is the case with other notables also.

1 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:

- Imám Hasan Basri (of Basra).
- Khwája Abdul Wáhid,
- Khwája Fuzail bin Aýáz.
- Sultan Ibráhím bin Adham of Balkh (the king, who abated his thr.
- Khwája Hazifa-al-Mara{hi.
- Khwája Hubcrn-al-Basri (of Basra).
- Khwája Alm Mamlad.
- Khwája Bu-al-Isháq Shámi (of Syria).
- Khwája Abu Ahmad Abdál, the first Chishti (of Chisht).
- Khwája Muhammad Záhid Mśqul Chishti (of Chisht).
- Khwája Yúsúf Násir-ud-Dín Chishti (of Chisht).
- Khwája Qutb-ud-Dín Maulúd Chishti (of Chisht).
- Khwája Háj Sharif Zhmdn.
- Khwája Usán Harva,.
- Khwája Múin-ud-Dín Chishti (of Chisht), the saint of Ajmer.
- Khwája Qutb-ud-dín of Delhi, the Qutb Sáhib.
- Shaikh Farid-ud-Din, Shkarkanj the famous Bábá Farid of Pakpattán.

- Hazrat Makhdum Abá-ud-Dín Ali Ahmad Sáhib of Pírdu Kaler (near Rohri). His spiritual descendants are called Sáhibs.
- Sh. Shams-ud-Dín Turk of Pánípat.
- Sháh-i-Walívat Sh. Jalál-ud-Dín of Pánipat.
- Sh. Abúl Haq of Rádass (U. P.).
- Sh. Arif Sáhib.
- Sh. Muhammd Sáhib.
- Sh. Abdul Qadúr Sáhib Qutb of Qangoh (U. P.).
- Sh. Jalál-ud-Dín of Thánesar.
- Sh. Nízám-ud-Dín of Balkh.
- Sh. Abú Rá'íd of Qangoh.
- Sh. Muhammad Sádiq of Qangoh.
- Sh. Dádd Sáhib of Qangoh.
- Sháh Abúl Maíali.

HazratMiráySyed Sháh Bhik, the famous Mirán Sáhib, whose tomb is at Ghurám,
in Patiála State; and so on.
In the mystic language of the Sufis these four sects, the Naqshbandi, Qadiri, Suharwardi and Chishti, are called *khanwadas* (houses) and are sub-divided 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 Chishti Order.**

In contradiction to the generally accepted account the foundation of the Chishti order is by some ascribed to Khwaja Ahmad Abd Allah of Chisht, where he was enshrined in 355 H. He was the disciple of Abu Ismail Shami who was buried at Akka in Sham (Syria) and not in Chisht, as often stated. The order claims to originate from Ali the fourth Caliph himself through Hasan Basri and thus appears to be the youngest though it is the most popular of the four great Sufi sects.

**Chishti methods and practices.**

At initiation a disciple first recites two *raka'ats* of *namaz* 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 (*yad-i-Ilahi*), (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, qanat* or contentment, the *ye, yad-i-Ilahi* or remembrance of God and the *re, riyaqat* or penance, so shouldst thou possess these four qualities": vide the *Bagh-o-Bahar* of Mir Umman.

After this he is bidden to concentrate attention on his *murshid* 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 *okla kashi* 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 to *tarih* or heaven. In this state when the two stars, Nasira and Mahmuda,


2 See art. on *Abdal* in Vol. II, p. 1. The Abdalas, known in Turkey as Turkalis, 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 Abdalas: W. S. Monroe, *Turkey and the Turks*, London, 1908, pp. 280-1. The Abdalas are undoubtedly supposed to be living representatives of the 70 *Abdal* who succeeded to the 40 *rijaul-ghaib*.

Brown, *The Dervishes*, pp. 82-3. See also supra, p. 524.
become one he attains the condition of sehawa or spiritual waking consciousness, and thus he reaches the loh-i-mahfiz 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 taqween or deep trance supervenes and he learns or perceives the all-pervading spirit and meets "the mystery of nds and naya; nds orders but naya is silent, and the great mystery of iim i-ndi or 'name of self' reveals itself to him.

The five Chishti sub-orders.

1. Zaidi, from Khwája Abdul Ahad, son of Zaid, whose shrine is at Basra.

2. Ayázi, from Khwája Fuzail, son of 'Ayiz, whose shrine is at Kufa.2

3. Adhami, from Khwája Sultán Ibráhím, son of Adham, whose shrine is at Baghdád.3

4. Chishti, from Khwája Abu Isháq Shámi Chishti, whose shrine is at Chishti, a town near Herát in Afgánistán.

5. Hubairi, from Khwája Hubairat-al-Basri.4

The Zaidi, 'Ayázi, 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 Chishtia order was one, but now it is split into two sub-orders: (1) Nizámia from Nizám-ud-dín of Delhi, (2) Sábíria from Khwája Ala-ud-dín Ahmad Sábír, nephew and son-in-law of Bábá Faisfd-ud-Din Shakarganj.

The Sábir Chishtí have an important shrine at Thaska Míranki in Karnál. It is called Rozáí Shah Bhík and a fair is held there on the 10th Shábán. It was founded by Nawáb Roshmū-ul-Dana, minister of Muhammad Sháh, at a cost of some ten lakhs of rupees in the time of Muhammad Fázíl, successor of Sháh Bhík from whom it takes its name and was begun in 1131 H. It is administered by Mún Imám Sháh 7th in succession to Sháh Bhík who is celibate like most of his predecessors and the faqirs of the sect, the succession being governed by spiritual relationship.

Drugs such as bhang, charas, 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. 510, Abdul Ahad is incorrect, it should be Abdul Wáhid. A sect called Zaidi is dominant in Central Yemen, where it was established by the Imám-ul-Hadi Yáhya in 901 A.D. and through him the present Imám of Yemen claims descent from Ali and Fátima. Unlike other Shi'as the Zaidi regard Ali as the first rightful Khalifa by personal fitness and not by selection. They pilgrimage to Mecca and regard one made to Karbala as a work of supererogation: G. Wyman Bury, Arabia Inféla, pp. 39, 324. A Sayyid family in Multán is sometimes called Zaidi as descend d from Zaid Shahid, grandson of the Imám Hussain. Multán Gazetteer, 1911, pp. 154.

2 The shrine of Khwája Fuzail is not in Kufa. It is in Mecca (vide Khwájin-ul-Asfa, Vol. I, p. 230.

3 The name of Khwája Ibrahim Adham is wrongly given as Ibrahim Adhám Khán (ibid, p. 230). His shrine is not in Baghdád. It is in Sháh.

4 The shrine of Habera Basri is not in Marash but in Basra (vide Mahbúb-ul-Asfan).
Tomb of Sháh Bihšr’s disciples form the seven or eight minor shrines subordinate to this. They are at Talakam in Jagádhri tahsil, at Handi Khera in Nangarh tahsil, at Gangheri and Thaska Ali in Thánesar tahsil, at Ramba in Karnál tahsil and at Kuberám in Patiála. Although the saint died on the 5th Ramzán his urs is not kept on that date as it falls in a month of fa-ts and his disciples decided to hold it a little earlier; so the urs is held on the 10th of Shábán and lasts till the 13th. It is the occasion of a big fair.

The name Sábir is thus explained:—One day Bába 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 langarkhána (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 Qutb Sáhib at Mihrauli near Delhi. This saint forbade a building to be erected over his tomb.</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>14th Rabí-ul-awal 633.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That of Khwája Nizám-ud-dín Aulia, Sultán-ul-Mashuikh, commonly called Sultánji Chishti, at Arab Saráí 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 Sábiri called Shah Wiláyat, at Pánipat. He was a spiritual descendant of Ali Ahmad Sábir.</td>
<td>Panipat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Jalál-ud-dín Kabír-ul-Aulia Sábiri called the Makhdúm Sáhib, at Pánipat. He was a Turk, and descended from the foregoing.</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Ali Ahmad’s shrine is at Píshán-Kaljár near Roorkee. His life is given in the Gulsár-Śabír. The Prophet gave him the name of Aín-ud-Dín before his birth and his parents that of Ali Ahmad.
**Chishti saints.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Hijri year of death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kh. Amir Khurasan</td>
<td>Near Delhi</td>
<td>725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shah Nasir-ud-Din, Roshan</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiragh Dihlvi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shah Kaku</td>
<td>Lahore (Delhi Gate)</td>
<td>880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Jalal-ud-Din</td>
<td>Thanesar</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Jan Ullah</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Haji Abdul Karim</td>
<td>Kot Nahli in Lahore</td>
<td>1045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdul Khalik</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Arif</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Siddiq</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdul Muali</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdul Rashid</td>
<td>Jullundur</td>
<td>1121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Atiq Ullah</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Salim</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Bahol</td>
<td>Jullundur</td>
<td>1170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Latif Ullah</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>1180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maulana Fakhar-ud-Din</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>1202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syed Alam Ullah</td>
<td>Jullundur</td>
<td>1207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Nur Muhammad</td>
<td>Tajasarwar near Lahore, a town in Bahawalpur.</td>
<td>1208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayad Ali Shah</td>
<td>Jullundur</td>
<td>1213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Said</td>
<td>Sbarappar, Lahore</td>
<td>1214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Mahmud Said</td>
<td>Jullundur</td>
<td>1220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Khair-ud-Din</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hafiz Mui</td>
<td>Manakpur</td>
<td>1245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kh. Muhammad Sulaiman</td>
<td>Taunsa in Sanghar</td>
<td>1267</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Some Chishti saints.**

The full name of Bu Ali Qalandar was Shaikh Sharf-ud-Din Bu Ali Qalandar. Born at Pannap, it is not certain as to whose disciple he was, some holding that he was the *khaliqa* of Khawaja Kutb-ud-Din, others that he was a disciple of Nizam ud-Din Auliya. He wrote many works on Sufism and in one of them, the *Hikmat-Nama*, he gives a short autobiography. Among his numerous disciples were Sultan Alam-ud-Din Khali and Jalal-ud-Din Khali. In the *Hikmat-nama* he says that at the age of 40 he left Pannap for Delhi where he was entrusted with the office of *mufti* and teaching Islamic 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 Ramzan 724 H. (11th January 1324 A.D.). His tombs are at Pannap and Karnal.

At the *sidaratgh* of Bu Ali Shah Qalandar the *urs* is held from 9th to 12th Ramzan, during which days the place is illuminated and

1 Many important saints are omitted from this list, to wit: Maulana Fakhar-ud-Din of Delhi, Shah Kalamullah Jahashadhi etc., while minor saints like Sulaiman of Taunsa etc. are mentioned.

Qawáls (singers) sing ghásals or hymns etc. Another fair, called the Badákharah, is held on every Thursday in Jeř and Hář. Once it is said the Shah was sitting on a wall of the building when a faqír riding on a lion drew near. The Shah ordered the wall to pay his respects to him, whereupon it moved up and down in token of respect. So the people founded the fair in honour of the Shah. The shrine has been in existence for 600 years. It contains the Shah’s tomb, made of marble, on which flowers are carved. The administration is carried on by a Shaikh majdawar.

Another saint of great celebrity is Boáli Qalandara, contemporary of Bába Faríd. He used to ride about on a wall, but eventually settled at Pánípat. The Jumna 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 Pánípat 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 Karnal, and there they buried him. But the Pánípat 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 Pánípat and opened the box they found his body in it, so now he lies buried both at Pánípat and at Karnal. His history is given in the Ain-i-Akhbári. He died in 724 Hij. (1324 A.D.).

The following Chishti saints have shrines in Jind:—

Sayyid Jamál-ud-Dín or Sháh Waláyat has his shrine at Jind town. He belonged to the Chishti order and accompanied Shaháb-ud-Dín of Ghor in his campaign against Raí Pithora. He was killed in battle at Jind, where his shrine was built. A fair and urs are held here in Muharram every year. His sister’s son also has a tomb there and so has Sháh Wáli Muhammad. Both belonged to the Chishti order.

Sháh Sondha’s shrine is at Saffidon town. He belonged to the Chishti and Qádiri orders.

Hidáyatullah or Mubáriz Khán has his shrine at Kaliána in the Dádri tahsil. Mubáriz Khán was made commander-in-chief by Alaf Khán, son of Tughluq, King of Delhi, and was deputed in 730 H. to fight against Rája Káliána, ruler of Kaliána and the country thereabouts. He was killed and his shrine was built. A full account is given in the Jind State Gazetteer.¹

Shaikh Mahmúd has his shrine at Dádri town. He belonged to the Chishti order.

Dáta Gauj Bakhsh, ‘the saint, the bestower of treasure’, was really named Ali Makhduum Hujweri² and a son of Usmán, son of Ali

¹ Phulkian States Gazetteer, Jind, pp. 262 and 335.
² Hujwer was a suburb of Ghazni. History of Lahore, p. 179.
Chishti shrines.

Jalālī of Ghazni. He was a disciple of Shaikh Abul Fazl, son of Hassan Khutbī. He followed the armies of Mas'ūd, son of Mahmūd, to Lahore where he settled in 1039 A.D. The authorship of the Kasāf-ul-Muḥi‘ūb or ‘Revelation of the Unseen’ is ascribed to him. He was a precursor of the Chishtis, for Khwaja Mu'in-ud-Dīn of Ajmer is said to have spent 40 days at his tomb.

Chishti shrines are not numerous at Lahore but that of Shāh Rahmatullah Shāh (d. 1708 A.D.), who was the spiritual guide of Abdus-Samad, viceroy 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.

In Bahāwalpur the Chishtis are important though only one shrine, that at Chishtiānā, is held by them. Shaikh Tāj-ud-Dīn, a grandson of Bāwa Farīd-ud-Dīn, converted various Rājpūt tribes in Bīkāner 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 Khwaja Nur Muhammad Mahārvi and Bābā Nānak with the shrine of this saint, at which the Lakhwēras and other Joiya septs make vows for sons, while Muhammadans in general after the stīsqā 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.

Khwaja Nūr Muhammad was a Khwāraj Pauwār Rājpūt. Born in 1746 in the Shahr Farīd sīlāqa of Bahāwalpur, he obtained the khelāṣat from Maulāna Fakhr-ud-Dīn Muḥīb-un-Nabi 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-zīlī) where he liked. He appeared after death to read the janāsa at the funeral of a murīd. He had 4 khilāsās, Nūr Muhammad II of Hājpūr, Gāzī Muhammad Aqīt of Mithākoṭ, Hāfīz Muhammad Jamāl of Multān, and Khwaja Muhammad Sulaimān Khān of Sanghar. Their deputies in turn founded gaddīs in Bahāwalpur, Sind and the Punjab, among them those of Muhammad Akbar at Rānia in Hissār, Makhdūm Sayyid Mahmūd of Sitpur and Muhīb-i-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.


1 History of Lahore, p. 137.
2 Bahāwalpur Gazetteer, pp. 174-5.
3 Ib., pp. 176-8.
his younger son Sháh Mohkam was elected to succeed him. Bábá-ulu-Haqq or Baháwal Sher left Búdáun and settled on the bank of the Sutlej in a small village inhabited by Dhíd Játs. 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 Pákpaṭṭan and tore off the tapestries from the tomb of Shaikh Faríd Badr-ud-Dún Shakarganj, 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 Humáyún against the house of Sher 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 Ranjít Singh, however, the partizans of the shrine seem to have carried on a religious war with those of Shaikh Faríd. 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 hypasthral shrines in the Punjab. To that list may be added the shrine of Khwája Báqi-Billáh Naqshbandi at Delhi, and the Chishti Qutb’s at Mihráuli: the roofless tomb of Pir Anlí Ghóri near Baháídurpur in Múltán and that left incomplete in honour of Gujari, a sáti in Nábha; and doubtless many other examples could be cited. These shrines are all Muhammadan—with the possible exception of the sáti’s in Gurgón—but they do not appear to be confined to any particular sect. Muhammad Lutfí says that húfra in Persian means ‘building, mosque or mausoleum without roof,’ but all roofless shrines are not styled húfra in the Punjab.

Jawáya Sháh whose tákia is at Basti Kamboánwáli in Ferozepur was a Máchhi and a fágír 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-dún and his three descendants. Tradition makes ‘Sultán’ Jamál-ud-Dún a scion of the Ghaznavides who accompanied Mahmúd of Ghor in his invasions. The tomb of Alí Tajjár, a disciple of Qutb-ud-Dún, stands in the enclosure. Alí Tajjár was his chief purveyor. The 2nd Qutb was his son Burhán-ud-Dún, the 3rd Manawwar-ud-Dún, and the 4th Núr-ud-Dún, Núr-i-Jahán. In another enclosure are the graves of the four Díváns or successors of the Qutbs whose descendants are still sájjáda-nashín and known as the Díván Sáhibs. Shaky as the traditions are as to chronology the 1st Qutb is described as a disciple of Bába Faríd Shakarganj and the second as also a companion of H. Nizám-ud-Dún of Delhi. Hence the institution must be classed as a Chishti one, though it is possibly older in origin than the time of Bába Faríd.

1 A tribe otherwise unknown.
2 P. N. Q., III, §§ 692, 643 and 783.
3 Múltán Gazetteer, 1901-02, p. 123.
5 Hist. of Lahore, p. 165.
6 So the Himar Gazetteer, 1904, p. 319.
Another tomb at Hānsi is that of Sayyid Niāmat Ullah Shahīd killed in Muhammad-ibn-Sām’s attack on the place, in 588 H. probably. Tradition adds that he was present at the battle of Thānesar and killed Khande Rāo brother of Prithi Rāj. However this may be the fair held in Chet at his tomb is called the mela-i-nesa or fête of lances. His comrades who fell were buried at the Ganj Shahidān 3 kos from Hānsi.

An interesting Chishti shrine at Gula in Hissār is that of Mirān Nau Bahār—the name signifies eternal prosperity—a disciple of Bābā 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 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 Mirān’s descendants who are Tirmizi Sayyids, while the keeping of it clean rests with an old family of khdāms.

The fair begins on the pāranmāshi of Jēth ruḍī and lasts 2 days longer. People affected as above are cured thus:—They are made to eat nām 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 Karīm ud-Dīn is attached to this shrine. It is about 500 yards from it. He was some relation of Mirān Nau Bahār’s father.

The shrine of Dāta Sher Bahol.—This saint’s shrine lies a mile east of Hissār. His name was Abdul Razzāq, Dāta Sher Bahol being his laqī. In 1340 (757 H.) he lived where his shrine now stands in a wilderness which was the hunting ground of Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, son of Sāłār Rajjab, a cousin of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq. In 1340 when Fīroz Tughlaq came here to hunt he was astonished to see Sher Bahol living without water etc. and had a wall built round what is now the town of Hissār and a canal brought from the Jumna to it. A mela is held on the 6th of Muḥarram. On Thursdays and Sunday the Muhammadans and Hindus of Hissār gather there for niyārat.

The shrine of Shāh Junaid.—This shrine stands 300 yards south of the Nagauri gate of the town. It comprises a small gumbād, a mosque, a well in the compound and some other tombs of the saint’s relatives. Junaid, son of Chandan and grandson of Māhīm, was a native of Ajadhan (now Pākpatṭan) and a descendant of Bābā 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 Ramzān.

The shrine of Ismail Shāh.—This shrine stands close to the western side of the town. Ismail Shāh settled here in 1300 A.D., and by his high character achieved such popularity that many became his

1 Spigotthia Indo-Moalemica, p. 19.
disciples, many villages in Bikaner were assigned to him and other states also gave him a yearly income.

The shrine of the Chihl Háfiz.—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 Firoz Sháh Tughlaq they settled at the place where the shrine now stands to enjoy the society of Dáda 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 Dád Sáhib. The former, a native of Salam in Arabia, came here in the time of Súltán Mahmúd Ghaznawi. A very learned darwesh, he belonged to the Ibráhím sect founded by Ibráhím of Balkh who abandoned his kingdom and used to live in solitude in the hills. He wrote a work, called the Tamhíd, on purity of mind. The 14th Shabán is the date for the melá at the shrine. The four cupolas one on each side of the shrine are called the four childás:—
of Bába Faríd Shakarganj, Baha-ul Haqq-wá-l-Dín Zakaria Multání, Sayyid Jalál and Bába Nának—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 tahsíl Nuh, in the khángáh of Khwájá Músa Chishti on the 27th and 28th of Jamádi-ul-awwal. The khángáh was built by Khwájá Abdul Samad, a descendant of Kh. Músa in 1142 H; and the buildings attached to it by Nawáb Shams-ul-Dín Khan of Ferozepur-Jhikra. The grave is of white marble enclosed on all sides by a marble palisade, but open on the top. Surrounding the masár 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 Quraish Shaikhs of Palla, the descendants of Shaikh Músa. In the fair each person offers a píce to the masár and also reori or batáshás with one píce. The following offerings are also made:—

Cloth from 5 to 100 yards to cover the grave, a jhartu (broom) which is deemed to possess the virtue of removing pimples from the skin, malída (bread mixed with ghi and sugar) and milk and curd. No other shrine is connected with this.

At the tomb of Sháh Chokha1 or Sayyid Akbar Ali a fair is held every chándi-rát of the Muhammadan month of Jamádi-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 fathihá-khwání takes place and sometimes

1 The saint of the Meos, see Vol. III, p. 84, infra. A still more curious Chishti shrine is described below:—

The khángáh of Dáda Tim Sháh at Lakhájí in Ferozepur has a fair on the 4th Hár every year. The story is that Dáda Yátím Snah was a Chishti juggler. He came from Ajmer and settled in Marapah in Muktímar some 120 years ago. Thence he was brought to Lakhájí by Kalu and Lakhá, Dogars. He had a disciple named Sayyid Lakhan Sháh Bukhári. On the day of the foundation of Lakhájí Dáda Yátím Sháh breathed his last. The fair is attended by some 200 men and gowáís or singers are invited to it. Some of the visitors go into a trance by waving their heads violently. Fagírs are fed free with bread, rice and meat. Fagír Bahdur Sháh, Qureshi, is its majdwar. Succession is governed by natural relationship, but in the absence of a son, the inheritance would pass to a bòhi. Lamps are lit every Thursday night, when people offer cash or sweets. The thángáh of Lakhan Sháh is connected with this.
verses are also sung. The drum is beaten five times each day. Ćafrīs
and shopkeepers encamp on plots of ground from 1st to 3rd of Jamadi-
ul-awal, and shops are opened on the 4th. The ćāṭīhā-khawānī 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 Charralot 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 khādīms
state that the Persian phrase sanni-zuhāk expresses the year of its foun-
dation which would thus be 939 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 naubat 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 dālāns 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 dālāns known as the bāra-dāri. Under one is a
tah-khāna 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
idgāh. 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.1 In the inner circuit is a large stone tomb. Above it is a large
egg-shaped dome surmounted by a golden kālas. 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 (mīnjarš). Inside the building on the northern wall
hang a stick, a wooden bow, a stone kauṭha, two wooden swords (one of
them a khānād), 5 small glass beads, and an iron bead known as 'the
simurgh’s egg'. By the grave are two Qurāns, two iron candelabra
and an iron fātaluz.

The administration of the temple vests in the villagers who style
themselves descendants of Shāh Chokha. All the khādīms are Chishti.
Every Thursday at the ćāṭīhā-khawānī lohān or incense is burnt. The
tomb of the pīr or religious teacher of Shāh Chokha is said to be at
Nārnaul in Patiāla.

All that can be ascertained of Shāh Ahmad Chishti is that he
was the son of Shah Ismā'il. His father came to reside at Sajwāri
from Dasna in the Balandshahar District. After his death Shāh
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

Kewāl Rām, son of Sālig Rām, Kalāl of Mathura, S. 1840.
pardon, which was granted and the goods were restored to their original condition. So the Banjara had this shrine raised to the Shaikh's memory. It is much worshipped by people of the surrounding villages some of whom have assigned lands to it. Nawab Murtaza Khan assigned 4, or 5 hundred bigahas. The peope of Mahalla Qanungoyan in Palwal generally have their children shaved at this place. The annual festival takes place on 12th Rabi-ul-awwal.

The influence of the Chishtis has penetrated into parts of the hills. Thus at the khanqah of Baba Bhai is the shrine of Abd us-Salám, a Chishti, founded by a Raja of Nasrota. Its fair is held on a Thursday in the light half of Jeth.

**The Qadiria Order.**

Abdul Qadir Jilani was born at Gilan or Jilan in Persia in 1078 A.D. His titles were Piran-i Pir, Ghous-ul-Azim, Ghous-us Samdani, Mahbubi-i-Suhban, Miran Muhay-ud-Din, Sayyid Abdul Qadir Jilani, Hasan-ul-Hussaini. Abdul Qadir Jilani's nephew (khanjaja) was Sayyid Ahmad Kahir (not Qabir) Rafai, the founder of the Rafai or Gurzmár faqirs.

Abdul Qadir is said to have left his tooth-brush at Ludhiiana. It has grown into a nim 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-sani. Hindu as well as Muhammadan villages light lamps at his shrine and women desirous of offerings make offerings at it. Jats 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 Qadir or of the nim tree and assigns a very different origin to the shrine:

The Roshani Fair is the most famous in Ludhiiana. It is held in that town at the khanqah of the 'Pir Sâhib' 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 khanqah, especially of Muhammadans. This Pir was Sayyid Muhammad, progenitor of the Sufi Sayyids of Ludhiiana. At the site of the khanqah he practised

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1 See Vol. III, p. 491.
2 Herklot's *Qanoon-e-Islam*, p. 155.
3 *Ib.*, pp. 157 and 198. Abdul Qadir Gilani was the son of Abi Sâlib and a disciple of Shaikh Abu Said. Born on the 1st Ramzan 470 H, at the age of 18 he left Gilan 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 (Rijal-ighab), as well as with Khizir, and performed many unique miracles. Many saints who had lived before him had prophesied concerning him. He died on 9th Rabi II, 561 H., at the age of 90 and was buried at Baghdad: *Khasnat-ul-Afsia*, I, pp. 94-9; *Safinat-ul-Adua*, pp. 43-88. For a hymn to Abdul-Qadir Jilani see Temple's *Legends of the Punjab*, II, p. 153. 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 yârâhi = 11th (gyârûn) of Rabi, II: *ib.*, p. 168, citing Herklot's *Qanoon-e-Islam*, p. 165 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 khilifa of Hazrat Hujat-ul-Aulia Shaiikh Daud Gangù. From the Hadiqah Daud it appears that he was contemporary with Alangir and probably the khilifa was founded in his reign. Its management vests in the descendants of Sayyid Muhammad, and for its service one or two mujawwas or faqirs are employed.

In imitation of this fair, another Roshani fair is held at Raipur in Ludhiana tahsil on the same date, but it only lasts a day and a night. It is held at Pir Daulat Shah's khinaqah, and his disciples (murids) gather there.

Brown gives various details regarding the Qadiris. According to him Abdul Qadir's title was Sultán-ul-Aulia or sovereign of the walis (saints). The insignia of the Qadiris is the rose, because once the Shaiikh-ul-Sa'id Abdul Qadir Gilani was directed by Khizir to go to Baghdad and on his arrival the Shaiikh (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 Baghdad could find a place for him. He was then admitted to the city. Abdul-Qadir represents the awdar-1-sab'a or seven paths. The initiatory rites musaya'at of a murid include the bai'at or giving of the right hand clasped in the Shaiikh's right hand with the two thumbs raised up against each other.

The Qadiris have three grades of dirwesh, the murid, khilifa and shaiikh. The khilifa is the shaiikh's vicar, e.g. Shaiikh Ismail or Rumi, originally a Khalwatti, became the khilifa of Abdul Qadir. Sir Richard Burton was initiated into this order, first as a shaiikh, then as a murshid, or one allowed to admit murids or apprentices.

The Qadiria methods and practices.

In the Qadiria method of contemplation the disciple is instructed to attain union with God or reach to Him by the practices of yad-zarbi, du-zarbi, shok-zarbi and chahár-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 yad-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 Dervishes, p. 80.
2 Th., p. 89, apparently Abdul-ul-Qadir himself or one of his successors.
3 There are 7 names of Allah, used in zikr, each having its peculiar light, prayer and number of times which it must be repeated:
   1. Isa-ul-Husn-ul-Ullah, blue, 100,000 times.
   2. Allah the Ismi sayli or beautiful name, yellow, 8,586 times.
   3. Ismi Hâ, red, 44,830.
   4. Ismi Hai, white, 20,092.
   5. Wâlid, green, 93,420.
   6. Alif, black, 74,644.

These numbers total 447,574, but their mystical significance is not stated. It used to be necessary to recite the names the above number of times in order to qualify for the degree of Shaiikh.

*Th., p. 95.
then he recites the word Allâh and so on. In *zikr du-w-sarbi* he sits in the posture of namâz (prayer) and recites the name of Allâh once turning his head to the right and again in the heart. In *zikr seh-sarbi* 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 *zikr cha-hur-sarbi* he sits cross-legged and recites Allâh 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 *ta-Ilâh-Allâh* in a certain way sitting with eyes closed.

The nine Qâdiria orders are the:

1. Habibi, from Khwâja Habib of Ajmi.
2. Tafûri, from Khwâja Bayazid of Bustâm.¹
3. Siqti, from Khwâja Imâm Sirri, and Siqti.²
5. Junaidi, from Khwâja Junaid of Baghdád.
7. Tûsi, from Khwâja Abû'l-Farâh Tartûsi.
8. Firdûsi, from Khwâja Abû S'âid Khizri

Like the Chishtia, the Qâdiria order is divided into two sub-orders, the Razâqia from Shahzâda Abdul Razâq and the Wahbâvia from Shahzâda Abdul Wahbân.

The following is a list of Qâdiria shrines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Hijri year of birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maulána Ghaus Ali Sáhib</td>
<td>Pânipat in Karnál</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sháh Qunais or Qumes</td>
<td>Sádhoura in Ambála</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Muhammad Ghaus</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir Sayyid Sháh Firoz</td>
<td>Lahore (Dandi)</td>
<td>933</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ This and the Junaidi are not always given as Súf orders. But as given in the *Tarikhul-Aulia* and the *Aneequl-Arâfi* the 14 Súf orders are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Hijri year of birth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zâhi</td>
<td>S. Karkhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayázi</td>
<td>Siqti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adhâmi</td>
<td>Gazrâni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsârî</td>
<td>Tûsi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chishti</td>
<td>Suharwardi, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habibi</td>
<td>Firdûsi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafûri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bustâm is a village near Wad, a city in Persia. Bayazid, founder of the Tafûri, Tafûri or Tafûri order, was an interesting personality. His full name was Tafûir bin Iss or Abu Yâsid and his Sûfism made him a true pantheist. Whatever attains to God, he held, becomes God and his sanctity was such that he wrought miracles and wounds inflicted on his person whom in a state of ecstasy appeared on the bodies of those who inflicted them. His townspeople revered his supernatural power and cast him out of their city seven times, only to receive him back again. A tenet he inculcated 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 unnoticed in their belongings. At Qâsim's request Bayazid set out to restore it to its home whereupon a halo encircled his hand and the inhabitants of Shahrud and Bustâm fought for possession of his person. Qâsim was killed in the fray and when Bayazid on his return learnt of his death he rebuked his townspeople so vehemently, that they stoned him to death. Both he and Qâsim are buried at Bustâm: William Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyâm*, pp. 200-1. For a sketch of Bayazid Bustamî's life and teaching see Clau Bush, *Mystics and Saints of Islam*, pp. 52 ff; and for Habib Ajami, pp. 79 ff.

² The Siqti and Karkhi orders have long ceased to be so called, and their followers find a place under the Qâdiri order in all books on Súf history written in Persian or Urdu.
## Qâdiri shrines.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Birth year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Abdul Qâdir II</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Muhammad Hazûri</td>
<td>Near Mián 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 Latîf Barri</td>
<td>Nurpur in Rawal-pindi</td>
<td>950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Baha-ud-dîn</td>
<td>Hujra</td>
<td>973</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Hamîd Ganj Bakhsh</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Daûd</td>
<td>Shergarh</td>
<td>982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Bahrol</td>
<td>Chiniot</td>
<td>983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abû Ishâq</td>
<td>Mozang (Lahore)</td>
<td>985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Muhammad Nûr</td>
<td>Chûftân in Lahore</td>
<td>988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Mûsâ</td>
<td>Multân</td>
<td>1001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Hussain (Lal Hussain)</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shâh Shams-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 Mrî (Mián Mrî)</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Shah Bûlâwal</td>
<td>Outside Lahore</td>
<td>1046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh Madhuri</td>
<td>Near Lahore</td>
<td>1156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwâja Bîbâri</td>
<td>Near Miân Mrî's shrine</td>
<td>1060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shâh Sulaimân</td>
<td>Bhilowal</td>
<td>1065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Jân Muhammad</td>
<td>Near Garhi town</td>
<td>1085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Abdul Razzâq</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Shâh Muhammad (Mulla Shâh)</td>
<td>Outside Miân Mrî's tomb</td>
<td>1069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Háji Muhammad</td>
<td>Chhani Sahanpâl</td>
<td>1103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in Gujrânwâla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Hasan</td>
<td>Peshawar</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Fazal</td>
<td>Batâla</td>
<td>1151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shâh Pir Muhammad</td>
<td>Nau-habrá in Guj-rântâyat</td>
<td>1152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shâh Muhammad Gaus</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdul Rahmân</td>
<td>Birhi in Gujrânwâla</td>
<td>1153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Bahli Shâh</td>
<td>Kasûr</td>
<td>1171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdulla Shâh</td>
<td>Mozang in Lahore</td>
<td>1212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ghulâm Hussain</td>
<td>Wayânwâla in Gujrânwâla</td>
<td>1250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Qaisar Shâh</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>1283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Laho Shâh</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
<td>1253</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The Hazûri family of Lahore is so called because its disciples are, it is believed, quickly admitted into the presence of the Prophet. Originally of Ghor it settled at Uch but migrated to Lahore under Shâh Jahân. Their tomb has two domes and in it are buried Muhammad Hazûri and his son Shâh Nûr-ud-Dîn, and Jân Muhammad and his son Sarwar Dîn: Jân Muhammad, who died in 1708, was a man of profound learning: Hist. of Lahore, p. 171.

2 Shaikh Tâhir Bandagi, who is buried at Lahore, his native place, was a disciple of this Shaikh Ahmed.
Some Qadiri Saints.

The pedigree of the saint Shâh Qumes makes him a descendant of Abdur-Qâdir Jilâni through a son of his named Abd-ur-Razzâq who is otherwise not known. Shâh Qumes most probably flourished in the 16th century as tradition connects him with Akbar and with Humâyûn'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 Bihár and three large fairs are held, one in that Province, one at Ludhiana and a third at Sádhaura itself.

Shâh Biláwal, son of S'aid Usmán, son of S'aid Isâ, who came from Herât to India with Humâyûn when he reconquered India with Persian aid, was a disciple of Sh. Shams-ud-Dîn Qâdirî and a tutor of Maulavi A'bul Fâteh. He died in 1636 A.D. and was first buried beneath a high dome on the banks of the Râvi, but on account of that river's encroachments Faqîr Azîz-ud-Dîn 200 years later exhumed his body and re-buried it a kos east of Lahore. The coffin was found suspended to the roof by an iron hook and the body in perfect preservation. The fort of Shâhkhúpura with its environs was held in jâgir by this Sayyid.2

Shâh Shams-ud-Dîn who predicted Shâh Jahân's accession was also a Qâdirî and offerings are made to his shrine in fulfilment of vows (mannat). He died in 1613 A.D. and Shâh Jahân constructed his tomb.3

The tomb of Shâh Raza, described as belonging to the Shattaria Qâdirîa family, is on a platform in an open courtyard. Sûfis assemble at the annual fair held at this khânqâh, to sing hymns when in the ecstatic state. Shâh Raza died in 1706 A.D. and disciple Shâh Inâyatulla had as his disciple the famous poet Bhulla Shâh.

Shâh Jamâl described as a Qâdirî Sahrwardî who died in 650 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 Shâh Jamâl. His brother Shâh Kamâl is buried in the adjoining village of Vona. When Jamâl used to sit on this damdama the ladies of the royal household could be seen bathing in Jahângîr's tank close by, so they objected, but the faqîr in a curse predicted that neither palaces nor tank should remain. Nevertheless in a fit of wâjîd 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.5

The Pir Dastgîr.

Shâh Muhammad Ghaus, whose shrine is at Lahore, is held in great esteem from Delhi to Peshmawar. He died in 1739. His father Sâid6

1 Given in Temple's Legends, III, 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 almshouse : p. 59.
3 Ib., pp. 201.2.
5 Ib., pp. 200.1.
The Pir Dastgīr

Hasan, whose tomb at Peshāvar is also much respected, was a lineal descendant of the Pir Dastgīr.

The descendants of the Pir Dastgīr include some patron saints of industrial castes or at least of local guilds. Thus at Lahore Fīroz Shāh Gilānī, a disciple of Shāh Alam, became the saint of the Dandizars or kherādīs (turners). He died in 1527 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 seas 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-Madīna, I, p. 199.

But other patron saints do not appear to be so regarded. Thus Hassu Teli, a saint contemporary with Lāl Husain, is essentially the saint of the oilmen and his tomb is the scene of an annual fair. His shop too, at which he sold corn, is still respected and a lamp is lit daily at his residence. He was a disciple of Shāh Jamal Qādirī whose tomb is at Ichhra, and he died in 1593 A.D.² Shaikh Mūsā was an dhangar 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 Islam 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 ‘shewer of the way’, is much reverenced by the Khojas of Lahore.⁵ His pedigree is:

S. Shams-ud-Dīn Tabriz

S. Abdul Qādir


Shāh Chirāgh (Abdul Razzāk), a descendant of the Pir Dastgīr, has a lofty tomb at Lahore, erected by Aurangzeb. It is the scene of an annual fair.⁶

The Qalandars.

The Qalandars,⁷ according to Brown, are not an order. One of the darvāsh of the Qadiri was named Shāh-bāz i-Qalandari and another

¹ Hist. of Lahore, pp. 168-69.
² Ib., pp. 202-03.
³ Ib., pp. 204-05.
⁴ Ib., p. 208.
⁵ Ib., p. 908.
⁶ Ib., p. 198.
⁷ Described in Vol. III, p. 257 infra. The Shāh Bāz settled on the Peshāvar border may be this Shāh-bāz, the Qadiri. The shrine of Shāh Chokha, as already stated, is held by Chishti khādīm.
of the Maulaví was called Shams-ud-Din Tabrizi Qalandari. But the Qalandars also appear to be connected with the Bektáshis some of whom wear the cap called Sháhibzí-Qalaudari which is said to have been assumed by the Sháh, Adham, of Balkh and is therefore called Adhami.  

### The Suharwardi Order.

The account given of the foundation of this order in Vol III, p. 432, is almost certainly incorrect. It was founded either by Shaikh Shiháb-ud-Din Suharwardí who died in 632 H. and is entombed at Baghdád (and not in the fort of Multán, as erroneously stated in that art.) or by Shaikh Zía-ud-Din.  

Shaikh Shiháb-ud-Din’s disciple Bahá-ud-Din Zakaríá is buried in the fort at Multán and hence is sometimes called Bahá-ud-Din Zakaríá Multání.  

Suharwardí comes from Suharward, a village in the Oxus valley.

At initiation into the Suharwardí order the murshid or spiritual guide first bids the disciple repent his sins, great and small. He is then directed to recite 5 kraímas and to attain to full conviction of the true faith, to recite the namás regularly and to observe the fasts (rosa). This is called murid honte, ‘to become disciple.’ Jaláí-ud-Din, Maulána Rúm, author of the Masañawi, belonged to this order. He was born at Balkh about 1207 A. D. His parents claimed descent from Abú Baki, 

The Dervishes, p. 84: Brown however also gives the tradition that the Qalandars were founded in Spain and says the title means ‘pure gold’: p. 241.

### The Suharwardi Order.

Shaikh Shiháb-ud-Din did not come to India. It was Sh. Baháwul Din who came to Multán: vide Khastinat-ul-Ashá, Vol. II, p. 19. The nightingale of Shírúz Súti was the disciple of S. Sha bah: vide Naífat, p. 441. Shaikh Zía-ud-Din was a son of Naqib Suharwardí, uncle of Shaikh Shiháb-ud-Din Suharwardí. Shaháb-ud-Din’s tomb is in Baghdád. Gházi-ud-Din Khán Píroz Jang Bahádur, father of the first Nizám of Hindustán, was a grandson of Alam Shaikh, a saint and scholar of Samargand who claimed descent from Sh. shaháb-ud-Din: Siker, op. cit., p. 92.

The learned Shaikh Bahá-ud-Din Zikáríá Multání, son of Wajih-ud-Din, was one of the greatest saints of his time. A disciple of Shaikh Shiháb-ud-Din Umar Suharwardí of Baghdád, 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 Faríd Sháhkanjí addressed him as the Shaikh-ul-Islám. When Sultán Shámu-ud-Dín Altámísh became king, Sultán Násír-ud-Dín Qábáchá, governor of Multán, Uch and Sial planned a rebellion against him. Learning this Bahá-ud-Din Zikáríá and Gázi Sharif-ud-Din wrote to inform Altámísh of his intentions but their letters were intercepted by Qábáchá. In revenge he sent for the writers and placing the letters before them asked if they were theirs. Gázi Sharif-ud-Din admitted their authorship and was straightway beheaded, 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 Qábáchá begged his forgiveness and let him go. He died on Thursday the 7th Saffar 640 H.: Saffatal Aulía, pp. 114-5; Astkari-Áhrá, pp. 55-6; Faraháta, Persian text, pp. 404-9; Khastinat-ul-Ashá, II, pp. 19-28, and Baw, Mafta há-ul-Tawartik, Persian text, p. 62.

Described as ‘the greatest pantheistic writer of all ages,’ Jaláí-ud-Din died in 1272 A.D. 7 years after Dante’s birth, and did not live to finish the Masañawi. His teaching is summed up in his last 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 fasts and self-renunciation 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 held man choose a pur to represent for him the Unseen God. His praise of the sacred flute has made it one of the principal instruments in the melancholy music which accompanies the dancing of the Maulávi darvash. 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 no years till his purified spirit is re-absorbed into the Supreme Unity. We are here reminded of the words of Novalis, ‘Philosophy is, probably speaking home sickness; the wish to be everywhere at home’. Yield, op. cit., pp. 148 fn.
father-in-law and successor of Muhammad. He had a mysterious friend in Shams-ud-Din of Tabriz. Jalál 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 Jalál instituted religious dancing or hál khelná amongst his disciples and on this account they earned the name of dancing darvishes. Shams met his death, it is said, during such a religious entertainment.

According to Petit the Sullarwardi 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 Dáda. Some say he was the disciple of Shaikh Abúbakr Silla-Báf Tabrizi; others that Kamál Khujandi or Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din Sanjási was his father. Born to saintship he fasted for 40 days without a break even when a mere boy. Maulána Jalál-ud-Din Fámi had great faith in him. Once, it is said, Shaikh Shams-ud-Din reached Baqunia and found Jalál-ud-Dín sitting by a tank with some books busy teaching. After exchanging a few words with the Maulána the Shaikh threw the books into the tank. The Maulána 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 Maulána thus became his disciple. One night the Shaikh was talking to the Maulána 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 Maulána 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 wazir of Qonia 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 Sultán were called in and they led Shams-ud-Din away and put him to death without further inquiry. Jalál-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.’ Jalál-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 oecumences but

1 *Les Confréries Musulmanes*, pp. 44 (siting Sénoussi in Rinn, p. 210) and 45.
the Chishtia order now declares that āl b'lēms is lawful, though the other orders declare these practices unlawful.

Shaikh Shams-ud-Din Tabrizi, whose tomb is at Multān, is a different saint. He was a Musavi Sayyid and his descendants who profess Shi'a tenets are known as Shamsi Sayyids: Khazīnat-ul-Asfiya, II, pp. 268-70; Saifīat-ul-Auliya, p. 179.

This order is closely connected with Multān. It is the home of an important Shi'a family who call themselves descendants of a saint of Multān named Shams Tabrizi 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 Multān, one of the hottest in India, and the story goes that the sun broiled a fish for him there when he was denied 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 in his hand, is also told of this Shams-ud-Din of Multān, though his principal attribute is that he brought the sun nearer to the world at that place than any where else on earth.\(^1\) The Shi'a guardians of the shrine indeed declare that the name Sham Tabrez is an error and that his real name is Shams-taprez or 'heat-giving'.\(^2\)

The following is a list of shrines of the Suharwardia 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>Multān</td>
<td>666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Sadr-ud-Din</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ahmad</td>
<td>Multān</td>
<td>723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Rukn-ud-Din</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Hamid-ud-Din</td>
<td>Multān</td>
<td>735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayad Jalal-ud-Din</td>
<td>Uch in Jhang</td>
<td>735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Sadr-ud-Din</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayad Nasir-ud-Din</td>
<td>Do.</td>
<td>847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdul Jalil(^3)</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 Mūsā</td>
<td>Lahore (Gumbaz Sabz)</td>
<td>925</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Temple: Legends of the Punjab, III, p. 87.
\(^2\) Multān Gazetteer, Lahore, 1902, p. 350, citing Sir Alex. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Reports, Calcutta, 1875, V, pp. 135 and 136.

Possibly a similar origin may be ascribed to the Shamsi Tālāb or Sun Tank at Mbrauli near Delhi. On its bank stands the Jahāz 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 Tālāb is famous in Muhammadan folklore: Annual Progress Report of Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle (Allahabad), 1915, p. 41. It was known to Timur as the Hāzī-šamsī or Citizen of Shams-ud-Din Altamah, the first Turk emperor of Delhi.

\(^3\) Shaikh Abdul Jalil or Shaikh Chular married a daughter of Sikandar Loi and died in 1526 leaving a son, Abdul Fatah. His miracles are recorded in the Tazkara Qubis and his descendants who live in Ratta Piran, in Siakot, are still much respected: Hist. of Lahore, p. 205.
Shaikh Hamid ud-Din Abulgais, entitled Shaikh Hakim, 16th in
descent from Zaid-ud-Din Haras Muhammad Asghar and 17th from 705 H.
Ali himself, was a governor of Kich Mekran in 1208. 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, Baba-ud-Din Zakaria, and Shaikh Rukn-ud-Din Abul Fath, who appointed him his khaliqa 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 mujawars. Shaikh Hakim 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 patrani Aisha, and a great jagir between Multan and Bhakhar. That lady's tomb is at Lahore close to that of S. Ahmad Tokhta, but Shaikh Hakim's body was buried at Mau Mubarak. He died in 1388 at the age of 222, an age not attained by any other Suharwardi saint. Vows are made and vigils kept at his shrine. An interesting feature of his career was his emancipation of his Hindu slaves who in gratitude embraced Islam. The maliks among his descendants were originally his door-keepers and their real tribe was Pargar or Palhar.

Shaikh Dujan has a shrine at Jind town, and a full account of it is given in the Jind Gazetteer. Shaikh Dujan was a disciple of Shaikh Sadar-ud-Din Maleri and was appointed by him as Shaikh or spiritual governor of Jind. He died in 964 A. H. There were two tombs, one of the Shaikh himself and the other of his wife.

THE NAQSHBANDI ORDER.

Khwaja Baba-ud-Din of Turkestan, founder of this order, who died in 702 H. and was buried near Bukhara, must not be confounded with Baba-ud-Din Multani. Khwaja Ahmad Naqshband, who died in 1034 H.

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1899 A.D.

1 Bahawalpur Gazetteer, pp. 187-8.
2 Clearly Pratihar or 'chamberlain' of the Scotch Durward.
3 In Phulkian States Gazetteer, 1904, Jind, p. 281.
and is buried at Sirhind in Patidá. was the disciple of Khwája Baqi whose shrine is at Delhi where he too was buried in 1012 H.

Khwája Baha-ud-Din Naqshband had four important disciples, one of whom Khwája Yaqúb Charkhi is buried at Malafko in Hissár.

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 *habe-i-dám*. After this he must utter the word *Ld* from his heart and prolong it from his navel, to his right side up to his shoulder and then repeat the word ‘Alláh’ and then the words ‘illa-Alláh’.

According to Punjab traditions the following is the line of the Naqshbandi *Pírs*:

<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>3</td>
<td>Silmán Fársí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Imám Qásim b. Muhammad, son of Abu Bakr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Imám Jáfár Sádíq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bayasfí Bustamí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Khwája Abú Hasan Khargáni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Abú Qásim Gargáni or Kerkáni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Abú Ali Farnádi or Farnándí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Abú Yáusuf Hamádáni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Abú Khalíq Ghádawáni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Muhammad Arif Renganí or Rikarí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Mahmud Akháir Pághnháwí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>(Azizáni) Ali Ramitáni or Rametní.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Muhammad Baba Summasí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sayd Amir Kalál or Gulán.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Baha-ud-Dín Naqshband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ala-ud-Díwá Attár.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Yáqúb Charkhi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Naár-ud-Dín Ubaidulláh Ahrár.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Muhammad Záhíd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Mañána Darvásh Muhammad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Khwája Amkíñí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Khwája Muhammad Baqi Billa Baráng.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Khwája Muhammad Músúm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Sh Sháfíuddín.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>M. Háfiz Muhammad Minán Dílwáí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Sayyíd Núr Muhammad Badánuí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Shams-ud-Dín Habíbullah Mázhar Shahíd Mirza Jánján.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Mujádíd Mátadíluíswál Ashar Sayyíd Abdúl (Sháh Ghalám Ali Ahmadí).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Sháh Abu Saíd Ahmadí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Sháh Ahmad Saíd Ahmadí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Hái Đost Muhammad Qand háří.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Muhammad Usún (shrine at Kalóco in Dera Iswáíl Khán).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 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 Imāms Husain Zain-al-Abidain, Muhammad Bāqir and Ja'far Sādiq, to Sh. Bāyazīd Bustāmī and adds:—Bāyazīd Bustāmī was born after the decease of the Imām Ja'far Sādiq, but by the force of the will of the latter received spiritual instruction from him. Imām Ja'far also spiritualised Qāsim, grand-son of Abu Bakr. From Bāyazīd he brings the line down with one or two additions to Alai-ud-Dīn Attār, but after him he gives a different succession of the Naqshbandīs. The Punjab line appears to begin with the Khwāja Baqi-billa who is buried at Delhi.

The members of the order are styled Khwājagān or teachers, and the khālifs and disciples of Obaidulla were walis whose shrines are scattered over the countries of Sind, Bukhāra, 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, tanajjuh, murākaba, tasarruf and tawassuf the fervent dwrmesh attains peculiar spiritual powers called guvvat-i-rūki bātini or inward spiritual power and in a shaikh or īr the exercise of these powers is called guvvat irādat or will-power. It extends to the ability to cause death even at a distance.

Petit regards the Naqshbandīs 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 guvvat-ul-irādat 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 subduing their enemies from afar. When in their contemplations ecstacy is slow to supervene, they are said to use opium and its preparations.

According to the Rashīḥāt the Khoja Ahmad Tasawwī aided Sultān Abu Sa'id against Bābar and saved Samarkand when he attacked that place. That saint claimed to be able to affect the minds of sovereigns by taskhīr or the subduing faculty. Brown's account of the tarks varies. He describes the Naqshbandīs as wearing caps of 18 tarks.

1. The Rashīḥāt 'Ain-al-Hayāt or 'Drops from the Fountain of Life' sketched the order to Obaidulla, and makes Baha-ud-Dīn merely a learned exponent of its principles: Brown, The Dervishes, p. 127.
3. All this appears to be based on the Rashīḥāt.
6. Ib., p. 65.
or only 4. The cap, generally white, is always embroidered and used to contain a verse of the Qurán. The order performs ṭikhlás or prayers seated, each member reciting one ṭikhlás until 1001 have been said. The number is checked by the use of pebbles as tallies.

The Nurbakshis² are evidently an offshoot of the Naqshbandis, but Brown, who gives their spiritual descent,³ 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>Sáin Tawakkal Sháh Naqshbandi</td>
<td>Ambála</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qutb Sáhib</td>
<td>Thánésar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mujaddid Sáhib</td>
<td>Sirhind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sháikh Ahmad</td>
<td>Sirhind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Ahmad Said</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Masum</td>
<td>Mozang, Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Sadi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayad Núr Muhammad</td>
<td>Sirhind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Abdul Abid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Abid</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sháh Abdullah</td>
<td>Tonk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sháh Abu Said</td>
<td>Kasúr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazrat Ghulám Mohi-ud-Dín</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayad Imám Ali Sháh</td>
<td>Ratr Chhatr in Gurdáspur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Mahmúd Sháh</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh. Hájí Muhammad Sa’id</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ján Muhammad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THE NAUSHABI⁵ AND QAIRASHWALI ORDERS.

These are two recent offshoots or sub-orders of the Qádria. The founder of the Naushabi is also said to have been named Shaikh Hájí Muhammad whose tomb is at Chhani Sahnapal, on the Chenab

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¹ Brown, *The Dervishes*, p. 57.
⁴ Near Dera Nának. Like Masáni, near Batá, this is a seat of Sayyid pás. Both possess Muhammadan buildings of some interest: *Gurdáspur Gazetteer*, 1914, p. 31.
⁵ *Vol. III*, p. 166.
opposite Rámnagar in the Wazirábád tahsíl. The Qaisarsháhi derive
their name from Qaisar Sháh, whose shrine is at Wayinwáli in the
same tahsíl. Many followers of these two sub-orders are to be found
in the Gujránwála District.

Like the Chishtís the Naushábís 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 Nausháhi shrine at Lahore is that of Fazl Sháh, a native of
Sai'edpur in Zafarwál tahsíl, Sialkot. First the mulláh of a mosque,
then a maker of spectacles, he became a disciple of Rahmán Sháh
Naushábi and a mast fuqir who squandered the money given him by
his follower Rájá Dína Nóth and in his fits used to abuse and pelt him
with stones. He died in 1854 and was buried in the tomb which the
Rájá had made for him in his life-time. He appears to have
given its name to the Masti gate of the city.

Pír Sháh, whose takía stands at the Zíra gate of Ferozepur city,
belonged to the Naushábís. One of his followers is in charge of the
tomb. A fair is held here in Bhádon when alms are distributed.

At a small gathering held at Cháwa in Bhera tahsíl during the
Muharram Nausháhi fuqirs 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.

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 Badi'-ud-Dín, Madár, a son of Abu Isháq, the Shámi,
and their mir dera or chief shrine in Patiála is the takía of Murád
Ali Sháh at Banúr. They have other deras in that tahsíl, but the most
interesting feature in their cult is their connection with the shrine of
Háji Ratan near Bhaštinda, which is held by Madári mujárwas 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 Kaur—the latter name could hardly be borne
by a man—was divádn to a Hindu Rájá of Bhaštinda but he betrayed
that fortress to the Moslems.

1 Hist. of Lahore, p. 132.
2 Sháhpur Gasiteer, p. 88.
3 Bina Pál or Vena Pál.
Born a Chauhán Rájpút, like Gugga, his knowledge of astrology told him that a prophet called Muhammad would be born in Arabia who would spread the religion of Islám. 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 Meccá in order to meet him. There he embraced Islám and lived with him 30 years, so that he was numbered among the asḥáb 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 Shaháb-ud-Dín Ghori proceeded to Bhatinda to fight Pirthi Ráj he went to pay a visit to the Háji 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 Qurán. 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 Bába Ratan. The Bába himself died shortly after the conquest of the fort at the age of 200 years.

This is the legend as told at Bhatinda. But Bába 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, Daúd Ibn As'ad of Assisiut in Egypt, calls him Ratan the son of Medan, the son of Mandi, 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 Medina he became a convert to Islám. According to Daúd the Háji's death took place in 603 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 Sháh is known to Kashmir legends and in the 11th century a traveller informs us that Bába Ratan was considered by the gardeners of Constantinople to be their patron saint. This post however he owes probably to some of the Sufio 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'ámmar or long-lived person that Bába Ratan has attained this rank.  

**THE JALÁLÍ ORDER.**

This order described in Vol. II, p. 350, as one of the regular Muhammadan orders is perhaps an off-shoot of the Suhárwardí and in Patíála its fajír is said to be distinguished by their glass bracelets which

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1 See also *Journal, Punjab Hist. Society*, 11, p. 97 f.
The tradition that to be based on their later connection under this name is merely arrived at by assembly in the Albania the Imims, and graves of saints forbiddm, which has seven tarks.3

The sâin in charge of the Musâllis' takia in Ferozepur also belongs to the Jalâlîs. His predecessor became its incumbent in the time of Rââî Lachhman Kaur. The well, takia and mosque belonged to the Musâllis and they settled him (Inâyat Shâh) here.

Hasan Ali was a Bukhârî Sayyid of Bahra who belonged to the Jalâlî order. His tomb lies in the takia, known as that of Gulâb Shâh or Ghore Shâh on the road from the Ferozepur Municipal Board School to the Sadr. Prayers are said and alms distributed here in Muharram at the Chihlam or 40th day.

The Bektâshi order is ascribed to Háji Bektâsh Wali, but the accounts of him are quite legendary. They say he belonged to Nishâpur, was a pupil of Ahmad Yesewi and died in 1337, but the figure 738 H. is merely arrived at by calculating the letters in the word 'Bektâshia'. The tradition that Bektâsh blessed the Janissaries under Orkhân 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 movement organised by it in western Turkey is older and moreover after the order was founded that movement spread far beyond its limits. In Albania the Bektâshfs are-a sect rather than an order. The Qizil-bâsh and Ali-ilâhâs agree in the main Bektâshi doctrines. In those doctrines Sâî 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 Imâms, and especially Ja'far-us Sâdiq, with the fourteen Ma'sum-i-pâk or 'pure children', who are mostly Alid martyrs. Prayers offered at the graves of saints may take the place of ritual worship, and Bektâshfs have often settled at old and famous places of pilgrimage and so made them their own. They have the doctrine of the Trinity, Ali taking the place of Jesus (Allâh, Muhammed and Ali), and celebrate a communion of wine, bread and cheese at meetings in the masdân oday, or hall of assembly in the monastery (takia).4 They deny that they have sîkr. They also confess to their bâbûs and receive absolution. Wine is not forbidden, owing to the importance of the vine in their cult, nor do their women wear veils. One section still lives in celibacy—which was

1 Phulkîân States Gazetteer, Patiala, p. 80.
2 Brown, 'The Dervishes', p. 150.
3 For a song about Jalâlí the blacksmith's daughter see Temple, 'Legenda', II, p. 168. This tale seems purely mystical. Jalâlí was carried off by a local king and rescued by Rûdî Shâh, the shaven shâh or priest, also called Jalâlí. Legend says he came from Mecca and connects him with Abdul-Qâdir Jîsâni. He has a shrine vaguely described as near Lahore on the Amritsar road. His great feat was making the dûh grass of India green and sweet for ever, so he is clearly a survival of nature-worship merged in the Jalâlî tenets.
4 Similarly, the Qizilbâsh in Eastern Anatolia who must be regarded as a branch of the Shi'tas, 'combine the identities of Ali and Our Lord, of Ali's sons Hasam and Husain and SS. Peter and Paul, of the twelve Imâms and the twelve Apostles'; Lukach, 'City of Dancing Dervishes', p. 167.
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 metempsychosis. The head of a monastery is called bā'ād, and all
celibates have since the middle of the 16th century had a head of their
own, the mujarrd bābās. The ordinary darvesh is called a murād and a
layman attached to a takhsīs. The dress of the order is a
white cloak and cap (stikke) 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 (taslim tāsh) 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 Bektāshīs 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 Rumīli Hissār. But the mother-monastery
(pīr evr) 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' darvest 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 Nūsh, Shāhbāz-i-Qalandari, Jalāl-i-Bukhārī and
Luqmān Qalandari were all disciples of Ahmad-al-Yassavi and originally
Naqshbandis. But each founded a separate order and the tomb of Jalāl
and Shāhbāz are at Simna near Kurdistan while that of Jān Nūsh

1 Or 'stone of submission' regarding which various interpretations are current. One is
that it is worn to commemorate the Prophet's gift of Fātima to Ali: Brown, The Dervishes,
p. 151. Another is that it is the darvesh-darveshdn or miraculous stone with 12 holes
worn by Moses: ib., p. 149.
2 W. S. Monroe, Turkey and the Turks, p. 231.
3 All the foregoing is taken from the Dicty. of Islām, pp. 691-2. For the Bektāshīs
in Albania, see p. 452.

Lukach records that the Chelebi Effendi derives his title from Ar. salih, 'cruciifx'
The City of Dancing Dervishes, p. 22.
4 Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethic, i, p. 794.
5 A. J. Evans, The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult, 1901, pp. 8 ff.
6 See illustration at p. 241 in Turkey and the Turks. This or some other modern work
illustrates a Turkish darvesh with a dagger thrust through both cheeks. As showing how
religious symbolism and practices tend to reproduce themselves Bishop Whitehead, The
Village Gods of South India, p. 79, may be cited. The devotee of Durga pins is checks
together with a long safety-pin to ensure concentration of mind when drawing nigh his
shrine. In both cases the origin of the practice may be similar.

But Brown also predates two Bektāshīs, one Bektāsh Kādī, 'the servant' of God,
author of the Bektāsh-i-Kādī or Garden of Reflection; the other Hāji Bektāsh who lived in
Asia Minor under Sultan Murād I and blessed the Janissaries. Brown reproduces a curious
note on the origin of the Bektāshīs which as he that the musztte of Rūm are divided into
four classes, the kādīs or heretics, akhūtan or brothers, ēbbās or ascetics, and the hem-
ba'īs or heretics. Hāji Bektāsh chose the Hājīn-i-Rūm among the Bulaurīs (whomever they
may be) and made of his principles of spiritual power to the Khāqān Anādur (a lady of
the latter name) and then died: op. cit., p. 142.
The Bektâsh.

is in Khorásân. All except Jalâl wore the costume of the order of Háji Bektâsh, but while Jân Nûsh had 12 tarks in his cap, Sháhbaž had only 7 and Luqmân 4, while the dissentient Jalâl had only one. The spiritual descent of Háji Bektâsh is traced up to Ali through the same or almost the same steps as that of the Naqshbandís. But the Bektâsh 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 Salman-i-Fârsi and Umr Ummia Bilál Habshi, and these did the same for 12 others, including Zu-n-Nûn Misri who was sent to Egypt, Subahlí who went to Rûm, Dâud Yamani to the Yemen and Salmán to Bagdad. 2

The rites of the Bektâsh are numerous and elaborate and with them religious symbolism has reached a high development: At initiation the murîd 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 Rafâs, and with a rope made of its wool he is led into the hall of the takia by two turjumâns or interpreters. This hall is square and in its octagonal centre is one stone called the maidân tâsh 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 maidân tâsh is replaced by one placed in front of each post. The murshid or shaikh is seated on one post and 11 members of the order on the others. The murîd 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 murîds' 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 maidân tâsh 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 Imams are represented by the 12 members seated on the posts. The Bektâshis are credited, as usual in the case of such orders, with secret pantheistical or even atheistical doctrines and it is said that the murîd 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 murîd 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 mahqiq or catechumen, being entrusted with false secrets to test his powers of guarding the real mysteries of the order. He is guided to the takia by two rahpars who remain outside it armed with the tabbar, a halberd of

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1 Abu Bakr as-Sidiq, 1st Caliph, and Ali both taught Salâmân Fârsi and he taught Muhammad Nâdiq (son of Abu Bakr) who passed on the tradition to his son Ja'far, he to Abu Yaqîf (sie) mustâmi, he to Abu Hasan Harrakâni, he to Abu'l-Qasim Karkâni, he to Ali Ali-al-Parmadi, he to Yusuf Hamadânî and he to Ahmad Yassavi

2 Salâman's name seems to occur in two capacities. Zu-n-Nûn, the Egyptian Sufi, is said to have been the first to formulate the doctrine of ecstatic states (kâtâ, and maqâmât). His orthodoxy was not above suspicion. He died in 245 H.: Macdonald, op. cit, p. 176.

3 He is only stripped if he intends to take the vow of celibacy (mufarrad iqrâr)
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 əqrər 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 Bektashī consists of a sleeveless vest (hərdəri) with a streak supposed to be the word Ali, and 12 lines symbolizing the Imamās: a khirda with a similar streak: a girdle of white wool: a cord (kambaria) of goat's hair to which is attached a crystal called naff: earrings (mangosh) like those of the Rifā'īs; and a cap. This cap is called táj and in the case of a shaikh has 12 tarks which are of 4 doors, but in the case of a lower degree it is simply made of white felt in four parts, signifying the šari'at, tariqat, haqiqat and ma'rifa. The táj is however the subject of much mystic symbolism and as already noted the number of the tarks is not fixed. Passing over the significance of such ritual paraphernalia as the dolah or legging, the lavank or long robe and the mulifah or wide dress (the two latter garments were worn by the Prophet when he declared his light and Ali's to be one), the kasbghul or beggar's bowl, the signi or pilgrim's staff, the chillik or rod, used in punishment, and the luffer or horn, this account of the order may be closed with references to two points of general interest. The Bektashīs appear to lay peculiar stress on the doctrine of the misdi or spiritual counterpart of the body which is its spiritual pfr. 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 misdi and then makes them aulia. It is regrettable that our knowledge of this doctrine is not fuller. Another doctrine of the Bektashīs finds a curious parallel in the eastern Punjab. As the shaikh in the assembled takia represents Ali, so the next post is that of the cook, or Said Ali Balkhi, a khalifa of the order: the 3rd that of the breadmaker, Bahīm Sultān; the 4th that of the nait or deputy shaikh after Gai Gasus: the 5th, that of the maidān is occupied by the Superintendent of the takia, representing Sari Ismā'il; the 6th that of its steward, called after Kūl Aḥik Hājim Sultān; the 7th of the coffee-maker, after Shazali Sultān; the 8th, of the bag-bearer, after Kara Daulat Ján Baba: the 9th, of the sacrificer, after Ibrahim Khalif-ullah (Abraham): the 10th, of the ordinary attendant of the services, after Abdul Musa: the 11th, of the groom, after Kamber, Ali's groom; and the 12th, of the mihtmādar or entertainer of guests, after Khizr.

1 Ali’s horse, Duldul, had a groom Kambaria who used to tie its rope round its waist. It had 3 knots, ul-bağhi (hand-tie), dıl-bağhi (tongue-tie) and bel-bağhi (rein-tie). The kambaria thus reminds its wearer that he must not steal, lie or commit fornication.

2 Apparently the same as the stone of contentment.

3 The mangosh tashī is shaped like a new moon and commemorates the horse-slice of Ali.

4 Brown describes this as kept ‘in the takia’ (p. 158) and as, like the figi and takia carried when on a long journey (p. 159). The jamfama is a skin thrown over the shoulder when travelling.

5 Brown, op. cit., p. 153. Khizr seems to be specially affected by the Bektashīs. With 16 other prophets he wore their girdle which was first worn by Adam. He is called the chief of all the aswālar: ib., p. 146.
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 Bára-Sá’dát, had a curious system of clan names, and subsequently the following account of them was obtained by Sayyid Itláf Hussain, Honorary Magistrate at Karnál:

The Bára-Sá’dát 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 Abdul-Farash Wásiti, son of Sayyid Dád or Sayyid Hussain. 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>Sanbalhera</td>
<td>Katandozi, or sewer of shrouds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mojhara</td>
<td>Confectioner.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miránpur</td>
<td>Sheep-butcher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kethora</td>
<td>Butcher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tandhera</td>
<td>Bhútni, she-ghost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khojera</td>
<td>Ghost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakroli</td>
<td>Dog.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Behra</td>
<td>Chamár, scavenger or leather-worker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morna</td>
<td>Camel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jatwára</td>
<td>Pig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagla</td>
<td>Barber.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jansatha</td>
<td>Chirímár, bird-catcher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitora</td>
<td>Mimic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kawal</td>
<td>Jariya, one who sets glass or stone in ornaments.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jauli</td>
<td>Teli, or oilman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tasang</td>
<td>Dúm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salarpur</td>
<td>Chútiya, fool.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghalibpur</td>
<td>He-ass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedipur</td>
<td>She-ass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelaudah</td>
<td>Kunjra, green-grocer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahari</td>
<td>Goldsmith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahádurpur</td>
<td>Kungar, rustic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biláspur</td>
<td>Kumra, a cutter of mill stones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palri</td>
<td>Kamángar, a Bowman or bow-maker.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Rafá'i.

Name of Basti. Nickname.
Sandhawai ... Dár-ul-Himuqat, house of foolishness.
Pimbora ... 
Sarái ... Bhaštára, baker.
Churiyala ... Manihár, bangle-maker.
Tassar ... Sweeper.
Sakrera ... Owl.
Muzaffarnagar ... 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 palwal, or 'countersigns' by the Sayyids themselves. Moreover, the Bára-SA'adát are all Shi'as, except those who live in Latheri village, and even they intermarry with the Shi'as.¹

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 Maulavis, in which the novice is called the scullion, and so on. The Shi'as have always tended to become organized into orders, or 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 Rafá'i.

The Rafá'i, briefly described in the article on Gurzmár in Vol. II, p. 321, is one of the most interesting of the Islamic orders. Macdonald ascribes its foundation to Ahmad ar-Rifa'a in 576 H. and is of opinion that the Aulád Ilvan or sons of Shaikh Ilvan who is said to have founded the first monastic order as early as 49 H. are a sect of the Rifa'ítes.² But Brown says its founder's name was Ahmad Sa'id Rafá'i whose claim 'to have his foot over the necks of all the saints of Allah' is admitted by his followers. The Rafá'ís are chiefly distinguished by their riddáti khirqa, which must have a green edging.³

¹ The Bára-SA'adát were also settled in the Punjab, e.g. at Sirhind: see Temple, Legenda, III, p. 327. The tale is that Sayyid Asmún, son of Sayyid Akbar Shah, governor of Sirhind, was killed at Sháh Jahán's court. Probably it is historically incorrect, but recalls some events of religious importance. Bára or Bárha Bówín near Sirhind may still exist.

² The Derovishes, pp. 367-8. The khánqáh of Mín Shakúr in Ferozepur with which no fair is connected has the following history: Shakúr was a faqirá possessing miraculous powers and the khánqáh, which contains his tomb, was in existence before the village was founded in 1869. It contains a grave enclosed by a wall. Its management is in the hands of Mián Núr Sháh faqirá, a Gurzmár. He sweeps the floor daily, beats a drum every Thursday; and keeps a green cover over the tomb. Worshippers may offer new green covers to the tomb. The muftiár himself keeps charge of the fire (for hukkáhs) 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 tarks 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 tarks, signifying the 12 Imāms, and of these 4 are called ‘doors’ to represent the forms of ri'a. At initiation the murid provides a sheep or lamb for a sacrifice which is offered at the threshold of the tokia, the flesh being eaten by all its members and the wool made into a tasband or belt for the murid. The initiated also wear earrings, being called Hasani is only one ear if drilled and Husaini 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 kan’at tāshī 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. Its founder is there styled Sa’īd Ahmad Rifa’al-Kabîr and is regarded as one of the four Qutbs.

1 Brown, op. cit., p. 113.
2 Ib., pp. 246, 249, 262, 264, citing Lane’s Modern Egyptians.
Moslem cosmogony and belief in spirits.

According to the Qurán (ii, 20 and lxviii, 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, Kuyúta, with 4000 eyes and other features, and below the bull Batamút (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.

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, Utárid (Mercury), is the gázi and dabír of the sky. His mansion is in Jauza (Gemini), and with Jauza he keeps his quiver. The hair of Jauza's face is called arrows. From Utárid come the world's disasters. Heaven hath 9 or 7 steps or degrees:—(1) the welkin, the circles 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 Muríkh (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 Shaitán 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 ghúl which is properly female, the male being qutrub. The ghúl appears to men in the desert in various forms and lures them to sin. These beings and the ghudar or gharar are the offspring of Iblis and a wife created for him out of the fire of the Simúm. The ghúl takes any form, human or animal, and also haunts burial-grounds.

The account of the Creation in the Qurán (xli 8 ff) was supplemented by the traditions which declared that "the angels were created from a bright gem and the jinn from fire without smoke, and Adam from clay."* 

The jinn consist of five orders:

1. The jánn or metamorphosed jinn—just as an ape or swine may be a transformed man—created from smokeless fire—the fire of the Simúm:
2. the pari or dev, renowned for beauty, but
3. the shaitán, any evil jinni, created from fire just as the angels were created from light and Adam of earth.
4. Ifrít, a powerful jinn, and
5. Maríd, a most powerful jinn.

Ajánn also signifies Iblís (= Shaitán), a serpent, a jinn and the father of all the jinn.

2 Ib., p. 174.
Among the Jât and Baloch tribes of Dera Ismâîl Khân and Miánvâlî it is very difficult to get people to talk about jînns. 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 jînns helpful people who should be propitiated; but the former consider them harmful. The favourite haunts of the jînns are ruined wells, old khâñqâhâs and graveyards as well as the many lonely tracts in these districts. The dust pillar is a jînn. There is a very strong belief in the jînns who inhabit desolate tracts and in a woman’s voice call men 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 jînn called to him and bade him ride to the ravine near the village and cry ‘The mother of Bardo is dead’. He did so. He could see nothing in the ravine, but the bushes stirred and there was the sound of many women wailing. The jînn takes an active and mischievous interest in agricultural operations. Every heap of grain has the himsâlîh written by the village mulâdh stuck on it in a cleft stick. The dâtrî or sickle and wooden fork are also left sticking in the heap, points upwards, to keep off the jînns, who would otherwise fetch away the grain. Cattle sickness is usually caused by jînns. Either the cattle are driven at evening into the village under a Qurâ’n held aloft by two men or the jînns are driven away by guns fired into the air. The Aklîndzâda jâqr at Parco in Dera Ismâîl Khân writes a verse of the Qurâ’n on paper, washes off the ink into water and sprinkles the cattle with it. In the notorious village of Murisî, close to Dera Ismâîl Khân town, lives a maunâvi’s daughter who charms a stick by reading certain passages of the Qurâ’n over it. This too is efficacious when passed over the cattle. To cure muhu khârî 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 Lâl Isân and Pir Mohammad Râjân (whose two shrines are both in Miánvâlî) can exorcise them. These spirits are known by name. They are Atâ Muhammad, Nûr Muhammâd, Fateh Muhammad and Zulf Jamâl. They have a sister known as Mái or Bibî Kundâi. Those possessed will say which spirit troubles them. A man possessed by Bibi Kundâi assumes pardâ and always covers his face. The sick are taken on camels to the fairs of Kot Isân and Pir Râjân. 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 Qurâ’n, reciting the mighty names ismân 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 jînns of this class, named Râm Diwâya and Râm Rîkkî. They do not attack Muhammadans. The murîds of Taunsa Sharîf are supposed to be immune. The same belief and customs prevail in Multân.
Khwája Khízr, or the god of water, writes Ibbetson, ‘is an extraordinary instance of a Musalman name being given to a Hindu deity. Khwája Khízr 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 Brahmans 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 Mulkaín, 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 Khízr and it is believed that wherever he sits or prays the soil becomes green with verdure.

According to the Siúkandarnáma Khwája Khízr 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 too is called the Jinda or Zinda Pir, a title which is however more commonly used of Gugga. The Khwája in this tradition appears as the brother of Mihtar Iliás, 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 drunk of the living water, they would not die till the Judgment Day, but having eaten and drunk all that they were destined to consume they were doomed to live on in that condition. Alexander abstained from drinking of the fountain lest the same fate should befall him. But the two brothers who had drunk 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 Iliás power over the daily changes in the market rates for grain and the guidance of lost travellers.

The Moslims usually confound Khízr with Phineas, Elias and St. George, saying that by metempsychosis his soul passed through all three. Others say he was Balya ibn Maikán, a contemporary of Farídún, B. C. 800, and that he lived in the time of Músá. 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 Zulmá or Darkness. Khízr is believed to be

1 P. N. Q., II, § 3.
2 A Zinda Pir is also one who is recognized as a saint even in his lifetime. Thus the Shaikh Sadr-d-Dín, the founder of the Máli Kośta family, was so accounted.
3 Crooke gives a version of this legend current in Sháhánpur and points out its resemblance to the tale of the cunning of the devil and of secret judgments of God in the Gestá Romanorum, lxxx, the origin of Parnell’s Hermès; N. I. N. Q., IV., § 339.
4 For the ten meanings of the phrase khávr-i-dáman or ‘green of vegetation’, see Wilberforce Clarke, Dietas-i-Isláms, L, 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. 198-9 and 211.
concealed like Muhammad Bāqir who is still alive and a wanderer over the earth. A section of the Syrian Ismailites is called Khizrawi, owing to its extraordinary veneration for the prophet Eliás.

In Jalālpur Jaṭṭan in Gujrát a script called Khizri is well known. The writers say that Khwāja Khizr taught their forefathers the art of writing.

The Khizri gate of Lahore city is so named because it was the river-gate when the Rávi flowed under the fort.

Khwāja Khizr surpassed even Moses in learning. Once when the latter went to see him the Khwāja took a plank out of a boat and disabled it. Then he killed a handsome boy and a third time 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 Imám Ghazálí was devoted to learning but being very poor could not devote his whole time to it. Once Khwāja Khizr appeared in a dream and bade him open his mouth so that the Khwāja might put salvation in it and so enable him to imbibe all the sciences at once. But Imám Ghazálí said that knowledge so won would be useless because it would have cost him nothing and so he would not appreciate it. Khwāja Khizr then gave him some casks of oil to enable him to prosecute his studies.

Khwāja Khizr1 has various names, such as Khwāja Kháṣa Durminda, Dumindo Jinda Pír,2 and, in Chamba, Bir Batál.

As Dumindo he appears to be confused, or identical, with Shaikh Dóndu, an effigy of cloth stuffed with straw which is used as a charm against rain.3

Khwāja Khizr is often identified with Mihtar Iýús (Elias), but the latter is the patriarch who presides over jungles to guide those who lose their way, while the Khwāja is the tutelary saint of dòrs and boatmen.4

In popular lithographs Khwāja Khizr appears as an old man standing on a fish, and he is named indifferently Khwāja Sábìh, Jir or Gurú. He is reverenced by all classes, both Hindu and Muhammadan, but more especially by the Jhinwars, Malláhs and all whose occupation is connected with water in any form.5 Persons travelling by river

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1 The Mutawakkil-i-dd of the Persians.
2 P. N. Q., I, § 838.
3 Ib., I, § 985.
5 Even apparently dyers and dhobis, as in the United Provinces.
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 ek Mukha lamps on his shrines.

Not only is Khizr 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 vows (astia) and sacrifices are made to rivers, but in his name by Muhammadans who offer wheat porridge mixed with qur, while Hindus offer chúrna, part of which is thrown into the river. They eat what remains themselves, but Muhammadans give what remains of their offering to the poor.¹ When a village is in danger from a river the headman offers it a rupee and cocoanut. 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 7 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.²

Ladhar Bábá is said to be or have been a sádhu in Jhang whose followers affect Khwája Khizr.

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 Khwája, who is a lord of fertility.³

Khwája’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.⁴

Khwája Khizr is invoked, with Sháh Madár, in a charm for headache.⁵

Lastly he haunts bazars 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.⁶

One of the tinda on a Persian-wheel is called Khwája Khizr’s ghóra (Khír Khwája-da-ghóra) and when a new mahi⁷ is put on, it is fed with grass. It follows the rer or thick cross-piece which keeps the two wheels apart. The tinda and ghóra are tied on the next rer by the string. This is done by both Hindus and Muhammadans. The belief is that so long as the Khwája’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:—Hun túsí Khír Khwája de utte khalote ko, hun sach bolna. “Now you are standing on Khwája Khizr, now speak the truth”.

Khwája Khizr is also said by Muhammadans to have found and drunk of the fountain of eternal life.

¹ Montgomery S. R., p. 65.
³ N. I. N. Q., IV, § 277.
⁴ Shí’a Muhammadans often have a similar design painted over the doorway, but it does not appear to refer to Khwája Khizr: I. N. Q., IV, § 276.
⁵ I. N. Q., IV, § 113.
⁷ The mahi is the rim, joined by cross-pieces (rer, diminutive rer) to the second rim between which the wheel works.
By Hindus the Khwája 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 Asauj and Kátaık (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 or straw, 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 pice 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, faqirs and the conjurers called Malangs, 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 faqirs with genuflexions to the mound of the well.

Water-carriers, both Hindu and Musalmán, at every harvest, cook 5½ sars 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 Musalmáns on a Thursday.

The first day that a farmer uses his well, he also gives 5½ sars of porridge, but now-a-days most Musalmáns 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 Musalmáns on the first Thursday of the new moon cook 5½ sars of porridge and distribute it as described above.

When a boat is caught in a storm its passengers vow to offer porridge to Khwája Khizr, if they reach the shore.

Among Musalmáns who do not observe the pardaš 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 (káž) 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 Dera Gházi Khán, especially on Thursday evenings Bhádon. The feast of boats is held in honour of Khizr.
Sir Edward Maclagan, whose description of the Sultánás or followers of Sakhi Sarwar, has been reproduced in Vol. III, pp. 435-7, 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 Denzil Ibbetson places him in the 12th century and Major Temple in the 13th; while there are accounts in the Sákhs of the Sikhs which represent him as a contemporary of Gurú 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 Musalmán saints, such as Bahá-ud-Dín and Shams Tabriz who settled down and practised austerities in the country round Múltán. Sakhi Sarwar Sultán, also known as Lakhdáta or the Giver of Lákhs, Lálpñvwála, or He of the Rubies, and Rohiánwala or He of the Hills,¹ was the son of one Zainulábídín, and his real name was Sayyid Ahmad. Of his life there is little to tell but a mass of legends.

"Hazrat Zainulábídín", it is said, "had two sons,—one was Saidi Ahmad, afterwards known as Sakhi Sarwar, the other was Khán-Dodá,² 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 Vador. Saidi Ahmad studied at Lahore, and from there went to Dhaunkal, near Wazirábád, in Gujránwála. Whilst at Dhaunkal he saw a mare, the property of a carpenter, and asked the carpenter for it. The carpenter denied having a mare, whereupon Saidi Ahmad called to the mare, and it came up to him of its own accord clearing the Sulaimán range by leaping through the range. Saidi 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.³ After this Saidi 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, Saidi Ahmad performed another miracle. A camel belonging to a caravan, which was going from Khorasan to Delhi, broke its leg. The leader of the caravan applied to Saidi 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.


² Dhond or Dhoda. Calcutta Review, i.XXIII, 1861, p. 271, or S. C. R., VII, p. 308.

³ The local legend at Dhaunkal 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 lamented by lepers. The offerings at the Dhaunkal 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 Sohtra in Gujránwála,
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 Saida Ahmad, and told him to build himself a house. Sakhi Sarwar's shrine was built with this money. One Ganna, of Multán, now gave his daughter in marriage to Saida Ahmad, who had miraculously caused two sons to be born to him. Ganna endowed his daughter with all his property and it was for the generosity in distributing this property to the poor that Saida Ahmad obtained the name of Sakhi Sarwar, or the bountiful lord or chief. Sakhi Sarwar now visited Baghdád. On his return he was accompanied by three disciples, whose tombs are shown on a low hill near Sakhi Sarwar.1

A local account says that the shrine was built by the king of Delhi and the footsteps by Díwán Lakhpat Ráí and Jaspat Ráí of Lahore. Temple identifies the former with the Díwán killed by the famous Sikh leader Jassa Singh Ahláwália in 1743: Calcutta Review, lxiii, 1881, p. 254. Another account of the saint, supplied to Major Temple by a munshi from Lahore, runs as follows:—

"The father of Sayyid Ahmad, surnamed Sakhi Sarwar, was one Sayyid Zainulábidín who migrated to India from Baghdád in 520 A. H., or 1126 A. D., and settled at Sháhkot, in the Jhang District, where he married 'Aesha, the daughter of a village headman, named Pirá, 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 535 A. H. or 1140 A. D., and went to Baghdád, where he obtained the gift of prophecy (khul'afát) from the saints Ghausnúl 'Azam, Shaikh Shaháb-ud-Dín Sahawárdí, and Khwája Maudúd Chishti. 

(Ghausnúl 'Azam is Abdul Qádir Jízáni, who flourished at Baghdád in 588-1166 A. D. Shaikh Shaháb-ud-Dín Sahawárdí flourished at Baghdád in 1145-1213 A.D. Khwája Maudúd Chishti died in 1150 A. D. This tradition is therefore fairly correct as to chronology.) After dwelling at Baghdád for some time, Sakhi Sarwar returned to his native land and dwelt at Dhaunkal, in the Gajránwála District, for a time. He then went to Multán, the governor of which gave him his daughter Bái in marriage. Here he also married another woman, the daughter of one Sayyid Abdur Razzaq. He next visited Lahore, where he obtained proficiency in secular knowledge under Sayyid Isháq (this is an anachronism, as Maulána Sayyid Isháq was born at Ukh, in the Baháwalpúr State, and studied under his uncle Sayyid Sadru'ddin Rajú Kattál at Saharánpur, where he died in 1460 A. D.), and finally returned to Sháhkot, 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 Nigáha, in the Dera Gházi Khán District, in company with Sayyid 'Abdul Gáni, his brother, Bái, his wife, and Sayyid Saráj ud Din, his son. His family, however, followed him, and falling upon him in large numbers, slew him and his companions at Nigáha in 570 A. H. or 1174 A. D. The saint was buried on the spot, and there his shrine stands to this day."2

1 Dera Gházi Khán Gazetteer, p. 89.  
2 Punjab Notes and Queries, III, p. 154. The remarks in brackets are by Major (now Colonel Sir) Richard Temple.
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 Dáni Jat, how he used Bhaíron as his messenger, how Isa Bánya 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 Nigáha, in the Dera Gházi Khán District, at the edge of the Sulaimán 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 Nigáha is built on the high banks of a hill stream, and a handsome flight of steps made at the expense of two merchants from Lahore 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 Bábá Nának on the north-west. On the east is an apartment containing the stool and spinning wheel of Mái ‘Aeshán, Sakhi Sarwar’s mother. Near this is a thákurdwóra, and in another apartment is an image of Bhaíron who appears in the legends as the saint’s messenger. There is clearly some close connection between the worship of Bhaíron and this cult, even Bhai Phero (whose wife was Devi), the numen in the small whirl-winds so common in the Punjab, is represented as a disciple of Sultán Sarwar. The shrine is approached by a defile, at whose entrance is a cliff some 80 feet high, called the robber’s leap (chor-i-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 jál and a kaudo) 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’d dín and his brother Dhostha. To the west near the shrine, but away from it, are the tombs of Núr and Isháq, two of his companions; and similarly to the east are two more tombs to his comrades, Ali and Usmán. The tomb presents a peculiar mixture of Muhammadan and Hindu architecture. In 1833 it was destroyed by fire, and two rubies presented by Nádir Shah and some valuable jewels presented by Sultán Zamáñ 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 Gannu who attached themselves to Sakhi Sarwar. They were Kúlang, Káhin and Shekh. Sakhi Sarwar limited the number of the descendants of

1 Here we have a legend which reminds us of the Bhaírava Jhau, the cliff at Kidárnáth in Kumaun whence pilgrims used to precipitate themselves as an offering to Siva, and of the somewhat similar Bhun in rites on the Sutlej at which men of the low Beda or ‘sheep’ caste are lowered on ropes down a precipice in honour of Mahádev.

2 But he was also called Rána and the sacred grove of plum-trees (beri) near a spring in the neighbourhood of Nigáha is said to have been planted by him: Calo. Rev., 1881, p. 271, or S. C. R., VII, p. 308.

3 See Dera Gházi Khán Gazetteer, p. 40; and Punjab Notes and Queries, I, § 999, III, § 82.
Pilgrimages to Sarwar.

These three men to 1650, which number has been strictly observed ever since. The number is thus distributed:

- Descendants of Kulang ... ... 750
- Descendants of Kahan ... ... 600
- Descendants of Shaikh ... ... 300

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 mujâwars 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 mujâwars as was ascertained when the village pedigree title deed was prepared. The mujâwars are all equal, and an infant gets the same share of the proceeds of the shrine as an adult. The mujâwars, 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 Municipality, was attacked by a fanatic, an order from the Sakhi Sarwar mujâwars 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 Sakhi Sarwar—The pilgrimages to the shrine from the centre of the province are a special feature of the cult of Sultán, 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 Nigâha. 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 chanki. The main route is through the following villages:—Hânsron, Mukandpur, Kuleta or Baraspind, Bopârâe (Phillaur), Rurka Kalân, Bandala, Jandiala, Bopârâe (Nakodar), Khánpur, and thence to Sultânpur. Along this route the sang, which is originally formed by pilgrims from Garshbankar, in the Hoshiârpur 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 Kalikamli, because so many of the pilgrims have black blankets to

1 As her account says that after the burial of Sakhi Sarwar three persons, Gota, a leper, Hibrat Nigghi, a blind man, and Ahmad Khan, an impotent man, came to the shrine and were cured of their respective infirmities. From these are descended the present mujâwars, who are divided into three classes—Kulang, Manhan and Shaikh. The number of descendants is said to be 1360 and by a miracle of the saint never to alter; but this is not true, as all the mujâwars claim an equal share in the annual profits and their number can be ascertained at any time. See Punjab Notes and Queries, III, § 160.

2 Black is the colour of Shiv J. A. R.
Sakhi Sarwar’s shrines.

Another route is by Adampur, Jullundur, Kapurthala and Wariowal, which is taken by pilgrims from the north of the Doab. 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 Bharâš, and call each other pir bhai or piri bhai (brother in the saint or sister in the saint). Ibbeson says it is probably from this latter circumstance the Bharâš derive their name (Pir Bhara or ‘Saint Brothers’). People who cannot undertake the pilgrimage usually go to one of the chauktis, 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 Nigâba 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 Chakchela and Kangchela (Kang Kalân) in the Nankol Tahsil attach themselves to the southern band, and hold an assembly called dâwân every evening in which they administer justice, and are assisted by assessors from Bilga, Jandiâla, Barâpind, and other villages. There is much rivalry between the Kangchela, and Chakchela 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 Dhaunkal in Gujranwala, the Jhanda melâ at Peshâwar, and the Kadmon-kâ-melâ in Anârkali at Lahore. At Dhaunkal, Sultân had taken up his abode and procured a miraculous stream of water. His house was in the time of Shah Jabân 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 sprigs of melidî as mementos of their visit. The Jhanda melâ in Peshâwar 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 melâ is in commemoration of the death of Sakhi Sarwar, and has its name from the flags exhibited there by the faqirâ. The Kadmon-kâ-melâ, in Anârkali, is held at the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar near the Police thâna, on the first Monday after the new moon in February. Offerings are made on the tomb, and a certain class of musicians, called dholâs, 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 Nigâba Pir, and was founded in 1869 S. by a Patîla man. It contains no image but has a chabâtra or platform. The pirâ is a Khatri and succession follows natural relationship. Fairs are held on the 8 Thursdays

1 At Mâler Koâla the Nigâba fair is held on the first Thursday of Poh. It is a copy of that held at Multân. The Dholi fair is held on the first two Tuesdays of Poh. The Bharâsh light a dâwâ at a place to which both Hindus and Muhammadans go and offer bread and grain. Next day they start for Mâri where the shrine of (Ungd Pir) is situated.
of Chet and Asan, when offerings of cash and chúri are made to the shrine. Another shrine of Sakhi Sarwar is at Nagháh, where a fair is held on the light Thursday of Phágán. It contains a place which is worshipped. It was founded some 200 years ago by the Sirdár of Mansa. When subjected to severe trials they were bidden 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 chhibil where the poor travellers drink water. At the fair visitors are fed free. A Brahman is employed as pujári.

The Bhádla fair in Ludhiana is held at the khánqáh of Sakhi Sarwar at that village on the 1st Thursday of the light half of Jeth. Inside it is a cenotaph of Sakhi Sarwar. People attending the fair cook a huge rot, which, after presentation to the khánqáh, they divide with the poor. The management of the khánqáh vests in the Ghanaman Játi and Bharáís of the place and they divide the offerings in equal shares.

The cult of Lakhídáta or 'the Bountiful' is found in Chamba, in which state it is recognised as the same as that of Sakhi Sarwar Sultán. His shrines in the hills are resorted to by both Hindus and Muhammadans. In most cases the incumbents of his temples, astháns or mandars, are Muhammadans (muñjáwars), but at Bari in pargana Chanjú the pujára is a Billu Brahman, and at Phurla in Hingari the pujára or muñjáwar is a Ráthi and the chela a Muhammadan. These offices appear to be always hereditary. Wrestling matches—called chhínj and associated with the Lakhídáta cult—are held yearly in every pargana of Churáh and in some parganas of the Sadr wídarat, as well as in the Bhättiyát. No satisfactory explanation of this association is forthcoming.

There is a khánqáh of Sakhi Sarwar at Náhan, and his cult is spread beyond the Punjab. In Saháranpur he is worshipped by a sect of Jogís called Far Yáí (sic), who are initiated by their clanmen 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 Jogí present. The boy then learns the song which describes the attempt to convert a bride to Sikhism and its consequences, for Sakhi Sarwar commanded Bhairon to punish the evil-doers, 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 Játi to the shrine at Nigáhá.

In the east of the Punjab, at least, the cult of Sakhi Sarwar is peculiarly favoured by women, which is consistent with its connection with Bhairava, the earth being the emblem of fertility, and this again

1 North Indian Notes and Queries, IV, § 60.

The orthodoxy of his Sikhism may be debatable; Temple, Calc. Review, 1931, p. 255, or S. C. R., VII, p. 292, speaks of Dáni as a Sikh, but she is merely called a Jañhí, not a Sikh in the poem of Sakhi Sarwar and Dáni Jaffi Legends, 1, p. 66 ff. Possibly the Handálí sect of the Sikhs was more in sympathy with the Sultánis and Temple identifies the 'city of the guru' in the poem with Jandiala the head-quarters of that sect, but by city of the guru 'Nigáhá itself may conceivably be meant'.

Sakhi Sarwar in the Hills.
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 Jat peasantry. In the legend of Dani the Jat 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.1 At Multan 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.2 He makes the wild oak (pitu) fruit in the midst of winter at the request of Kakki, his mare, for the support of the followers in the jungle.3

The cauldrons of Sakhi Sarwar recall those mentioned in the account of Sikhism below and in the legends of Dwm above.

One is called man, the other langar. The former holds 8 mams of gur (mollases), 5 of ghí, 20 of dalia (boiled wheat) and one of fruit etc. Langar holds 3 mams of mollases, 2 of ghí, 8 of boiled wheat and 20 sera of fruit etc. Once a year, in May or June, both are filled and the cooked food distributed to the public.

Qasim Shah, father of Naurang Shah, whose shrine is in Deraj Ghazi Khan, came there from Sindh. Naurang Shah 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 Piras.— 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 Pandavas; sometimes they are the five holy personages of Shi'aism, viz. Muhammad, Fátima, Ali, Hasan and Husain; sometimes they are a selection of Musalmán saints, as Khwaja Qutb ud-Din, Khwaja Mu'ain-ud-Din Chishti, Shaikh Nizám-ud-Din Aulia, Nasir-ud-Din Abn'l Khair, and Sultán Nasir-ud-Din Mahmúd or as Khwaja Khizir, Said Jalal, Zakaria, Lát Sháh Groups and Faríd Shakarganj. The Bhatús of the Gujranwála District will tell you that the five saints are Shaikh Samail, Sháh Daulat, Shaikh Fateh Ali, Pir Fateh Khan and Sháh Murad, all patrons of the Bhatú 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 Musalmán objects of worship. The same list will contain Sultán, Devi, the Gurú, Khwaja and Gúga Pir; or (as in Ludhiana) Khwaja Khizar, Durga Devi, Vishnu, Sakhi Sarwar and Gurú Gobind Singh; or (as in Simla) Gúga Pir, Bálaknáth, Thákur, Sakhi Sarwar and Shiv. The five saints are in fact any five personages the worshipper likes to mention; and the fact that a man describes himself as a Panjpiria implies generally that he is indifferent as to the saints whom he worships and is probably a man of the lower orders. Panjpirias are found all over the province from Muzaffargarh to Delhi, and there is a place in the Sháhpur District, 10 miles south of Sáhíwál, 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 Chabár Pir or Four Saints; by

3 Iq., pp. 268, 272, or S. C. B., VII, pp. 805, 809.
The Five Pirs.

this is generally implied the four friends of the Prophet, whose admirers are found both among Musalmáns and Hindus.

The khánqáh of the Panj Pír at Abohar is not covered with a roof. The fair is held annually on the 16th Hár. Few people attend it, mostly Madári, Nausháhi etc. Tradition says that nearly 900 years ago, Abohar was ruled by Rájá Aya Chand who had an only daughter. On his death bed he expressed deep regret that he had no son, to go to the Panj Píran at Uch in Baháwalpur 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 Pír. 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 Pír's wives being tired of waiting followed their husbands to Abohar 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 Pírs were interred at a place in the village and near them the remains of their wives. The shrine contains the tombs of the 5 Pírs and those of their 5 wives, which are surrounded by a brick wall, but have no roof. The administration of the khánqáh is carried on by two Musáláns faqír, caste Lád. They keep it clean and light a lamp in the evening.

1 See Temple's Legends of the Punjab, II, p. 372. See also an exhaustive account of the Panj Pír of the United Provinces in North Indian Notes and Queries, II, § 10, and subsequent numbers.
Islam in Kurram.

Religion of the Dominant Tribes of Kurram, e.g. the Turis, 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 menial classes of course accept the religion of their patrons. Even some of the Jajje, who cross the border and become hasmâyás of the Turis, adopt Shi'aism. The Zaimusht however are all Sunnis.

Imámás are regarded as without sin, and it is believed that those who follow them will be saved in the world to come. The Imámás, it is believed, will, on the day of resurrection, intercede for those who believed in them and have followed their directions. The Imám Jafar Sadiq is supposed to be the most learned of the Imámás, and his teaching in religious matters is commonly observed. The Sunni Bangash and Zaimusht are all followers of Imám Numan who is called Abu Hanifa.1 There is no difference in belief between the Turis and Shi'a Bangash, but one point is worth noticing. The Bakar Khel branch of the Shalozán Bangash do not believe in pirás as they do not regard the Sayyids and Qázís of Kurram as competent to impart religious instruction. This is presumably because they are in the habit of constantly going to Karbala, and have to pass through Persia, where they meet educated people; doubtless other people from Kurram also go to Karbala, but they are in most cases altogether illiterate, and hence cannot easily grasp what they hear from educated people. The majority of the Shalozán Bangash can read and write, and hence they do not believe in pirás and do not follow them like the other Turis.

Almost every village in Kurram has a mulla'h. The children of the village go to him, and he gives them some religious teaching. The first duty of the mulla'h is to teach them the Qurán in the orthodox way, with all the prayers that are recited in namáz. 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 Imámás are recorded.

The Sunni Bangash and Zaimusht keep mulla'hés in their mosques. Their duty is to teach children the prayers that are used in the namás. Children whose parents place a higher value on education are taught the Qurán as well, and after finishing it some Persian and Arabic books also. Among the Sunnis, i.e. the Zaimusht and Bangash, the mulla'hés 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 mawsísás and other eulogies of Ali, Hasan and Hussain to the people. A number of Turis go to Tehrán 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 Islam, are also read.

1 Also called the Imám-i-Asam.
These preachings often take place in mosques and when a man dies the mullah of the village, if he be educated, reads to the people.

Amongst the Turfs and other Shi'as in Kurram there is nothing so important as the maktam 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 Ashura by the Turfs, are observed as days of special mourning. Almost all the Turfs fast during these days, the more orthodox extending the period to 40 days. Mahfil or meetings are also held for the sake of lamentation, and they are attended both by men and women. At them Persian marsids 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. Sherbat 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 Shahadat Waroz or yaum-i-Shahadat (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 marsids and eulogies of the Imams and the Charsidah Masum. These books are usually read in the maktamkhands and sometimes in the mosques.

According to the teaching of the Sunnis, i.e. the Zaimush and some of the Bangash, there are four farz for every one, whether male or female, to observe, viz. namaz, fasting, haj and zakat. Namaz is offered five times in the 24 hours of the night and day. Moreover, on certain days of the months some other prayers called nafal are offered. There are four kinds of these prayers or namaz, viz. farz, sunnat, wajib and mustahab. Farz and wajib are supposed to have been prescribed by God and the sunnat by the Prophet. The mustahab were not prescribed, but are prayers offered without regard to time. The mustahab are also called nafal.

The month of Ramzan is generally observed as a fast, but the Dervandis observe it with great strictness, while the Misnamurid observe the Ashura (in Muharram) as a fast more rigidly. Besides this, fasts are kept in other months but they are not farz. Haj means to go to Mecca in the month of Zul-haj. Zakat means the paying of a 25th or 1/4 of one's property to poor people not possessed of property worth more than Rs. 51.

1 In fact there are different rules for different articles—cattle, grain, money, ornaments &c. &c., Zakat is not paid to Sayyids.
The above four *fare* are all observed by the Shi'as, and in addition to this they have to give a 4th of their income to poor Sayyids exclusively. This is called *khāmas* (a fifth). The Shi'as, moreover, consider a pilgrimage to Karbala an important thing. They do not regard it as *fare*, but consider it to be a very urgent duty.

Sunnis offer prayers in a mosque, usually with an Imám 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 Imám, but as they cannot find one they offer their prayers alone. Almost every Shi'a keeps a piece of *khāk-i-Karbala* upon which they place their foreheads when they offer their prayers.

Amongst the Sunnis there are only two festivals, viz. the 'Id-ul-Fitr and the 'Id-ud-Duha. The 'Id-ul-Fitr is held in commemoration of the pleasure enjoyed after the month of Ramzán and the 'Id-ud-Duha in commemoration of the reconstruction of the building at Mecca for which Ibrāhīm sacrificed his son Ismāil.

The following are the days on which the Sunnis observe mourning:— the Muharram, the Bāra-wafāt and the Shab-i-Qadr. In the Muharram they do not weep like the Shi'as, but abstain from pleasure and enjoyment. It is useless to relate here how the *mādam* 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. In that battle Hussain, with his relatives, was killed.

The Bāra-wafāt 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 Ramzán (Shab-i-Qadr) the Qurān descended to earth. The Shi'as observe the Shab-i-Qadr as the day on which Ibrāhīm 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 mourning are observed by the Shi'as, but besides this they observe other festivals and mourning 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-Umr, which is held on the 3rd day before the Bāra-wafāt in Safar. The 'Id-ul-Umar is observed in commemoration of the killing of Umar, son of Kattāb, 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 Ramzán is regarded as the day on which Ali died and hence is also considered a day of mourning.

The Turis of Kurram, as Shi'as, are great admirers of Ali and his descendants, and have a large number of Sayyid shrines (*ziārat*) which

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1 The shrines roughly described as *ziārat* are really of three kinds—

(i) *ziārat* proper, where the saint lies buried or is reported to lie buried.

(ii) *masg̲ām*, where a saint rested in his lifetime or where his body was temporarily interred before removal to Karbala.

(iii) *khūdd*, where visions of the Imāms and Saints have appeared to holy persons.

The ceremony of *ziārat* or visitation at the Prophet's tomb at Medina is fully described by Burton. *Za'irs* or visitors are conducted by *musawwar*. The *haj* is quite distinct, the observances differing in every respect: Burton, *Al-Madīna* I, pp. 805-6, 807, 809.
Shrines in Kurram.

are held in profound veneration and periodically visited. Boys are shaved at these *śiārat* for the first time and vows are made. The principal are the following:

At Peiwar:

1. Ali Mangula*ū* *śiārat*, visited by the Peiwaris on the two 'Ids.
2. Sayyid Mahmúd *śiārat*, visited by the Turís of Peiwar on the 10th of Muharram.
4. Sika Rám *śiārat* on the summit of Sika Rám, 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 Sáíd Karam, 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 Sáíd Karam (corrupted into Sika Rám) peak.

Sáíd Karam had two brothers, Mander and Khush Karam, who lived and prayed on two other peaks called after them the Mander and Khush Kurram peaks, respectively. The Mander peak is on the Afghán side of the border opposite Burki village and its shrine is visited by Jogís. The Khush Kurram (corruption of Khush Karam) peak being on the British side of the border in the south of the Kurram Valley above the Mukbil encampment of Ghoggarhi is visited by the Turís of Kurram. Both these peaks are studded with lofty *decídár* trees and ever-green shrubs which the people ascribe to the numerous virtues of the holy men.

At Shalozán—

1. Imám *śiārat*.
2. Sayyid Hasan.
3. Mir Ibráhím or Mir Bim *śiārat*: see below.
4. Sháh Mir Sayyid Ahmad *śiārat*.
5. Babá Sháh Gul *śiārat*.

*Mangula* = hand-mark (of Ali on a stone).

But another Muhammadan legend makes the name Sika Rám a corruption of Khwája Wasi Karam 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 Bibi Badina was his sister and a woman of pure morals. Khwája Khuram (sic) is said to be the brother of Khwája Wasi Karam. He was also a saint. The Hindu version, however, is that an Indian hermit of the name of Saki Rám or Sika Rám used to frequent the peak and pray in solitude to his *leelas*, and that the place was called Sika Rám after him.

According to the Hindu legends Sika Rám went to the top of the Sufed Koh, and by a stamp of his foot produced a tank called the Sika Rám Sar which they say exists. The Badian Sar is similarly named after Bibi Badina and the Khush Kharam Sar after Khwája Khuram. It has been suggested that Sika Rám is a corruption of Situ Rám, a Hindu Rája whose coins are found everywhere in the hills of Afghanistán. They are called Sísta Rám. Both Turís and Bangash admit that Sika Rám was a Hindu, and had nothing to do with the Musálímán, 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.
At Malána—
Sháh Talab sidrát.

At Zerán—
(1) Sháh Sayyid Rúmi sidrát.
(2) Mír Kásim or Mast Mír Kásim sidrát is annually resorted to by the Mallí Khel, Hamza Khel and Mastu Khel kwohí (nomad) Turís, in the month of Safar and a regular fair is held. Sheep and goats are also slaughtered as offerings to the shrine. All the people visiting the sidrát 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 sidrát: see below
(2) Mír Karím sidrát.

At Sádara—
Abbás sidrát, visited by Turi women.
Children are shaved here and vows are made for sons.

At Kharlachi—
(1) Burqa-posh sidrát: see below.
(2) Lála Gul sidrát.

At Násti Kot—
Dwálas (twelve) Imáms’ sidrát, said to be the resting-place of the 12 Imáms of the Shi’ás.

At Ahmadzai—
(1) The sidrát of Mirák Sháh, a descendant of the 7th Imám Músá Kazím. Mirák Sháh was the grandfather of the present Sayyad Haníf Ján of Ahmedzai.
(2) Aráb Sháh sidrát.

At Samir (Hassan Ali Qilla)—
Hazrat Abbás sidrát, visited by the Ghundi Khel on both the ‘Ids and at the Muharram. Hazrat Abbás is buried at Karbala.

At Alizai—
Sháh Isháq sidrát, visited by Alizáfs, Bagazáfs, Hamzá Khel and Mastu Khel of Chárdáfwr.

At Balyamín—
Mír Humzá sidrát, visited by Mastu Khel and Hamzá Khel kwohí Turís and the Ghilzís of Afghanístán on their way to India.

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 Zerán and lead it to the sidrát. 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 Chintpurní near Bharwain, in Hoshiárpur.
Shrines in Kurram.

At Shakardara—

The sirrat of Mian Mir Akbar who died in 1912.

In the Darwazgai Pass—

The Diwan Malang or Laila Majunun sirrat, in the Darwazgai Pass, is annually visited by the Malli Khel, Hamza Khel, Mastu Khel and Duperzai kuchi Turfs. 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—

Hazar Pir sirrat, visited and venerated both by Shi’sas and Sunnis.

At Bagzai—

Shah Ibrahim sirrat, visited by the Turfs of Bagzai and Char-diwar. A visit to it is said to be a specific for smallpox.

At Shabak—

The Zarauna Buzurg sirrat, near Shabak, is also visited by the Turfs. The Turi 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 5 khanwadas (families. The Sayyids of the Kurram Valley are descended from these five khanwadas. An account of each is given below:

1. Shah Sayyid Rumi, grandson of Imam Ali, the 4th Imam whose shrine is at Zeran, is the patron saint of Zeran. His descendants, who are called Rumi Khel, Mashadi or Imam Razai Sayyids, are

2. Hazar Pir is in fact not a shrine. It is only said that the Amir-ul Mominun, i.e., Ali, was seen by somebody in a vision there.

3. The same story is told with regard to the shrines of Abbás Ali at Hasan Ali, and Shah Mardan at Zeran. The exact dates of these visions are not known.

4. Mir Jamali is reported to be a descendant of Sayyid Asa’iq, grandfather of the Mabur Sayyids.

5. Charms of different kinds, given by the five Sayyids, families or khanwadas, are considered potent enough to cure various sorts of ailments. Dams or cures by blowing is also practised by the maulids and Sayyids. The blind, it is said, are cured going to the Hazar Pir, Abbás Ali, Shah Mardan, Fakhrul-Alam and Lila Gul, or to Sayyid Mir Ibrahim, Mir Jamali and Sayyid Asa’iq. Various other miracles are ascribed to these saints.
confined to Zerán and Shal Khán, and are much revered by the Turíś. The charms of the Rúmi 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 flung a club from Zerán to Shanai, 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 Rúm or Turkey.

II. *Mír Ibrahím* or *Mír Bím*, a descendant of the 7th Imám Músá Kázim, whose shrine is at Shalozán, highly revered by the Turíś of Kurram. He is the patron saint of Shalozán and his descendants, who are called Ibráhím Khel or Imám Músá Kazimi Sayyids, are found in Shalozán, Nurkai, Ahmadzai and Nasti 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 Shalozánís 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.

*Mír Ibráhím*, great-grandfather of the Ahmadzai and Nurki Sayyids, is said to have come from Surkháb in the Amir's territory, and with the Turíś. He occupied the spot where the present village of Shalozán lies. At that time Zable was Khán of the Shalozán Bangash. One day Mír Ibráhím’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 Mír 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 Mír must be a saint, and asked him how much land he would accept. The Mír 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 Mír Ibráhím 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 Shalozán were then given him and his descendants hold them to this day.

III. *Sayyid Fakhr Alam*, 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, Shalozán, Darawi, Ali Sheri and even in Tíráh. Regular fairs are held annually at this shrine at both the ’Ids and on the Muharram 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 (mujawars) 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 Medína, 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 Kurram. 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 Abn-i-Yúsaf, 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 wasírs and amírs to make inquiries about a Sayyid of pure blood, and so they sent messages all over the kingdom to spread the news of the king’s clemency. This proclamation produced the desired effect. Within a week over a thousandSayyids were present in the king’s darbár, 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 Medína 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 Sháh Abul Hasan and Sayyid Jalál (the great-grandfather of Pahlewán Sháh of Mahura), left the King’s darbár and disappeared. These two, however, went to Medína and walked round the Prophet’s tomb. Sayyid Jalál, they say, failed to produce the desired reply from the tomb, but when Sayyid Sháh 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
Shrines in Kurram.

King's daughter, and the Qabat Shah Khel of Zerán regard themselves as her descendants. The Sayyids of Gríst and other places are descendants of Sayyid Fakhr-i-Alam by his first wife who was a Sayyidí. 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 Baháwalpur 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 Imám whose shrine is at Shakh, is much resorted to both by the Malli Khel and Duperzai Túris and the Muqbil of Kurram. His descendants, who go by the name of Lála Gul Káwal Sayyids, are found in Khárláchí, 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 Burqa-posh is also much revered by the people. He is said to have requested the Amír-ul-Mominí Ali to show him his face and on receiving no answer, he put on a kafau (winding sheet) and went to the cave of a big serpent known to be the guardian of a hidden treasure at Pír Ghár, about 2 miles from Khárláchí. As soon as the Burqa-posh (wearer of the veil) went near the serpent, it lowered its head as a tribute to his virtues. The Burqa-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 Muqbil of Istía, thinking that the serpent was dead and that Burqa-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. Burqa-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 Shapola hill, close to Pír Ghár. Next morning he went to the Shapola 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. Burqa-posh then bowed before the Amír-ul-Mominí (commander of the faithful) and received from him, as tokens of his love, a gold ring and a golden flag. Thenceforth Burqa-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 Burqa-posh. His shrine is at Shakh close to Lála Gul's shrine.

This saint recalls the Veiled Prophet of Khorásán, Al-Muqanna', the

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1. Lumsden's statement that the shrine of Fakhr-i-Alam, the father of Nádir Shah, which is considered very sacred by the Túri tribe, is in the Karmán Valley, is totally incorrect.
concealed whose name was Hakim Bin Hashim and who were a golden mask. He was also called the Sazindah-i-Mah or the moon-maker, because he produced a miraculous illumination by night from a well at Nahshab 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 Abassides, and had finally descended to himself. He founded in Transoxiana the sect of the Sufedjamagan or white-clothed. The Burqai, 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 Sufedjamagan.

Three centuries later the Assassins adopted white garments and were called Mubayasa 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 (tanassukhi) 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 Abbaside Khalifas (A.D. 775-785). 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-Burqai (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 size, blind of 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 beholdrs. 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 Sazindah-i-Mah or Sani-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. 481. He terms Muqanna the 'infamous' founder of the Sufedjamagan, pp. 481-2. But he writes as if the Indo-Magian sect of the Rawandis, who taught the metempsychosis, were distinct from the Sufedjamagan.

2 Ibn Khallaquin 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 (Sanám?) 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.1

Ibn Khallún 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.2 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 Burqa'is 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 deity or even a prophet.

The Burqa'í 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 Khorásán' 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 Sufedjána' was founded by Muqanna', it is more than probable that they are identical with the Burqa'ís.

Sayyid Lála Gul's descendants are the Sayyids of Kharláchi. It is said that Lála Gul migrated from Kashmír. When he came to Kurram the valley was full of the Karmán 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. Lála Gul then put a flower in the milk and sent it back to the Karmán Sayyid, thereby signifying that though the valley was full of Sayyids he would trouble no one. From Kurram he went towards Lohgar and after a while came again towards Kurram. Passing through the Chakmán country he was recognized by the people as a saint. It is stated that a headman of the village of Dhunda asked him to remove the jhūl which had made his lands a swamp. This Lála Gul did by throwing his staff into

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1 The Sword of Islam, pp. 469 and 188.
Shrines in Kurrum.

It. The village, however, still retains its old name. The land where Kharlachi lies was in possession of the Bangash. They gave some land to the Sayyids, but after a while were themselves driven from the place.

V. Sayyid Ishaq, grandson of the Sayyid Jalal just mentioned, whose tomb is in Alizai, was the ancestor of the last of the five recognised khanwadas of the Sayyids. His descendants are called Bukhari Sayyids and are found at Paiwar Malura, Agra, Tutak, Makhezai and Nasti Kot. His shrine is visited by the Hamza Khel and Must Khel of Alizai, Bagzai and Charkhiwar. Offerings are made, and the mujahars 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 Ishaq was the great-grandfather of the Mahera Sayyids and came to the Kurrum valley from Peshawar, where the Karimpura Bizar is named after Sayyid Karim Shahi, his grandfather. Sayyid Ishaq’s father, Muhammad Shah Tahdair, died on his return from a pilgrimage to Meshed and was buried at Grinch, a place between Herat and Kandahar. Sayyid Ishaq, returning to Peshawar via the Kurrum, stayed in the Kurrum and died there. He is buried at Alizai. According to another account, however, he was not buried in Kurrum, but there is a place in Alizai where he is said to have stayed.

In addition to these shrines, the Turis 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 hijrat by the Turis. Well-to-do people often send the bones of dead relations to the Karbala cemetery to be buried there.

It appears that the Kurrum Valley already possessed four classes of Sayyids, as stated above, when one of the Tirah Sayyids came to the valley to try his fortune. Some of the people owing to a political disagreement with the Kurrum Sayyids flocked to him and became his murids. He used to stay a while with them and then return to Tirah where he spent the greater part of his time. It is stated that one Amir Shah Sayyid of Kharlachi preached that the Tirah Sayyids were superior in every way to the other Sayyids in Kurrum, which so irritated the other Sayyids of the valley that they took up arms to kill him. The Tirah Sayyids’ murids defended him, but owing to the smallness of their numbers could not protect him, and so Amir Shah was killed. This was the beginning of the Mian Murid and Drewandi factions. The Mian Murids though few in number nevertheless managed to oppose the Drewandi faction with some success. The Mian 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 murîds 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 Malangi 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 Sûnî and Tor gundî or factions. None of the Turîs or Bangash can say when these gundîs arose. A Ghulzai version is that a long time ago there was in Afghanistan 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 Spîngundî and those which joined Tor Khán's Turgundî. The Turî and Bangash do know of this tradition, but they can give no other explanation of the origin of the two gundîs. 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 Turgundî are Sûnîs, whilst the Spîn gundî comprises some Shi'a and some Sunni tribes.

The Sayyids of Tirâh, Gram and Ahmadzai are the most honoured families in Kurram. The Sayyids of Mahurâ and Kharláchi come next to them.

I.—Shrinès of the Kurram Wazîrs.

1. The zîdrâts of Pir Sâbiq and Pir Râmâdin.

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, Thalwîs, Khaţtâks 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 Hussainî Sayyids. The descendants of Pir Sâbiq and Pir Râmâdin are known as the pîrs 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.


2 A characteristically cynical folk-tale says that the origin of the Tor and Spîn gundî is due to a discussion about a bird called gobûka or kajkar. 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 gundî, being formed.
Shrines in Kurram.

The Kabul Khel and other Wazirs, when proceeding to the Shawal and other places in summer, leave the 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 dua-gumbat ziurat, 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 Pir Sabiq and Pir Radin to dig them a canal from the Kurram 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.—Radin Ziurat.

This shrine lies midway between Biland Khel village and the shrines of Pir Sabiq and Radin. This Radin was a descendant of Pir Sabiq, and should not be confounded with the Pir Radin who was Pir Sabiq’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 Quran 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 pleman 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 rawdin pleman or ‘walking pleman’ 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 Kabul Khel Wazirs bring diseased cattle there. The moment they taste the earth of the enclosure they are cured.

3.—Sar Prekarai 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
Shrines in Kurram.

berds 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 faqir is buried in the Miámi country and his body in Maliksháhi.

4.—Ziárat Sarwardin.

This shrine is situated about hundred yards from the shrine of Rámdín (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 Thalwals (inhabitants of Thal), who maltreated them and forcibly diverted their water. One day descendants of Sarwardin, exasperated by the excesses of the Thalwals, 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 Prekárai saint.

5.—Násimu'lláh Ziárat.

This shrine is about three hundred paces from Biland Khel village. The saint belonged to the Qáz 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.
6.—Khalifa Nika Zidrat.

This shrine lies about a mile from the village of Biland Khel. The saint, who goes by the name of Khalifa, was a beloved disciple of Haji Bahadur Sahib, 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 both by men and women and vows made for the birth of sons and increase of wealth. The Kábul Khel and Khojal Khel Wazírs make frequent visits to it. A stone taken from the sidrat 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 Wazírs and is highly venerated by them and by the Mâyamis. Khand was a Mandúri Sayyid, and the popular belief among the Karmandi Khels is that the vicinity of the saint is a strong safeguard against the prevalence of cholera, fever, and small-pox. The Karmandi 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 Spinwám. The saint was a Kábul Khel Wazír. His descendants, who are known as Isa Khel Kábul 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 Wazírs of the Karmandi Khel section, and when the rains hold 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 charms 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 Askab, 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 MADDA KHÉL AND OTHER WAZÍRS OF THE TOCHI VALLEY AND OF THE AHMADZAI WAZÍRS AND OTHERS OF WANA.

1.—Máman Zidrat.

This shrine lies in a village, called after it the Zidrat Gil'a, which stands within a bugle sound of Sheranna. The saint is a descendant of the famous Dangar Pir, whose shrine is in the Gyán country in Khost, Afghánistán. Almost all the tribes of the Tochi Valley, viz. the Madda Khels, Khizzar Khels, Dangar Khels, Tannús, and Darús, 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 Wazirs mujáwars (guardians) who are entitled to one osha 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 Sperkais, Wali Khels, Tori Khels, and Madda Khels when going to Shawal, and the Kábul 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 shaikhs (disciples), called Dále, to cook a kok² two maunds 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 Dále for his deftness, and the following proverb is associated with his name: 'Dále dang dáisoke danga da.' ‘Dále is tall and his kok is also tall.’ The large boulders seen near Dagar Qil’á are said to have been detached from the hill by the miraculous power of this saint. On one occasion he sent his shaikh to Páolai, 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 zdiát. The descendants of Máman are known by the name of pírcn. The shrine is also called Miájí Sálìb. Dangar Pir was a follower of Hájí Bahádur Sáhib of Kohát. In addition to the Tochi tribes mentioned Zadráns, Khostwáls and Ban-núchís visit the shrine in large numbers. Another account says: ‘I sperka 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 zdiát. Madda Khels leave property there on their way to Mazdak, and it is believed that any one touching property left at the shrine is either struck mad or blind.’

2.—Bába Ziárat.

This shrine stands near Dande village and is visited by Madda Khels, Tori Khels, Daurís 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 fagirón and are looked upon with respect by the people. Offerings are now usually made in cash.

3.—Mu'ta Panga Shahid (Martyr).

This shrine is situated on the slopes of the Char Khel Range and is held in esteem by the Machás, Ismáil Khels, Nazar Khels, Khizzar

Footnote:
1 About 20 sess.
2 A kok is a Wazir loaf, round like a ball, and cooked on the embers by placing a hot stone in the centre
Khels, Tannis, Janbey 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 *ziarat*. All those visiting it go on a Friday morning, and after throwing some wood-chips round about the tomb, fall asleep and in their dream 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. *Ghit*, 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 *Ziarat*.

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 Madda 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 Ziarat*.

This is a most important shrine, situated in Gyan and periodically visited by almost all the tribes of the Tochi, Khost, Zadran, and Urgun. The saint was a Sayyad and an ancestor of Maman. His descendants are called Dangar Khels and are found at Ghaziāmi and other villages of the Tochi Valley. They are called *pirs* 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 Mua (now known as Musa Nikka) and Māman (now called Māman 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 *zaghbiro* by the people.

6.—Māman *Pir Ziarat*.

This shrine is about two hundred yards from Dangar’s shrine. In the autumn a joint fair is held by the Gyans at the shrines of Māman Pir and Dangar Pir, at which a sheep is slaughtered by every family attending it. Māman 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 Māman the Abbaside, as a cow is of her new-born calf."

1 A subsection of the Madda Khels.
Shrines in Wazristán.

7.- Musa Nikka Zia'rat.

This shrine stands on the right bank of the Shakín Alğad in Birma on the Wána Urgún border. Musa Nikka claims to be the ancestor of all the Wazirs, whether in Wána, Birmal or the Tochi. The Ahmadzái Wazírs 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 zía'rat is visited by the Ahmadzái and Mabsúds of Wána, the Saifálís and Paipálís 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 Wármána Nála, 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 zía'rat are two others, known respectively as Shin Starga zía'rat and Baghar zía'rat. All three shrines are visited on one and the same day and joint sacrifices made.

8.— Michán Bába Zia'rat.

This shrine stands about eight miles east of Wána. The descendants of this saint are not found in Wána, but it is probable that the scattered families of Michán Khels, found in the Bannú District and elsewhere, are his descendants. The shrine is visited by the Zalli Khels and Mabsúds and vows made for the birth of sons.

III.— Minor shrines occasionally visited by the Ahmadzái Wazírs and others.

1.—Umar Aga.

A Daftani saint, who has a shrine at Dhana, about twelve miles north-west of Wána.

2.— Khojaki Zia'rat.

This is situated at Maura. The saint was a Sayyid and the shrine is visited by the nomad Wazírs.

3.— Maddár Bába Zia'rat.

This is about fifteen miles west of Wána and has a well close to it, where Wazírs encamp every year.

4.— Mánín Zia'rat or Patán Zia'rat.

This is situated on a hill near Maddár Zia'rat.
The shrines of Hazārā.

Tahsīl Harīpur.

1. The Bhorewāli shrine, on the bank of the Jobī nāla, Mohri-Malya, 9 miles from Harīpur, is known as the ibādat-gāh (place of prayer) of one Shāh Maqbul, who came from Baghdad and spent 24 years there in prayer. His bhōra or cell still exists, though in ruins. His grave is at Peshawar in the Mohalla Dabgari, but this shrine is also greatly revered by the people of Hazārā in the belief that a visit to it will cure certain diseases. The descendants of this faqir are still to be found at Bhedian in Attock and at Kokaliya in Hazārā.

2. The shrine of Shāh Maqbul, 6 miles east of Harīpur and on the bank of the Dor nāla, in Maqsūd. The grave is of one Shāh Muhammad Ghāzi, who came from Sukkur and was buried there by a spring of clear water. This shrine is of great repute.

3. The ziārat of Bibi Purbniwalī, a virgin recluse, in Dehdar alongside the main road leading to Hassan Abdal, is ascribed to the Muhammadan period. Every Sunday women assemble there to get relief from parchhāwan¹ (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 serī to its mujāwar.

4. The Dāri ziārat, 6 miles north of Harīpur, in Dari, is the shrine of Shāh Sher Muhammad Ghāzi, who is said to have come from Sayyid Kisrān in Rawalpindi. 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. Tūti is also played.

5. The ziārat of Chhajka in a glen of Sowābī Mira in tahsīl Harīpur is visited by the people of that tract to cure colic. Every Thursday nearly 150 souls assemble there.

6. The ziārat of Sakhi Habīb, 2 miles east of Harīpur in Mānak Rāi, 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 gaddi podi to the mujāwar.

7. The ziārat of Jatti Pinda, 4 miles north of Harīpur, lies in a dry plain in that village. It is said that a hermit came here from Gujrat in Muhammadan times. Every Thursday people suffering from neuralgia make a pilgrimage to the shrine to get cured.

8. The Qāziān ziārat, 2 miles north of Harīpur, in Qāziān, is the shrine of Miyān Abdul Wahāb Ghāzi, who migrated from the Awānkārī sīgā. His descendants still live in this and the two adjoining villages of Malakyar and Padhāna. Every Thursday it is the scene of a large gathering of people suffering from coughs.

9. The ziārat of Miān Mardīn Śāhib lies in Darwesh near Harīpur. People believe that a bath in its tank on a Thursday will cure scabies.

10. The shrine at Pabāru is known as that of Haqānī Shāh, whose native place was Saiyad Kisrān in Rawalpindi. This is a well-known ziārat where people assemble every Thursday in large numbers in order to obtain their desires.

¹ The local pronunciation is parchāwan.
11. The ziaarat at Kharkot is the shrine of Bâbâ Sajalif of the Awân Qutb-Shâhi tribe whose native place was in the Awân-Kâri, whence he went to Pakhlî, but not finding it to his liking he flung his horse's reins which fell at Kharkot 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.

TAHSIL MÁNSEHRA.

1. Dîwân Râjá Bábâ was a well-known saint in the Pakhlî tract near Baffâ in the Mánsehra tahsil and it is the common belief of nearly all the people in that district that the notoriously oppressive Turk Râjá was expelled from his kingdom and dethroned because he incurred the displeasure of this saint. Soon after the Râjá was warned to mend his ways, the Swâts 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 Bâgh near Baffâ is visited by almost every one in Hazâra and is generally called the gumâkwâli ziaarat. 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 tzitk, a kind of prisoners' base. The people of the Pakhlî plain, of the Swât glens and of Feudal Tanâwal are the principal visitors at the gatherings which are in the main festive, though the shrine is held in high repute.

2. The shrine of Mián Khâki Sâhib in the Agror valley is famous.

3. The shrine of Sultân Mughal Sâhib in Mián Khâki-da-Bâgh in Tanâwal is also famous and it is believed that he was blessed by Hazrat Mián Sâhib at Mangal.

Another shrine in Leûng, a village in Mánsehra tahsil, is also much respected.

5. The other shrines are in Independent Territory in the trans-Agror valley, i.e. Paimâl Sharîf, or in Muzaffarabad in Kashmir.

6. The ziaarat of Hayât-ud-Mîr, 21 miles north-east of Mánsehra, at Bálâko t on the bank of the Kunhar nâla, is in Muhammadan belief the sitting place of Sakhi Hayât-ul-Mîr who is said to have been endowed with life everlasting, while according to Hindus it is the sitting place of Bhâi Bâla. At the 'Id one day men and the next day women assemble there. It has a spring, known as sharbat, which has medicinal properties, being believed to cure leprosy and other diseases and 20 or 30 sufferers are generally to be found there.

7. The ziaarat at Nankot in the Pakhlî plain is the tomb of Saiyad Ali Hamdân Bábâ. He had also some nishastgâhs, 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 parchhawân. The sufferers are passed under the olive tree at the shrine.

Hazara Gazetteer, 1888-9, p. 69.

* Ibid., p. 60.
8. The *zidrat* of Sayyid Jalál Bábá at Bhogarmang commemorates a leader under whom the Swátils of what is now Mánsehra tahsil wrested their present seats from the Turks.\(^1\)

9. The ancient *zidrat* known as that of Súfádáhwála Bábá lies at Khatai in the Agror *idqá*. This *faqir*, who lived quite naked, was a Sayyid by caste.

10. At the shrine at Doğái (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 Takíáwáli shrine at Torawára in Agror is the tomb of Akhúnd Sa'ád-ud-Dín who with the aid of Suba Khán, leader of the Tanáwalis in Hazára, conquered Agror. Swátils and other tribes visit this shrine.

12. The *zidrat* at Gháziko or Tútñi-ki-*zidrat* 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 Súfádáhwála near Mánsehra. The saint entombed therein was a Sayyid. The inhabitants of the Pakhlí *idqá* and Garbián 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 *zidrat* Takiya Mahándri in Jaríá by the road leading to Kákán is the tomb of Pir Gházi Sháh. He is believed to have struck a stone with his 'asád or 'stick' and from it gushed a spring which still exists.

15. The *zidrat* Síri Panjaulwáli is the shrine of Khitáb Sháh whom the Swátils brought here from Yághístán and entombed after his death. He was by birth a saint. The villagers visit his shrine at both 'Ids.

16. The Báfájiwáli *zidrat* is the shrine of Sháh Wálayat Sháh, who went to a distant land, but his body was brought back and buried near Ichárián. He was deemed an able man of enlightened mind. At the 'Ids people go to his shrine to *salám*.

**TAHSÍL ABBOTTABAD.**

1. *Zíárat* Báfáji Sáhib is a shrine at Mátngojri in Tanáwal. The Báfájí came here from Chandaur, in Tanáwal, Tahsíl Harípur. He is also known as the 'buzurg of Chhatti 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 *zidrat* 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

\(^1\)Hazára *Gazetteer*, 1888–4, p. 60.
Barri Latif, whose shrine is at Nérpur Sháhán in tahsíl Ráwalpindi. This išdátygah lies one or one-and-a-half miles from Dakhan Peor in the Nára išág on nálá called the Hará Dhundán. 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 Khandráwála Pir Sáhib shrine at Sajkot, in the Nára išágá, is so called because, according to the people, a rain of khand (sugar) 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 Numána Sháhwáli sirárat in Chanáli near Nagri Total is the tomb of a faqr 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 sírárat at Mángal or Miyán Kangál Sáhib is the shrine of Gul Muhammad, lying 8 miles north of Abbottabad in Jalápara, the former site of Mángal. His pir was Shaikh Abdus Sabúr Qádirí 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 takíya at Tarchh, near Majchán, is the very old shrine of Pir Sattár Sháh Gházi and is situated on the bank of the Jhelum.

8. Other shrines are that of Jamál Gházi at Dhamtaur where there is a fine grove of some size and to which Muhammadans make offerings: that of Sánd Malpat in Abbottabad tahsíl; and in Mándra tahsíl, that of Shaikh Bálá and Mehr Ali Bábá at Bajna near Shinkiráí; that of Qalandar Sayyid at Bálákot; that of Náubat Sháh Sayyid at Lachimang in Konsh; that of Tortom Bábá Sayyid at Shamdhara; and that of Haidar Bábá at Ghaníán both in Agror. The last-named lies at the foot of Black Mountain and is the tomb of Miyán Haider Bábá, grandfather of the Sayyids of Atir. It is the scene of a fair at the 'Id.

SHRINES ON THE FRONTIER.

Pesháwar.

Jogian Sar is a sirárat on the summit of the Tortabá spur of the Ilam mountain which is visited in spring by both Muhammadans and Hindus, in separate parties. The latter term this festival Rántakh. It lasts three days and is described as a mixture of religious devotion and debauchery. Pir Bábá is a sirárat in Buner which is a sober place of pilgrimage without a fair owing to the unsettled state of the country.¹

Koháat.

The sírárat of Shaikh Yúsuf in Chilliág in Sherkot village, Koháat takesíl, 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 Bhádón, the gatherings lasting from one to four days, and, on the first Thursdays of Hár and Maghír especially, visitors bring bread and khichri which is all collected and after being blessed is distributed to those present. This gathering is called laghra. Visitors ask for happy marriages, sons, wealth, recovery from disease and forgiveness of sins. Goats and sheep

¹Pesháwar Gazetteer, p. 113.
are sacrificed and the heads and legs offered to the sidrat to be eaten by the man in charge. Coverlets, oil, gur, 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 Khwaja Ashrat in village Jangal Mir Asghar Mela, 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 Shaikh Ismail Sahib, between Samari Bala and Payan, Kohat 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 Baisakh, 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 Tirahwals. Tradition says that the saint was a Sayyid of Bakhara who, with some companions, visited Mir Khuweli 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 Haji Bahadur Sahib consists of a masonry mausoleum, with a mosque and tank attached to it, in Kohat town. It is the most frequented shrine in the district. The saint was a Mir Ahmad Khel, Bangash, and his original name was Miyan Abdulla. From boyhood he was fond of religious studies and became a disciple of Shaikh Adam Banuri 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, Miyan Abdulla lifted the ship on his hand and set it going, 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 Miyan Abdulla’s prayers. In recognition of this miracle he was styled Haji Bahadur by his preceptor. On his return to Kohat Haji Bahadur assumed the title of khuda-i-bin or ‘seer of God’. This offended Aurangzeb and the Haji 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 Haji’s supernatural powers and granted him the village of Miyan 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 Haji’s death. It is even said that he married Aurangzeb’s daughter.1 ‘His shrine is respected by the Bangash, Khattaq, Afridi, Orakzai, Wazir and Kostwul Pathans.

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.

1See paragraph 4, App. I to Tucker’s Kohat Settlement Report.
The Khulai *sidrat* in Marchunghi 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 *sidrat*.

At the *sidrat* of Pir Futeh Sháh Sáhib in Kohát town gatherings take place on the 'Id-ul-Fitar, 'Id-ul-Zuba, the 8th day after the 'Id-ul-Zuba, and the Nauroz. Visitors eat a little salt placed on the grave and also touch the stones with their eyes.

The *sidrat* of Sháh Sa'id Halim Bukhári on the left bank of the Kohát 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 *sidrat* of Sháh Abulla Namázi near Sir Sháhzáda Sultán Ján's cemetery owes its origin to Gauhar, a *kárdgar*, who had a dream about it and so the *sidrat* was made.

The *sidrat* of Shaikh Alládád in Kahi Circle, Kohát tahsíl, is that of a saint, a Khāṭṭāk Paṭhán who used to pray in the Mandúrí hills and then settled here. The Jawakki Afrídís 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 *sidrat* of Sandali or Fateh Gul Bábá in Torastáni marks where that saint prayed on the Sandali hill.

The *sidrat* of Faqir Sáhib in the village Nariáb, Hangu tahsíl, is visited by people of this district as well as of Tfráh on Thursdays and lamps are lit at it.

The Nawán Faqir *sidrat* in Darsamandi on the road to Torwári is visited by rheumatic people on Thursdays.

The *sidrat* of Sháh Álma's, 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 *sidrat* of Mfánji Sáhib, Shakardarra Circle, Kohát tahsíl, on the Makhd road is visited by people with toothache who put one stone above another to invoke its blessing.

The *sidrat* of Háji Kámál Sáhib, near Mfánji Khel in Teri tahsíl, is said to be the tomb of the ancestor of the Míáns of Mfánji Khel. It is very popular among the Khāṭṭáks and Wazírs.

The *sidrat* of Mfánji Sáhib in Shiwáki is the tomb of the ancestor of the Sayyids of Shiwáki.

The *sidrat* of Saraj Khel is a well-known shrine. The saint was the ancestor of the Sayyids of this village. People visit it every Thursday in Chet.
The shrine of Pir Adil or 'the just saint' lies 9 miles north of Dera Gházi Khán town. The saint, Sayyid Sultán, came from Baghídád in 439 H., but the shrine was only built in 814 H. by Nawáb Gházi Khán. 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 Mashhád in the 9th century of the Hijra and it adds that after the tomb was finished Gházi Khán 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

**Tahsil Rájanpur.**

The shrine of Muhammad Aqil Sáhib at Koṭ Míthán was in the old town of Koṭ Míthán, but when in S. 1919 both town and shrine were washed away by the Indus, the coffin containing the body of Muhammad Aqil Sáhib was disinterred and brought to the present shrine. Muhammad Aqil Sáhib traced his descent from Abbáy Ali who came from Khorásán to dwell in Sindh and Muhammad Sharif Sáhib came here in 1090 H. The pedigree is:

**MUHAMMAD SHARIF SAHIB.**

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qázi Núr Muhammad</th>
<th>Muhammad Aqil Sáhib, Died in 1229 H.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hájí Abul Khair</td>
<td>Abul Hassan,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad, Rahmán.</td>
<td>Ahmal Ali Sáhib, Died in 1300 H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hábíb Núr Ahmad.</td>
<td>Khwája Táj Muhammad Bakht Sáhib, Died in 1239 H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabi Bakht</td>
<td>Khwája Khúsá Bakht Sáhib.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allah Bakht</td>
<td>Ghaus Sair,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghaus Bakht.</td>
<td>Sharif Muhammad, Muhammád.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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A legend about the miracles of Muhammad Sharif Sáhib 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

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1 Dera Gházi Khán Gazetteer, 1898, p. 55.
known as Karbaha. The shrine is a handsome dome and the urs is very largely attended.¹

Another shrine at Rājaipur is known by the name of Khalfi Muḥammad Sāhib. It has existed for 40 years only. One urs is held in Safar.

The shrine called Athārān² Imām and Sayyid Bukhārī has existed for 150 years. Its khalfi is Ghulām Muhammad, mujāwar, and its gaddīnashīn Sayyid Gul Shāh, auladār of Murghā. 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 khalfi. A story about Tagī Shāh, a descendant of Thāran Imām Shāh, is that once a potter moulded an earthen horse and Tagī Shāh mounted it and it ran hither and thither. Tagī Shāh said that Thāran Imām Shāh had given him the horse and from that day the shrine has been greatly revered. The descendants of Thāran Imām Shāh, Gedi Shāh and Dalā Shāh live at Murghā and those of Bande Shāh at Bhāgār.

Tahsīl Jāmpur.

The shrine of Mossan Shāh of Jāmpur 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.³

Lāl Parwāna 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 faqīr sits at his tomb and his urs is held on the 18th of the same month.

In the Kaha Pass at a distance of 5 miles from Harānd is the shrine of Khalīd, son of Wālī, known as Ishāq Ashāb, as he is said to have been a companion of the Prophet. A pilgrimage to his shrine is regarded as equal to one to Mecca and it is visited on the ‘Id-ul-Zuha.

A tomb, held in great respect, though no shrine has been erected, is that of Shaikh Raś Sālib of Gadi in Sangarh tahsīl 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 Khwāja Nūr Muḥammad Sālib Norūwāla at Jājipur.—Born in 1134 H. this saint went to Multān to learn Persian, Arabic and Philosophy in 1148 H. and completed his studies in 1160. At the age of 30 he became a disciple of Miān Sālib Nūr Muḥammad Mohātvali and went to Ḥājipur with the Burra, men of his caste. He dwelt on the Noruwāla well at Sikhanīwāla whence he was known as Noruwāla; his own caste was Pirhār. He spent a large part of his life in devotion, not sleeping by night and fasting by day. People regard

¹Dera Ghāzi Khān Gazetteer, 1898, p. 55
²Ib., p. 56.
³Recalling the ‘eighteen Nārgils’ of Kulu, the eighteen Imāms must be a purely conventional number, but though 18 is a very common number in Hindīsm, no other instance of it is known in Islām.
him as an aulia and he worked miracles. He died in 1204 H. at the age of 70. The present shrine was built in 1208 H. by Islâm Khân Dâdoptra, an uncle of the then Nawâb of Bahâwalpur, with 3 doors on the north, south, and east. People say that once Maulavi Azîz Ullah, a disciple of the Khwâja Sâhib, was in a difficulty and one night he went inside the shrine and prayed for his pîr'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 Râjanpur tahsil is called Taran Imâm or the 'Imâm's Ferry' and though long silted up is still held in honour. To say: Taran Imâm kâ dur, Malik Osman (or any name chosen) kâ kur, is to attribute falsehoods as numerons as the dust of the târan to Malik Osman (or the other person selected) The couplet doubtless originated in a Shi'a curse on the Caliph Öthman. The other arm is called Dhand Lâlghir after a saint of that name who diverted the waters of the Indus by his prayers.1

Bâbâ Lâlghir, a saint who gives his name to an arm of the Indus in Dera Ghâzi Khân tahsil, diverted by his prayers the water of the Indus, but it found its way into the creek again, though the fine Bâsian tree which forms a place of pilgrimage is, or was till 1898, still standing.

At a distance of 8 kos from the Shori pass is the shrine of the Zinda Pîr, Lakha Lahri, a son of Shâhbâz Aulia. He is, as his name implies, an immortal and invisible saint.2 His father only looked at a woman and she conceived Lakha Lahri 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 Pîr 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 Râjanpur is that of Shahîd Mard at Sikhânwâlâ. The tomb has existed for some 500 or 600 years, but a few years ago one Ditta, a Gopâng Baloch, built a shrine (of which he is now gaddi-nâshîn or incumbent). He takes the offerings and feeds the people who collect at the annual urâs on 12th Muharram.

It is possible for a gaddi-nâshîn to be a pluralist. Thus at the modern shrine of Maulavi Muhammad Hasan a great faqîr, the khalîfa is Ghulâm Muhammad Awân, and at the annual urâs in Safar people of all creeds attend and are fed by the sajjîda-nâshîn. But the gaddi-nâshîn, Maulavi Ghulâm Farid, is also incumbent of another great faqîr

1 D. G. Khân 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 Qurân. It is much visited—especially in March D. G. Khân Gazetteer, 1898, p. 55.
Maulavi Aqil Muhammad Sahib's shrine. Each of these shrines contains three tombs and otherwise resembles the other.

At Rajanpur the shrine of Sayyid Nur Shah Sahib has existed for about two centuries. It has no uras but people of all creeds frequent it daily and the offerings go to the khalifa.

A very old shrine is that of Hamza Sultan at Soman 6 miles west to Dajal. This saint was an aulia and as he left no male issue the offerings are received by the mujawars.

The shrine of Maulavi Nur Muhammad Sahib at Muhammadpur.—A son of Maulavi Aqil Muhammad Burra of Burra, a village in Dajal, this saint was made a khalifa by Khwaja 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 Shah Lal Kamal in Dera Ghazi Khan.—Some 300 years ago this saint came here from Chotar Lahri. He was famed for his miracles and died in 1069 H. His uras is held annually.

The shrine of Sayyid Nabi Shah at Kot Chutta, 14 miles south of Dera Ghazi Khan.—He left no issue so his collaterals succeeded him. He died in 1200 H. and his uras is held in Asauj. He is regarded as a wali.

The shrine of Shab Sadar-ud-Din, 15 miles north of Dera Ghazi Khan.—He is said to have been a disciple of Bahawal-haq of Multan 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 Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman Khan at Taunsa.—Khwaja Muhammad Sulaiman was the son of Zakria Khan, a Jafir Afghan, a native of Khorasan. His ancestors came to live at Drug, in the hills west of Taunsa, and Muhammad Sulaiman Khan was born at Gargoji hill in 1179 H. He was named Mana, and educated at Taunsa and Shekho Langah as a boy; after that he acquired knowledge at Mithankot, and at the age of 18 became a disciple of Khwaja Nur Muhammad Pir Mokorwala who named him Muhammad Sulaiman Khan. In 1199 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-bakht or fortunate grew and people from far and near became his disciples, among them a Nawab 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 Mian Allah Baksh, his grandson, commonly called the Hazrat Sahib. The present shrine was erected in 1272 H. by the Nawab of
Shrines in Shahpur and Muzaffargarh.

Bahawalpur at a considerable cost. Ghulám Mustáfa Khán, Khákánvi of Multán, also had a majlís khánah built and Ahmad Khán, Afgán, had a well sunk and masonry buildings have been built out of the income from offerings. An urs is held twice a year in Safar and Rabi-us-sáni. The shrine is frequented by Muhmmmdans of every sect.1

The shrine of Mián Ahmad Sáhib 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 Siá Sharif, south of Sáhiwál in Shahpur, is the shrine of Khwájs Shams-ul-Dín, a branch of that at Taunsa Sharif.2

At the shrine of Sháh 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 Sháh Shams at Shaikhpur, 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 Gazetteer3 this fair is held in honour of Sultán Ibrahim on four Sundays—the two last in Chet and the two first in Bisák in spring and the operation performed on these auspicious days protects the patients from all diseases.

Dín Panáh was a Bukhári Sayyid who settled in the north-west corner of Muzaffargarh about 330 years ago, in the house of SBhágán, wife of a Makwál Jáț called Akku. When her daughter was married Dín Panáli gave himself as part of her dowry. He died in 1012 H. on the west bank of the Indus, whence the Makwál 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 Makwál are still khádins of his tombs. Daira Dín Panáh in Muzaffargarh is a favourite shrine for the observance of the jhanQ among Hindus as well as Muhmmmdans. The daira is the centre of a set of beggars, called Sháh dá faqír, who are self-elected, any idle or discontented rascal who wraps a brown pagri round his head being entitled to beg within 14 kos 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.4

The shrine of Hazrat Dín Panáh Sáhib in Daira Dín Panáhi in Dera Gházi Khán has existed from the time of Akbar. Hindus

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1 For a description of the buildings, see Dera Gházi Khán Gazetteer, 1898, p. 54.
2 Shahpur Gazetteer, 1897, p. 87.
3 Ib., p. 88.
4 Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, pp. 62-3. It would not be difficult to point to several elements of nature-(river-) worship and a fertility cult here.
and Muhammadans alike go there to pay respects. In the month of Chet 4 fairs are held on Fridays, called the Jumāshāh 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 Bechra village the people gather there also for worship.

The shrine of Karm Shāh Sāhib at Bughlāni has existe for about 400 years. The Bughlāni and Monglāni Baloch of Sokar revere it and a small fair is held there on a Friday in Hāf.

Other small shrines at different places are those of Ghaghu Sultán Sāhib, Sakhi Sathan Sāhib, Lajmir Sāhib, Sultán Naurang Sāhib, Shaikh Sultán Sāhib, Shaikh Ibrahīm Sāhib &c.

Alam Pār (Shaikh Alam-ud-Dīn), a Bukhārī Sayyid, descended from the Makhdūms of Uch, has a shrine at Shahr Sultān, which is remarkable 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 khaydān, lit. 'to play the devil.' In the houses of the makhdūm and other Sayyids of his family women of the upper class have the jinn cast out to a drum accompaniment played by a mirāsan. For ordinary people four sites are chosen, over each of which a khalīfa of the makhdūm presides. The women possessed pay him a pice 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 khalīfa goes round and lashes the women with a whip and pours scented oil on them. As each woman gets weary the khalīfa 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.

Mīān 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 Ghaus-ul-Azam, and his fair is held in Ramzān.

Dedha Lāl has a fine domed shrine at Harballo in Muzaffargarh. Cattle visit it as they do Bagga Sher. Originally named Shahāb-ud-Dīn, the saint got his other name on conversion by Makhdūm Jaháníān who turned milk into blood and made Dedha drink of it.

Shaikh Ladhi's shrine is similarly visited.

¹ Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, p 64. The kormal.
Musán Shah, where wrestling matches are held at the fair on 5th Asauj:

Mubíb Jaháníán, where wrestling and occasionally horse-races are held.

Núr Sháh
Shaikh Pallia
Háji Isháq
Pír Ali and Pír Kamál are mungásás.

Shaikh Alláh Dád Quraishi who came from Arabia had acquired sanctity in the service of Makhdám Jaháníán Jahán-gashí and settled in Rámpur in Muzaffargarh. His shrine is known as that of Dád Jaháníáb, Dhudhu Jaháníáb or simply Dhudhu, 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 Metíá Játs, because, they say, so many Metíás live in the neighbourhood. Hindus also frequent the shrine, where a fair is held every Thursday, especially in Chot and Sáwan. A vow common at this shrine is the atta ghatá.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 Sultán Ahmad Qattál at Jalálpur Pirwála. The former was built in honour of Sháh Ali Muhammad Husain who came from Mashhád in 1499. The latter came to Jalálpur 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 Sharíf is unrivalled in India for the number of its shrines. The most celebrated of its Bukhári saints was the Makhdám Sher Sháh, Jalál-ud-Dín, Surkh-posh, Bukhári, the Second Adam. Born in 1199² 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 Jaháníán Jahángasht, and his descendants are numerous and widely scattered. Later in date came the Gílání Sayyids, descendants of Bandáji Muhammad Ghaus, 7th in descent from Abdul Qádir Gílání, who reached Uch in 1482. The other saints are variously descended and at their shrines many varieties of ritual and miracles are performed.³

The saints of Ferozepur.

Núr Sháh Wáli, the saint of Ferozepur City.

In the time of Ráni Lachhumánaí, there was a fort at the site where this tomb is now situated. The Ráni had a stable here, but what-

¹Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, 1883-4, p. 63.
²The date is doubtful. Temple gives 1188-1268 as the dates of his birth and death
Legends, III, p. 184.
³Baháwalpur Gazetteer, 1904, pp. 169-182, and Chap. IV.
ever horses were tied there, one used to be found daily dead or injured. The Rānī 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 shewn to him by allowing horses to stand at the place where he was buried. He also told Rānī 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 Shāh, who was the ancestor of the present occupants of the shrine (khāngāh), was employed in the cavalry (risāla) of the Rānī. She ordered him to take charge of the khāngāh as she said he was a Sayyid and the khāngāh was also a Sayyid’s. All the land appertaining to the fort was assigned to him. The Rānī used to support Naqi Shāh as he had to give up his service in the cavalry. Naqi Shāh was succeeded by Najaf Ali Shāh and the latter by Hussain Ali Shāh who was succeeded by Rahmat Ali Shāh 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 Shāh and promised to grant a mudāf to the khāngāh. That very day he received a telegram to say he was transferred. The tomb with the ground surrounding it was left in Naqi Shāh’s charge.

Pir Baláwal Shāh’s khāngāh in Ferozepur tahsil.

When Mírán Sháh Nūr was living at Khái, Akbar sent Pir Baláwal, whose real name was Diláwar Khán (or rather Baláwal Beg), Súbah of Delhi, with troops to bring the saint to the capital. When he arrived he found the Sháh had gone to bathe at a tank, whither he went and delivered the emperor’s message. The Sháh 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 Sháh 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 Súbah at Khái. Taking a handful of rice, a handkerchief and an order under the imperial seal the Sháh immediately re-appeared at the tank. All this only took as long as a man would spend in a single dive. The Sháh showed the thing to the Súbah and said: ‘Do you mean to take me to Delhi?’ Diláwar Khán said: ‘If I get a token from the emperor, what more is needed?’ The Sháh made over the things aforesaid to the Súbah which so completely upset him that he took off his uniform and turned faqír on the spot, saying he would serve

1 This is a very common incident in hagiographical legends; cf. Temple in Indian Art, XI, p. 42, for account of this shrine and in Folklore Record, V, p. 158, for an account of Khajuria Pir. The same writer records a similar experience attributed to himself in Selections from the Calcutta Review, Second Series, VIII, page 279.
the True King and not an emperor of this world. So he remained with the Sháh, attaining perfection and dying in the lifetime of the Sháh. He is indeed popularly said not to have died a natural death but to have become a Shahíd 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 Sháh Núr 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 Sháh's son Miran Sháh Jamál. Subsequently Miran Sháh Núr's grandson Imám Sháh came from Kasúr and tried to take possession of the shrine, but Qutb Ali Sháh, another grandson who was in possession of it, gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Imám Sháh. The disciple of Imám Sháh, Maula Madat Ali Sháh, settled the dispute, so Imám Sháh took possession of the shrine, jágir etc. of Pir Baláwal Sháh and settled there. There used to be four fairs, but two are now held—one on the 2nd Asaúj, which is the urs sharif or wedding (death) of the Pir, at which beggars are fed—and the second and greater on the 10th Muharram, when the tásias 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.

Lál Musan (Mohsin) Sáhib Láhori.

His tomb, which is coloured green and lies in the Mandí Káláún or spirit-sellers' market, was founded 141 years ago. This saint was a Sayyid, a son of Sultán 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 Multán and there became a disciple of Shaikh Bahá-ud-Dín Zakaría Multáni 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 ándár begat a son. He was married to Bbí Milkhí, a pious daughter of Shaikh Zakaría, who was a Sírdár of Matila, a village between Thatta and Multán. She also was a saint from birth. The saint had four sons: Shaikh Yáqub, Isáq, Ismáíl, and Ahmad. He went to Gujrát and stayed in the house of Mahmúd, 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 Islám' and looked at her. The woman finding the Shaikh gazing at her, asked the blacksmith, 'what sort of fagír 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.

Pir Karam Sháh’s fair is held on every Akhiri Chábár Shamba (a Muhammadan holiday), and alms are distributed to beggars and blessings invoked.

Máí Amfrán Sábiba’s fair is held on the Bárawafát day, alms being distributed to *faqīrs* and blessings are invoked. She was a great *mujab* and a perfect saint. She came from down-country.

Rode Sháh’s *takia*, on the road from Ferozepur to Malwal or Moga, belongs to the Qádiri sect. No fair is held. The saint was a disciple of Iqrár Husain whose tomb is near that of Máí Amfrán Sábiba. Iqrár Hussain was a disciple of Jáfar 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 Chúnán in Lahore, and Shaikh Alamdí (Ilam Díu), a dyer of that place, and his wife, Máí Chhinko, having no children, adopted the boy at the age of 5 or 6. When he was aged 14, Shaikh Alamdí 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 Alamdí had his dyeing vat on the fire that day and into it he threw the Sháhízá (Bdín 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 Sháhízá 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 Sháhízá 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’ádt*)’. Then he told the boy the name of Sayyid Sultán Lal Musán (Mohsin) Núrí Láborí as one who was to be his master. Accordingly Mirán Sháh Núr 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 youth 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 Chúnán and married into a Sayyid family of Dhojanwál.
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 Shāhūwāli. In Rānī Lachhmanaur'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 Khāfī where Ghāzi 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 ablings of prayer, they say, he
buried his tooth-brush which by the power of God became green and grew
into a pīṭhā 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 Sāhib, 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 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 lohār, 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 Asauj when faqīrs are fed.

The khānqāh of Sayyid Mīrāj-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 gaddī, and at present
a lady manages it. At a fair held in Asauj or Kātak only faqīrs
assemble. They are fed and make free use of charas.

The khānqāh of Ahmad Shāh, Qutab Shāh and Rode Shāh are
managed by the Muhammadans of Zīrā. They are all nearly 100
years old. A brick mosque and well are attached to the khānqāh.
Minor shrines in Ferozepur.

The khángáh at Jalálábád.

A khángáh of Hazrat Sayyid Kábír lies to the east of Jalálábád. In its enclosure are interred the dead of his family, and in the midst lies the tomb of the Sayyid. 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 Sayyid recipients are responsible for repairs to the tombs etc. Eatables 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 sidráyatáh of Pír Gúrah is situate at Sultánpur village. Its building was completed in S. 1907. Pír Gúrah was a good faqír and after his death his disciples built his sidráyatáh. A fair held on the 1st of Hár 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. Patdáhua are offered and their value is estimated at Rs. 16 a year which is spent on the up-keep of the shrine.

The Pír Mál khángáh in Khwaja Kharak is also called Pír Kál Mál. No fair is held in connection with it.

The village of Khwája Kharak has existed for 70 years, but the khángáh was already known by the name of Pír Mál when it was founded. The villagers have the right to appoint any one as mujáwar for sweeping the khángáh etc.

Shrines in Ferozepur tahsil.

The khángáh of Rori in Atánwáli, founded some 70 years ago, has no fair connected with it. When the village was founded, some bricks were found lying near it and Thákár Daya Singh built a kótha (hut) of them, but it fell down twice or thrice so a faqír Nathe Khán built a brick tomb. A well and mosque were also built. A faqír used to live in the khángáh, but it has been quite neglected since his death, and no mujáwar is employed in it. The offerings of milk, patásha and chúrma when made are distributed among those present at the khángáh.

At the Karím Sháh khángáh in Sidhúán a movable fair is held in Hár or Sáwan every year, on a date fixed by the mujáwar. Maulavi Karím Sháh Qázi of Miálam is said to have got a ghumáo of land from the people of Sidhúán, 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 mujáwar is a Bhattí Musalmán. He sweeps out the khángáh twice a day. Celibacy is not obligatory, but succession is governed by spiritual relationship. The mujáwar receives special respect and is provided with grain etc. by the villagers, while chúrma or milk is offered as bhog to the khángáh.

The khángáh of Sháh Sikándar in Arafke has no fair. It is said that when a house was built on the tomb of this saint its owner was
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 khanqah of Jandla in Arafke 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 khanqah of Makhi Sháh a fair is held every year on the 9th Asauj. 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 khanqah. It is believed that the encroachments of the river on his khanqah are barred by his power. It was built 80 years ago. Its manager is a Bukhári Sayyid who sweeps it out and lights a lamp every Thursday. On marriages a rupee is offered to the khanqah and food is given to the manager.

The shrine or Dera of Usmán Sháh has no fair connected with it. Formerly this khanqah 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 Mauar 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. Churma is offered. The khanqah of Dáts Núr Sháh at Atári has no fair. It was built 60 years ago. The mujáwar is the manager and he is an Usmán faqir, by got Gurzmár. He sweeps out the khanqah daily and lights a lamp in it. Succession follows natural relationship.

At the khanqah 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 khanqah of Ináyát Sháh, who died in Bhádon S. 1933, succession follows spiritual relationship. The mujáwar 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 khanqah of Bír Sháh a fair is held on 22nd Har; Bír Sháh died in Sambat 1924. Succession follows spiritual relationship. The faqir who dwells at the shrine lives by begging. The use of charas or bhang is common. The khanqahs of Sáins Majnu, Fi Sháh and Malli Sháh are connected with this.

At the khanqah of Núr Sháh Bal a fair is held every Thursday, Succession is governed by spiritual relationship.

At the khanqah of Bohar Sháh has no fair. This 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 Boda Sháh a fair is held on the 20th Bhádon. Boda Sháh died on 8th April 1902.

The takia of Mai Mrán has an annual fair held on 12th Hájr. It was founded on 12th Chet S. 1946. The mujáwar is a faqir who lives on alms.

The khángáh of Wali Sháh has a fair on 15th Jeth.

The khángáh of Makbu Sháh has a fair on 22nd Sáwan.

The khángáh of Rañ Sháh has no fair. It dates from 1929 S.

The khángáh of Husain Sháh has no fair. It is called after Husain Sháh. The khángáh 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 faqir possessed of power to work miracles, but he had a disciple named Ghore Sháh after whom it is known.

The khángáh of Bhakhar Sháh in Machívára has no fair.

The khángáh of Sháh Baka in Malwal has no fair.

At the khángáh of Waháb Sháh in Lodhra a fair is held annually on 15th Hájr. Waháb 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 then their limbs are bound up and they are hung on trees. The visitors are fed at night by the holder of the gaddi, and lamps are lighted at the shrine. Succession is governed by natural relationship. People make offerings of chári to the khángáh.

The khángáh of Khvája Roshan Din—in Pir Khán Shaikh—has a fair every year on the first Thursday in Hájr. It was built some 150 years ago. Its administration is carried on by a descendant of the Khwája. He is not celibate, but succession is always governed by spiritual relationship.

It is said that when Khwája 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 Khwája’s visit. Of the 400 people who visit the fair many go into a trance.

The khángáh of Ramzán Sháh Qureshi in Kurma is named after a Hásamí saint whose urs is held annually in the last week of Hájr. 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 Bakhsh, also a devotee, and so great reverence was paid them by the Náwábs. Both their tombs and that of the grandson, Ghulám Sháh, lie in the khángáh. At the urs only verses from the Qurán are recited. People make offerings to the shrine at marriages etc.
The *khängāh* of Sāīp 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 Sāīp Tokāl Shāh in Kurma lies near the house of Allah Ditta, a butcher, and lamps are lit at it on every Thursday night.

The *khängāh* 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 *faqīr*’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 *khängāh* of Sayyid Nazar Shāh in Jhok Teh Singh.—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 *qubār* or wallet and the story is that the Sikh owners of the village once determined to eject Dāg Shāh and destroy the shrine, but they resisted so they set fire to the *khängāh*. So Dāg Shāh covered himself with his *qubār* and lay in a corner of the shrine, which was reduced to ashes but he was unhurt. The fame of this incident spread far and wide. The offerings are taken by Dāg Shāh or Miran Shāh.

The *khängāh* of Sayyid Māhmūd Shāh was founded 129 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 *chārm*, *patāshahs* and other sweets are eaten by those present.

At the *khängāh* of Māma Sultān in Māma a fair is held on 12th Asauj. This saint was a Husaini Jāt who lived in Pākpattān. 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 so the village grew up. It was named Māma after him. His two brothers were Shāh Jīwan and Nūr Muhammad, and his disciple Pir Ser. ‘He fair is attended by 100 *faqīrs*. The shrine is run by Māma’s descendants whose caste is Jara and got Hussaini. Milk, *khīr* and *patāshahs* are offered.

At the *khängāh* of Sayyid Chirāgh Shāh in Māma a fair is held on 12th Asauj. This saint, a descendant of Hazrat Mirān Shāh Nūr Muhammad, died on 5th Asauj S. 1949 and his disciple built his tomb of brick and enclosed it by a wall. Soon after one Muhammad Nāi 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 *faqīrs* are fed on rice and meat. Founded in S. 1949, its administration is carried on by one Shaikh Dīn Dār who is not celibate as *mujāwar*. The Jāts of the village mostly make offerings. The *khängāh* of Mirān Shāh Nūr Sāhib is connected with it.

The *khängāh* of Sayyid Bahādur Shāh in Khai has been in existence 100 years. It contains two tombs, one of Bahādur Shāh and another.
At the khanqah of Miran Shah in Nur a fair is held on the 15th Asaaj at which faqirs are fed on sweet rice, bread and dhal or pulse. Many go into a trance (dhal) by shaking their heads, in which state they are hung on trees with their legs tied together. Miran Shah died on 27th Muharram, 1035 H, but the khanqah was founded in Akbar Shah's time. The khanqah has 3 storeys and is built of brick. It contains 4 rooms with as many tombs—of Miran Sahib, Miran Shah Jamal and Jamil Khan.

The khanqah of Nur Shah in Jhok Tehl Singh and many tombs of this family in Wazir Khan's mosque at Lahore are connected with this shrine.

At the Rauza of Pir Baldwala in Khilji a fair is held on 10th Muharram every year. The Pir was one of Akbar's high officials. When Miran Shah 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 Shah 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 tazias used in the Muharram are buried here. The shrine was laid some 350 years ago. It contains three tombs:—of Pir Bald, Sayyid Amam Shah and Mard Ali.

At the khanqah of Shah Sikandar in Mamdot an urs is annually held on the 10th of Muharram. The two brothers Sayyid Kabir and Shah Sikandar came from Bukhara and settled in Mamdot and Fatehpur respectively. When Shah Sikandar died his tomb was built in H. 905. The khanqah contains the tombs of the dead of his family. Gujars mostly affect this Pir's cult. Kabir's khanqah in Fatehpur is connected with this.

The khanqah of Saif Khwaaj Bakhsh in Mamdot.—The Saif came from Montgomery and died here. At the fair held on the 1st Sawan faqirs shake their heads and go into a trance. Kalu Shah, a disciple of the Shah, used to feed visitors with rice, bread and meat.

The khanqah of Sultun Mahmud, murshid of Saif Khwaaj Bakhsh at Abarbara in Montgomery, is connected with this shrine.

The Rauza of Saif, son of Mash Shah, in Kuluwala.—This saint was a Qureshi Chisti who lived in Ferozepur. The tomb of Muhammad Akal the Sain's murshid is at Miilhankot in Bahwalpur.

The khanqah of Sayyid Sher Shah in Azim Shah has a fair in Haziran. This saint was headman of this village, and died only few years ago, when the khanqah was built. His brother Haidar Shah granted and for its maintenance. The faqirs attending the fair are fed free.

The khanqah of Sain Rohan Shah in Jhoj Hari Har existed long before the foundation of the village.
The khângâh of Mirân Sâhib in Bâzîdpur:—The Sâín came from Buchhâra in Ranjît Singh’s time. He died and his grandson constructed his khângâh. People light lamps on Thursday night and offer a rupee at marriages.

The khângâh of Shâh Kumâl, who is said to have lived in Sikh times, lies in the middle of the village.

The khângâh of Sayyid Lâl Shâh in Khânpur has a fair on the 25th Hâr every year. This Sayyid was a Buchhâri faqî in Sikh times.

A faqîr named Kumâl Shâh has been living here for 22 years and he laid the foundation of the fair. Faqîrs practise kâl and are fed free.

The khângâh of Pir Kâlé Shâh at Norang Siál has an urs on 15th Chet.

The saint Mirân Mîr, whose real name was Sh. Muhammad Mîr, was a man of learning and sanctity. He visited Jahângîr at Agra,1 and was visited by Shâh Jahân. But his principal rôle was that of spiritual adviser to Dârâ Shikoh2, though his disciple Mulla Shâh or Shâh Muhammad is also said to have filled that office.3 However this may be Dârâ Shikoh built Mulla Shâh’s tomb at Lahore apparently before his death in 1661.4 Dârâ Shikoh also commenced the building of a mausoleum to Mirân Mîr who died in 1635 at the age of 88.

Dârâ Shikoh gives a pedigree of Mirân Mîr which makes him one of the sons of a Qâzî Sâîndîta. He was born in Seistán but lived almost all his life at Lahore. He appears to have affected the Pir Dastgîr and at any rate had such respect for his memory that he never mentioned his name without ablution.5 His long life was attributed to the practice of kubs dam or slow breathing. His disciple Mulla Shâh followed him in this and also in remaining unmarried and never lighting a lamp in his house.6

Mîrân Mîr’s disciples included the scholar Mulla Shâh of Badakhshân who died in 1614:7 Khwája Bahârî, who was credited with many miracles:8 Shaikh Abu’l Ma‘âli,9 a native of Bhera: his khalifa

1 Hist. of Lahore, p. 47.
2 Ib., p. 69.
3 Ib., pp. 175 and 64.
4 Ib., p. 178. Dârâ Shikoh was hardly in a position to do so after 1659 in which year Aurangzeb reached Lahore; p. 66.
5 Ib., p. 175.
6 Ib., pp. 59, 175-6 and 178.
7 Ib., p. 69. Mullâ Shâh was a great mystic. Born in 1524, he died in 1661 at Lahore and was buried there in a shrine of red stone erected by the princess Fâtîma, sister of Dârâ Shikoh. The orthodox taxed him with imitating Mansûr Hallâj and he was sentenced to death by Shah Jahân, but saved by Dârâ Shikoh’s intercession. His disciples included Mir Baqî and Akhûnd Mullâ Muhammad Syûd (or Sâîd). Mirân Mîr taught him Sîd exercises according to the Qadirîa rule: Field, op. cit., pp. 194-189.
8 Ib., pp. 60 and 178-9.
9 Ib., p. 63. Abûl Ma‘âli (Shâh Khair-ud-Dîn) was a saint in the reign of Akbar and Jahângîr who built a great part of his tomb in his lifetime. On his death in 1616 A.D. it was completed by his son. A large fair is held there on his urs: p. 203.
Some saints at Lahore.

Abdul Ghani, whose maqbara was built by Darya Shikoh, and Abdul Haq who cursed the kiln of Buddha because he was refused its warmth on a rainy day. Another disciple was Mir Inayatulla, surnamed by his pir Miskin Shah on account of his secluded life. When asked how his disciple supported life his pir replied that he was miskin amri, a poor man supported by God's amar or will, and so no need of help. Darya Shikoh also built his shrine.

Maulavi Muhammad Ismael, generally known as Miyan Wadda, has a spacious tomb Lahore at where he built a madrasa in Akbar's reign. Born in 1586 he became a disciple of Makhduum Abdul Karim of Langar Makhduum on the Chenab and died in 1633. He desired that no dome should be erected over his grave, but the present sijaadani-sikht has built a grave in which he sits daily, reading the Quaran. His disciple was Jang Muhammad, the first imam of the mosque built in 1649, the year in which Shah Jahan sent Aurangzeb to recover Kandahar.

Maulavi Nizam Din, whose tomb is at Lahore, is known as Pir Mokha, 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 Razzak Makai of Sabzwar 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 Maula Darys Bukhari 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 Lala Hussain became enamoured and who became a Moslem under the name of Shaikh Maidho. Lal Hussain was a historical saint who lived in Akbar's reign and is mentioned by Darya Shikoh and other writers. Two great fairs, the Basant and Chiraghun, are held annually at this shrine. The former was celebrated with great display under Ranjit Singh.

1 Hist. of Lahore, p. 144.
2 Ibid., pp. 151, 167.
3 He died in 1647 A.D.
4 Hist. of Lahore, pp. 156, 161 and 168.
5 Hist. of Lahore, p. 164.
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 clue to the meaning of the cult is probably to be found in works like the Bahara or Haqiqat-ul-Fuqrd.
7 Ibid., p. 168.
Some saints at Lahore and Ambala.

Ghore Sháh whose real name was Bahá-ud-Dín, a Bukhari Sayyid, a grandson of Sa'id Usman of Uch, was affected with palsy and so was known as the Jhuljan 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-Usul* 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 shahr dittha, andar khara, bahir mittho,* '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. 86 and 230.
\(^{3}\) *S. C. R.*, VIII, p. 272.
The shrines of the Imāms at Pānipat.

The shrine of Imām Badr-ud-Dīn—Sayyid Badr-ud-Dīn is said to have suffered martyrdom in one of the first Muhāmmadan irruptions. The story goes that Rājā Anang Pāl of Pānipat resolved to build a castle. He consulted all the Brahmān astrologers and told them to fix the most auspicious moment for laying its foundation. They advised him to get hold of a Muhāmmadan and secure its good fortune by laying its foundations on his head. As a Muhāmmadan was a rarity in Hindustān the Rājā disregarded their advice, but soon after two Muhāmmadans 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 Rājā reaped the fruit of his inhuman conduct, for having sacrificed the Sayyid he escorted his wife or sister with all care to the frontier. There she related the episode and Badr-ud-Dīn and Akbar Ali with other Sayyids girt up their loins to wage war and by spiritual insight obtained the Prophet’s sanction. Sayyid Badr-ud-Dīn 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 Pānipat they took up their abode near the Rājā’s palace. When apprised of this arrival the Rājā inquired their purpose in visiting his capital and bade them leave it at once. After much negotiation fighting ensued and the sons of Hāshim displayed such valour that despite the limited force at their disposal the Mūsālmāns 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 Islām and fought against their countrymen; and one Bāram Jīt, a Hindu commander, thus became a Muhāmmadan 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-Dīn, 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 Khwāja Muhammad Khān Baraīch.

The shrine of Khizār Khān and Shādi Khān.—The author of the Zubdat-ul-Tārikh says that Khizār Khān and Shādi Khān were two brothers, akin to Ala-ud-Dīn Khilji, and men of great influence. According to the Sharf-ul-Mandāqīb the Sultān stood much in awe of the greatness of Hazrat Sharafat-ud-Dīn, and frequently consulted him in difficulties relating to his empire, seeking his help and guidance. One day the Hazrat asked the Sultān to build his tomb, telling him that his death was at hand and that there should be no delay in its construction. The Sultān 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 Shāh Sharaft-ud-Dīn.—This saint, before the arrival of Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn, used to live in Pānipat. But after the
The shrine of Shaikh Jalal-ud-Din.—This Shaikh, one of the chief saints in Pánípat, traced his descent from Khwája Abdul Rahmán Usmáni who flourished in the time of Mahmúd Ghaznavi. Noted for his generosity he had been brought up by Khwája Shams-ud-Dín, Turk, and like his father he used to distribute food daily to 1,000 persons. He often besought Sháh Sharaf-ud-Dín for the gift of saintship, but was assured by him that it could only be had from Khwája Shams-ud-Dín. 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 Makháns. Dying in 800 H. at the age of 170 his tomb was built in 904 H. by Muhammad Lutaf Alláh Khán in the reign of Sikandar Sháh Lodí. But the Sair-ul-Iqsábas places his death in 765 H.

The shrine of Sharaf-ud-Dín Bu Ali Qalandar.—Sharaf-ud-Dín, son of Sálár Fakhri-ud-Dín, was a descendant of Imám Azám Abu Hanifa of Kúfa 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 Iqásbas-ul-Anwár, he taught the people in the great minárd in the Qawat-ul-Islám mosque at Delhi for 30 years. Eventually he attained absorption in divine meditation, and so spent the rest of his life. Although his system resembled that of Shahábu-ud-Dín, the lover of God, yet he received the spiritual power entitling him to rank as a saint from Ali Murtaza1 without undergoing the required training and ranked foremost among the saints. His fame spread far and wide. His sayings recorded by the mutádis of Delhi in the

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1 Whence his title of Bu Ali or 'the spirit of Ali'. He is said to have taught the lariqati-mujáhid is the duty of defending religion.
book called the *Takmil-ul-Imám* are still current. Born in 604 H, he died in 724 and the latter is the probable year of the erection of his tomb.

The shrine of Sálár Qamar-ud-Dín of Iráq, father of Sháh Sharaf.—According to Muhammad Bin Ahmad a descendant of Nizám Iráqi and author of the *Sarf-ul-Munáqib*, Sálár Qamar-ud-Dín and Bíbi Háfiz Jamál, the parents of Sharaf-ud-Dín, came to Pánipat in search of Nizám-ud-Dín their eldest son who had come to India for trade, but the beauty of the place induced them to settle in it. Sálár Qamar-ud-Dín had two sons and three daughters. One son Nizám-ud-Dín was born in Iráq, the other Sharaf-ud-Dín in Pánipat. The tombs of Sálár Qamar-ud-Dín, Nizám-ud-Dín his son, Bíbi Háfiz Jamál, 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 Sayyid Mahmúd.—This Sayyid was one of the ancient martyrs—a fact attested by Hazrat Sharaf-ud-Dín and Khwája Shams-ud-Dín. It is said that the Prophet in a vision directed Jalál-ud-dín to visit the tomb of the Sayyid daily and offer prayers.

The tomb of Sálárganj was founded in Hijri 1132.

The shrine of Sayyid Sháh Shams-ud-Dín, Turk.—This Sayyid, a native of Turkistán, had a son Sayyid Ahmad, to whom the present family traces its descent. The *Sair-ul-Khitáb* says that one of the family held the rank of a Panjízará under Sháh Jahán, 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 Makhdúm Ála-ud-Dín Áli Ahmad, the Patient, a successor of the saint Ganjshakar of Kuler. He became his follower and attained saintship. On his death—had his guide thus addressed him:—“Shams-ud-Dín, my death is at hand, when I am buried, stay a while at my tomb and then go to Pánipat to give guidance to its people. The gift of saintship was handed down to me by Jalál-ud-Dín2 and the same I now give you.” The disciple gladly undertook the duty of cleaning the tomb daily, but this offer the dying saint declined, so when he was dead Shams-ud-Dín, after spending three days at the tomb, set out for Pánipat. On his arrival there, he sat at the foot of a wall. His fame spread through the town and reached the ears of Jalál-ud-Dín, who had also been directed in a vision, by Makhdúm Áli, to do him homage in return for spiritual blessings. So Jalál-ud-Dín served him faithfully for some time, and on his death in 716 H. succeeded him.3

A story of Khwája Shams-ud-Dín, given in the *Sair-ul-Khitáb*, is that, after acquiring spiritual perfection, he, with his teacher's permission, entered the service of Sultán Ghás-ud-Dín Balbán, but kept his spiritual perfection a secret. By chance, however, His holy spirit manifested itself in a miraculous and supernatural way, and the Sultán who had

1 Or Kalím.

2 The Jalál-ud-Dín Pánipatí already mentioned. Another account says that Shams-ud-Dín reached Pánipat in the guise of a *g Caseb́zdraná* or 'keeper of bears', and that Jalál-ud-Dín handed on to him the *ni'amát batín* or 'inward delights' delivered to him by Ála-ud-Dín in trust for Shams-ud-Dín. He was learned in both sciences, *naqí* and *abqí*.

3 This is the date given in the *Sair-ul-Iqtibás*. 
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 Qásím.—Sayyids Abul Qásím and Abul Isháq, it is said, were members of Sayyid Badr-ud-Dín's party and leaders of his vanguard. They suffered martyrdom and when Sayyid Badr-ud-Dín reached Pánipat and learnt of their deaths he was greatly enraged and began to fight. The descendants of Sayyid Abul Qásím say that formerly he was interred near Badr-ud-Dín's tomb and so the place came to be called Shahídpora or habitation of martyrs. Descendants of these martyrs, called 'the children of Mír Abdur Rahmán', are still found in Pánipat. The present dome of Imám Qásím was built 80 years ago by Khwája Ain-ud-Dín, an Ansári maulvi. 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 Mīrat-ul-Aṣār, that Sultán having conquered the country up to Kanauj returned home in 407 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-ud-Dín, settled in Pánipat 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 Rájpúts, 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.

Mírán Sáhib is worshipped in the Nardak. With his sister's son Sayyid Kabr he has a joint shrine at Sonepat. Another shrine at a spot midway between Bhaṭinda and Háji Ratan in Patiála is known as the shrine of Máma-Bhánja or the 'Uncle and his Sister's Son'. The latter pair are described as leaders of Shaháb-ud-Dín Ghori's army who were killed in the capture of Bhaṭinda. But the story in the Nardak differs. According to it a Brahman appealed to Mírán Sáhib for help against Rájá Tháru 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. Mírán 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 Tháru's villages which

1 Punjáb States Gazetteer, 1904 (Patiála), p. 81. The names of the pair are not given. Sayyid Mírán Sáhib has a tomb at Bhaṭinda. In the Khibráwála tahāl, of Multán, Mámaš Sheer has a shrine at the large mound outside Tulumba. This saint was martyred with Dáta Ganj Bakhsh at Lahore, but rode back without his head to the place where he is now buried: Multán Gazetteer, p. 122.
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 karwa, a fly which injures bájra 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, karwa, to another’s field,”—just as he has climbed on to a stranger’s shoulder.

Sirkap Sháh or the headless saint has a tomb at Ladwa in Ambála. 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 Shahr or the ‘widows’ town’ in consequence.

A naugaza 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 Gúptar (in Sirsa apparently) where Gurú 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." Cunningham says that every such tomb is described as that of a Gházi and Shahíd, ‘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 Ajudhia and to Lamech in Lambhán are the extreme limits of their occurrence, so they are dedicated to prophets also. At Multán there are 15 of them, including that of Pir Gor Sultán near which lies a manka 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 naugaza there were three undulated stonerings called the nál, manka and nág (gem) of the giant. This tomb seems to have grown from 18 feet to 46 in length since Burns saw it.

The naugaza shrines are common all over the Punjab and a Buddhist origin has been suggested for them.

1 Sirsa Sett. Rep., p. 256.
2 Selections C.R., VIII, p. 274.
3 Sirdár Sir Atar Singh, Sáchis, p. 77, quoted in P. N. Q., I., § 438. The faqir is said to have been of the Wahmi order, an order not mentioned elsewhere apparently. The term wahmiyat signifies the faculty by means of which one grasps the qualities of objects and forms one’s opinions (wahm). Wahm seems to connote ascenscience in a proposition, but the assent to it is not ordinarily free from doubt (Slane’s Ibn Khaldun, I., p. 199). Hence it also denotes illusion (ib., III, p. 97). Hence the wahmi would seem to be a philosophic doubter.
The tomb of a Naugaza Sahib, whose real name was Hazrat Imám Ja'far Sádiq 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 Batálala in Amritsar (? Gurdáspur) 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 Imám Ja'far suggests some connection with the concealed Imám, but the origin of the term is as obscure as that of the shrines themselves.

Sháh Rahma is the whirlwind saint in Sháhpur, 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 Sháh is a giant who is confined in a well at Kastéwál in Amritsar. He is only allowed to leave it on one night, on 13th 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.

Khajúría Pír had an old tomb in the Paget Park, Ambála 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 Ambála, where he is regularly worshipped by suitors and accused persons. He had in life a favourite station under a bahíera tree near the race-course and still visits it torch in hand at night. Palsy is attributed to him and to cured it a white cock in full plumage and a plateful of sugar and cardamoms should be offered to him.

The khánqáh of Mián Mohkam-ud-Dín, a Rájpút of Ambála, was built at Jagráon in 1915 S. and the annual fair is held on 14th Phágan. It now lasts for 3 days and nights, and many lamps are lit round it at night during that period. The Mián had a disciple in Bhai Basant Singh whose samákh at Kakra in Moga tahsil is the scene of a fair on Sáwan 1st as well as of a fair every Thursday. It is in charge of a darvesh named Hira Singh, who is celibate. At Jagráon too successsion goes by spiritual descent.

At Jangpur in Jagráon is held a fair in honour of Mián Búre Sháh on the night between Asauj and Kártik. This khánqáh was founded

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1 J. R. A. S., XIII, N. S., p. 182.
3 N. I., N. Q., I., § 296.
5 S. C. R., VIII, p. 278.
6 P. N. Q., II., § 1086.
Shrines in Gurgdon etc.

in 1841, 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 Husain-shahi 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 Bibi Khusrálo, 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 Bás in the Meo country in Gurgón is that two faqírs so named died in that village and so their shrines were built there. There is no yrs or annual celebration at Hásham Sháh’s tomb, but at Wiláyat Sháh’s his disciple Chaitán Sháh collects about 20 faqírs each year on 11th Zikr and feasts them. Wiláyat Sháh died in 1825.1

Another ‘Sháh Wiláyat’ has is tomb at Palwal.2 His name was Sayyid Baba-ud-Dín and a khalifa of Ali Ahmad Sábírí of Gangoh.

The fair called Nishán is held every Wednesday in the middle of Mághí The visitors are mostly Meos. When Sálár Ma’şúd Gházi conquered this part 400 or 500 years ago he made many converts to Isláám and they are called Meos. His standard or misháán is set up every year and the fair held around it, but no temple or other building exists. Three hereditary faqírs manage the fair and they sing songs in honour of Sálár when the flag is put up. It is carried from village to village while songs are sung and offerings of grain collected. Rice and chūrma are cooked and distributed as darúd.

Sháh Badr Diwán, whose mausoleum is at Masánián in Batála tahsíl, Gurdálspur, has a challa at Lahore. At Masánián his khánqáh is called ‘Husaini’ or ‘Giláni’. Its annual festival is held on 12th Rabí-ul-Awal and the monthly fête or nau-chandi on a Thursday at the appearance of the new moon. Sháh Badr-ud-Dín was born in Baghdád in 861 H. He left his home in 904 H. and came to Masánián where he died in 978 H. and this khánqáh was built. It contains the tombs of Bíbi Muraya, his wife, Sayyid Ali Sábár, his eldest son, and Sháh Abdul Shakúr, Sayyids Ahmad Sháh and Khwája Ján, his grandsons. The tombs bear some modern inscriptions.3

At Kástiwal, a fair is held annually on the puranmáski or full moon of Jeth 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 ministers 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 villager’s cart wheel gave way he vowed 5 balls 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 Gazetteer, 1910, pp. 8 and 9.

2 Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, p. 1. Palwal also boasts a Sayyid Chirágh and the tombs of Fátimah and Umr Sháhid, as well as that of the well-known martyr Ghází Shiháb-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. 139.
which it stands, owes its origin to one Bába Godar Sháh who is said to have come from Sirsa. A disciple of Alláh Dád Kháán, 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 Bába 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 Bába found them all unable to move, and when they saw him they implored him to set them free. He threw some water on them, which caused them to stand on one place like statues. They then left the place, but one of them Júme Sháh 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 Júme Sháh asked the Bába to leave to go to his fellow demons and live with them, but he asked the Bába to grant him a room in the shrine and the latter gave him one in a burj or dome, which is still called after him. At that time the forest was uncultivated and the village of Kástiwál stood on a mound, but the Bába built a wall round the shrine and also a mosque with ten hujràs or chambers.

The fair is held on the anniversary of the Bába’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 Ját whose duties are to meditate on the name of God, to feed needy travellers, and look after the khángáh. The holder of this office is celibate, and succession is governed by spiritual relationship, the disciples being always selected for the gaddi.

At the Jogiánwála well near the khángáh Bhumár Náth Jogi used to live. Once an old woman was about to offer milk to the Jogi, but when near the khángáh, the Bába 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 Jogi in jealousy at the Bába’s fame summoned him through one of his disciples. The disciple told the Bába that the Jogi, his Gurú, wanted him, but he bade him sit by him for a moment and then he would accompany him. Before long the Jogi despatched another disciple with the same request, and the same thing happened. At last the Jogi himself came and challenged the Bába. The latter asked him to show him a miracle. On this, the Jogi put off his sandals and flew towards the sky. The Bába then ordered his sandals to chase the Jogi and bring him back to him. The Jogi was accordingly pursued by the sandals, which overtook him and brought him back to the Bába. The Jogi thus defeated implored the Bába to give him shelter. The latter sent him to the village of Jhakhar in Pathánkoa. The Jogi on his departure asked the Bába 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 (prád) and a bamboo basket. The custom of supplying these articles is in use ever since.

The khángáh of Bhúkha Sháh in Kángra is the scene of a large fair, which lasts from 5th to 7th Jeth every year. The story goes that Bhúkha Sháh was a Brahman who lived in Jaisingpur, and became a disciple of Masat Ali. He miraculously restored a corpse to life.
Thereby he incurred the displeasure of his gurú 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 khángáh of Pir Salohi at Kaluah in Núrpur tahsil annual fairs are held on Mágh 7th, on both Thursdays in the second half of Jeth; and on the first two in Hár. 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 kéndi (an iron rod) and a spring gushed out. Then the saint went to the house of Jaimal, a zamindár, 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 Sháh Fakir 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 Muhammadians pay their devotions and no distinction is made in their offerings.

In the Attock Hills Gházi-Walipuri is the popular name for a huge boulder at Háji Sháh, 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-Rahím, Abd-ur-Karím or Abd-ur-Razák, at Thánesar, where it forms one of the most striking of picturesque monuments in North India,2 with its pear-shaped dome and flowered lattice of white marble. Ascribed to the time of Dára Shikoh, all that is recorded of the Pir is that he wrote a book called Lives of the Walis', and is known as Shaikh Tilli or Chilli. In the Punjab Shaikh Chilli seems to have no great vogue, but a Shaikh Chilli holds in the United Provinces the same position as Nasr-ud-Dín, the Khoja of Aqshahir, does in Turkey. ‘His character is a curious blend of cunning and naiveté, of buffoonery and shrewdness’.3

Chirágh Sháh, Chirágh Chand Sháh or Sháh Chirágh has a tomb at Ráwalpindi which is famous throughout the Sindh Ságar Doáb. He was a Sáyyid, born in 1860 A. D.

The death of Sher Sháh Sur is attributed in folk-tales to a headless man. Dharm Daít, a Bánia, had two fair daughters whom the emperor demanded and on the Bánia’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.4

1 P. N. Q., II, § 1023. Regular cup-marks occur at another place, half a mile from Háji Sháh, with out-line engravings of deer-hunting. Close by is an ancient Buddhist well—with an inscription. Cup-marks also occur at Koét Bishaur in these hills: ib., III, §§ 86-7 and 180.
2 Cunningham, A. S. R., I, p. 223. The Imperial Gazetteer does not mention this tomb.
4 S. C. R., VIII, p. 375. Sher Sháh was killed at the siege of Kalinjar in 1565.
Ghaibí Pir or the hidden saint has a square shrine on the top of the Bahrámpur hill in Rohtak. It is in the form of a tomb but with no cenotaph and is open to all four winds. The tale told of it recalls that of Purán Bhagát and other legends. When a wayfarer passed by the faqir with a load of sugar and was asked what he had, he said ‘salt.’ ‘Salt be it,’ said the faqir, 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 faqir for a custom officer. Crowds visit the shrine on Sundays. A Pir Ghaib has a small shrine at Halalwaja in the Shujábáb tahsil, Multan.1

An invisible tomb is found in Baháwalpur tahsil. There the 7 tombs of Ali Arsháb include one which is not seen. The other 6 are ascribed to Ali Asháb, Gul Ahmad, Pir Zakaria, Mubárík and Tangre Sáhib, all companions of the Prophet who fell in battle. Five of the tombs are 9 yards long, and apparently naungasas, 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 Hár, 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 mujáwar to recite a khatam over it and give a piece of it to the wife to break her fast. Cattle are also taken to the shrine to cure five. The mujáwars are Ansários or Thalims and their offices are hereditary.2

Barat Sháh, a saint of Kasúr, has a shrine there and near it is a pond in which children are bathed to cure them of boils (pánichtwáte).3

Sháh Abdul Azíz of Delhi was a noted interpreter of dreams and he once advised a disciple to go to Tonk. He entered the Náwáb’s service and under his directions the Náwáb sided with the Britiah.4

Míán Ahmad Khán, a darvesh, has a shrine at Kasúr in which the attendants place white pebbles. These stones are known as Ahmad Khán’s lions and are bought by his devotees to tie round the necks of children whose sleep is troubled.5

Míán Mitthu, a saint extensively worshipped in the western part of Gurdáspur, has a shrine at the village which bears his name. He was a Náwáb 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 faqir and withdrew from the world. Once a Hindu faqir appropriated the milk which the villagers used to supply to him, justifying the act on the ground of his own superior sanctity. The

Multán Gazetteer, p. 128.

1 Baháwalpur Gazetteer, p. 159.
2 P. N. Q., III, § 181.
3 N. L. N. Q. I, § 880.
4 P. N. Q., III, § 876.
5 P. N. Q., III, § 876.
Míán challenged him to a practical test of their spiritual powers. The Hindu flew up into the air, but the Míán brought him down with a shot-gun and was voted the holier man. The Hindu turned Muhammadan and became his disciple. The Míán 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 Míthha may be connected with the foregoing. His name was Muín-ud-dín and his father Sayyid Jamál-ud-dín was a native of Khwárzam. The invasion of Changiz Khán drove him to take refuge with Jalál-ud-dín of Ghazni and with him he fled to India when Ghazni also fell to the Tartars. The fame of his son surpassed his own and he made many disciples at Lahore where he died in 1262. His tomb is held in great respect.²

Pír Ghare Bhan is 'the saint of the broken pitchers'. His shrine at Kasúr is a platform where pitchers are broken in pursuance of vows to do so if desires are fulfilled.³

Pír Chithri is one of a group of pírs whose insignia are of the humblest. Chithri is a pír whose cairns of brushwood are common in the Bár between Lahore and Multán, and if a traveller throw a stick upon one of them intimation is at once conveyed by the Pír to his home that he is safe. Pír Thigri is a similar saint. If a man's wishes are fulfilled he places branches of trees (goshá) and shreds of cotton at a certain place in accordance with his vow, and the place is called Pír Thigri.⁴

Pír Tingri is also represented by shreds of cotton, but in his case they are tied to a tree,⁵ and Pír Rore by one brickbat placed on another. They are both worshipped by thieves who offer them sweetmeats if successful.⁶

Bába Wáli Qandahári, who has 126 other names, is the saint of Hasan Abdáí. One Hasan, a Gujar, owned a cattlepen on the site of the modern town and used to water his cattle in the Haroh river. The Bába arrived, performed a chíhla and asked for water for his ablutions. Hasan went to the Haroh for it, but the saint in his impatience struck his tongue into the limestone and water gushed out. The Bába's shrine is on the hill-top, and the town derives the second part of its name from one of his titles, Sháh Wáli Abdáí. As he is still, it is said, alive

¹ P. N. Q., II, § 877. The rásb or pakka brick is also found among certain tribes, e. g. the Míán Míthá is quite distinct from Míhr Míthá to whom see Vol. II, p. 286. Míán Míthá is also a sobriquet for the parrot and to call oneself Míán Míthá (apna mín ap Míán Míthá band), means to sound one's own praises; ibid., III, § 317, IV, § 472. It is also styled Ganga Báño.
² Hist. of Lahore, p. 229.
³ P. N. Q., III, § 759.
⁴ For a Talár Náth see Legends of the Punjab, II, p. 441.
⁵ In Baháwalpur when a young tree is peculiarly vigorous it is dedicated to a pír 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 pír most implicitly believed in by the villagers, and distinguished by a flag which is fastened to it.
⁶ P. N. Q., III, § 487.
Charme for rain.

he is also called Hai’atl Mr. A modern assertion to the legend avers that Bāba Nānak visited the place and sent two of his disciples to demand water from Bāba 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 Bāba 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 when 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 gatherings. 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:—

Aulia! Maulia! Minh barse,
Sādi nathī dāne pā,
Chanye de mūnh pānī pā.
Aulia! Send rain,
Put grain in our house,
And water in the beaks of the birds.

Whatever grain is collected is boiled and divided. Lastly there is the šāri rite in which mullāhs and others go to the mosque, calling the tāng 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’ aqīqul-bahor of dark stone: the kāth ki tasbih of variegated wooden beads: the tasbih of kānch or variegated glass: the sang-i-maqṣūd of yellow stones: the kahrubā of amber, used by maulavis; and the sulamānī of various stones also used by them. The four last named are also used by all faqīrs. Shi’as use the khāk-i-shīfā or ‘dust of healing’, made of particoloured earth from Karhalā.³

¹ P. N. Q. II, § 980 Lalla Rukh lies buried at the town of Hassan Abdul.
³ I. N. Q., IV, § 146.
The Chûhas, or rat-children of the Punjab, and Shâh Daula.

(i) The Chûhas.

The Chûhas 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 Shâh Daula sect, who wanders about begging with his 'Shâh Daula's Rats'.

The popular idea is that these unfortunate beings have been blessed by the saint, Shâh Daula, in Gujràt in the Punjab, and that, though they are repulsive objects, no contempt of them must be shown, or the saint will make a Chûha of the next child born to one who despises one of his protégés. It is this fear which has brought about the prosperity of Shâh Daula's shrine at Gujràt.

The common superstition as to the origin of the Chûhas is this: Shâh Daula, 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 Chûha—brainless, small-headed, long-eared and rat-faced. The custom used to be to leave the child, as soon as it was weaned, at Shâh Daula's khângah, 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 Chûha, and all subsequent children as well until the original vow was fulfilled.

The tomb and shrine of Shâh Daula lie on the eastern side of Gujràt town, about 100 yards from the Shâh Daula Gate. His descendants dwell near and round the shrine, and their houses form a suburb known as Gañp Shâh Daula. The shrine itself was built in the latter part of the seventeenth century by a 'saint' named Bhâwan Shâh and was rebuilt on a raised plinth in 1867. In 1898 it was put into thorough repair by the followers of Shâh Daula.

The cult of Shâh Daula 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.

1 For medical opinion on the Chûhas, see an article in the Indian Medical Gazette, for May 1st, 1866, by E. J. Wilson Johnston, M. D., M. R. C. S. E. This article is reprinted in Punjab Notes and Queries, 1886, III, §§ 117-118; see also II, §§ 69 and 172.
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 sijiāda-nashīn, 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 mursīds, or devotees of the sect, are round in Jammu, Pūnūh and the Frontier Districts, and in Swāt, Malakand and Kāfirs-tān. Shāh Daula's faqirs visit each mursīd annually and exact an offering (nazār), 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 traffic in women that exists between the Punjab and Pūnūh and Jammu, and it is from these districts that the Chūbās are chiefly recruited.

There is a notable offshoot of the Shāh Daula faqirs in an order of faqirs, who properly own allegiance to the Akhūn of Swāt. A disciple of the Akhūn, named Ghāzi Sultān Muhammad, a native of Awān, a village in Gujrat District on the Jammu border, has established a considerable following. He lives now at Shāh Daula's shrine, but has built himself a large stone house at Awān.

(ii) The Legend of Shāh Daula, by Major A. C. Elliott.

Shāh Daula was born in A. D. 1581 during the reign of Akbar. His father was Abdu'r Raḥım Khān Lodi, a descendant of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, grandson of Bahlol Shāh Lodi who died in A. H. 894 (A. D. 1488). This would make him a Pathān by descent, but he is nevertheless claimed by the Gūjārs of Gūjrat as belonging to their tribe. His mother was Niāmat Khātun, great-granddaughter of Sultān Sārang Ghakhar.

In the reign of Sultān Salīm, son of Sultān Sher Shāh (A. H. 952-960 or A. D. 1545-1553) a large force was sent to subdue Khawās Khān, who had rebelled in support of Adil Khān, Salīm Shāh's elder brother. Khawās Khān met with a crushing defeat and sought refuge with the Gakhārs, who supported him, and a battle was fought near Rohātā in the Jhelum District, in which Sultān Sārang Ghakhar was killed, and all his family were afterwards made captives. A daughter of Ghāzi Khān, son of Sultān Sārang, was among the captured, and she had at the time an infant daughter at the breast. This was Niāmat Khātun, 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 Humāyūn's death, she was married to Abdu'r Raḥım Lodi, then an officer of the imperial household. But Shāh 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.

Where Shāh Daula was born is not known, but his widowed mother returned to her native country, Pathās, now represented by the Jhelum.

1 For a Legend of Khān Khuda and Sher Shāh Chaughatta see Indian Antiquary 1909.
2 [This story reas like the familiar fictitious connection of local heroes in India with the great ones of the land.—Ed., Indian Antiquary.]
and Rawalpindi Districts. On her arrival, however, she found that, though she was the great-granddaughter of Sultán Sárang, 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 pargana of Phirbálat, 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 Sisákot, where he met one Mahta Kíman, 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-khána 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 niche 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 Sisákot, where he became a disciple of the saint, Sháh Saidán Sarmast. Sháh Daula now ingratiated himself with one Mangu or Mokhu, 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 Mangu. After Mangu 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 set 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 Siákot out of bricks from the foundation of some old buildings, and Sháh Daula was sent to dig as an ordinary labourer at a taka or two pice 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 tákás, or full payment for his work, without demur, but he would only accept four.

With the four tákás thus acquired, he bought a savoury dish of khipiri, 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 *khichri*, which produced such excruciating 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 Sháh 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 awakening 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 hadst 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 Sháh Daula remained in the service of the saint, Sháh Saidán Sarmast, who was a *faṣqir* of the Suhrwardi 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 Molku, 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 *daḻg* (*faṣqir'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 *daḻg* into Sháh 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 *daḻg*, 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 Sháh Daula.

Making his way out of Síálkot, and leaving the jealous disciples, he hid himself for a while outside the town. For ten years after the death of Sháh Saidán 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 Aık. After this Sháh Daula moved to Gújrát and settled there permanently in obedience to divine instructions.

*Faṣqirs* believe that each city has its guardian saint, and Sháh Daula is looked on as the guardian of Gújrát. 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 Gújrát over the Sháh Daula Nálá, and the bridge over the Dık in the Gújránwálá 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 Muslims 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 Sākār, and it was in the seventh year of Jahāngīr that he went to Gūjrat, 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 raurīs 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 Shādāra near Lahore. The king saw the helmets a 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 khāngāh. During the day he had remarked to his disciples: 'What a strange thing has our deer, Darbakhš, 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 pilāl 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 smelt the supper and so they stayed the night at the khāngāh, and did not take the Shāh to Shādāra 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 sharba to be mixed, but his throne began to quake, the palace rocked violently, and faces of faqīrs were seen everywhere. The king in his fear recognised the saintship of Shāh Daula and dismissed him with honour and two bags of ashrāfs. Giving the king his blessing, Shāh Daula departed after distributing the ashrāfs to the royal servants. Hearing of this the king summoned him again and asked him if he would accept a grant of 5000 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 Dīk came about in this way: During one of the journeys of the emperor Shāh Jahān into Kashmir, the
private belongings of Dára Shíkoh and Hari Begam and many pack animals were lost in the Dík, which was in flood. The Faujdáár of the District, Mirza Bádi Usmán, was accordingly ordered to have a large and permanent bridge ready by the time the royal party returned. The Faujdáár 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 Faujdáár 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 Dík, Sháh Daula procured the release of the brick-burners and set about building the bridge. A wicked gurú, who inhabited the spot, destroyed the work as fast as it was done, but after a controversy in which he was overcome the gurú 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 Búta, the land-owner of the neighbourhood, who made money out of the ford at that spot. Búta cut the dam in order to drown the faqírs encamped underneath it, but Sháh Daula cleverly frustrated him by making a second dam below it. A faqír was sent to report on Búta’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 nim tree. But Sháh Daula interceded for him and obtained his release. Búta after this rendered every possible assistance, the bridge was duly built and Sháh Daula returned to Gujrát.

About this time a faqír, named Sáidán, came to Gujrát 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 faqír disappeared and was never heard of again.

At that time female infanticide war rife in Rájaur, now a part of the Jammu State. Rájá Chattur 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 Kasmír, the Rájá presented her to him as a nasar. 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 Shíkoh and Murád, would succeed to the throne, went to see Sháh Daula and presented him with a sar-murgh (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’azzim and Mahmuéd, 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 Chúhás 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, Khudadost, in A.H. 1087 or A.D. 1676. He was therefore really 95 years old at his death.

His usual title is Sháh Daula Daryáí, 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 dalg, and installed him as sijáda-nashín 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 bálká, the present pírt 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 ascription of the Chúhás to the agency of the well-known saint of Gújráat is posthumous. One suspects that Bháwan Sháh of the Sháh Daula Shrine created the cult, much in the fashion that Gházi Sultán 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 faqirs 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 Bháwan Sháh 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 Sháh 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 Panjábí 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 Gújrát 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 Gújrát, it is quite possible also that he attracted the attention of the emperor Sháh Jahán 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 faqirs that have fastened themselves on to his name.

As regards the Chúhás themselves, it is quite possible that there is a tendency to produce such idiots among the population of given districts, such as Púneh 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 Mián-Bíbí; 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, Khwája Kasmi had five sons, Sháh Madár, Bholan Sháh, Shaikh Madu, Pír Sultán Sháh and Pír Jholan Sháh, and five daughters, Jal Pari, Mal Pari, Asman
Pari, Hur Pari and Sahz Pari. Of these, the tomb of Bholan Sháh exists at Jhonawál in tahsíl Garhshankar in Hoshiárpur. The other brothers and sisters are said to have become famous in other countries and died there. Another story is that Sháh Madár, who is referred to throughout the songs sung by the followers of Mián-Bibi, was a Shaikh of Rúm 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 Sháh Madár's spiritual influence. Sháh Madár was called Mián by the daughter of his host, and they were called by him in return Bibi. The girls became more and more attached to the Mián, 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 Mián's aid, and he by a miracle caused a tiger to go into the king's darbáir, kill the jealous minister, and desist from doing further mischief at the bidding of the Mián's host. This astonished the king and the people, who sought out the author of the miracle, but the Mián was not pleased with the exposure of his powers and desired to leave the capital. The girls insisted that the Mián 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 Mián and his virgin-companions disappeared under ground. It is not known where and when this happened, but the general belief as to the origin of Mián-Bibi is as above described.

2. Another, and perhaps the most plausible story, is that Mián was a Shaikh by name Saddú 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 Mián Bholan Sháh, Mián Chanan, Mián Sháh Madár, Mián Maleri, Sháh Pari, Húr Pari, Mehr Pari, Núr Pari, Usmán 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 Mián. These pari were more commonly called Bibi, and the Shaikh was on account of his attachment to the women called Mián-Bibi. The party travelled through many lands and preached the wondrous powers of their head, the Mián, and the women, being credulous, believed in the spiritual powers of the Mián, held him in great respect, and kept his memory green after his death by playing Mián-Bibi in the manner explained later on. The Mián 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 Mián was in possession of a lamp like the one Alauddín 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 Mián, and this being brought to the notice of the king, the Mián was killed and the lamp destroyed. His companions, fearing a similar fate, fled in different
Worship of Mián-Bíbí.

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 Bāhtis, Sainís and Mírásís, but Rájpúts and other classes of Hindus and Muhammadans are also found among them. In no case, however, does a male member propitiate the Mián-Bíbí 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-Bíbí, 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-Bíbí 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-Bíbí in getting her wishes fulfilled. Mírásí women (professional songstresses) 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 mirdsáns. The latter sing songs in praise of the Mián, his manly beauty, and his devotion to the Bibí and their mutual love and attachment. While singing, the mirdsáns 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 mirdsáns 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 fulfils the desires of those believing in him. The women practising the Mián-Bíbí 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 Dina Nath.]
II.

Songs sung when Mián-Bíbh sways his head in an emotional trance.

A.—The Káfs.

1. A káš of Mián Sháh Mádár.

Khele sinda Sháh Mádár
Man tán tón jiwán,
Terá nüè bhará didár,
Terá maulá nál gárár
Khele sinda etc.

If the living (ever-living) Sháh Mádár sways his head in an emotional trance or a hysterical woman falls into a trance, I shall live.

Thy (Sháh Mádár's) countenance is beaming with the (heavenly) light and thou converseth with God.¹

2. A káš of Bullán Sháh.

Mián Bullán Sháh jawání máne,
Karm kare tán mainún jáne,
Terká ditián lakh karotán,
Tere nich durbár jo áne,
Apnián man dian murádán páwe.
Terká ditián etc.

May'st thou, O Bullán 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 káš of Pir Bana Banoi.

Pir Bana ji main ars kuruñ tere age,
Sab dúsán nün pák jo
Kordá rati der na láge
Jinnán bhútán nün dür tún kordá
Jöt terti ok saheñ láge
Pir banná.

To thee, O Pir Bannájí, I present my appeal. Thou purifisest all who have lost heart and this thou does without the least delay. Thou drivest away (all) jinns and evil-spirits who flee in fear of thy glory.²

4. (a) A káš of Mián Alá Baksh Ganguhí.

Mere peshwá Ala Baksh Peshwá—
Mahbúb-i-Khúdá Mámún Ala
Baksh Peshwá
Mere Sákib-i-Auliá Ala Baksh
Peshwá
Doí pók karo mere Alá Baksh
Peshwá.

On thou my Leader! Thou Ala Baksh, Peshwá! Thou art beloved of God and art protected by his peace.³ Thou art protected by and beloved of God! Thou Ala Baksh, Peshwá! who art the best of saints! May'st thou purify my dolt.

¹ The original is Terá maulá nál gárár, which may be translated, 'thou reposes in peace in God.' Qádr means 'repose in peace.' But it is also explained to mean 'Tert háten khudá se hotá hain,' 'thou holdest conversation with God.'

² The original is Jöt terti ok saheñ láge, which is thus explained, woh tere jálwa ko banddásh karmé lag játé hain, meaning 'they gradually hear thy glori.' But it is also explained to mean. Tere jálwa se khauf khákhar dawp játé hain, which is the translation given above.

³ Mámún is explained as Khudá ke amán se mahsús, or 'protected by the peace of God.'
4. Another kafi of the same.

Mamun Ala Bakhsh pán ká bhírá láwan tere pás.
Je tún kapron ká jórá mángen,
Darzi buláwan tere pás.
Je Mamun Ala Bakhsh díúdh perse mujh se mángen,
Haltár ko buláwan jhat tere pás.
Je Mamun Ala Bakhsh pán bhírá mángen,
Main pamyrá ko buláwan fauran tere pás.

5. Another kafi of Bullan Shah.

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 (protector) of good and bad actions.

6. A kafi of Ghaus Azam, Piran Pir of Baghaad.

O thou, who fulfilllest my desire I pray to thee on my knees. He who cometh to thee with a desire secures it and is beloved by Ghaus Nabi (a saint).

7. Another kafi of Shah Madar.

See, O Shah Madar! 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 Shah Madar! I am mad with love of thee.
7 (b) Another kaf ’ of the same.

The flower-girl has brought garlands of flowers. I congratulate thy head, O Mián ! to-day. The Mián has his (left) wrist encircled with a bracelet and his body 1 besmeared with batnd. I congratulate thy head, O bridegroom ! thou who hast a crown and a cap on thy head and an umbrella over it.

B.—The thoughts of the Mián.


Zinda Sháh Madár,
Allah kine áñndá dekníá !
Madár ní Madár,
Nile ghore wálíd,
Sabs donhále wálíd,
Báñkíná jauján wálíd,
Kine áñndá dekníá.
Zinda Sháh Madár.

Has anybody seen the living (ever-living) Sháh Madár coming? Sháh Madár 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

Oh Mián ! 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 Bihág tár tún.

Be kind unto me, O Miráníj! (another name of the Pir) I sacrifice myself to thee. Be thou kind unto me.

Tell me in what state is Miráníj? The four walls of Miráníj’s house are shaded with rows of trees and he has a seat in the house (This refrain is repeated.

1 Meaning thereby that the Mián has besmeared his body with the light of God.

2 A kaf ‘ is sung by fagirs with regard to the time of the day or night. A rág must be sung at its proper time.

(1) Miranj has come! Shah is de re, Shah Madar de re.
Albel balāh Miran de re.
Miran ki majus khub ban hai, panch phungal pae re.
Miran de re etc.

(2) Nainān dā chāhlā sāmān de gayā, main wāri ho Miran
Nainān etc.
Let mo chira re,
Kesarī bāndhī re, ghunghat
Main kunk kah gayā.
Main wāri haun Miran
Nainān dā chāhlā sāmān de gayā etc.

(3) Zindā Shah Madār
Mera Mirān āndā dekhā,
hai Madār, hai
Madār ni uddhār,
Mera Mirān āndā dekhā.

(4) Shah Madār, terān Chaunktān bharādi
Nūr bharād dādār, Mera
Miran āndā dekhā etc.


(1) Ala albelariān—Ala albelariān
Mērī Shah Pārī
Bhig gaiyān sūhīān chūnartān.
Main chali pīā bāgh tamaēha,
Bhig gaiyān sūhīān chūnartān,
Ala albelariān etc.

(2) Shāh Madār ke darbār me
khele Shāh Pārī, oldān kasaumbarīān chohālān re, bāhīn
chūre hāre re, merī Shāh Pārī.
Shāh Madār etc.

(1) Miranjī has come! Shahjī 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) Miranjī has made me restless by the winking of his eyes. I sacrifice myself on thee, O Miranjī! His headdress 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! Miranjī! there is meaning in his playful glance.

(3) Oh living (ever-living) Shah Madar! I have seen my Miran coming. He is Madar; He is Madar! (my) deliverer.

(4) Oh Shah Madar! I am waiting for thee.1 Thy countenance is beaming with the light of God. Has anybody seen my Miranji coming?
(Here follows the refrain.)

(1) Oh my God! The Bihāna (i.e., Shah Pari and others), are free from care and all control. Oh my Shah Pari! Thy red-coloured dopatta (body-sheet) is wet. I am going to witness amusement in the garden of my beloved.

(2) Shah Pari, who is attired in a chait (petticoat) dyed with kaunbhu and who wears green glass bangles (chhīrī) round her wrist, is swaying her head to and fro in a frenzy in the Darbār of Shah Madar.

1 Chaunk bharā. 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 chaunk bharā. The Bharās or priests of Sakhi 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 Måler, the founder of the Måler Koṭla 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-Din.—Shaikh Sadr-ud-Din, the founder of the Måler Koṭla ruling family, flourished during the reign of Sultán Bahol Lodhi, who gave him his daughter in marriage in 1454.1 Commonly styled Hazrat Shaikh, Sadr-ud-Din or Sadr Jahân left Darában, his birth-place in Afghanistan, and settled at Måler on an old branch of the Sutlej. An aged Musalmán woman, named Måli, became his first follower and from her Måler takes its name. From the princess are descended the keepers of the shrine while the Nawabs of Måler Koṭla are descended from a Rájpútni whom the Shaikh also married. His shrine, surrounded by four walls believed to have been built by genii in one night, lies in Måler. 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 Khalifa, a descendant of the Shaikh, takes elephants, horses, donkeys, complete suits of clothes and rupees, while all other offerings are taken as of right by the majáware. People of all castes have great faith in Hazrat Shaikh. No marriage is considered blessed unless the bridegroom attend the shrine and salâm 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 chauki'. Sometimes they keep awake the whole night and employ a mirásan who sings songs, especially eulogies of the Shaikh, and sometimes play the chauki 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 mirásan beats her drum and sings the Shaikh's praises. At first the woman sits sient with her head lowered and then begins to roll her head with hair dishevelled. Then the mirásan 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

1 Just as tradition says Adham Paqir married the King's daughter.
Baiat or sale of self.

shrine and offers something according to her promise. In Jeth and about the time of the Namâni fair, on the Jeth sund, 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 Bir who, like the Mián, has three pairs of attendant goddesses, viz. Râri and Brâri, Châthri and Chhatrahri, all worshipped in Chamba, and Andla and Sandrâ who are worshipped in the hills. The goddess Bharmâni of Barmaur, 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 'Barâspatí Mothers', who are goddesses of vegetation. But he is also 'lord of metals', Lohân Pâl, of the earth, Bhûmi Pâl, and of chains, as Sangîn Pâl. As the last-named he has with him always a chain and his votaries also keep one at their homes. Sindhu Bir affects mountainous regions generally and is even said to be widely worshipped in Lâbul. 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 Gaddi or shepherd and when not whistling he makes the sound chhûd chhû which shepherds use when grazing their sheep, resting or fatigued. Indeed he is also called Laknu Gadetu 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 Qurâns 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 Muhammad—

"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."

In the Chapter called mumtahina (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."²

¹ For a song to Sindhu Bir see Indian Antiquary, 1909.
² Verse 10—Chapter Fisah (Victory) of the Qurâns.
It is mentioned in the Sāhih Bokhāri in the conditions on which the Imám should accept a pledge that Isma'il, son of Abu Obais, said that he had been told by Imám Mālik, who was told by Yabys, son of Sād Ausāri, who was told by Ibada, son of Walid, who was told by his father, who in his turn was told by his father Saint Abada that:—

"We pledged our faith to the Prophet to buy 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 Abdulla, son of Yūsaf, who was told by Imám Mālik, who was told by Abdulla, son of Dnár, who was told by Abdulla, 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 Imám, 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 Sāhih Bokhāri regarding Hazrat (holy) Aisha that the Prophet received oral pledges from women in accordance with the mumtahanā. 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 DÚLLA BHĀTTĪ.

ARGUMENT.

Dúllá or Dúllá, son of Faríd Khán, is a Bhāttī Rájpút of the Sandal Bár or Sandalwál. He goes to Naina Bás village to enjoy the phag festival in the Holi and during his absence Jalāl-ud-Dín, his uncle, goes to Akbar, the Mughal emperor, to inform him that Dúllá is a highwayman. The emperor deputes Mirzas Alá-ud-Dín and Zía-ud-Dín to seize Dúllá. Alá-ud-Dín goes to the Sandalwál with 12,000 men. Nūramde, Dúllá's wife, dreams that her golden bedstead is broken and interprets this omen to mean that Dúllá's misdeeds will end in disaster. But her mother-in-law boasts of Dúllá's strength. A Dogari woman announces that during Dúllá's absence the imperial troops are advancing to the attack. She borrows the five garments of Dúllá's wife and goes among the soldiery hawking curds. Alá-ud-Dín wants to buy some and puts his finger into the jar to taste the curds, whereupon the Dogari grips his arm with such strength that he cannot make her let go. The Mirza, 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 Dúllá's mother. Zía-ud-Dín, the murdered Mirza's brother, hearing of his death lays waste the Sandalwál. Nárá, Dúllá'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. Dūlā’s wife now sends a mirāsī with a letter to Dūlā imploring aid. Dūlā immediately attacks the Imperial troops and rescues his son with the others. He is about to put Zia-ud-Din to death when his mother intercedes, saying he will dishonour her by the murder, but, disregarding her prayers, Dūlā 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 Sāhibān is peculiarly rich in omens:

Qissa Dūlā Bhattī: Rajpūt sākin munza Sandalwāl, ya Sandal Bār
Jangal, mutallaqa Zilla Montgomery.

Akbar Shāh baddshāh ke zamāna men Dūlā Bhattī Raipūt thā. Lījie nām Rabb kā, kardega bērā pār.

Qissa.

1. Chandā ki bairī bādāt, mačhāli kā bairī jāl : Bandā ki bairan maun hai, nekē ko din chār.
2. Marjan nūn bādāt lihhāt, lōhān nūn kīte tā’ā : Mirjān nūn dhūpān lihhāt, sūrān ko kīte ghā’ū.
3. Sukh se soyā sej par supnā dgyā rāt, Sowara palana markiā, tūte chāron sāl.
4. Māthe ki bindi bhūn pari, merē nau bāl khāgā’ī nāth, Ohurā phūṭā hāthī dānt kē, yēkā parā suhāg.
5. Ghore dūn thumakde, kavde māro mār, Kī Dūlā terā qaid men, lutjā Sandalwāl.
6. ‘Sās! Yih badiyāgh haih buri!’

JAWAB LADDEH WALIDA DULLA AS BAHU :

7. Bole Lāddāhī : “Kya kahe? sunle bahār bāt : Gidri ne jāye pānch sāt, main shāhni ne jāyā ek ;
8. Jad merē Sher dharukāt kartā māro mār! Faujīn bādshāhī bhaqjiān, marke nā leti sāns.”

BAHU SAS SE KARTI HAI :


1 Lāt, the horizontal pieces, chāl, 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.
The Legend of Dúllá Bhatti.

   Ai sās ā. Tu barjle pūt ko, badiyā hain bāri”.

Kalān Dogari as walīda Dulla:—

   Pāncho lá de kapre, sold lađe singdr”.  

13. Pāncho pahne kapre, bharla’e sold singdr.  
   Sir āhar maṭki dūch ki, dwe lashkar darmiyān.

14. Dahā dahā pūkārtā lashkar ke darmiyān:  
   Dahā māngl Mirza ‘Ald-ud-dīn: “Mainān thora daht de chakhē’ e!”

15. Bharke ṭīngā chakh ād pahūnchā pakrā jā’dē,  
   “Guḍ buḍh, guḍ buḍh kyā kare?  
   Sidhī heltī bol!”

16. “Mārūngī laperā khenchke, tere battīs jhar jāenge dānti:  
   Dekhā nahēn Dūllā Rājpūt kā?  
   Terā lashkar dūn lutwā’e,  
   Rhalā chāhe, ērā úthdh le, nahēn lashkar dūn lutwā’e”

Bole Mirza: “Kyā kahe? Sunle, Masto, bāt!”

18. Us Dūllā ke kyā kare? sang haṁāre chal,  
   Begumāt tīn sau sāth, sub ki kārān sīrdār.

   Maṭki chaṭṭhi phorde, chaṭṭhi ghore pur.”

20. Pakar bānā bāthdałat, parē Dēkhl ke rāh.  
   Dekh sūrat ko ro part, Mirza kare jāwdb.

   Saṭhē kāṭrār Dogari ne bahūlā Mirza ke kalje maṅk.

22. Pānchāni īye kapre, pānchāni īye huthyār:  
   Ghorā jord leltā, dwe Sandalwāl.

23. Ghorā lāttā than se, Laddhī se kart salām:—  
   ‘Ibrārat.  
   Mirza ‘Ald-ud-dīn jab māraγyā, to bāhē Mirza Zīd-ud-dīn  
   ne sund, to woh Sandalwāl ko lāṭne lagi.”

24. Dūm aur Bhāt lāṭyē dete kābit sundē.’  
   Khōst kanchant lāṭyē, lutγyā māl hawdl.

25. Dūllā kā chhāchh lāṭyē, lutγyā māl hawdl.  
   Maulā kālāṭ lāṭyē, dende phul shārdāb.

   Jā beṛē, bhāγjā, nahēn parjā bāḍshāh kē qaid.”

27. Je, Qdsī, main bhāγjāūn, kūl ko āwe lāj.  
   Oḥake Nārā dūndā āwe mohlān ke mān:

28. Hāṭh bāndh kārān bennā, dāḍī, sabko merā sāt salām,  
   Moinān mān kā khanāḍ āndo pahunchān faŋjon darmiyān.

   Jā, beṛē mere, bhāγjā, nahēn parjā bāḍshāh kē qaid”.

30. “Jo, dāḍī, main bhāγjāūn, mere kūl ko āwe lāj”
   Mān se sūṭe mīṛt, āwe dehōrt kē bār.”
The Legend of Dullā Bhattī.

31. Paachhe’s jauānān ko kāṭā kāte Mughal Paṭhān,  
Amar se khanda tātgiyā, lohe ne dedī hār,  
32. Sir se chhā tārke da’ī musikkān bandhā,  
Nārā parigāid mēn, parnyā bādhāh kī qaid,  
33. Nūramde Phulamde bāndhog, parigāid bādhāh kī qaid:  
Mātā Laddhā bandhāgāid, parigāid bādhāh kī qaid:  
34. Phīpphā Shamash bāndhāgāid, parigāid bādhāh kī qaid:  
Bēṭṭ Salerno bandhāgāid, mān kāhī jē’ī?  
35. Bole Salerno: “Kya kahe? Sunle, ādād Jaldā Din, bāṭ!  
Bāndī kārē chhārā, hūngā dāman ājī.”  
36. “Bāḍhāh kī qaid mēn tūm parī, potti, mere gīṭ kē bāli chīrdgh”  
“Dādā, tukhm Rājpur kā nāhī nā hāi, kisi bāndī kā jām.”  
37. “Jo jīṭī mūrke dāgāit, dāṅgī khaṭtā kāhā’ī?”  
(Iātiye ndm Rab kē, kardeq bēd pār!)  
Le paravna pahūntgye, jīde Nainā bār.”  
39. “Charhnd ho, tum chāhh chalo, lnptqāit Sandalwād.”  
Le paravna mirdī ne jā dād Dūllā ke āṭh.  
40. Bole Dūllā: “Kya kahe? Sunlo, jauhān, bāṭ!  
Jhatā jhat kāthi pargā’ī, bānhdgāt sone ke sīn.”  
41. De dobāgtī pasne āwen lāshkār dārmtiyān.  
Lāshkār bāje mīrsī karte māro mā.  
42. Faujdy Shāh kī bhādgjān, bhādg Mughal Paṭhān.  
Bole Nārā: Kya kahe? Sunle, mān, mērt bāṭ!  
43. Zara muskkān kholde, dekkle Nārē ke hāth.  
Jhāṭā jhat māshkān khugāit, ghorī kā kīd sowdr.  
44. Lāshkār bāje mīrsī, karte māro mār.  
Chalke Ziyd-ud-dīn awtā āwe Laddhā kē pās:  
45. Bēṭā kārē bāchāle, maṁ hūṅgā dāmangīr!  
Ine mēn Dūllā pahūnggyād, āwe mātā ke pās:  
46. “Rān kā chhor bāltā, Mātā, soch bāṭa”!  
“Bēṭā ran kā chhor bhādggyād: pahūntā Dēlhi dārmtiyān”  
47. Bole Mīrza: “Kya kahe? Sunle, mātā, bāṭ!  
Bēṭā kārē bāchālā tērā hūṅgā dāmangīr.”  
48. Bole Laddhā: “Sun, bēṭā Dūllā, bāṭ!  
Jo tā uṣko mārtā, mērt bāṭīs āḍhār hārdm.”  
49. Mdrā lepaṛā khēncē Mīrza ke bāṭīs jhārgāye āḍnī.  

Mīrsī Taḥwar.  

Dullā Rājpūt bēṭā Farīd Khān rahnewālā Sandalvāl kā thā.  
Mauza Nainā Bās mēn Holf kā phūg kēhle gāhūā thā.  
B‘ād āske jānē ke uske chāchē Jaldā Dīn Akbar lādhpā Āḍhāh Delhī kē pās gīt ānd  
jākār jāryād kārī kē Dullā musāfārān kē tūṭ lēlā hāi.  
Bāḍhāh kē Mīrza ‘Ālā-ud-Dīn wā Zīā-ud-dīn kē bhejā kē Dullā kē pākār lād
The Legend of Dullá Bhatti.

Mirza bárá hasár fáuj lekar Sandalwál men ayá. Ek ros rát ko Núrámde Dullá ki istír ne supná dekha, ki sowałang túgh gáy, bas apní sós se yeh káhá ki yeh hái burt hoti hái, tera beta musafir kon ki istíta hái: sos ne káhá ki mene apni beta aisa jana hai ki máusing Shair ke hai. Dowri gumálon Dullá ki mán ke pás áf, us ne Dullá ki mán ne káhá ki merá beta yahán marvád nahín hai. Bodshákhi fáuj larné ko áyl hai kíya káhá? Dowri gumálon ne káhá ki apni káhá ke pánché kapre muhe dede men laskhar ki khabár ládun. Woh kapre pahánkar dahi ki hámórr sair par rakh hír fánj Bálshákhi men dahi bechá ne ko áyl aur laskhar ke darmiyán án kar káhá ki aisa kot hai ki jo merti dahi mót te. Mirza 'Ald-úd-dín ne dahi mángi job woh lekar gáy Mirza ne ungí dahi men bhárá kar zabán se lagáti cháhi thi kí Dowri ne Mirza ká háth pákhar liya aur wúh is qadr táqat rakh hí thi Mirza ne horekand cháhá ki háth ekhurádín magar nahín chhurá saka. Mirza ne apne dil men káhá kíngar isko men apne ghar lejádun aur is se bálcháne pada honge to niháyat sordar honge. Mirza ne us se káhá tu mere sáták chali, meri thi sau sátág begámált hai, unpar sirdár tujh ko koránga. Woh usko sáták koli, rástah men mig ghás chug rahe the. Mirza ki súrat ko dekh kar ropái. Mirza ne púchá kí wáste rotí hai, usne káhá ki mere vós hathiár hata to wúko marí: main aksar shikár khela káhá hún. Mirza ne apné khanda usko dediya, us ne gárá pákhar Mirza ke khanda márá woh margaya aur Mirza ke pánché kapre lekar Dullá ki mán ke pás áyí.


TRANSLATION.

The story of Dullá, the Bhatti Rajpút, who dwelt in Sandalwál village or in the Sandal Bár, a steppe adjoining the Montgomery District.

In the time of the emperor Akbar there lived one Dullá, a Bhatti Rajpút. Take the name of the Lord, He will grant victory.

Literally, will bear the boat across.
The Legend of Dúlla Bhattí.

Story.

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
   (i.e., 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. ¹
   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! ²
   (She moralises on her dream:—)
6. Oh mother-in-law! These deeds (of Dúllá) are indeed evil. ³
   Reply of Dúllá'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 roars, 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. ⁴
    The Dogar's wife speaks:—
12. Said Masto Dogarí: "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.
The Legend of Dúllá Bháttí.

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-Dín 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 Rájpút,

17. If you wish for your own good, strike your camp, else I will have it plundered.
Said the Mirza, What sayest thou? Hearken Mastro!

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 Dogrí replied)—

21. "If thou wilt give me your dagger, I will go and kill deer."
Drawing the dagger she, the Dogrí, 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-Dín had been killed his brother Mirza Zió-ud-Dín heard of it. He began to ravage the Sandal Bár:—

Verses

24. He plundered the Đum and the Bháṭ; they chanted verses.
He plundered the chief prostitutes, goods and chattels.

25. He plundered Dúllá’s uncle of his goods and chattels:
He plundered Maulú the vintner who sold the wine.

26. The Míán said to Núrá*: listen to me.
"Fly hence or the King will cast you into the prison."

* Dúllá’s son.
27. O Qázi, if I flee dishonour will fall on my family.
Núrá 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. Laddhí 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 Paṭhán 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 Núrá taken, taken and cast into the imperial prison.

33. Núramde and Phulamde were taken captive and cast into
    the imperial prison.
   The mother Laddhí was taken, and cast into the prison.

34. Shamash, the aunt of Dúllá, was taken, and cast into the prison.
   Salemo, his daughter, was taken, calling on her father.

35. Said Salemo:—“Listen grandfather Jalál-ud-Dín
   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 gâţ."
   “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 mîrāsî,
   Take this letter to Nainabás.

39. If thou desirest to attack, then attack quickly, Sandalwál has
    been plundered.
   The mîrāsî took his letter and gave it into Dúllá’s hand.

1 Wives of Dúllá.

2 In the next world. A better translation appears to be—Thou hast got 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-Dín to be the cause of her distress, but will not stop to implore his
   mercy.

3 In sign of rejoicing.

4 Spoken by the poet.
40. Dullá 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 (Dullá'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 (Dullá and his men) slew right  
and left.  
Ziá-ud-Dín came on foot to Laddhi:—

45. "Save me as if I were thy son I will cling to thy skirt  
(hereafter).  
Meanwhile Dullá 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 Dullá, 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 RÁM THE GUJAR, BY KALA JOGI,  
OF KHAUDA IN THE AMBALA DISTRICT.

Jag men rahe Gujjar jaisí nanhí dúb,  
Aur ghás sab jal jáengí, rahegí dúb kí dúb  
Gujar ki Gujríti bóle : — "Sun Dayá, merí bát,  
Soná chándí bohtá pahné, motí pahne ná'e,  
Láde mujhe sănche múti.  
Motí kí larián láde, pahúngí sănche motí,  
Motí par shauq merá, motí bigar1 maiq na jít."  
Jíse Dayá Rám dúdhári, sohní sûrat par vdrí.  
" Gujari ne tere bolí márí bhar ke márá tír  
Yá láde mujhe sănche motí yá hojá faqír.  
Chádar Gujráti ki láde, lahnáhpí Múltán ká láde  
Sálú Sángáner ká láde, kankhé Karnál kí láde,  
Missí Dihlí kí láde, mehndí Nárnaul kí láde,

1 Runaway.

2 Bigar, for baghair.
The story of Dayā Rām Gujar.

Chupā Panāpat kā lāde, surma Panjāb kā lāde.
Jātā Peshāwar kā lāde."  
Jiwe Dayā Rām dūdharī, sohni sūrat par wārī.
Baṇi Gujarī mōṭī mānge, oḥhoṭi ko dīlīgī,
Rotī Gujarī säs pä āwe, nainān dhaltā nīr :—
"Saukan meri mōṭī mānge, Dayā kahān mārdjāgā.
Gānvarī sānnī hājdīgī,
Laṇke māre ro morenga,
Mōtī kīs par pahnēgī"

Jiwe Dayā Rām dūdharī, sohni sūrat par wārī.
"Na mātā meri zār zār ro'e, na jhūre man mēn,
Ab ke phore yūs kari jānāye, Dayā janmān nā'tē,
Mōtī kā to sōg 1 na karīye, ranwās 2 ki sewā kariye,
Ran mēn bēte ko päḱ, Gānwī kā rāj kariye."
Jiwe Dayā Rām etc.

1 La Gujarī, mere pāchon kapre, lā mere pāchon hathiār
Pān se lā meri Lālī ghōri, maṁ ho chalīn sawār,
Dolī ko jāke gherūn lā dān tujhe sīnche mōtī,
Gujarī tujhe ān pahnādān."

"Saīnā mere jītā rahye!
Amī 3 jīl pīṭā rahye
Urjī dē terā bhasāwī nīmānā.
Dunyā se kyā te jānā?
Nekī tere sang chalegī,
Bādī bādshāh ke jāīgē."
Jiwe Dayā Rām etc.

Ohhlīkē Dayā ne ghōrī peri chaṁh ton sūnā tang,
Yā Gūjar kūẖān mārdjādegā, yā māchaṅgā jāng.
Jiwe Dayā Rām etc.

Orā barje, 4 Dhore barje, barje sab parwār,
Ujākapārī kī ranṭī barje, 1 mat jā tū mērī ydr,
Sandal terī bēṭī barje, ran mēn tērā bēṭā barje,
Bābāl 5 bind na jīwēṅgā kāṭāṅī kādī ān morenga.
Jiwe Dayā Rām etc.

Ankh Dayā, terī maḏh ke pīḍle,
Bhaunān bānt kanān
Achchā soḥnd gābrā Dayā rūpāṇī Kārtār,
Mūnchānān terī bal kādī rāhān.
Jiwe Dayā Rām etc.

Pān sau ghōrī chhe, Dayā ne rāstā gherājāde,
Shahr Dehlī ḍōḷā chale, Mīndāpur ko jāde.
Dayā ne rāstā gherād.

1 Sdg —sorrow, mourning.
2 Ranwās —one who dies on the field of battle.
3 Amī, 8. —water of life, nectar.
4 Barjāṇ —restrain.
5 Bābāl, husband.
The story of Dayá Rám Guiar.

Juve Dayá Rám etc.

Nama tu Khán jáb Súba 1 kahít :—“ Suno, jawáno, bá, 
Tum main Dayá kaunsá mujko do baIe 
Uske main sisko kdtún jíte ko kabht na chhórún ” 
Já Dayá Rám patáhe ne jhuk ke kari saláM. 
Nama tu Khán ne bháld márá, 
Dayá gýd bácháIe. 
Dayá Allah ne rakháI 
Juve Dayá Rám etc. 
DóIa méI ek begam bole :—“ Suno, Dayá, méI bá, yih dóIa tere yár 
ke kahí hone de parle pár. 
Terá insíIs kawud’ún gdmri jdgír diwd’úr. ” 
Juve Dayá Rám etc. 
Nd láItín tere mál kházáIn, nd láItín bándúq. 
Woh chísáI batIáIe, begam, jaháIn hai sáNdúq. 
Kahiye jis méI sánche móIt 
MóIt ka main bhúká dyá, 
Gujár ne móIt mánge 
Juve Dayá Rám etc. 
Nán báIt ke nán láIté pán wále ka pán 
Ek tambolán aisi láIti lákI taká qurdáIn. 
ZúItfán wáin bal kháIráIt 
Juve Dayá Rám etc. 
MóIt ki tin laItán láItI, 
CháDar GujárIt ki láItI, 
Lahgád Multán ká láItá, 
SáIt SáNgIt ká láItá 
KáItgá KárnáI kI láItI, 
Chúrá Pántpat ká láItá 
Juve Dayá Rám etc. 
Sánche móIt láIt Dayá ghar ko pahúIché jáIe, 
Yih móIt ki laItán, GujárIt, páhno man chít lIdIe, 
GujárIt sínIgIe báIwh :— 
“ SaItáI méI jItáI rahIe, 
AIt jIl pItáI rahIe 
UrI’dIe tere bIaur nImIráI, 
Dunýá se kyd lejánd? 
NekI tere sóngh chálégI, 
BáItán báItshI kI jáIenGl. 
Juve Dayá Rám etc. 

Translation.

The Gújars are like dáb grass, 
Other grasses get burnt up, but the dáb is ever green. 
The Gújar’s wife said :—“ Listen, Dayá Rám, 
I have had gold and silver to wear in plenty, but never a pearl, 
Bring me real pearls! 

1 Saba = Governor.
Bring me strings of pearls, I would wear real pearls.
On pearls have I set my heart, without pearls I cannot live."

*Long live Dayé Rám,*

*Let me immolate myself for the beauty of thy face!*

"Thus the Gújarí mocked at thee, and the arrow hit the mark!
Either bring me real pearls, or turn beggar,
Bring me a shawl from Gujrát and a gown from Multán,
Bring me sálú from Sángáner, and a comb from Karnál.
Bring me toothpowder from Delhi, and henna from Nárnaul.
Ivory bangles from Pánípat, antimony from the Punjab,
And shoes from Pesháwar."

*Long live Dayé Rám etc.*

The Gújar’s 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 Dayá will be ruined.
The village will be ruined.
Our sons will perish.
On whom wilt thou put pearls?"

*Long live Dayé Rám etc.*

"Do not weep, mother, do not repent and consider.
That Dayá 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 Dayé Rám etc.*

"Bring Gújarí, my five garments, and my five weapons.
From her stable bring La,ili, my mare, I will mount her and away.
I will lay in wait for a palanquin, and bring real pearls.
My Gújarí, 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 Dayé Rám 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 Dayé Rám etc.*
Aura, Dhaura and the whole family restrained him.
The courtesan of Ujkalpur 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 Rám 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 Rám etc.*
Urging on 500 horses Dayá stopped the highway,
From Delhi city went the palanquin, on its way to Miránpur,
Dayá stopped the way.

*Long live Dayá Rám 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 Rám went and bowed.
Naubat Khán hurled a spear,
But Dayá Rám dodged it.

Dayá was preserved by God.

*Long live Dayá Rám 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 Rám etc.*
I will not rob thy treasure, or thy fire-arms,
Tell me, lady, what things are in your coffers,
Tell me, where are the real pearls?
For pearls I came in search,
My Gújari yearns for pearls.

*Long live Dayá Rám etc.*
The baker's loaves were looted and the betel leaf-seller's betel leaves,
A tomolán (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 Rám etc.*
He plundered three strings of pearls,
A shawl of Gujrát,
A gown of Multán,
Sádú from Sángánér,
A comb from Kárnál,
Bangles from Pánípat.

_Under long live Dayá Rám etc._

He stole real pearls and brought them home, and asked Gújari to wear the pearls with pleasure.

And his Gújari 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."

_Under long live Dayá Ram, etc._

**KISSA MIRZA AUR SÁHIBÁN KÁ.**

_Firdás dē Pír Mohi-ud dīn, ghaušā dē Qub Farih!_

_Zidrat chalnd pír dī, rāhin ghat wohīr!_

_Bolan khumre khumrīdā, japaq fagīr Farih,_

_Nanqūnd dēndā kāprē, bhukhe bhojan kūr!_

_As kūr diwān māntā, Dillī chhād Kashmir,_

_As pūjānīnd jumāl dī, merā Shaikh Bahāwal pīr._

_Chārūde Mīrze Khān nū mān māti dē khārī:_—

'Jis ghar hoo dostū, us nā jāyo gali.

_Tapān hārdhē tel dē sīr wīch ldt l alt._

_Supnē andār māryā, terī sārat khand rāt._'

_Chārū de Mīrze Khān nū, Wunjāl dē dēndā maī:_—

'Sun farsandā merād laaj dī bānnhi pag!
Rāmān Bhattānd dī dostū, kūrī jinhān dē māt!
_Ape lāwan yādīyā, dē dēndūyān dūs!_
 Pars bāyānde baishe, mandā nā karyā hāt!

_Lāthī hāth nāh dwāndī dānishmandān dē pāt!_

_Bhāin nē wāgān phātīgān Ghat Allah dī hār:_—

_Sume wūrd Mīrzā merād! Bah ko kāj sawād!_

_Ek jānjē, ek mānjē, ek tere wēkhan hār!_

_Hathī sārdī batkhān, tāt jhūlen dārbār!_

_Kā dāwānā māin phīrā: máinū kī kājkā nāl?_

_Kā'ī māhīn kā'ī ghorāndā, unphān dī dīth khatār_

_Ajā dē wād tāld jā, wāg pīchhān bhuwā._

_Jawāb Mīrza kī phūpphī:_—

'Sutti supnā wōchād, supnā būri bālād!

_Būrū jhojūtī kheīādī, Mūgīā kūtūd dē!_

_Kālē jēhī dāmmī lāgī, bīrhōn ay!_

1 Wunjāl, Mīrza's fat he.
A version of Mirza and Sahibán.

Siron mundra ghai payd, mahat gid karkdye!
Aj ká vdr tàld já, wág pichhän bhawá!
Beṣe Hāsrat Āl de, Hasan Hussain bhírā!'
Larde ndl Yuhūdān, karde bahut jangdye.
Honí nd mite pahambahdān, tūn bhí mann rasāye.

Yih gal karke Mirza chalagayd, rastá men ek ndí se m.l.d, us se púncchá: Tere pás ki hai? Usne kahá:- 'Mere pás ṭiḍrí suhā ṭutráh di hai.' Mirza ne ṭiḍrí kholi, apní bakki ná chabūk mārdā, tād Bakki ne jawdá díttá:-

Jawdb Bakki ká.

'Mainánum mārd ko, jaddá ná ldyo láj;
Main hūrdn di bhain Pādman, utrí tainún áj;
Merí qadar na payo ḍhāka, haisen jat nibhāg.'


Ohangī bālī hālīon, aivā moṅhe lagg!
Kise ghdēl gaj márid gāyā kālēja chāt?
Śadībān ghdēl tel nān gayāk pasdrī di āt.
Pārd kise láh toli, jīn toli śin ghat.
Mirze kīllān ṭhokān, mahliṅ chārdā jāye.
Bhāton ṭolē deka, śadībān laddījāye.
'Je tū bhūkha dūhā dā devān, dūhā pīyā.'
'Main bhūkha nahiń dūhā kā, dūhōṅ bhūkha nā ja.
Bhūkha tere 'ishk dā, khol tāni gal ld!
Ohaltā Dāndūdd nāp: jehri kare Khudd!

Kalām śadībān.

'Kakh būrī rāngī, thallō ḍnawālā tor.
Je nahiśi ghar bāp de, mang līdvan hōr.
Ghore wīr Shamīr tā de sabhē ṭastab khor,
Khānde khanād nihāryān, turē summ ṭakor!
Bhaniyān jān na denge, uddāliyān de chōr!'

Jawdb Mirsa.

'Bakki vokh na ḍublī, jhāre oħt nā ḍāl!
Uḍṛē nāl pakherūḍān, tāst kaun bāldye.
Bakki nān rowān farishē, mainā roye Khudd!

1 Brother of Sahibān
A version of Mirza and Sáhibán.

Omar merr bel te, Kábd sis niwyde!
Le chalán Dándudd ná, tainú tatíl ná lage wdl!

Log kahle hái.

'Asík ratte ashkán, kolhá ratte tel!
Janj wagúri rahgayl, búhe baiśhd mel!
Thái hajná rahgayl, kuppi tel phulel!
Jhánjar sana piśdríán, gahne sana hamail.
Sáhibán Mirza legayd, ghá Bakki'á' dí bail!' 

Musannif kahle hái.

'Jand, kartí, wán, berydn, bári jhall ghane,
Sáwán sanj de nikle, sárí rdt bhane.
Tángu malle maut de, khalán wáng dahwén,
Háñj bigá� mórke báre kiyon sawén?' 

Jawáb Samma Móhi.

'Sammán máhí kúkiyá, jháng siyldán dí bár,
Kahunde bári hai ná, tain ná mutyár.
Ujár mallo piyddó, ñándi mallo awedr!
Sáwán Mirza márná, karke kaul karár.' 

Jawáb Míreá.

Pánde sáñi bálde, pánje thaddí de jand
Gol kíye goliyán, wek mah gayín de ànd.
Dásh dásh márgaye súrmán, bári pahan chorang
Máin waáhíyá nak jinhd dá, langaya pánj nad
Merd máthá Dándudd nún díttí, siyldán nún kánd.

Jawáb Kalá Jógní.

'Bhukhé Kálle pákáráí, je Súmer weji,
Jándi war de máin díttí, ek Bakki, do jí!
Kanmi bunde sir mídhíyán, kise bhalí dí dí,
Unde mánh ton pallúlah gayd, ná ldy na líh!
Jamné te marjáwana, mautón darná kí?' 

Jawáb Sáhibán.

'Uth Mirzá suttíyá! Kai áye aswedr'
Játthih kíne ránge, kárde 'máro már.'
Nainí díhándaá ákne, nainí mír shikár,
Uth! Bakki te chárkh baháye! Wúrye Dándwáá.

Jawáb Mirzá.

Unche diiede jhauny'é rukhán báháasnáán,
Bháytyán báih ná joryán, puttán báih ná nán!
Wekhd jándore ki chhatí, thándí is dí chhán
Pálk dháunká leáyá, jag wích rágúá nánd.

1 Hamail, a pocket Qurás, worn in token of pilgrimage, in a gold embroidered crimson velvet or red morocco case slung by red silk cords over the left shoulder: Barton's Al-Madina, 1, pp. 143, 289.
A version of Mirza and Sāhibān.

Jawāb Sāhibān.

Kutte mir Shamir de, chhapi an waibre!
Lamb jawán nukhrā (bhan!) hatti ran charhe!
Gal vih pātki maut de (wahyân) ān phare!
Jāt nūn sāngān uṭhthiān, pakkhi pain gare!
Khāri ne hānj lūṭā liya, lātyā khub rāre!

Jawāb Mirza.

Mandā kitā, Sāhibān! Tarkush tangī jand!
Sau satk kānī khand dī diyan siyālmwanī!
Paṅh Khān Shamīr nūn, duje kulle de tang!
Tīje mārān us nū, tiḍhī pahi tū mang!
Chauthi woh asmān de āhar, āhar payan putang!
Talwarān jhurmit ghaṭṭayā, tīrān pāyī dand!
Siron mūdasā lehgyā, nangī ho gayī ṣhanī!
Kallā Mirzā mārīā, mūḍh nā bhāyī band!
Je bhāyī honde āpane laye Siyālān nu waṅd!

Translation.

Saint of all saints is Muḥi-ud-Dīn and the axis of all devotees is Farīd!

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 Faqīr Farīd
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, Bahāwal Dīr.

By Mirza Khān 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 whence arose fiery flames.
I dreamt Thou hadst been slain and thy body mingled with dust.’

To Mirza Khān 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 the wise 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!

Lustlessly I wander about, for what have I do with them?
So many milk-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 ruin!
Let but this day go by! Turn thy steed again!

Sons of Hazrat Ali were the brothers Hasan and Husain.

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 Bakkí 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 Bakkí: I forgot. Then Bakkí 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 feed her on boiled grain she will suckle her calf. Thereupon her brother Khiwá 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 thou comest leaning on another's shoulder!

Has some ghází pierced they liver through with his goad?
Sáhibán was sent to fetch oil and went to the grocer's snop

1Lit. containing benna, 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.' I now loose thy girdle and embrace me!
Let us then go to Danáwád, 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 bad not another, thou should'st have borrowed one.
The steeds of Shamír, 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 Bakkí is lean, nor let despair afflict them!
She can outpace the birds in their flight and no racer can match her.
For Bakkí the angels weep as weeps God for me!
Mount my steed, bowing thy head to the Ka'aba!
I will carry thee to Dánábád, 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 hamail.
Mirza put Sáhibán on the back of his mare and carried her off!
Saith the poet:—
Thro' the dense jungle studded with janād, karfr 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?
Sammán's reply:—
'Sammán Máhi called aloud,
The brown milch buffalo in the dense forest is missing and the belle is not among the spinsters spinning.'
Follow the untrodden path ye who are a-foot and follow the beaten path ye who are mounted.

Pledge your honour and kill Mirza alone.'

Mirza’s reply:—
My face towards Dánáwbád, and my back towards Siál.

Kal’s reply:—
‘Kalla empty stomached called out—live, O Sammfr live!
I saw Bakkí 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 Bakkí let us reach Dánáwbád.’

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 jon 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 Ját 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 jon tree!
My 160 arrows would have the Siáls!
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 swords men urged on by bowmen!
The turban fell from his head, and his hair was uncovered!
Mirza fell alone, una ided by brother or kinsman!
If his brothers had been there, each would have coped with band of the Siáls.
A mystical poem.

GIT MIRAN SAYYID HUSSAIN WALI.

The Song of Miran Sayyid Hussain, the Saint

1
{Shaikh musahib busurg the dáná,
Miran Sayyid Hussain nál ja parhá dogáná.

{Shaikh Shahdb se le te maslánh,
Khááí poshák mangáí.

{Ohrá hará, hará thá jámá,
Pašk hárá kamar se bháí.

{Haré dáp talwár nál jí,
So kamar bhích laňkáí.

Gainde kí dhál par hará phul jí,
Bogan kí čhamke siyáhi.

{Khásá há kará pah zálim dháí jí
Gúthí máine kí harí tágáí.

{Tukke hare bhare the tarkash,
Tín san chátar chatrâí.

{Nezá hará, harí thí bairakh,¹
Harí bhaundí sí nál jhan náí.

{Khanká ghorá sáz sab zín hará jí,
Aur sar kalghí harí sáháí.

Hará posh aur bakhter posh jí,
Aur Mírán ke sang chalte súr sipáhi.

{Mírán bhaye aswár khing ke ápar,
Sang hará sauj báándáí.

{Káfar báhut, Turk the thore,
Mírán Sayyid Hussain síhke kiye ghore.

{Mírán ne síhke kiye ghore,
Báje tabal aur šakore.

{Ali Ali karke jore,
Ran men larte nárá sûre.

Mirán kí chalá hál aswári.

15
{Fauján gaad baḍ bahín hál,
Liyá teghé ko nikál,

{Larte ápá men hasmál,
Ran men phailá hai gulál.

Han kí suno bís taiyárí.

{Ran men hone láyí karolí,
Bešé Dájpútán máren goli.

Aisí machí jaisí holi,
Bhígi rakton men chols.

Ohháñ rakt bharí pichkári.

¹Batraq, P. Bairak or-kb, H. = a fag.
The song of Mirān Sayyid Hussain.

{ Ėthe ēndāk to gambhēr,
  Ėrē rētā jo 'abēr.
}

20 { Chhāte bālochha aurā tēr,
  Dābā lohā meṁ sharēr.
}

Wahān parād judē ek bhārī.

{ Ran men kūdā ek Shaikħ,
  Maulā rākhtā ēskē tek !
  Tārā sarmuṅh āyā dekkh,
  Usne bālochhī mārī phēk.
}

Tārā ne simat sāng jāb mari.

{ Zakhm Shaikħ Ābū ne khāyā,
  Aur unkō Maulā ne bāchāyā.
  Sote tege ko lagāyā,
  Kāt Tārā ko girāyā.
}

Rājā ke lagā zakhm tan kārī.

25 { Gayī kāfār kī jān,
  Aur jālī dōsakh ke ārmiyān.
  Lārā Mīrān kā jawān,
  Hūā Maulā māharwān.
}

Rājā kī bhāg gayī fauj sārī.

{ Khabarādr khābren dain :
  Rājā yeh hī 'arz hai mērī :
  Khēt rāhā Mīrān jī ke ḥāth,
  Dhan dhan Sayyīd aur saiddā !
  Larte guerī sārī rāt,
  Kahē halkārē ne bāt.
}

Rājā kī ghūnghat fauj khād gayī sārī

30 { Jab Tārā mārā gayā,
  Mīrān fāteh kārī Kartār,
  Khabar bhayī Pirthī Rāo ko,
  Sun ulīṭ khāī pachhār.
  Ulīṭ khāyī pachhār jī naṁon mīr āwē bharā.
  Kō'ī lāwe loth āṭhā ke yūn hukm āp Rājā kārā
  Rājā fārmāwe bhā'ī kō būlāwe,
  Are ā'ī re bāhiyā mānō bāt ḥamārī !
  Tārā mārā jāwē nā tuṭhē lāj āwē ?
  Are ā'ī re bāhiyā ṭūṭī ḍāṅg-ṭhārī !

35 { Nahnī autār tenge ise jagat miyāni, 
Bār bār janmōn nahnī māthārī. 

{ Is sināgī se hai marūnā khāsā, 
Aro de re bahiyā karo hāl tāiyārī!

{ Rājā sun lājiye mujhe humān dējye 
Gū'ūn jē rāh men karūn mār bhārī.

{ Rājā farmāyā dānkā dilwāyā, 
Aśi sunkar fauj simat kar ārā.

{ Aye Rājpūt wa kitne rājā, 
Hāinge fīl aswār bare bare chhatar dhārī

40 { Pānchon hathyār Rājā āp sājā, 
Tarkash, tir, talwār aur adhāl kārī,

{ Dīā top, sar par līā pahan bakhtar 
Bā'o kamar ke bāh men khosē kātārī.

{ Rājā āp terā lā'o háthī mera 
Jis par jhul kunchan ki hai jhāl kārī.

{ Kishnā chahē pāth háthī ki, 
Aur kādā Megal aswārī.

{ Kishnā háthī pah charhā, 
Yādā Sambhū ko karo.

45 { Thā wub ghusse men bharā 
Holā āge ko barhā.

Rājā liye kāthak fauj Dal bhārī. 

{ Man men yād Sambhū ko kare 
Jāb Kishnā háthī par charhe.

{ Bhā'ī kā baadā lējo ād'ēke 
Yūn hukm āp Rājā kare.

{ Pārthī bāt kāre bāh'ī se 
Tum ād Turē ko nārō,

{ Usko nārō, uskē laskhār lūto, 
Yūn Rājā jawāb thakārō.

50 { Kishnā bāt kahē bhā'ī se — 
Jo bāhānā likhā lelārō,

{ Qismat ko likhe honge sohē, 
Jo rachā āp Kārdro.

{ Rājā be yaqīn nahnū samjhe ān re 
Woh Rājā barā gunvārō!

{ Uske sahe háthī chalen ko men 
Sang beshumār aśwārō.

{ Barī barī tope Rājā jutudre, 
Līye kainchhīn bān sab niyārō.

55 { Rājā pahūncā jāde kāthak dal andur 
Jāhān lothon ki pārē kādro.
The song of Mír ðn Sayyid Hussain.

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{ Chá aur gídh, maí ras ráhe re
  Þur le Shambhú ká nám sáng jd’e gáro.
{ Rájá pahúnhá án jahán thá maidáño
  Þur háthí par se Kishná khara lalkáro
{ Ae Musalmán Mír ðn Sultán lo kahá mónd!
{ Kiá ná laro dn í?

Jín ne mónd bir hamdro.

{ Khabardár khabren dayí
  Kharen káhen Mír ðn se hál
60 { Ran meí marun tabal pair se bajde
  Þuno Zaíd Átí ke lál.
{ Khabardár járús ne khabren dín
  Ají ac ne mónd yá dhd háhí rái.
{ Charhe hál lalkár ke dp Mír ðn
  Þegá khíng sháhíne ká dín djo!
{ Mír ðn ne fardíyá khíng ko mágáyá
  Jín par sín kanchan ki yeh shakal sájó.
{ Charheen Sháikh Sháháb aur asp tokhári
  Charheen Rámí, Halbi aur Irãn sári.

Charheen hál lalkár ke dín kdjú.

65 { Mír ðn pahúnhche án jahán thá maúdán jó
  Gaye bhdá kdyar jáb himmat húri.
{ Jahán ran kambhá gárd Sayyid wáhín thárá
  Þhíre súr se súr sunko sayar bhdáge.
{ Rájá pahúnhá án jahán thá mánídán jó,
  Þur háthí par se khará Kishná lalkáre.
{ Mír ðn khaíre sarmukh dete jawáb,
  Sher sarmukh d’úte kýá rahi gidár mónd láh.
{ Mír ðn ko dekh Rájá kahne lagá,
  Abhí has bálú umr náádán.

Makke ko phir jáyio jú kahá kámará mónd

70 { Lo kahá mónd merá Sultán jó,
  Yuhán náháq ján pváyó.
{ Mín mórdun tumhén láj áwé mujko,
  Yán Rájá jawáb sunáno.
{ Mír ðn kálmón mukh jhárén phúljí,
  Mír ðn sunko bál mukhayáno.
{ Rájá tujhko mórdun tére gárh ko láútún,
  Ae wahú dín náí ká máno.
{ Iná sukhan suná Rájá ne,
  Wuh ghussah jór dál kháno.
75 { Rájá ne apní fayj ko lidá bulaka,
  Þápút BÁ’o kíyá Báno.
The song of Mîrân Sayyid Hussain.

Main pûrî Chauhdûn Bundelâ,
Rahe ranke bîch lay châno.
Main kahân tak sifat karûn Sayyidôn ki,
Jinke sháken jagat bakhâno?
Jis waqt Mîrân pakre shamshe ko,
Râjâ ki sâton súrat gahlâhâno.
Pakar shamshe lai dast men,
So rann ke bîch Mîrân kharo.
Ard Râ'î Kishnâ sun-lîjo
So hál kalmah mukh se bharo.
Ard Râ'î Kishnâ lená mán kahâ!
Parho hál kalmâh Mîrân farmâyâ re.
Rájâh sun páwe ghussâ jî men khâwe,
Unne apnî sawon ko bulwâyân re.
Rájâ hukm kínâ topen dâgh dînd,
Dhûâhâh dâhár ghubâr woh sarsâyîyû re.

'Ashaq falak topen ohhûten dana nan,
Dhan dhan jinnân karke golá aiyûdâ re.
Ká gâ kahâq karke hawâi topân ohhûttî,
Jaise khuk ur súr machâyân re.
Tan man kâfar chogor wahan to golâ barse,
Jaise Indar barsât jhar lâyân re.
Mîrân Sayyid Hussain liye kamân daston,
Ghussah karkar karke karkayîyân re.
Mîrân ke tir ohhûte dke ran men túste
Sánd ná mán karke woh phán ndîyân re.
Lághâ tehâhá chalne sunke káyar bhâgê,
Túste tir talwâro jhan nayîyân re.
Nasd khod bakhtar wahan to giren kat kat,
Lághd tan men sakhm woh hâl kîyân re.
Súr bîr lare ranke darâmiyân jî,
Aur chhûttî se chhûttî bhir jûyân re.
Jogan lâkhâre Shimbhâ sâng gîre,
Woh kâfár úpar naubat aiyûdâ re.

Translation.

1. Shaikh Musâhib was a sage,
And he used to say the morning and evening prayers with Mîrân Sayyid Hussain.
On the advice of Shaikh Shahâb,
He sent for fine raiment.
The song of Miran Sayyid Hussain.

Geren 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,
    Miran was attended by gallant men-at-arms
    Miran mounted his steed,
    And led his troops all clad in a green uniform.
    Countless were the unbelievers, and but few the Turks,
    Miran Sayyid Hussain rode his steed upright.
    When Miran rode his steed upright,
    The drums were beaten.
    Side by Side, calling upon Ali,
    The gallant warriors fought in the battle.

    Thus rode the Miran’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.

    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 Holi 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, guld, which is used at the Holi.
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!
Tárá seeing him advanced, came before him
And the Shaikh cast his lance at him,
But Tárá 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 Tárá,
The Rájá receiving a mortal wound.

25. The infidel lost his life,
And burns in the midst of Hell.
Mírán’s brave youths fought on,
And God was kind.
All the Rájá’s army fled.
The scouts brought in words,
(Saying) ‘Rájá! This is our report:
The field remains in Mírán’s hands,
Honour to the Sayyid and his race!
The whole night passed in fighting.’
Thus spake the messengers.
The Rájá’s army fled in shameful rout.

30. Tárá was slain,
And God gave the victory to Mírán,
When Pirthí Ráo learnt 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 Tárá 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 Rájá! 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, Rájputs 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. Full 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 be 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 Islám:
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 throug Where the dead lay in heaps, Over them hovered kites and vultures.
Invoking Shambhú's name he couched his lance.
The Rájá reached the scene of battle,
Standing on his elephant Krishna shouted aloud,
"Thou Musalmán! Mirán Sultán! Grant me this boon! Why dost thou not come forward to meet me in fight?"
Scouts brought in the news,
And told Mirán this news:

60. "O son of Zaid Ali! In the battle beat the drum!"
Careful spies brought in word
That the Rájá has come forward.
Then Mirán himself mounted his horse, and shouted aloud:
"This is the day to mount our steeds!"
Mirán bade them bring his horse,
On which was a golden saddle.
And Shaikh Shaháb rode on Bokhára steed,
And the men of Turkey, Aleppo and Irán all mounted.
All rode impetuously in the cause of the faith, shouting aloud.

65. Mirán 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 Rájá reached the field of battle,
And from his elephant's back Krishná shouted,
Standing faced him and thus answered his challenge.
Mirán seeing the Rájá, called to him:
"When the lion comes forward, what strength remains to the jackal?"
Seeing Mirán the Rájá spake:
Thou art but young in years and ignorant,
Get thee gone to Mecca, and listen to my words.

70. "Hearken, O Sultán, to my words.
Here thou wilt but vainly lose thy life.
If I slay thee, I shall be put to shame,"
Thus the Rájá answered.
From Mirán's mouth came words like flowers.
Hearing these words Mirán smiled.
"Rájá! I shall slay thee and plunder thy stronghold
Unless thou wilt embrace the Prophet's faith."
Hearing this the Rájá was enraged at heart,

75. The Rájá summoned all his forces,
The song of Miran Sayyid Hussain.

All his Rájpúts, Rá'os and Ránás.
"I am a Chauhán of Bundela,
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 Sayyid,
Whose exploits are known throughout the world?
When Mírán grasped his sword,
The Rájá's seven senses were lost.

80. 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!" Thus 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.

85. 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 boars.
In his hands Mírán Sayyid 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,
Bodies were wounded and cries of pain arose.
Brave men fought in the midst of the battle
Breast to breast.
Jogan Láli saith: Shimbhá threw away the spear,
Now came the time for the dagger.
SECTION 6—SIKHISM AND THE STORY OF BANDA BAIráGÍ.

LIFE OF NÁNÁK.—Nánák, the founder of the Sikh faith, was the son of Kálú Chand,1 a Khatri of the Redi section, and was born at Talwándí,2 a village on the Rávi not far from Lahore, on the full moon day in Kátka Sambát 1526, or 14 years earlier than Luther. His father was a simple peasant, employed by Ráí Bóe, a Muhammadán Rájput of the Bhatí 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 Nánák’s mother, Bbí Lakho, came to see her sister and observing the boy’s indifference to worldly things said to her: ‘Thy son is soft headed.’ Nánák rejoined: Thine will be four times as soft headed; thus predicting the birth of the famous saint l’ába Rám Thamman whose shrine is at the place of that name near Kasár.3

Of Nánák’s life few authentic details have come down to us, and these are contained in a jànmsákhí or biography, assigned by Trumpp to the later years of Gurú Arjan or his immediate successors. This work refers to hymns in the Gran’k Sáhi and must therefore have been compiled after it. Mohsan-i-Fání 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 jànmsákhís, and as it is an early record of Nánák’s life and teaching it may be regarded as authentic in all material points.

1 One account avers that Kálú or Kallu had no sons until one day a faqir visited his hut and was there fed, whereupon he sent some fragments of his meal to Kallu’s wife promising her a famous son. She went as is customary for her confinement to Máí near Koh Kachvá (or Kána Kachba, 15 miles south of Lahore) where her parents lived. Here her son was born and he received the somewhat disparaging name of Nánák, because he was born in the house of his ámat or maternal grandfather. See McGregor’s History of the Sikhs, I, p. 32, and Cunningham’s citio, p. 40, and note. This account is rejected by the better-informed who say that Hardiá, the family priest, drew up the boy’s horoscope and divined for him the name of Nánák 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: Philosophic Hi$t. of the Sikh Religion, by Khánán Singh, Lahore, 1914, p. 55. R. Gurkhah Singh however writes:—“Gurú Nánák’s sister was older than himself and she was named Nákani. 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 Nákani.”

2 Talwándí Ráí-Bulá or “of wit and wealth” is now called Ráipur: McGregor, I, 32.

The date of Nánák’s birth is also given as the 3rd of light half of Dáisákh.

At Talwándí now stands the famous Nákána Sáhip on the site of the house, in which Nánák was born; the Kírán Sáhip, the sacred field into which Nánák when absorbed in contemplation let his father’s cat’s stray but in which no sign of damage done to the crop could be found; a temple on the site where a snake shielded his face with its hood while he lay sunk in contemplation and another where the shade of the tree stood still: Khánán Singh, op. cit., p. 80.

3 Khánán Singh, op. cit., p. 66. Rám Thamman was a Bárrági, and a cousin of Nánák; see vol. 11, p. 87 infra. Thamman-dhánvan, the Grewia oppositifolia or elastica, or dhámar, a grass Pennisetum cenchroides, Punjabi Ficicy., pp. 1123, 295, 204. But possibly thamman is derived from thám, a post or pillar, Sanskr. Sthába and may thus be connected with Stamb Náth, a form of Shiva.
Life of Guru Nanak.

As a child Nanak was devoted to meditation on God, and at the age of 7 he was sent to the Hindu village school, where he composed the 35 verses of the Potti in the Rāg Aṣā of the Granth. Here Nanak 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 Rai Bulār, the son of Rai Bhoe, 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.

Nanak 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 Sultānpur, a town now in the Kapūrthala State, where his brother-in-law Jairāṁ, husband of his sister, Nanaki, was employed as a factor to Nawāb Daulat Khān the Lodī, who after his long governorship of the Punjab called in Babar to aid him against his master's injustice.

At Sultānpur Nanak 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, Māndāna the Dūm, an itinerant musician, who accompanied his improvised hymns on his rabā or harp.

At Sultānpur too Nanak was destined to receive that definite call to the office of religious leader to which he owes his title of Gurū. 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 fame 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 re-appeared.

After this event Gurū Nanak took the decisive step of distributing all that he had among the poor and accompanied by Māndāna he left his house and began to preach. In popular phrase he turned faqīr. His first pronouncement ‘There is no Hindu and no Musalmān’ led to his being cited, at the Qāzī's instance, to appear before the Nawāb, who

1 35, not 34 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 Gurū, Angad, though the name Gurmukhi may have replaced its original name, which was possibly Tānkre. See the pamphlet: The Origin of the Gurmukhi Characters, Coronation Printing Works, Hall Bazar, Amritsar. Sir George Grierson holds that the alphabet is derived from the Sānda through the Taṃki of the Hills and the Sanā script of the plains: J. R. A. S., 1918, p. 677.

2 Subsequently the legend ran that a huge black snake had raised its head over Nanak's head to shield him from the sun's rays while he slept.

3 Māndāna was the founder of the Rabā group of the Dīn-Mīrāī. Cunningham calls him the harper, or rather a chanter, and player upon a stringed instrument like a guitar: Hist. of the Sikhs, p. 42.
invited him to accompany him to the mosque. Nának did so—and while the Qází led the prayers, he laughed. To the Qází’s remonstrances he replied that the latter had left a fool in his own courtyard and had throughout the prayers been anxious lest it should fall into the well. Amazed at Nának’s power of reading his thoughts the Qází fell at his feet and acknowledged his power.

After this incident Nának 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 Nának to Delhi, where he restored a dead elephant to life and interviewed the Mughal emperor. Besides Shaikh Sajan he encountered many other thags, whom he converted. At the sack of Sayyidpur he was captured by Bábár’s troops and carried off, but coming under Bábár’s own notice he was honourably used and set at liberty. But he soon set out on his second or southward pilgrimage. That he ever reached Ceylon or formed there a sangal (congregation) of his disciples is hardly probable, and if he did so few authentic details of this journey have been preserved.

At Sálkot he heard that Hamza Ghans 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 faqir. Receiving no reply he stood up and gazed at the lofty tower in a vault of which the faqir had shut himself, and burst open its walls so that the sun fell on the face of the recluse. This saint had promised sons 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. The Ber Bábá Nának still commemorates this incident.

On his 3rd tour the Guru who was returning from Russia and Turkistán reached Hassan Abdál in 1520. On the top of the hill was a spring of water. Its summit was occupied by Wali Qandhári, a Muhammadan saint, who grew jealous of the Guru and refused to let

1 Khassa Singh locates Sajan at Túlambá and places the incident in the second tour. The Shaikh inveigled Mardána into his house and maltreated him, hoping to secure the Guru’s accumulated offerings in his possession. Túlambá had been in Túlám’s time a considerable centre of religious learning for his biographies speak of his students, uimds and shaikhs: E. H. I., III, pp. 413, 458, cited in the Multán Gazetteer, 1901-02, p. 372f. No mention of Sajan is traceable. But at Chawalí Mubáhíkh in Maláis tahási is a Darbárá Sáhib of Bábá Nának: ib., p. 123. So also at Nígáhá there is a shrine to Bábá Nának north-west of the shrine of Sakhi Sarwar: Dera Gházi Khán Gazetteer, 1898, p. 53.

2 This must have occurred in 1524, and though Nának does not mention the occurrence in the Granth, it may well have happened. In this pilgrimage to the East Nának supplemented his imperfect schooling by constant dialectics with Muhammadan Shaikhs and other faqirs. He then returned to Talwändi.

3 Khassa Singh, p. 76.
Mardāna drew water from it, so the spring dried up and re-appeared at the spot where the Gūr had halted. The Wali cast a huge rock down from the hill upon it, but the Gūr stopped the rock with his hand, leaving an impression of it on the hill-side.\(^1\) Thence he continued his tour through Siālkot and witnessed the sack of Saídpur, near Emin-ābád, which he had foretold.\(^2\)

Again Nānak returned to Talwandi, but only to make thence his third pilgrimage northwards into Kashmir, where he climbed Mount Sūmnera and had a lengthy discussion with the chiefs of the Jogīs and according to some accounts with Śiva 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 Qāzi, Rukn-ud-Dīn, he challenged him to lay his feet in any direction where God's house did not lie, and wherever the Qāzi turned Nānak's feet, there appeared the Ka'aba.\(^3\)

Gūr Nānak's fifth and last pilgrimage may be regarded as purely allegorical. He went to Gorakh-hātri where he discoursed with the 84 Siddhīs, or disciples of Gūrakh Nāth. A temple exists at Nānakmāta in the Kumāon or Nainī Tāl Tarai, about 10 miles from Khatīma, a station on the Rohilkhand-Kumāon Railway. Not far from this place are still to be found several maths of yogīs, from one of which sweet soap-nuts (mitha reta) are obtained by the mahānt at Nānakmāta. Two such trees are known in the Almora district; one at the place called the Gulās reta by the hillmen, the other on the road from Lahughāt to Dhunnaghāt. It appears that where new shoots spring from old decayed trunks, the fruit they bear loses its bitterness. Gorakh-hātri may be the name of some math of yogīs in these hills. 'It was also,' observes S. Gurbakhsh Bakhsh, 'the name of a well-known math at the Indian end of the Khaibar Pass, about two stages from Peshāwar. Bābar, 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-Khātri at Peshāwar. Other authorities say that this the Gūrū's last pilgrimage was to the East and that it took him to Gorakhmāta or Nānakmāta.

Other accounts give more detailed and less ambitious accounts of the pilgrimages. On his first the Gūrū visited Eminābād where he meditated on a bed of pebbles (ror) where the Rori Sāhib now stands.\(^4\) Here he composed a hymn in which he reproached the Khatris for subsisting on alms wrong from the people and expounded the merits of earning a livelihood by honest labour.

\(^1\) Khasān Singh, p. 101.
\(^2\) Ib., p. 102.
\(^3\) The cholo or cloak said to have been presented to him at Mecca is preserved at Dūra Bāba Nānak. It is inscribed with thousands of words and figures: Gurdaspur Gazetteer, 1914, p. 30.
\(^4\) Khasān Singh, p. 70.
Nānak went to several other places also. At Haridwār 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 Jagannāth 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 Kābul, Baghdād etc. But this pilgrimage is rejected altogether by the reforming Sikhs.

Nānak died at Kartārpur on the banks of the Rāvi in the Jullundur District in the house of his family, with whom he appears to have been reconciled. Before his death he transmitted his Gurūship to Lāhna, surnamed Angad, the second Gurū, by a strikingly simple ceremony. Nānak laid five pice before Angad and fell at his feet. This event occurred in 1537 A. D.

The successive Gurūs transmitted their office by this rite, but later on a cocoanut was also laid before the successor thus appointed. Gurū Nānak also went four times round his successor and then said that his own spirit was gone into his body so that he was from that moment to be regarded as Nānak himself. It is now a common Sikh belief that each Gurū inherited the spiritual light of Nānak and the doctrine is as old as Mohnsin--ul-Fānī.

Bhāi Budha, a Jāt, affixed the tilak 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 Nānak and referring to the devastation of the unripe crops wrought by Bābar’s troops said that he was afraid of being untimely carried away by the angel of death. Nānak replied: ‘Thou art old (Budha) not young.’ So he was named Bhāi Budha and lived till 1627. The significance of the tilak is well known. It is often if not generally affixed by a dominant or autochthonous agricultural class and in this instance the choice of Bhāi Budha represented the Jāt recognition of the Gurū’s chiefship. To his sons’ protests against their father’s choice of Angad, Gurū Nānak replied that not even the Gurū’s dogs suffered want, and that they should have clothes and food enough. In accord, probably, with this tradition, we find the Nānakputra or descendants of Nānak employed towards the close of the Sikh period in banda-bhārā, a practice whereby traders entrusted goods to a Nānakputra who engaged to convey them for a stipulated sum from Jagādhri to Amritsar, then the emporium of the Sikh states, paying all duties. The Nānakputras, from the sanctity which attaches to their persons, engaged enjoyed certain exemptions and were less subject to molestation from custom-officers’ emptiness than others.

1 Angad is said to mean ‘own body’ (fr. ang, Sanskr. ‘body’), because Lahna obeyed Gurū Nānak’s order to eat of a corpse which vanished when he began to do so: McGregor’s Hist. of the Sikhs, I p. 49, and Malcolm’s Sikh, p. 208. But a more probable account is that he was blessed by the Gurū and proclaimed as flesh of his flesh and blood of his blood; as the Gurū’s self, in fact.

2 Als eine Art Reicheapfel (Trumpp, Die Religion der Sikhs, p. 11)—cf. Murray’s History of the Punjab, I, p. 169. But Khasa Singh says that the cocoanut was used at Gurū Angad’s nomination.
Nának’s attitude to Islám is illustrated by several incidents in the above sketch of his life. To these the latter jānamsākhīs make many additions, which at least record the traditional attitude of the earlier Sikhism to Islám. Thus immediately after Nának’s election for a spiritual life he is said to have been visited by Khwájá Khízr, the Muhammadan saint, who taught him all earthly knowledge.

The traditional account of Gūrū Nának’s funeral also records his attitude towards the two religions. When the Hindus and the Muhammadans both claimed his body he bade them 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. Nának expressed his religious thought in verses, composed in Panjábi, which form no insignificant part of the Granth. Nának was absorbed, to use the Sikh phrase, on the 10th of October 1538 (the 10th of the light half of Asauj, Sambat 1596).

His successor, Gūrū Angad, was a Khatri of the Trifthun section, who had fulfilled the Gūrū’s ideal of unquestioning obedience to his will. Though perhaps illiterate, the invention of the Gurmukhī alphabet in 1533 is ascribed to Gūrū Angad1 and he also had much of what he had learnt about Nának from Bálā, the Sindhu Ját, a disciple of that Gūrū, 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 munj, thus following Nának’s teaching about alms. His death occurred in 1552 or 1553 at Khādūr near Govindwāl on the Biās, where he dwelt in seclusion since his accession to the Gūrūship. He had appointed his follower Amar Dāś, a Khatri of the Bhalla section, to succeed him, passing over his own sons as unworthy.

Gūrū Amar Dāś 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 manjas or dioceses.2 He also built Kajāravāl. But his most important act was the separation of the passive recluse 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 (laungar) 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.

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1 B. Gurbāksh however writes—“The tradition that the second Gūrū invented the Gurmukhī alphabet is based on a misreading of the spurious book called the Jānamsākhī of Rādī Bālā. Gūrū Angad only secured the Jānampatri or horoscope of Gūrū Nának from his uncle Lulu: see the introductory portion of this addā given in Dr. Trumpp’s Translation of the Granth. The peculiar script of Gūrū Gobind Singh’s letters is an earlier stage of Gurmukhī.”

2 The Panth-Prákāsh calls them gaddis. Manjā means a large couch so that ‘see’ would be a good translation of the term. Cf. Akhār’s 22 provinces: G. C. Nanāng, Transformation of Sikhism, p. 23.

3 Khāsān 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 *jaap,* with sincerity to the last step shall be saved from the 8,400,000 transmigratory forms and go direct to heaven. Gurú Amar Dás also pronounced against the Brahmanical rite of *sati,* 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 *Graňth* are distinguished for simplicity and clearness. Gurú Amar Dás left two sons, Mejan and Mohari, but bestowed the *barkat* or apostolic virtue upon Rám Dás, his son-in-law, as a reward for his daughter's filial love and obedience as well as the worth of Rám Dás himself.

Rám Dás succeeded as Gurú in 1574. He was also a Khatri of the Sodhi section, which has played so preeminent a part in Sikhism. Gurú Amar Dás is said to have found an attentive listener in Akbar, but Rám Dás 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 Rámáspur, 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 idols were set up.

Gurú Rám Dás' poetical contributions to the *Graňth* are clear and easy to understand, reproducing the traditional circle of Sikh thought as enunciated by the earlier Gurús.

This, the fourth Gurú, 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 Bhádon *sudi* 1580, according to the oldest known record, the Sikh community enters on a new phase. He laid aside the rosary and garb of a *fagir* and dressed in costly raiment. Though not, it is sometimes said, a Sanskrit scholar, Gurú Arjan was a man of considerable literary attainments and nearly half the *Adi Graňth* was composed by him.

He also collected the hymns of his predecessors and adding to them selections from the writings of the earlier reformers, Kabýr, Námdeé, Rávi Dás, and others, compiled the *Graňth* or 'Book' of the Sikh commonwealth. A decalogue of ten commandments ascribed to this, the fifth Gurú, 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 Gurús had lived on their own earnings like Angad, or on the voluntary offerings of their followers though these seem to have been in the main earmarked to charitable purposes by Amar Dás, but Gurú Arjan established the beginnings of a fiscal system, appointing collectors, called *masands,* to each of whom was assigned a definite district.

1 Not his eldest son. Arjan's elder brother, Pirthi Chand, had founded a rival sect, the Músá. The eldest son was more than once set aside as personally unfit or not available.

Their deputies were called meorás,¹ a term borrowed from Akbar's system. These appointments indicated an attempt at regular administration. Some writers hint that the 22 sets of manjás of Gurú Amar Dás became the 22 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 Kábul,² Kandahár, Sindh and even Turkistán not only to spread the Sikh faith but also for purposes of trade. He also permitted himself to be addressed as sacha pádshákh or 'true king,' 'Sodhi Sultán,' the Sodhi Sultán.³ 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 Muhammádans, for the famous saint Míáu Mir 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.⁴ In 1590 he founded Tarn Táran.

Gurú Arjan's chief opponent was Chandu Lál, a dinán 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 Islám 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 Seirul mutakhabat—Chandu Lál's hostility predisposed his successor Jahángír against him. It was he who informed that emperor of the Gurú's loan of Rs. 5000 to Prince Khusrú. Indeed 'the Dabistán,⁵' which contains the most probable account of Gurú Arjan's death, says he was accused, like

¹ Khazân Singh, p. 118. Akbar had employed Meorás or Mewátis, of the Mewát, as duk-runner spies and on other delicate duties: An-i-Akbari, I, p. 259. The definition of meorá as 'a Gurú's priest' cited in Vol. 111, p. 86 infra, is misleading.

² Narang, p. 36. He suggests that masand is a corruption of masnad-i-dil or 'Excellent,' a title of the Mughal governors, and that though there are now no Sikh masands the system still continues in the sect founded by Banda, and the masands exist under the style of Bhái (in that sect). But a writer in the Dacca Review for January 1916 (p. 317) speaks of the term as equivalent to sangatia. And he writes: 'The original number' (of the masands) 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 masands, who were in charge of sangatias, were called sangtías or masands, not masands themselves. Trumpp says Gurú Arjan introduced a regular system of taxation, compelling all Sikhs to contribute 'according to their means or other gains.' But this Gurú appears to have established the tithe, dasanákh, dasanákh, 'a regular tenth contributed to the Gurús,' side Randjhi Diety, e. c. In the Western Punjab, at any rate, this title was called sikhi or was replaced by a new tax called by that term.

⁶ According to Khazân Singh (p. 230) these titles were assumed first by Gurú Hargovind.

² Khazân Singh, p. 119. Gurú Arjan's haloa in the Dabbi Bazar at Lahore was also made by the Muhammadan governor, Hosain Khán: p. 121.

⁷ II p. 272 et seq.
Death of Har Govind.

many other Punjab notables, of actual participation in Prince Khurshu's rebellion. It is certain that he was condemned by Jahangir 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.

Arjua'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 Guru 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 Hargovindpur 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 Guru Har Govind fell into the hands of the imperial troops, and Jahangir 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. Returning to Kiratpur the Guru renewed his attacks on the Muhammadan land-owners and imperial officials of the plains. One of his last exploits was an expedition to Nánakmaṭa, in the Tarai near Naini Tál, whose faqir Almast, the Udásí, complained that he had been expelled from his shrine by the Jogis, who had also burnt the pipal tree under which Guru Nának had held debate with the followers of Gorakh Náth. This or another Almast had been deputed by this, the sixth Guru, to Shujátpur near Dacca and hal there founded sangat. This sangat at Shujátpur was called after Natha Sáhib, third in succession to this Almast. In 1636, the Guru restored him to his shrine and returned to Kiratpur.

1 According to the Táhuk of Jahangir he waited upon Khurshu when the latter halted at his residence, and placed the saffron finger mark or tīka upon his forehead: J. A. S. B., 1907, p. 603. The meeting took place at Tarn Tāwā according to Kházán Singh, p. 125.

2 The Sikh accounts aver that Chaudu Lál continued his intrigues against Guru Har Govind and prevailed on Jahangir to demand payment by him of the fine imposed on the father, but the Guru forbade the Sikhs to raise the money. Mián Mír however interceded with Jahangir at Delhi and not only obtained his release but reconciled him to this emperor whom he accompanied on his tour in Rájpátán and who even employed him to subdue the rebellious chief of Nlágarah: Kházán Singh, p. 129. This account is easily reconcilable with that of the Dábstán (II. p. 274) which represents Guru Har Govind as entering Jahangir's service and continuing to serve Sháh Jahán: yet the latter emperor sent troops against him and drove them out of Rámáspur (Amritsār) and plundered his lands there. The Guru was victorious in his struggle with Painá Khán, who resisted the fortification of Hargovindpur, but imperial troops intervened and drove him to seek refuge amongst the Hill States: ib., p. 277. The testimony of Moháin-i-Fáni is in some ways all the more valuable in that he was a Muhammadan.

Macloum's Sketch (p. 82) reproduces a tradition which is not based on any written or authentic proof.

Other authorities say that the Guru was invited by the emperor to Delhi and thence accompanied him to Agra. There misled by an astrologer the emperor requested the Guru 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 Chaudu and other enemies of the Guru to get him out of the way. But the emperor soon realized his mistake, sent for the Guru and at his request liberated many of the hill Rájas imprisoned in Gwalior.

3 Dacca Review, 1916, p. 228, Sikh Relics in Eastern Bengal. The Nánakmaṭa near Naini Tál seems to have been called the 'Nánakmaṭa of Almast'. B. Gurbaksh Singh writer regarding the sangat at Shujátpur: 'The inscription on a stone in the well of this sangat commemorates the name of the original founder and his "Mother Lodge" of Nánakmaṭa. This new sangat was not named Nánakmaṭa, but it was under the Lodge at Nánakmaṭa in Naini Tál, and its priests were appointed or removed by the head at that place.
through Aligarh, Dehli and Karnal. 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. Baba Gurditta, his eldest son, had restored to life a cow accidentally killed by a Sikh. The Gurû rebuked him for this uncontrolled exhibition of spiritual force and the Baba went to the tomb of Budhan Shah, a Muhammadan faqir, where he lay down and gave up his soul. Similarly, Atal Rai, 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 Gurû for vying 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 Kangsar at Amritsar and is the highest building in that town.

Guru Har Govind was known also as the Chhatwan Badshah or 6th king among the Sikhs and so offerings of karah parshad are made at the Darbar Sahib at Lahore on the 6th of every month and the building is illuminated.

On his death at Kiratpur in 1645 his grandson Har Rai succeeded him. Of this Guru we have an account by the author of the Dabistán, who knew him personally. Less warlike than his grandfather, Guru Har Rai still maintained the pomp and circumstances of a semi-independent military chieftain. His body-guard consisted of 300 cavalry with 60 musqueteers, and 800 horses were stabled in his stables. His alliance was successfully sought by another rebellious scion of the Mughal house, Dara Shikoh, who soon perished. Thereupon the Gurû retreated to Kiratpur whence he sent his son Ram Rai to Delhi to negotiate pardon. Aurangzeb received the young envoy graciously, but detained him as a hostage for his father’s loyalty. Har Rai 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 Guru, and as yet a minor. Ram Rai, still a hostage, appealed to Aurangzeb, who seized

1 His prowess as an archer is still remembered for he would shoot an arrow from Srigovindpur to the shrine of Damdama, a distance of about half a mile: Gurdaspur Gazetteer, 1914, p. 17.
2 Khazan Singh: Lahore, its History etc., p. 137.
3 Macauliffe places this event in Sir. 1701 (= 1644 A.D.) but this appears to be an error. The Dabistán gives the year as 1645 and its correctness has now been proved, by a manuscript recently found in Eastern Bengal. Its author had seen this Guru at Kiratpur in 1644 A.D. Macauliffe rightly rejected the Hindusing version of the Guru’s death, according to which he caused himself to be shut up in Patiphuri and bade Guru Har Rai not to open the door till the 7th day, when he was found dead: Dacca Review, 1916, p. 375.
4 Gurditta, his father and Har Govind’s eldest son, had become an Udasi, and this disqualified him for the office of Gurû, now a quasi-secular chiefship. From a tent-peg driven in by him sprang the Tahib Sahib, a large skharam at Gakhar Košî, a village in the south-west of Shkargarh tahsil: Gurdaspur Gazetteer, 1914, p. 17.
5 We do not know why Ram Rai was passed over. As a hostage he may have been held ineligible. A somewhat similar incident occurs in Baháwulpur history. According to the Sikh accounts he had misquoted a verse of Guru Nanak: Khazan Singh, p. 145. An early tradition recorded by the Court Historian of Maharájá Ranjit Singh makes Ram Rai, the brother of Har Rai, son of Baba Gurditta, on being superseded appeal to the emperor, who would not or could not help him, and upheld the election. Baba Gurditta had married a second wife much against the wishes of his father, and Ram Rai was his son by that wife: see the Udâyâl-Tawârikh by Lâl Saheb Lâl, Suri. Vakil, Lahore Darbar.
the pretext for interference in the Gurú's domestic affairs and summoned Har Kishan to Delhi. There he died of small-pox, after declaring that the Sikhs would find the next Gurú in Bakála, a village on the Beás. Disputes regarding the succession inevitably arose and some of the Sodhis set up a Gurú of their own, while Rám Ráî urged his claims in reliance on imperial support. This, however, only alienated his own followers, and despairing of success he retreated to Dehra Dún, where he founded a sect of his own.

1) At length in 1664 Teg Bahádur obtained recognition as the 9th Gurú. Teg Bahádur 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 Bahádur. His personal likeness to Bháb Bhádab was also striking. Nevertheless his recognition was keenly contested by Dhir Mal, the elder son of Gurdítta, the Udásì, and Teg Bahádur was driven to seek refuge on a piece of land which he purchased from the Kahlúr Rájá. Here in 1665 he founded Anandpur. Still harassed by his opponents the Gurú set out on a progress through the Málwa country—a tract still dotted with shrines, tanks and dhármsálás which commemorate his visits. Then he wandered through the Kurúkshetra, 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 Bahádur's itinerary 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 network of Sikh organisation had been spread as far east as Patna and even Dacca, where a masand was posted. Dacca indeed became a hazúr sangat or provincial sangat, at first under the

Sikh authorities say that 22 Sodhis of Bakála each claimed to be the rightful Gurú, but they all failed to stand the test of divining what sum one Makhan Sháb, a Labána, had vowed to offer the Gurú when he escaped shipwreck.

2 Trumpp is almost certainly wrong in making Dhir Mal a son of Gurú Rám Dás: Adi Granth, p. cxv. He is cited by Malagan, §§ 101 and 104. The genealogy given in the latter paragraph should be as follows:

4th Gurú Rám Dás.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pirthi Chand (Mal).</th>
<th>Mahádev.</th>
<th>5th Gurú Arjan Dás.</th>
<th>6th Gurú Har Govind.</th>
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<tr>
<td>The Mínás.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bábá Gurdítta.</td>
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<td>9th Gurú Teg Bahádur.</td>
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Dhir Mal.

7th Gurú Har Ráî. 10th Gurú Gobind Singh.

Rám Ráî, founder of the Rám Ráîtas.

Khasin Singh does not say whose son Dhir Mal was, but he states that he had possession of the Granth and supported Rám Ráî's pretensions: pp. 180-81.

3 We also find he Gurú assigning the offerings of Hánái and Hímat to Gálara, a masand who lived at Chhi̇kka.
The death of Teg Bahadur.

pontifical throne at Anandpur and later under the takht or archbishopric at Patna. The sангатs 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 masand, a term equivalent to viceroy. When in 1666 Teg Bahadur visited Dacca he found prosperous sангатs at Sylhet, Chittagong, Sondip, Lashkar and elsewhere and by the time of Guru Govind Singh Dacca had earned the title of the home of Sikhism. 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 Bahadur. At that period the Aroras went north to Kabul and Kandahar, Balkh, Bukhara and even Russia, while the Khatri monopolised the markets of Eastern and Southern India. Hence when Teg Bahadur was persecuted by his Sodhi brethren and when even the mutsaddis of the temple at Amritsar shut its doors against him he found adherents in the Khatri communities dotted all over Hindustan, the Deccan and Eastern Bengal. These colonies probably preserved the secular Khatriya tradition of the independence of thought and freedom from Brahmanical control.

The enterprise of the Sikh missioners 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 Malayalam, in which country he found stray colonies of Bhatra Sikhs and met Mayudaman, grandson of Shivanáth, 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—Airapati Naik. This and other indications would fix his date soon after the battle of Talikote in Akbar's time. Other details as regards topography are also substantially correct. This account places Shiv Náth at Jaffna, in the extreme north of Ceylon. Sikh temples still exist at Rameshwar, Salur, Bhaker and Shivkanji in Madras and Colombo in Ceylon. Old temples also exist at Burhanpur, Súrat,

1 There were four of these takhts or 'thrones' at Anandpur, Amritsar, Patna, and Nander (Haidersbad, Deccan).
3 Ib., 1916, p. 377 f.
4 Ib., 1916, p. 376. Tromp plicated 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 yagya in the principal temple in Ceylon. The name given in the Sikh books is Shivnáth and not Shivanáth. Náth in Buddhist literature means an evil spirit and ndih has sacred associations as in Padam ndih etc. It is quite possible that the name was changed on purpose and the Sikh books give it correctly as known at Jaffna. Another explanation is that Shivnáth in Persian character was misread as Shivanáth by early chroniclers. Even in Gurmukhi Shivnáth is apt to be misread as Shivnáth, the letters ñ and :init being so alike. For a similar reason Banda would be obliged to call himself a Khatriya instead of a Khatri in the Deccan, where the term Khatri is used for Dhéj weavers.
The Sikh conflict with the Rājās.

Bombay (and Mahalakshmi, Grant Road), Amrāoti, Nirmal (District Adilābād—in the Nizām’s Dominions). Manuscript copies of the Granth Sāṁrit are to be found at Burhānpur and Sūrat, and another old copy with one Bolaji Tripathi at Lonovala (Poona).

The sangat at Colombo is in Colombo fort and a Brahmin Misra Javāla Parshād is now in charge. A Sindhi firm—Toπān Singh, Moθuwal—claim to have been established in Ceylon from before Gurū Nānak’s time. Their head office is at Karachi and their munī 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 Khatrīs have been established in Burhānpur from very remote times, and are found as far south as Madras, where a Khatrī, Rāja Tuljāram, lived not many years ago in Tirmalkheri (Madras town).

At Salur where Gurū Nānak is supposed to have held discussions with yogis many māths or yogī temples are found.

Meanwhile Aurangzeb’s policy was bearing fruit. In his attempt to Muhammadize India he had excited grave opposition and Gurū Teg Bahādūr recognised that if Gurū Nānak’s acquiescence in the Moslem sovereignty was to be revoked his own life must be the price of the revocation. Accordingly he sent the Kashmirī pandīts 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 Kshatris. Gurū Teg Bahādūr, the foremost among them, is now seated on the throne of Gurū Nānak and is Gurū of all the Hindus. If thou canst 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 Gurū to Delhi and he replied that he would come after the rains. That season he passed at Saifābād2 with Saif-ud-Dīn whom he converted and then dismissing all his followers save five, among whom was his dīwān, Matī Dās Chhibra, he set out for Delhi. At Samāna a Paθhān offered him a refuge, but the Gurū went on to Delhī. There he was seized and resisting every inducement to forsake his faith was eventually put to death. To his son Govind Rāi he sent a dying message to abide fearlessly in Anandpur. Govind Rāi, then a boy of 9, received this behest at Lakhnaur, whence he and his mother retired to Anandpur.

There he received his father’s head, which was cremated at that place. Govind Rāi was then acknowledged as the 10th Gurū in 1675.

The Sikhs’ relations with the Hill States.

The first of the Hill Rājās to accept the teaching of the Gurūs was the Rājā of Haripur, in Kāŋgara. He was permitted to see the Gurū

1 Gurū Nānak, it was said, had promised Bābar the empire for 7 generations. Six emperors of his line had reigned, and Teg Bahādūr would offer his own life in lieu of the 7th.
2 Saifābād lies 4 or 5 miles from Patiala.

Govind Rāi was here visited by Bhikham Shāh, owner of Kuhrām and Šāna, 4 miles from Lakhnaur, and of Thakās which the emperor had bestowed on him. Govind Rāi guaranteed his possession of Thakās during the future Sikh domination. Govind Rāi’s close connection with leading Muhammadans 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 Gurú Har Govind had subdued Tárá Chand, Rájá of Nála-garh, who had been in revolt against Jahángír. He was brought before the emperor and the Gurú for his services obtained the honorary command of 1,000 men and 7 guns, with high judicial functions and other honours.

In 1627 Gurú Har Govind was invited by some of the Hill Rájás to visit their territory, but he sent Bábá Gurditta, his eldest son, to the (Jasván) Dún and Hindúr (Nála-garh) and he founded Kiratpur in that year.2

In 1635 however we find Gurú Har Govind himself visiting Tárá Chand’s territory 3

In 1642 he joined forces with this State and helped the Rájá to defeat the Nawáh of Rúpar.4

About 1656 we find the Sikhs reducing the Rájá of Kahlúr (Biláspur) to submission.5

In 1632 Rájá Bhím Chand of Biláspur, in whose territory the Gurú Govind Singh was then residing, demanded gifts which included an elephant called Parsádi (or loans which he did not intend to return) from his guest. He deputed his wázir, Parmánand, to obtain these exactions, but the Gurú declined to lend the offerings of the Sikhs. The Rájá’s personal threat of expulsion was equally ineffectual and so he attacked the Gurú but was routed, losing many men.6

In 1684 Gurú Govind Singh visited the Sirmúr territory at the Rájá’s invitation and founded Páonta on the banks of the Jamna.7

Bhim Chand’s defeat, however, had rankled and he leagued himself with the Rájás of Goler, Kafoch, Jasvál, Káthgarh and Nála-garh against him.

In 1685 they attacked him at Páonta and won over 500 Paṭhánś who had been discharged from the imperial service and whom he had

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1 Khazáñ Singh, p. 118.
2 Ib., p. 133.
3 Ib., p. 136.
4 Ib., p. 139.
5 Ib., p. 143.
6 Ib., p. 164. The Sirmúr Gazetteer, p. 15, gives a slightly different account. It says that the Gurú declined to surrender an elephant to Rájá Bhím Chand and Hari Chand, both of Biláspur, so they compelled him to leave Anandpur, then in that state, and he came to Toks whence he was brought to Nahan by the Rájá of Sirmúr. Thence he proceeded to Páonta. Meanwhile the Biláspur Rájá had returned the presents made by the Gurú to Rájá Fateh Sháh of Garhwal whose daughter was marrying a Biláspur prince. This insult determined the Gurú to prepare for war and at Bhargáni, 8 miles from Páonta, he defeated both Hari hand and Fateh Sháh. The Gurú resided at Páonta from 1686 to 1689: Ib., p. 112.
7 Ib., p. 166.
employed on the advice of his friend Budhu Sháh of Sádhaura. An
equal number of Udásis also deserted him though they had long been fed
on his bounty, and if Budhu Sháh had not joined him with 2000 disciples
the day would have gone against him. The Guru then left Páonta for
Anandpur and founded Anandgarh, Lohgarh, Keogarh and Patālgarh
to keep the hill states in check.¹

The attempt of the Delhi government to collect revenue from the
hill Rajás however led some at least of them to change sides, for we soon
find the Guru aiding them with troops to repel a force sent against
them. Bhím Chand too had certainly concluded peace with the Guru,
and the Biláspur chronicles even say that in alliance with him he
defied the imperial authorities at Kánga and defeated the governor Alif
Khan at Náduan,² but many hill Rajás joined Ghulám Husain Khán
in his expedition from Lahore.³ Before he reached Anandpur however
he was opposed by one of the hill Rajás who aided by forces sent by
the Guru completely defeated him.

But in 1700 disputes arose about fuel and grass and Rajás Bhím
Chand and Alam Chand with the help of the Rajás of Biláspur and
Nálagarh attacked the Sikhs in the forest, only to be completely routed.
Bhím Chand⁴ then convened a council of the Rajás of Sirmu'A, Kánga,
Daraul, Panau, Dadvál, Srínagar (Garhwál) 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 Kiratpur. The history of this episode is obscure. The Guru was
apparently on friendly terms with the Raj of Basauni and in 1701
he concluded peace with Bhím Chand once more, though he had been
the leader of the confederacy against him. Soon after the Guru visited
Rawál sar in Mandi.

Guru Govind Singh is said to have come up into the hills from Bilás-
pur at the end of the 17th century and went as far as Sultánpur in Kulú.
There the Rajá asked him to perform a miracle whereupon the Gurú

² Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Biláspur, p 6. The year of this victory is not stated
but it appears to have been won late in Bhím Chand's reign. 1665-92 A. D. E Gurbaksh
Singh points out that it must have occurred before 1755 at any rate, as in that year
Gurú Govind Singh wrote an account of all these engagements. The elephant came from
Dacs. Unfortunately neither this letter nor the one that followed a few months later is
dated, but they were certainly sent after 1718 S. which is the date of the first letter,
written while peace still prevailed, though war material was being collected. So the
hostilities must have commenced between 1744 and 1755 S., more probably nearer the former
date, say about 1749 S. or 1692 A. D. Gurú Govind Singh's letter to the ancestors of the
Páli chiefs, now preserved at Patásin, is dated 1753 S. It invites them to aid him with their
horsemen. This appears to have been the last engagement of Gurú Govind
Singh with the hill Rajás, and an account of it is given in the introduction to his Bichitra
Nátd, completed in 1755 S. The dates of these engagements therefore fall between 1748
and 1755 S.
⁴ Khazán Singh says Rajá Bhím Chand of Biláspur, but a few lines before he writes
as if another Bhím Chand were meant and in this he is correct for Bhím Chand of Biláspur
had abdicated in 1692: Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Biláspur, p 6.
took hold of his own beard and drew it out to a great length, but the Rájá in his turn breathed out a flame which consumed the Gurú’s beard and also had him imprisoned in an iron cage. The Gurú then caused himself to be carried through the air, cage and all to Mandi, where the reigning chief—Rájá Sidh Sain, A.D. 1684-1727—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 Muhammadans. He remained some time at Mandi and the Rájá became his disciple. On his departure he told the Rájá to ask anything he might desire and it would be granted. The Rájá 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:

Mandi ko zab látenge,
Asmáni gote chhútenge.

“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 Mahárája 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 Mahárája’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 Gurú 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 Nao Nihál Singh, grandson of Ranjit Singh. Mandi was occupied and the Rájá taken by treachery and sent as a prisoner to Amritsar, where he was confined for some time in the fort of Govindgarh. In the following spring, soon after the accession of Mahárája Sher Singh in January 1841, the Rájá 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 Kulu—including those of Kamlágarh, the famous Mandi stronghold which till then was a virgin fortress.

The Sirmúr Gazetteer (p. 15)—which is silent regarding the events of 1700-01—says that Kirat Parkásh, Rájá of that State from 1754-70, turned his arms against the Sikhs, taking Narángarh, Morni,
The Sikhs in Kangra and Chamba.

Pinjaur and other tracts (from them apparently). He then entered into an alliance with Rājā Amar Singh of Patiāla.

According to the Bilāspur chronicles Mahán Chand, Rājā of that State, 1778-1824 A. D., waged war with the Rājās of Nālāgarh and Kangra and the Sodhis of Anandpur, but they do not state expressly that the Sodhis were in alliance with those states. 1

An account of the latter Sikh incursions into the hills will be found in Barnes' Kangra Settlement Report, §§ 56-82, and one of their rule in Kulu in Sir James Lyall's Kangra Settlement Report, §§ 82-5. No attempt was apparently made to proselytise the hill people and to this day a Rājpat is very rarely a Sikh. Nevertheless there were a few Sikh shrines in the hills at Pāonta, in Sirmūr, and at Haripur in Mahlog is a gurdwārā, the see (gaddī) of a sect of gurūs widely reverenced by Sikhs and Hindus in the lower hills and adjacent plains. This see was founded by Jawāhir Singh, 2 who appears to have been the great-grandson of Ganga, founder of the Gāngūshārfs (Volume II, p. 278).

Elsewhere in the hills hardly a trace of Sikhism exists. In Kangra Nānak's teachings resulted in the foundation of a shrine near Rāniwāl, but it differs little if at all from any other shrine in Kangra. It is called Bāwā Fathu's shrine.

Three hundred years ago a Brahman of the Bhari śilāqa in Rāwalpindi asked Bedi Bāwa 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 Bedi, who kept him with him. So Bāwā Fathu became a sādhu and people began to pay him visits. The Brahmans of the shrine are descendants of Bāwā Parjapati, a bhagat of Gurū Nānak. The fair is held on 1st Baisākh.

In Chamba Sikhism never obtained a footing.

The first mention of the Sikhs in connection with Chamba is in the reign of Rāj Singh (A.D. 1764-94), when that Rājā obtained the help of the Rāmgarhia Sardārs against Jammu and Basohli in 1774-5. In the following year the state became tributary to Jai Singh Kauhiye 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 Kangra group passing into the hands of Sansār Chand of Kangra. 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 Rāj Singh of Chamba in 1782, referred to by Forster.

1 Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bilāspur, p. 7.
3 Chamba Gazetteer, p. 89
5 ib., p. 101.
In the inner mountains of Bhadraváh and Kashtwár, Sikhism seems never to have obtained any real footing. Kashtwár was under Muhammadan rulers—who were nominally at least subject to the Durránís in Kashmir and later to Ranjit Deo of Jammu, and finally to the Rájáś 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 chiefs 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 Rángarhia misl who had probably in the first instance been called upon for help in the way described.1 He assisted Ráj Singh of Chamba in expelling the Basohli army in 1775 and the latter state received help from another misl, probably that of Jai Singh Kanhiya in 1782-8.2 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 misl and the latter from the Sukarchakia misl, 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 Rájáś 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 Rájpút chiefs "were an object of special aversion, for they represented the ancient aristocracy of the country, and declined to countenance an organization in which high caste counted for nothing."3

Among the common people however a certain amount of veneration was developed for the personality of Nának and his descendants called Bedis. 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 80 years ago this usage spread almost all over the state, but more especially in the Churáh wizárat 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 chákiś (nearly an anna) in cash and one máńi of grain (4 kaáchcha sers) 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 typhus, 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 State, parallel with the Bāri dhār. A fair is held on the 1st Asauj. Dughli is the name of the place. The temple was erected over the tomb of an Udāsi faqir of noted piety. It is a resort of Udāsis, and the local people have converted the original saint into a god.¹

Gurū Govind Singh.—We now come to that great historic figure, the 10th and last Gurū of the Sikhs. Surrounded during his childhood by Hindu influences, Govind Rāi succeeded to his office under every temptation to remain within the pale of orthodox Hinduism, and indeed one tradition asserts that his first act was to ascend to the temple of Nainā Devi which stands on a precipitous hill overlooking the Sutlej. Here the Brahmins called on him to sacrifice one of his four sons to the goddess, but their mothers refused to surrender them for this object, and finally five Sikhs offered their heads. One of them was duly offered to the goddess, who promised a world-wide fame for the Gurū’s creed. Mythical as the story undoubtedly is, it does not do more than show that Govind Rāi was in no way hostile to Hinduism at his accession. But it is not accepted as even metaphorically true by more advanced Sikh opinion. The cult of Devi is no doubt often alluded to in the Sikh writings and histories. Thus Gurū Angad’s father had been a devotee of Jawalamukhi, but the Gurū himself was not. His successor Amar Dās had been a Vaishnava, but he was a firm adherent of Nānak’s teaching. Nevertheless we hear of no explicit condemnation of the cult of Devi until the time of Gurū Govind Singh whose ideas were opposed by the priests. They proposed the performance of a great homa rite for the propitiation of Durgā, so that she might appear and bless the new Khālsa sect, and they also preached the power of the goddess, persuading the Sikhs to make offerings and sacrifices to her in order to obtain invincibility. The Gurū assented to the proposal in order to prove the hollowness of this cult of Devi and a peak close to Nainū Devi was chosen for the rite. The recitation of hymns began in 1697 and was kept up for a whole year, the chief pandit constantly prophesying her advent and finally declaring that she would require the sacrifice of some holy person, hinting at the Gurū’s eldest son. But the Gurū suggested that the pandit’s superior sanctity qualified him as the victim. This suggestion led the pandit to depart, never to return, and his companions followed suit. The Gurū cast all the accumulated ghī &c. into the great fire pit and declared that the sword he held in his hand was the Devi’s symbol. She did not appear. Then the Gurū feasted Brahmans, but expounded to them the brotherhood of man.

¹ Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bāghal, 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 Gurus 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 Gurus and the orthodox cult of Devi. The story goes that Guru Govind before embarking on his campaign against the Turks sought the aid of Nain Devi. He brought with him a Brahman of Benares and for months kept up the hema.2 At last the Devi appeared and the Guru, 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 Gurus' 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 reappeared and promised prosperity to his sect.3

Guru Govind Singh was, however, bitterly opposed to Islam. The execution of his father called for retribution, and the Guru early instituted the pahul or rite of initiation whereby a chosen few 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 Guru altered his cognomen, whatever it might formerly have been, into Singh,4 he himself assuming the style of Govind Singh instead of Govind Rai.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 kippa or small knife with an iron handle round which the kes is rolled and fastened to the head 6: (some authorities give instead the khasa or steel knife)7;

and the kangha or comb.

1 Khazan Singh, pp. 170-73
2 Simla Hill States Gazettor, Bilaspur, pp 13-14.
3 According to some writers the Guru initiated five Sikhs only by the pahul. Each was styled Bhai, to denote that he was spiritually a brother of his follows. These appear to be the five alluded to below. Their names were Sahib Singh, Daya Singh, Himmat Singh, Dharma Singh and Mohan Singh.
4 Lit. 'lion.' Singh had long been an affix of names among the military classes of India, though not, I think, confined to Kahatriyas (Temple, Proper Names of Punjabi, p. 14).
5 A precisely similar change of affix is usual (i) among faqirs—on entering a religious order, and (ii) among heirs to the crown—on ascending the throne.
7 The error is due apparently to the fact that the pahul of Guru Govind Singh was called the khanda pahul or initiation of the dagger, whereas Banda initiated by the charan pahul, whereby the initiate drinks water in which the Guru's foot (charan) has been washed: Khazan Singh, p. 219. 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, Aiatie Researches, XI, p. 285, Cunningham, p. 79.
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 In Sikhism the number 5 has always had a mystical significance. Guru Govind Singh deputed 5 chosen Sikhs to Banda's army, and bestowed on him 5 arrows to protect him in extremity: Jap., p. 167.

2 Macauliffe, in Cal. Rec., 1881, p. 162.

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 stir it 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 rules or rites of Sikh conduct are also explained to him. The solution is called amrit, and amrit chakna, '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 (hon) and a true Kshatriya. Finally kardh prashad (hallowed, sweetmeats) is distributed among those present: Narang, p. 81, cf. p. 78. At initiation the Sikh also becomes a son of Mata Sahib Devi, the childless wife of Guru Govind Singh, who asked for issues and was told she would become the mother of the whole Khalsa: Khazr Singh, p. 166. Women are also initiated by the khandh pahul and Khazr Singh says that Mughal and Sayyid women were so initiated in 1750. They were taken in marriage by the Singhas: p. 249. On the other hand Macauliffe says that Guru Govind Singh appears to have mixed instructions regarding the forms of prayer for women or their initiation in the new religion. Nevertheless they offered him homage in his wanderings, ministered to his necessities and received salvation from him as he reward of their attentions. Childless women who visited him miraculously received the gift of children. Mothers, he indicated, could expiate the dread crime of (females) 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 saintly and childless Ml Bhago, attired in the Sikh kachh and a pecha or turban, armed with a ponderous javelin, commanded a body of the ten faithful Sikhs with whom she watched over the Guru in his nightly slumbers: Cal. Rec., 1881, p. 76.

Pandit Sone Narain, R.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 bald, 'shaken' or 'stirred,' he ascribes its origin to Guru Nauk. In its inception the rite consisted of washing a toe of the Guru in a basin of water which was then drunk by the initiate who had had to spend some time as a novice in the service of the Guru of his order and attain a certain degree of self-abnegation. Bhai Kahan Singh states that the initiate also drank water touched by the foot of another devout Sikh, 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 manja or manad of the Guru. But Guru Govind Singh greatly elaborated the rite and changed its significance.

At the khandh pahul, instituted by him, an iron vessel is filled with water and sugar, wafers are mixed in it. Instead of being placed below the manad it is set in front of it. The presence of the Granth Sakh is indispensable, together with a reader (granthi) and five initiated Sikhs, of pure and unblemished character, called piddas. (The Granth now-a-days represents the Guru and the five piddas the original five companions.) The novice constantly matters the Wad, 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 its tacitly assenting the granthi exclaims: Sat Guru de-ágaya, 'the true Guru has assented.' Then prayers are offered. The Guru's spiritual presence invoked and the novice blessed by the ministers who assume the kirdar or soldierly pose. One of them holds the vessel with both hands, another fills it with water, a third puts 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 incessantly, while he recites the Japji, Jap Khakh, Chawd and Satgur from the Granth. He then passes the dagger to his colleagues who repeat the rite. On his return to him he also repeats the rite, but recites the Anand. 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-ágayá. Then the five ministers approach the candidate who repeats the mid-mantra (root text), the first stanza of the apji, five times. Instructed in the
He also wore blue clothes, a colour abhorrent to the Hindu, though anciently worn by Balrāma himself. He also avoided the use of tobacco.

Lastly, the Gurū enjoined ablution of the head, arms and thighs (panj nanish, or panj ishnād, i.e., washing of 5).

The first initiates of the Gurū 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 Kahár of Jagnānāth, a Jät of Hastānpur (Delhi), a Chhipa of Dwārka in Gujarāt, just, one may say, the very classes among which Sikhism has had its fewest converts.

The Gurū also denounced 5 bodies of men, viz. (i) the Mina-Dhirmallia sectaries, (ii) the Rām Rājās, (iii) the musandias,4 (iv) the kurimdrē, or those who destroyed girl infants, and (v) the bhaddanis, who shaved their children’s heads. The Gurū also denounced certain practices, viz. the use of the jāne, the karma or belief in metempsy-

essentials of the Sikh creed he bows before the Granth and sits in a soldierly posture. Five handfuls of amrit are placed in his hands and he repeats the Wāh Gurū ka khālia etc. over each. He then sanctifies 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 more than one novice be initiated at the same time the cup is passed from mouth to mouth to obliterate all caste scruples.

The addition of sugar to the water is accounted for by the following episode:—

Gurū Govind Singh intended to use pure water in the rite, but Mātā Sāhib Dewān brought patāshas and mixed them with it. The Gurū remarked that he had meant to use water stirred by a sword, but the Wāh Gurū intended otherwise. The sweetness added signified that although a Sikh should be a soldier yet he should enjoy peace at home, with God, his Gurū and the world and that he is only to fight defensively. Tradition adds that once the Gurū spilt some of the amrit and the birds drank it and began to quarrel. The Mātā Sāhib to avert this omen persuaded the Gurū to mix patāshas in the water. Women also receive the pahul, 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, show how fundamentally it differs from the ritual significance of baptism. A similar custom will be noticed among the Baloch.

1 But Muḥammadāns often prefer blue to any other colour for clothes. No Sikh will or should wear clothes dyed kasumhā, or saffron, the favourite colour of Hindu devotees. Govind Singh escaped disguised in blue clothing when he escaped from the battle of Chamkaur, pontonning a priest of Uch.

2 Cunningham (p. 79) following Bhāi Gurdās Shalla says ‘Krishna’ but Balrām is alluded to.

3 The list was clearly an appeal to the non-existent sentiment of nationality.

4 The causes of Gurū Govind Singh’s hostility to the musandias are quite obscure. Malcolm says he put to death many of this tribe etc., and described them as ‘a sect who call themselves Gurūs or priests, and endeavour to introduce heterodox doctrines’ : Sketch in As. Res., XI, p. 286. They opposed him in his propaganda of the sword, rebelled, established their own sects, and were the sangattias referred to in his letters.

Other Gurūs retained their musandas and at Ghurānī in the Sāhibgarh tahsīl of Patīāla the Marwāhs Sarāf Khatri’s are still musandas of Gurū Rām Rāj in Dehra Dūn. They are descendants of Bhāi Bālū of Gondwāl in Amritsar who was appointed by Gurū Amrī Dās and whose mail was at Dūla in Ludhīāna. They now serve the gurdwārā in Dehra Dūn and also the darbārs of Mātā Rājākaur at Manī Mājra and Bābā Gurdīsa at Kirātpur. Phulkian States Gazetteer, 1904, p. 95.

5 Cunningham, pp. 78-9. For bhaddanie P. Sheo Narain says ‘huqa-smokers’ (nāpi-mdhr) is now substituted in the pahul rite, but aloofness from either class is now regarded as impracticable.
The Sikhs of Banda.

113 H.

chois, the distinction of castes (khelas), and division of classes. Their watchwords must be Kritnâsh, kulaâsh, dârmnâsh, karmnâsh. 'For-sake occupation and family, ritual and ceremonies.'

The transition from theocracy to monarchy.—Gurú Govind Singh perished or disappeared in 1708, a year after Aurangzeb had died in 1707. He was succeeded as military leader, but not as Gurú, of the Sikhs by Banda, the ‘Slave’ of the departed Gurú once a Bairâgî devotee but converted to the Sikh faith by the Gurú’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. His rule was, however, too short to be an enduring influence in Sikhism, for in 1716 he was captured by Abdul Samad Khán, governor of Kashmir and the Punjab, and put to death at Delhi.

The Bandái Sikhs. —The régime founded by Govind 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 Gurú’s was the famous Banda. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 was followed by dissensions among his sons. Govind Singh found a protector or at least a sympathiser in the emperor Bahádúr Sháh, but he was not able or willing to restrain the activities of Banda. This man had a curious history. By birth a Rájput of Rajauri in Kashmir he had changed his name of Lachhman Bala to Narátin Dás at the shrine of Rám Thamman near Kasúr and became a Bairâgí in 1686. But in 1691 he became a Jogí and an adept in occult science with the name of Madho Dás. Meeting the Gurú, probably at Nader, he was given the title of Bahádúr, with that of Banda which he had earned by his submission to the Gurú, together with five arrows and other weapons. But he was not initiated with the pahul and while imparting to him his spiritual power the Gurú 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 Gurú, but live in peace with the Singh.

Banda proceeded to wage open and relentless war on all Muham-
dans and he was joined by the Singhis. He exacted vengeance for

1 According to Cunningham, p. 74.
2 Ib., pp. 94-5.
3 Another account makes Banda also a Punjab Khatri of the Siáklot District—perhaps of the Kapúr section. The verses quoted at the end of this section also make him a Khatri of the Sodhi clan. He was married in a Mehr or Marwáhá family. The former would make him a Kapúr or a Khanna and the latter a Sodhi according to the endogamous laws prevailing in the Punjab. See note on p. 722.
4 He possessed a volume called the Sikh Amuní, compiled by a disciple of Gorakhnâth: Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion under Banda in Calcutta, 1881, p. 155.
5 This is very uncertain, as indeed is the whole question of Banda’s relations with Govind Singh; see Khán Singh, pp. 198-200. There seems some reason to believe that he had been active before the death of Govind Singh and possibly it was that Gurú’s death which caused the leaderless Sikhs to flock to his standard.
6 Other authorities say he was so initiated.
the execution of Guru Teg Bahadur and for the treachery of the Pathans of Damla. Moreover he reduced Sadhaura in spite of its adherence to the Guru,\(^1\) and some four months before his death he destroyed Sirhind with merciless slaughter. To its province he appointed a governor and a disan, 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 Rama Khalsa of Paial,\(^2\) and after exacting contributions from Muler Kotla and Bal.ot he retreated to Mukhtasgarh in the hills, renamed it Lohgarh and provided it with immense stores, but he himself retired into the Joharsar hills for religious meditation. Meanwhile the Sikhs met with defeats at Tirauri and Kharar,\(^3\) but were joined by Banda at Burail and a victory there enabled them to regain Sirhind, which they had lost. But he failed to take Jalalabad by siege and after defeats at Ladwa and Shalabhad in 1709, Sirhind was re-occupied by the Muhammadans and the Sikhs retired to the hills. Banda had apparently again retired to Lohgarh whence he emerged for another advance on Sirhind and regained all the country lost by the Sikhs.\(^4\) But again his triumph was short lived as he met with a crushing reverse at Saharanpur-Buria on the banks of prince Rafi-us-shan and was driven back to Lohgarh. 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 Mughals, killing Shams Khan, a faujdar, and Bazid Khan. The emperor issued an edict that all Hindus should shave off their beards and that all Singhis should be indiscriminately massacred, a step which led to the slaughter of thousands of Hindus on suspicion.\(^5\)

1738 S.

Bahadur Shahn'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 Rajas of Sirmoor, Nalagarh and Bilaspur to submit formally to his allegiance. He reduced the Muhammadan jadidars of Rupar, Bassi, Kiri and Baholpur to a similar position, and in 1714 was strong enough to hold a regal darbar at Amritsar, at which he appeared in royal dress with an aigrette on his head.\(^6\) His

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1 Khazin Singh, op. cit., p. 208.
3 Lohgarh, the Sikh name for Mukhtasgarh, stood on a steep hill a few miles from Sadhaura. Ral. Khan calls it Dher. Its site is now only marked by a mound on a hill encompassed by two mountain streams: G. C. Narang, p. 110. It must not be confounded with the fort in Gurdaspur, also styled by some Lohgarh, ib., p. 114. But the precise site of this latter Lohgarh is also in dispute. It is identified with Gurdaspur itself and with a village still called Lohgarh near Jinnagar, but its site is probably a mound in Bathwai, a village one mile north of Gurdaspur: Gurdaspur Gazetteer, 1914, p. 18.
4 Khazin Singh, says Tirauri, Sirhind and Kharar, and then observes that the third battle took place at Burail. He probably means Tirauri in the province of Sirhind.
5 Ib., pp. 211-12.
6 The Raja of Sirmoor was charged with having allowed him to pass through his territory and was sent a state prisoner to Delhi: ib., p. 214.
7 Ib., p. 315.
8 Ib., p. 216.
next step was to take Gurdaspur, Pathankot and Batala, which last named town he gave up to indiscriminate pillage and massacre, beginning with its wealthiest quarter, the muhalla of the Qâzis. These events were followed by the reluctant submission of the Kângra chiefs.

In 1713 Farrukhsiai'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 Lohgarh 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. Farrukhsiai next tried to use the influence of Gurâ Govind Singh's widow against Banda, who was excommunicated on eight counts in that he had married, started a new creed, substituted a charan pakhul for the Sikh khanda pakhul, invented the war-cry of fateh daras (victory of faith), in lieu of the Sikh war-cry, attired himself in royal robes, styled himself the 11th Gurâ and claimed to rule the Sikhs, his followers being called Bandâi instead of the Singhs of the Gurâ. Banda's answer to these charges was significant. He said he was merely a Bährâgî qâfîr 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 Khâlsa.

This edict led to the disruption of the Sikhs, the true or Tat Khâlsa 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 Ambâla whose faujîlâr they defeated. But all his efforts at a reconciliation with the Tat Khâlsa 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 resuscitated himself. Refusing the offer of some Singhs to place themselves under his leadership he retired to Bhabbar on the Chenab in the Riâsi 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 Khâlsa 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 Singhs retaliated. In 1725 they proclaimed their intention of holding the Diwâli fair at Amritsar, but the Bandâi Sikhs, still more numerous than the Singhs, disputed the claim. It was settled by lot and most of the

1 According to Macauliffe (Calc. Rev., 1881, p. 159) he prescribed garments dyed with safflower and red turbans in lieu of the blue clothes of the Sikhs.
2 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 Gurâ and offer heratombas of Sikh opponents to Kâli, 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 kâpar or sacred cup of the malevolent deity: Calc. Rev., 1881, p. 159. Kâpar =skull.
Nádir Sháh's invasion.

Bandáí Sikhs went over to the Tat Khálasa, being initiated by the khanda pahul. Confused, desultory fighting ensued with the Imperialists, but in 1731 a Sikh force surprised their main body at Bhilowál, 20 miles from Lahore, and then Farrukhsíár 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 Kapúr Singh of Faizullapur, then working a hand-pankha, was decked in the imperial robe, and proclaimed Nawáb. Whatever the truth of this story may be, Kapúr Singh became a notable figure among the Sikhs. He had succeeded his father as leader of the Singhás who subsequently formed the Faizullapuria misl in 1915, and in various battles received no less than 43 wounds. It was considered a great honour to be initiated by him and among many others Ala Singh, Rájá of Pátiála, and many of his relations received the pahul at his hands. He paved the way for the Khálasa's rise to power and its transformation into a monarchy. He appears to have designated Jassa Singh Ahlúwálía as his successor in the leadership of the Khálasa.

The Singhás or their leaders however certainly accepted the Dipálpur, Kanganwál and Jhabal parmanas in jágir and abandoning plunder contrived to subsist on its income. But as their numbers increased they divided in 1734 into two dals or armies, one called the Budhá or veteran, the other the Taru or young. The latter had five patthás, companies or groups, viz. the Shahids, Amritsarias (headed by Khátris of Amritsar), the Dallewálías (headed by Khátís of Dallewálá) that of Bábá Kahn Singh, and the Ramdásís (headed by Rámísh or Mazhabi Singhás). These dals fought in unison, especially in the submontane tracts along the Jammu 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 Banda’s relations with the Rájpút 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 Bátálá and Kalánuar, and whither he fled when imperial troops were sent against him. In 1716 however he again emerged from his strongholds, falling upon the two towns just mentioned and sacking them with much slaughter of the Muhammadans, including the famous family of Shaikh-ul-Ahmíd. But some of the hill Rájás sided with the Mughál governors, for Abdul Samad Daler-jang, governor of Lahore, set out in pursuit of him assisted not only by the hākins of Eminábád, Pasúr, Páttí and Kálánuar but also by Rájá Bhím Singh of Kátoch and Dhrúva Déva of Jásrota.

But Nádir Sháh’s invasion in 1738-9 appears to have led indirect-

2 Ib., pp. 277-8, where an account of Kapúr Singh is given which totally negates the idea that he ever worked a paháka.
3 O. C. Nirmal calls it the Tarúna dal, p. 126. Neither form is given in Maya Singh’s Punjabi Diet.  
4 Its leaders were Bhilón Jás and an Ablúwálía: ib., p. 237. The Dallewálás of the Tarú dal appear to be quite distinct from the Dallewálás misl.
5 Ib., p. 259.
ly to a general combination between the Mughal governors and the Hill Rájás 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 Mughal villages and Nawáb Kapúr Singh had refused to join Nawáb Zakarlá Khán, governor of Lahore, in resisting them. A demand for restitution of half the booty wrested from Nádír Sháh was rejected by the Sikhs and this exposed them to the enmity of Hindus as well as Mughalans.

After Ahmad Sháh’s invasion of 1748 a proclamation issued for their extermination. About 15,000 Sikhs had collected in the dense jungle of Káhnuwán which Lakhpat Ráí, 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 Pathánkot, only to find the passes all blocked by the Hill Rájás under orders from the governor of Lahore. Finally they broke through towards the south and directed their course towards the Málwa. This fight was known as the Chhota Ghallughara. Again in 1756 when Adína Beg, governor of Lahore, fled before Ahmad Sháh’s invasion of that year he sought protection under the Hill Rájás.  

After Banda’s execution the Sikhs waged implacable war against the Mughalans, but made no attempt to establish an organised government. In 1748, Cunningham states, the ‘dal’ of the Khálisa, ‘the army of the elect,’ was proclaimed by Jassa Singh Kalál, one of their ablest leaders and head of the Ahlúwáliá misl, and a few years later he struck coins in the Mughal mint at Lahore with the legend: "Coined by the grace of the Khálisa in the country of Ahmad, conquered by Jassa the Kalál." In 1761 when Ahmad Sháh retired from the Punjáb after his great victory at Pánipat, Jassa Singh attacked him while he was crossing the Bías 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 vahínt, who was Hindál’s successor at his shrine in Jandíála, turned against the Singh’s and tampered with Nának’s biography. He had destroyed hundreds of innocent Singh’s and now called in the aid of the Abdálí whose forces in 1862 raised the siege of Jandíála which the Sikhs abandoned, concentrating at

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1 G. Kál Chand Naráng, Transformation of Sikhism, p. 114, citing Muhammad Qásim’s Ibráhímdáma, p. 51
2 Jb., p. 244.
3 Jb., pp. 247-8
4 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.
5 Cunningham, p. 105 G. C. Naranj gives the inscription:—
Sikká sadd dar fahán hafasát-i-Ákál,  
Máulk-i-Áhmad giríst Jassa Kalál.  

Which would give rather a different meaning. He adds that the Sikhs used the old Mughal mint and that Jassa Singh was styled Pádshah by his own followers, but the Sikhs never regarded him as such, nor did he claim any superiority over the Khálisa: p. 147. Lepél Grisho says that ‘Ákál,’ not ‘Khálisa’ is the correct reading, but he points out that no such coins are extant and that the gásis and mulláhs very possibly struck a few to incite Ahmad Sháh’s resentment against the Sikhs: The Rájás of the Punjáb, p. 461.
6 Khuzán Singh, p. 255.
the siege of Sirhind which they would probably have taken in that year but for the advance of the Shāh’s forces, allied to the Muhammadan chiefs of Māler Koṭla, Baroch and other places. Their great defeat at the hands of the Abdālī near Hathūr—the nada ghallu 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 Abdālīs were concerned, and the generally received account is that in 1762 Alā Singh of Patiala received the first title of Rājā 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 Nānakshāhi or Govindshāhi rupee which bore the inscription:

Dag wa Teg va Fatih nusrat be drang,
Yāfi az Nānak Govind Singh.
“Guru Govind Singh received from Nānak,
The Sword, the Bowl and Victory unfailing.”

This inscription was adhered to in the main by later Sikh chiefs, including Ranjī Singh, though petty chiefs occasionally inserted the emperor’s name. It was also retained by Nābha, 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 1:00 Sāhib Singh Bedi, a descendant of Bābā Nānak, ‘pretended to religious inspiration,’ collected a large force, invested Ludhiana, took Māler Koṭla and ‘called on George Thomas to obey

1 Khāzān Singh, p. 255.
2 Khāzān Singh however gives a different account of the Abdālīs’ ‘lease’ of Sirhind Province to the Patiala chief. According to him it was offered by Ahmad Shāh in 1766 to the ‘kathaus’ of Māler Koṭla and the chiefs of Rāikot, but they refused it owing to their fear of the Sikhs. It was accordingly carved to Alā Singh with the title of Rājā-I-Rājā. Mahindar Bahādur and he was at the same time permitted to strike coin in his own name. The Singh chiefs declined to accept jāgrees offered to them through the Rājā. Khāzān Singh adds that he was not under a religious ban for his submission to the Abdālī: p. 260.
3 See Griffin’s ‘Etat’s of the Punjab’ pp. 28, 285-8. For the curious inscription or the coins of Patiala and Jind see pp. 286-7.
4 Khāzān Singh, p. 264. The deg, lit. a big cooking vessel, typifies the earth which produces food for the world: ib. p. 507. Teg Bahādur had disclaimed that designation, saying that he aspired to be called Deg Bahādur or ‘the lord of bounty’ not ‘lord of the sword’: ib. p. 150. Cf. Cunningham, p. 69, 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 Bedi soon retired north of the Sutlej.

THE SIKH RÉGIME.

The Sikh government was a curious mixture of theocracy, democracy and absolutism. At its head stood the Gúr, and in later times the Mabháraj. Below them was the Gurúmatṭa or council of the Gúr 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 Gurú 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 Khála sarms, 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 Gúrújí ká Khálṣa! Wáh Gúrújí ká fátēh.’

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 Muhammadan, high or low, as a token of union in a common cause. The Akális then proclaimed: ‘Sirdárs! This is a Gurúmatṭa,’ whereupon prayers were again said aloud. The chiefs then swore on the Granth 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 Gurúmatṭa 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 assembly of committees, termed panch or panchá-

1 Cunningham, p. 131.

2 Macauliffe, indeed, states that the Gurúmatṭa was established by Gurú Hargovind (Calc., Rev., 1891, p. 63), while Cunningham says that perhaps the first regular Gurúmatṭa was held in 1763 when the army of the ‘Khálṣa’ 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 Gurúmatṭa, it is most likely, was founded by Gurú Govind Singh in pursuance of his general and well-defined policy, especially in view of the fact that with him the line of the Gurús would end. In 1763 the Sikhs had no known democratic leader and their whole policy was on the verge of a complete reversal, from democratic theocracy to monarchy.

Khalá Singh gives a very different meaning to the term Gurúmatṭa. He applies the term to a resolution passed by any assembly of 5 orthodox Singhas, the Gurú (Govind Singh) having laid it down that wherever 5 such Singhas were gathered together the Gurú must be considered as present among them, and enjoined that all affairs of State or religion must be considered at such an assembly: p. 285. But he adds, ‘all state affairs were carried out by Gurúmatṭas (resolutions of a cabinet-council) and the resolutions passed were strictly adhered to.’

3 Lepel Griffin: Law of Inheritance to Sikh Chiefship, p. 50

4 Murray’s History of the Punjab, pp. 131-2.
The Sikh confederacies.

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 10th and last Gurú. Thus Babá Nának bequeathed his spiritual office to Lehna, a Trihúm Khatri, who took the title and name of Gurú Angad. His two sons were not even initiated as Sikhs and his office descended to Amar Dás, a Bhalla Khatri, who had served him in the capacity of a water-carrier. Amar Dás left a daughter, on whose husband Rám Dás, a Sodhi Khatri, he bestowed the bārāt or apostolic virtue, as a reward for her filial love and obedience. It is also said that Rám Dás' wife obtained from Gurú Amar Dás 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, Rám Dás' 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 Pirthí Chand aspired to the succession, but his son Har Govind, although only a boy of eleven, was acknowledged as Gurú. Har Govind was succeeded by his grandson, Har Ráí, the younger son of his elder son, Gurđitā.

Har Ráí also left two sons—Rám Ráí, the offspring of a hand-maiden and Har Kishen. The latter was duly acknowledged, but died in childhood, and the succession passed to Teg Bahádur, the third son of Har Govind. From him it descended to his only son Govind, the tenth and last of the Gurús. But on his death in 1708 the line of the Gurús came to an end, for, in anticipation of his death, after he had been mortally wounded by one of Painda Khán's two sons, he appointed the Granthi Sáhib as his successor, with the customary rites of a Gurú's installation, and entrusted his Khalsa to the bosom of the ever-lasting Divine, declaring that the appointed ten had accomplished their mission.

Gurú Govind organised the Sikhs as a militant democracy. He

1 Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, pp. 258-4.
2 Pirthí Chand however retained a few followers, called Mínas—according to Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, p. 57 n. His descendants held Gurú Har Saháin in Ferozepore.
3 This is Murray's account—in his History of the Punjab, i, 97. Cunningham, however, speaks of Dir Mal as Gurđitā's younger son: p. 64 n.
4 Khasán Singh, p. 208.
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 (*pahulias* or Singhs) formed the Khalsa; the 'chosen' or 'elect,' the commonwealth or state of the Guru and year by year the sarbat Khalsa or whole Sikh people met once at least at Amritsar during the Dasehra. This commonwealth was organised into a number of *misls* 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 *johras* or camps.

The following were the Sikh *misls*, 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 1769</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>The Bhanges, so called because they were addicted to hemp (<em>bhang</em>).</td>
<td>Jāts</td>
<td>Amritsar</td>
<td>Amritsar, Tarn Tāran, Gujrat, Wasirbād, Siālkot and Chiniot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Nishācies, or standard-bearers, from <em>nihāna</em>, a standard.</td>
<td>Khatris and Raṅgretias or converted war peres, Tokhās or <em>Bhārās</em> (carpenters) and Jāts.</td>
<td>Anandpur</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Rāmpurtias from Rānpur, a village near Amritsar.</td>
<td>Kalās</td>
<td>Kapūrthala</td>
<td>Hargovindpur, Bālā and Vokerian <em>parganas</em> on the Biās.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Aḥūwāliias, from Aḥūl, a village near Lahore.</td>
<td>Kalās</td>
<td>Kapūrthala</td>
<td>Nūrmahal, Talwādi, Phagwāra, Kana Dhillon, and Hariāna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Kambia or Ghania, from Ghani, a village near Lahore.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Sōhīn</td>
<td>Ajrāla, Sōhīn, Nag, Surdāspur, Dehra Bābā Nānak, Kalgūjra, Paṭhān-Koṭ and Surjānpur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Paṭialtupurias, or Singhpurias.</td>
<td>Jāts</td>
<td>Jullundur</td>
<td>Jālandhār, Haibatpur, Paṭījī etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Sūkṛ-Chakias.</td>
<td>Jāts</td>
<td>Gujranwāla</td>
<td>Gujranwāla, Kūjā etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Dallawālīas.</td>
<td>Jāts</td>
<td>Rāhon</td>
<td>Nakdār, Talban, Bādās, Rāhon, Phillaur etc.</td>
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1 *Pahul* possibly means 'gate,' Gr. *pate*; if this is so, the idea underlying the rite has some striking analogies with the modern Pers. *bāb*. But a better explanation is that it means 'whetting,' as a blacksmith hardens soft iron.

2 *Khalsa* for *Khalsā*; Ar.: lit. pure, special, free. In India its original meaning was apparently "crown province" or domain: *Tabagāt-i-Nāsirī, Raverty’s Travestia*, II, pp. 745, 767 *bis*, 768 n. Khalsa was originally used to denote the followers of Guru Govind as opposed to the Khulisam, i.e. those of Guru Nānak, but this latter term has now fallen almost entirely out of use.

3 Cunningham, p. 112.

4 *Misl* is also an Arabic word, meaning, literally, 'alike' or 'equal.' For the equality among the Sikh Sirdars see Lawrence’s *Adventures in the Punjab*, pp. 191, 193 (*k*).

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 're-cruit.' It occurs at least as early as 1849 in Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* (pp. 75 n. and 379) but *lambär* (from number) appears to have been adopted quite as early by the Sikhs.

6 Not to be confused with the Dallawālīas of the Taru Dal.
# Sikh divisions.

## The four dehils.

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Shah dés, or 'martyrs'...</td>
<td>Jâts</td>
<td>Shálisádpur</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nakkiás, from Nakka...</td>
<td>Jâts</td>
<td>Chándián</td>
<td>Chándián, Bahávál, Khem Karan, Rhúdiáen etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Panjarpéhiás or Krom-Singhias, who were divided into: (a) Sháím-Singhan and (b) Kalsias, the latter being further subdivided into Land-pindian and Barámpindian or Birk and Jaládián.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Bhúngá</td>
<td>The Karorfs got Nawabad, Burka, Basán, Pinodorián, Hoshárpur, Bhang and Kathári.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Phálikán...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Patía, Nábha &amp;c.</td>
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### Territorial divisions.

The Sikhs formed several territorial groups. The two principal divisions were, and still are, the Mánjhi and Málwá. The former derived its name from the Mánjha or 'mid land' and originally included all the Sikhs north of the Sutlej, while the term Málwá was applied to all south of that river, though the Málwá only includes the tract which lies between Sirhind and Sirsa. But besides these two divisions minor groups were distinguished. The Sikhs settled in the Sindh Ságárd Doáb were known as Dhanigeb Singh, and those in the Chínhat Doáb as Gujárat Singh. Those of the Rachna Doáb were designated Dharpí Singh, the term Mánjhi being sometimes confined to the Sikhs of the Mánjha proper. The Sikhs in the Jullundur Doáb were known as Doába Singh, and those of the country south of the Sutlej as Málwá Singh.  

### Taxation.

From the tracts of country which the Sikhs subdued but could not hold, they exacted rákhi 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 home men 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 73,000 horse and 25,000 foot. Twenty years later Franklin declared they mustered 248,000 cavalry, but, apparently on George Thomas  

1 Kharán Singh justly describes this as a religious rather than a military body: p. 280. It was a militant order of Sikhsim, but not to be confused with the Akálís or Nihangs, as G. C. Narang appears to suggest: p. 180. Founded by Dip Singh, a Jât of Pohi in Amritsar, its most prominent member was Suan Singh.  

2 Sometimes called, quite erroneously, the Nagarias.


4 Murray, I, 31.

5 Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, p. 118 et.
Further notes on Sikh sects.

authority, subsequently reduced their effective strength to 64,000, within 1800, only 40 field guns.

In later times the Sikhs enlisted Muhammadans in their light cavalry and they were called *gurcharas*.

*Sikh quoits.*—According to Osborne the quoit is an arm peculiar to the Akális. 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 Akális are said to be able to lop 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 ... *loke kí mála*, of iron beads.
- Nánakpanthís ... *sphatsk*, white crystal.
- Kókas ... *ún kí mála*, black (and white) beads of wool.

Sikhs also use a rosary of 27 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, but it retained the late Mughal pillar, pilaster and *mihráb*, with flatness of relief, absence of under-cutting, a free use of geometric diapres, incised in line merely, in relief or in framed lattice-work.²

The following notes supplement the account of the Akálís (Vol. II, p. 9) and that of the Nirmálás (III, p. 172):

*The Bibekí Akálís*—The strictest of the Akálís acquired the title of Bibeki (from a Sanskrit word ‘meaning discrimination’) or ‘the conscientious’ and engrained 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 *janeo* 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 substantive 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 *kanghi* a comb became *kangha*.

Some Akálís call themselves Nihangs, from *nihang* ‘a crocodile.’ Their high-peaked turbans are said to have earned them this title from

¹ L. N. Q., IV, § 146.
² Journal of Ind. Art, I, p. 29.
Gurú Govind Singh, but another version has it that during one of Zaman Sháh’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 or dambálá (‘high-tailed’) was not adopted by them till Ranjit Singh’s time when the example of Bholá Singh, a gigantic Akáli 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 Gurú Govind Singh who escaped by donning the blue garb of a Muhammadan pilgrim to Mecca and personating a priest of Uch when he was driven from Chamkaur and pursued into the wastes round Bhatinda.

According to Macauliffe2 the Nirmalas do not deem the paktú or rite of initiation of vital importance though they are baptised Sikhs. Many do not wear long hair and for the kachh they substitute the loosely tied langota or loin-cloth of the Hindu faqîr. Above all they wear the ochre-coloured bhagwa, a colour forbidden to all true followers of Gurú Govind Singh.

Some account of the Sanwal-sháhís, 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 Cháwal-sháhís appears correct, since their founder Somán was an Arora of the Chávala section. The title of Sháh was bestowed on him by Gurú 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 Gurús, and when the tenth Gurú gave amrit to his disciples Mihar Sháh, a descendant of Somán Sháh, was allowed to take it also. Hence the Gurú added the title of Singh to that of Sháh and his descendants still bear the double title. The Gurú also conferred on him the right to levy sikhi3 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 hand-writing, a drum, a hammer and 5 sers of khichri. He was enjoined: (1) to keep alive the memory of kál (death) and Ākáli (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 bachans (sayings) and bánts (hymns) composed by the Gurú. Many people of all castes, Brahmans, Achárajís, Bháts, Khatrís and other Hindus became his disciples. His followers are to this day found in Kábul, Kandahár, Khos, Bangash and Dawar, as well as all over the Western Punjab. They pay an annual masrând as well as dues at marriages and deaths.

3 Sikhi was equivalent to the dasvandh or else replaced that tithe, the right to collect which had been abused by the masandás.
Mihar Shāh Singh's son, Gharib Shāh Singh, followed in his father's footsteps. Of his three sons, Himmat Shāh Singh, Samran Shāh Singh and Sanwal Shāh Singh, the eldest had a son Sundar Shāh Singh, whose descendants, found in Isa Khel, Lakhi and Banno, are known as Sundar Shāhias. The descendants of the other two sons are found in Bhakkar and Dera Ismā'il Khān. Of them one family went to tahsil Rangpur and one to Odo-Sultān in Jhang. The Sanwals must not be confused with the Bhāi Khel, who are not Chāwalas but Hojās. They collect naṣrāna in the Western Punjab and pay a fixed contribution to the Gurūs of Gurū Kot and Har Sahāi in Ferozepur but do not act as their agents, and if they cease to pay their quota they cease also to collect naṣrāna. All affect the title of Singh, whether they wear the keś or not. The Chāwalas Sānwal-shāhias take brides from the Utrādha Aśoras and give them to be Bhāi Khel and others.

**SOME SIKH SHRINES.**

The principal Sikh shrines are at Amritsar and in the Gurdāspur District. A description of them here would require too much space, but a few notes on the lesser shrines in Gurdāspur and elsewhere may be of interest.

In Gurdāspur the mandir at Dehra Bābā Nānak is visited by Sikhs on the Baisākhi, on the puranmūshi in Kātik, the Diwāli, and from 21st to 23rd Phāgān when the Chola Sāhib ceremony is observed. Built in 1744 S. the mandir contains the tomb of Gurū Nānak. Its affairs are managed by an Udāsī mahānt who is celibate and succession is governed by spiritual descent. A bhog of karāh parshād is offered every morning and on fast days milk is offered as such.

At the Tāhli Sāhib mandir no fair is held. Bābā Sri Chand is said to have cleaned his teeth here with a dātan (toothbrush) and to have planted it in the ground. From it sprang the tāhli tree, after which the temple is named. Portraits of Gurū Nānak and his son Bābā Sri Chand are painted on its walls. Its affairs are managed by an Udāsī mahānt who is also celibate. Food cooked in the temple is offered to the Granth. Another Tāhli Sāhib has a similar origin. It also is in charge of an Udāsī mahānt.

At the mandir of Sri Chola Sāhib annual fairs are held on the puranmūshi in Kātik, Baisākhi, Diwāli and on 21st, 22nd and 23rd Phāgān. It is called after the Chola Sāhib or 'gown' preserved in it. Founded in 1941 S. it contains a Granth and its affairs are managed by Bāwās, but its puṣjāri 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 mahānt. Another Sri Chola mandir is visited on 21st, 22nd and 23rd Phāgān. Founded in 1947 S. it contains nothing but the chola. Its puṣjāri is a Bedi who is not celibate A bhog of flowers is offered in the morning.

A shrine of peculiar interest is the mosque (masjid) of Gurū Har Gobind Sāhib. No fair is held here. An adversary of this Gurū in the
service of Sháh Jahán complained to the emperor that the Gurú was biased against the Muhammadans, whereupon the emperor held an enquiry. The officers entrusted with it came to the Gurú and found him building this mosque, but the precise year of its foundation is not known. Its affairs are managed by one Sáín Pohu Sháh, a Qureshi. The Imám is held in respect both by the Hindús and Muhammadans.

At the mandir of Manjí Mátá Sáhib no fair is held. It is said that the mother (máti) of Gurú Bhág Singh, a descendant of Dhír Mal, performed her devotions on a bed where the present temple stands. The date of its foundation is not known. It contains the Manjí Sáhib or bedstead. Its pujári is a Brahman, appointed by the Gurú of Kartárpur. It is connected with the chief mandir in Kartárpur.

At the Damdama Sáhib mandir a monthly fair is held every puramáshí, and once a year on the Baisákhi.

Gurú Har Gobind used to walk along the bank of the Beás to practise archery. After his death it was revealed in a vision to Bhái Káhím Singh that the point of an arrow once shot had stuck in the tharra or platform which formed the Gurú's seat. He was also directed to build the mandir. Founded in 1855 S., it contains no image, but a Granth is kept in a báradari. Its affairs are managed by an Udási súdhu. A bhog of karîb pashkád is offered to the Granth, a sacred lamp is kept lit and fire burning at all times.

The history of the Darbár Sáhib in Nichla Kalán in Bátála tahsíl, a gurúmádara at which 4 fairs are held, on the Baisákhi, during the shrádha, on Mágh 1st and the Aśvam of each month, is obscure. An old man, it is said, had been given the power to work miracles by Guru Nának. He lived in the village of Rám Dás. After his death, one Sáhib Rám Kaur, seventh in descent from him and blessed with the same gift, was installed on the gaddi. But of his four sons, Kishen Kaar, Mohar Singh, Anúp Singh and Jawábir 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 Nichla Kalán where after Anúp Singh's death a samádhí of brick was built—nearly 200 years ago.

At the mandir of the Darbár Sáhib in Dera Bábá Nának fairs are held on the shankránti or 1st of every Hindu month, and also on the puramáshí. Gurú Nának's wedding was celebrated here in the light half of Bhádon in 1548 S. His father-in-law was Múla, a Khatri, and this mandir was erected in commemoration of the marriage. Mahárája Sher Singh began the masonry building but it was not complete till after his death, according to the jánamsá Kh. The Granth Sáhib reposes in its centre. On all four sides are rooms for parkarmá or circumambulation. On its walls are picture of the ten Gurús. Its manager is an Arora of Bátála, and his duties are to recite the Granth and look after the mandir. Th mantras for worship are shaods or hymns from the Súkhmani and Granth Sáhibs.
Hindús and Sikhs offer cash, grain, clothes etc. At 9 a.m. kacha bhogam or bhog is offered. A bhog of karah is offered on the sankrant, amawas and purnamashi, 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 Gurú Nának rested is much respected by the people.

The Darbár Sahib fair at Barbata village is held on the Baisákhí. Báwa Sri Chand, its founder, came here to meditate on God. The Granth reposes on a Manji Sahib. The pujaí is a Sársut 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 Patá Sahib at Lahore, which includes a number of buildings in a walled enclosure, is the fact that a samásh of Nág deva is found in it side by side with one of Báwa Sri Chand, and another of Kubha Diwán, the hump-backed accountant of Ranjit Singh, to which no sanctity seems to attach.

The Gurú Sar or 'tank of the Gurú' at Khosa Kotla, in Zira tahsíl, Ferozepur, lies near the village where the Manjí Sahib of the 6th Gurú, Har Gobind, is kept. It was founded nearly 100 years ago. An Udási sádhu is in charge and a fair is held on the Mágí festival. Visitors, both men and women, dig earth from the tank and make offerings of grain, gur, milk, cash etc., all of which the sádhu takes to the Manjí Sahib before which they bow. Karah parshad or confection is distributed among them. Earth is also dug from a chhappar or pond of Bábá Andehr, but no fair is held at it.

The sthán or sanctuary of Gurú Har Gobind in Sanir village is also called Gurú Sar. A fair is held there at the Mágí and Baisákhi 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 pujaí is a Soñhi. The Granth is opened on the 1st of every Hindu month and verses recited. At the gurdwára 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 Takhtu. Bábá Nának is said to have honoured it with his presence, and so did Gurús Har Gobind and Gobind Singh. The tank near the temple was made by Ranjit Singh, and some small gurdwáras are attached to it. It is in charge of an Udási.

The mandir at Daroli in tahsíl Moga is called Máta Damodari, and two annual fairs are held at it, one on the Lobri, the other on the Baisákhi. Máta Damodari was a goddess and a disciple of Gurú Har Gobind, and her tomb lies near the mandir. This temple was built in S. 1710. No Brahman is employed as the pujaí 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 maftri near the mandir a lamp is lit every evening. The maftri is also
The temple at Sirhi Mangha in tahsil Mnktsar is known as Guru Nanak ji ká gurudwára 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 dátan or toothbrush which he thrust into the ground. It grew into a tree which still thrives. Some 65 years ago one Bhái Bálá 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 Bháis' descendants and they employ an Udási, who keeps it clean, lights a lamp in the evening, and gives food and water to travellers from the langar. The servants of the mandir had always been sádhus, and succession had been governed by spiritual relationship until the death of Bhái Bilú whose natural descendants succeeded him as he left no disciple. At the fair the Granth is recited and karah parshád offered as bhog to it. Visitors make offerings and receive karah parshád 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 pujáris take all the offerings. No lamp is kept burning.

The Gurdwára known as the Sri Darbárá Sahib is the scene of a fair held from the 1st to the 3rd of May 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, 1767. Ever since then the fair has been celebrated. In olden times the tank here was called Išar or Khandrána, 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 Sardár Udhe Singh of Kaithal. The Darbár Sahib contains a sword, disc etc. Its administration is carried on by a Bhandári Khatri, and by the 11 members of the Darbár 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 rahi-rád 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, Tibbi Sahib, Mukh-manjan Sahib and Tambu 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 Darbár 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 Tambu Sahib is...
so called because Guru Gobind Singh pitched his tent there. It was founded by Mahárája Karm Singh, Chief of Patiala, in 1900.

The mandir in Guru Har Saháj is called ‘Pothi-Mála.’ No fair is held here, but the Baisákhí 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 Guru Nának, and its foundation dates from his time. They are kept by the Guru'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 Chúñáin and placed therein. The gaddi 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 topí, chola etc., which were worn by Guru Nának. He then displays the pothi and mála, provided a naśrána of Rs. 101 is laid before them. Karáh parshád is offered daily as bhog.

When votaries in distant places, such as Bannu, Kohát, Pesháwar, Hazará and Kábul, dedicate offerings to Guru Nának at weddings etc. they are sent to this temple.

The temple at Chúñáin 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 Baisákhí.

At the samádhí of Bhai Sarúp Dás at Bagahke, a fair is held on the Baisákhí. Some 50 years ago the corpse of Bhai Sarúp Dás was burnt at this spot, where his disciple Púran Dás built a samádhí in 1921. The administration of the mandir vests in Bhai Sáhib Dás, a disciple of the late Púran Dás. But an Udásí 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 Bairági sahíku however officiates in the temple, and he receives all the offerings with a fee of Rs. 1-4-0 at every wedding. On the Baisákhí karáh 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 Baisákhí. When Guru Gobind Singh during his war with the Muhammadans 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 chakkhar (disc) and jhonda (banner). No Brahman is employed, but a lamp is kept burning and Hindus make offerings to it. Cash collected is spent on the up-keep of the mandir.

At the Gurudwára in Ropána no fair is held. The people gather there on the Baisákhí and offer karáh parshád. Guru Gobind Singh threw away his used dátan 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 chakkhar, nishán (standard) and other weapons. Its administration is carried on by the present pujári. a Jái No Brahm-
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 Gurú visited this place, and after his departure it was held sacred by the Hindús and Sikhs who bathe in the pond. The use of charas and bhog is not common. A lamp is lighted at the temple.

At the mandir called Faqir Sar in Muktsar tahsil an annual fair is held.

At a pond in Bhondar village a fair is held annually at the Baisákhí. As Gurú 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 saunchi.

At the mandir of Gurú Gobind Singh at Harípur near Abohar, two fairs are held, one on the púranmáshi in Kátak, the other on the Chetar chaundas in Chet. About 800 persons, Bágri Játs etc. attend them. Charn Dás took up his abode in Harípur in 1827, and founded the temple in Sáwan S. 1933. When the people of the Bágar 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 Nársingh, an iron disc, a footprint of Gurú Nának on a stone, an iron rod, a sword, a closed book etc. The image of Nársingh 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 Hindus frequent it to see the relics. The footprint on the stone is regarded as that of Gurú Nának and a hand print on the other side is supposed to be that of one Kirpál Udási. The administration of the mandir is carried on by one Charn Dás. Its income from offerings is estimated at Rs. 125, excluding Rs. 7, the value of the grain offered, which is divided equally between Charn Dás and the Bishnoi faqirs. The former keeps the mandír clean and burns incense twice a day. Kárdh pánshád is distributed among those present. The fair is patronized by Játs Aroésa, Sikhs, Bágris and Bishnoís. It only lasts one day.

At the Gurú Sar in Bázidpur, tahsil Ferozepur, a fair is held on the Basánt vanéhmi. Gurú Gobind Singh rested here for a short time, so the place was held sacred. In the time of Ranjit Singh a faqir constructed a gurudwára. At the fair the Faridkot State supplies 50 manus of grain and one of salt for the requirements of visitors who are all fed free. Báká Siidha Dás faqir, a Chhímbsa, lives in the temple and recites the Granth in the morning. Disciple succeeds gurú. A kettle-drum is beaten at night. Charas is not used nor is there any rite of bhog. Lamps are lit in the evening. The gurudwára in Sayyidpur is connected with this.

In Ludhiana the Bháí Bálá fair is held on the 10th sudi of Mág in the waste land of Dad. Bháí Bálá was a disciple of Gurú Nának and at his samádhí here about 10,000 people from the neighbourhood visit the fair. Hindus offer grain, cash etc. which are taken by Masand Khatris of Kudhán in Patillas. People also bring curds made the pre
Sikh philosophy.

Previous 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 Kangra is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mandir Bera Bābā Nānak</th>
<th>Udāsi</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Food cooked by the pujañrī is offered as bhog, but on the first day of every month halwa or confection is prepared and offered to the Granth. A sacred lamp is lit daily.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bābā Nānak is said to have stayed here for a while and wrought miracles. The temple contains a stone on which his foot-print is marked. Its length is a cubit and breadth a foot. It stands on a pedestal. A flag is also planted on one side of it. Near it is the tomb of Bāwa Mehr Dās, one of the Bilāspur chiefs.</td>
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</table>

The Philosophy of Sikhism.

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) Gīāna.

(1) Discipline.—The beginner must begin by keeping the company of good people (sādh-sangāl) and cultivate purity of character. Character (achar) supplies the soil for the sowing of the seed which is meditation on the name (Nām) and gīāna is the fruit (sukhpal). Discipline means total subjugation of the lower instinct (ausrī gunas), of lust (kām), anger (karoh), blind attachment (moh), covetousness (lobh), vanity (akhangkara); and development of the higher virtues (dāvī gunas), such as the proper use of the bodily essence (sīl), contentment (santokh), kindness of all forms of life (dāja), faith in Divine existence (dharma), purity of body and mind (sukh), charity and benevolence (dān), tolerance (āhīraj), and thoughtfulness (vichār). To discipline his mind one must always keep (satt sang, the company of holy men and learn to live independently by earning an honest livelihood. True
Sikh philosophy.

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.’

(2) Meditation.—When the character-building is complete the 

adhkāri is initiated into the society of the pure (khālsa). He is 
baptised (given amrita) by the 5 chosen Khālsa (Pānch Gurū Khālsa) 
and taught the method of meditation on the true name (Satnām). The 
message communicated to him at the amrita runs: ‘Henceforth you 
belong to the community of the Khālsa, your father is Sri Gurū Gobind 
Singh (protector of the universe), your mother Sāhib Devi (the supreme 
power), your abode Anandpur (the city of bliss), your caste Sodh-bans 
(the family of the Lord). You will be bound to wear the 5 national 
symbols (rahit of the five ka’s): (i) The keshas, 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) kirtōn, to teach you the necessity of cultivating physical develop-
ment and warn you against the danger of bodily deterioration: (iv) 
kara to bind you to obedience of the Gurū’s law as given in the Holy 
Grañth: (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 bānis 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. Swayas—Inculcating the transitoriness of material enjoy-
ments and emphasising the brevity of human life.

4. Rahirās—The prayer for peace.


You shall believe in the Gurūs as the 10 manifestations of one and 
the same Lord: and obey the commandments given in the Holy 
Grañth.

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 (sanskāras) according to the in-
structions of the Khālsa.

Methods of meditation.—In the first stage attention must be fixed 
on the personality of the Gurū by reading his life and by constantly 
thinking of the attributes to be cultivated. Afterwards, silent repeti-
tion 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 gnāna 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:—'In Him he lives, moves and has his being.'

**Notable features of the Sikh ideals.**—The Sikh believes that the supreme soul has fully manifested itself in the Gurú. 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 Gurú in a manner so earnest that he is ready never to flinch from the path laid down for him by the Gurú 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 Gurú, 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 Gurú. 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 Khálśa community.**—Gurú Nának 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 *Gurú Nának*—Gurú Nának 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 Gurú 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 whenever it is called for a true mark may be found thereon.

There greatness is obtained, everlasting joys and everlasting delights,

They in whose hearts is 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;

I greatly fear thine anger, O God! my body pineth and wasteth away;

They who had been called Kings and Lords are beheld as ashes,
Guru Angad worked on his lines and devised a new Panjábi alphabet in which the lives, hymns, and sermons of the Gurús were written.

The efforts of Sri Gurú Amar Dás 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 Gurú Bani and instructed the Sikhs to throw off the yoke of the Brahman priesthood.

The fourth Gurú Ram Dás began the Golden Temple at Amritsár 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 ties.

Gurú 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 Grāndh to which he himself largely contributed. This new form of Sikhism raised up many enemies to the Gurú, and so he instructed his son Gurú Har Govind to devise means of safety for his disciples.

Gurú Har Govind 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.

Nának when men departeth all false affections are surrendere.1

Upon this the School-master acknowledged Gurú Nának as a perfect saint and did the homage to him.2

The incident called the sāchar sāuda may also be mentioned:—Kái, father of Nának, desired his son to embrace a mercantile life, so he sent him to Chūbarkā now in Gujrānwālā and buy articles for trade. Nának 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 condemned by his father he replied that he had done ‘true trade.’

The Gurú’s condemnation of the rite of investiture with the jāneo (sacred thread)3—

Pandit Haridrá, family priest, was invited to perform this ceremony and when all the members of Kái’s brotherhood were present, Guru Nának enquired its meaning. The priest explained that the jāneo was the basis of the Hindu religion and without it a man would remain a Sudra. Hearing this the young Gurú uttered the following hymn in the Asia De W’dr:—

1. Make mercy thy cotton, contentment thy thread, continence 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 burnt or lost;
4. Bless the man, O Nának! who goeth with such a thread on his neck.
5. Thou purchasest a jāneo for four dānābāj and seated in a square puttest it on
6. Thou whisperest instruction that the Brahman is the Gurú of the Hindus
7. Man dieth, the jāneo falleth off and the soul departeth without it.

The Pandit was angry at this and the Gurú then uttered the following:—

1. By adoring and praising the Nának 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 fìt 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 amrit sanskar 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 worldly 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 places of sepulture,

3. Who only recognizeth the one God and not pilgrimages, ams, 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.**

_Larās Sirdar Hari Singh Nalwa sakna Shahr Amritsur._

1. 
   {Sohnā baniā Ambarsar, sohnā baniā darbār;
   Sang marmar patthar lagiā chāndi chāhre kewār.
The Ballad of Hari Singh Nalwa.

2. { Koi lakk ohnā sond lagi, motā lakk hasar;  
   Koi koi hat-winiyan bandā, bade sahākār.  
   { Mahān Singh de ghar Ranjit Singh jamid, jamid bārā autär;  
     Kāi hasār use bhore rakhke, faujān lakk hasār.  
   3. { Koi lakk ohnā sond lagi, motā lakk hasar;  
      Koi koi hat-winiyan bandā, bade sahākār.  
      { Wīch Khai bar de laggī lardā, līshī hai talwār;  
        Othē ghalāī Hari Singh nūn, faujān ā dā Sirdār.  
   4. { Tejā Singh dā fauj dā Sīkha, mainūn nāhā īsāār;  
      Paḥlā ārāī Rāīvī de kanāde, dūjā Rāīvī dā pār;  
      { Tejā dērā Pūl Kanjīrī dā, chautkhā Wazirābād;  
        Ohambe bhore nūn dewe ṭhāpdān 'tū rakh ḍhaulīān dā lāj.'  
   5. { Nikku joih utthā badālī, mīn bārsā mohle dāhr;  
      Ohapparīdu dā pānī ṭēke, Sīkha hōgāye khabārdār.  
      { Chalu bhirāo meria māyā rāllīd tūhādē sāth.  
        Othē margāyā Hari Singh, bīrān dā jambādār!  
   6. { Nikku joih utthā badālī, mīn bārsā mohle dāhr;  
      Ohapparīdu dā pānī ṭēke, Sīkha hōgāye khabārdār.  
      { Chalu bhirāo meria māyā rāllīd tūhādē sāth.  
        Othē margāyā Tejā Singh, faujān ā dā Sirdār.  
   7. { Majān maqān ānka 'tāthē malādā Ludhānā.  
      Dūrōn Lāhōrōn chāliā Pārangī kārke mandā bhānā;  
      { Dar dar uṣdā chaukī bāghayā, shahrī bāghayā thānā;  
        Sīkha nūn Angrezān ne mārīā hōyā Rab dā bhānā.  
   8. { Majān maqān ānka 'tāthē malādā Ludhānā.  
      Dūrōn Lāhōrōn chāliā Pārangī kārke mandā bhānā;  
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   9. { Majān maqān ānka 'tāthē malādā Ludhānā.  
      Dūrōn Lāhōrōn chāliā Pārangī kārke mandā bhānā;  
      { Dar dar uṣdā chaukī bāghayā, shahrī bāghayā thānā;  
        Sīkha nūn Angrezān ne mārīā hōyā Rab dā bhānā.  
   10. { Majān maqān ānka 'tāthē malādā Ludhānā.  
      Dūrōn Lāhōrōn chāliā Pārangī kārke mandā bhānā;  
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   12. { Majān maqān ānka 'tāthē malādā Ludhānā.  
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   13. { Majān maqān ānka 'tāthē malādā Ludhānā.  
      Dūrōn Lāhōrōn chāliā Pārangī kārke mandā bhānā;  
      { Dar dar uṣdā chaukī bāghayā, shahrī bāghayā thānā;  
        Sīkha nūn Angrezān ne mārīā hōyā Rab dā bhānā.  
   14. { Majān maqān ānka 'tāthē malādā Ludhānā.  
      Dūrōn Lāhōrōn chāliā Pārangī kārke mandā bhānā;  
      { Dar dar uṣdā chaukī bāghayā, shahrī bāghayā thānā;  
        Sīkha nūn Angrezān ne mārīā hōyā Rab dā bhānā.  
   15. { Majān maqān ānka 'tāthē malādā Ludhānā.  
      Dūrōn Lāhōrōn chāliā Pārangī kārke mandā bhānā;  
      { Dar dar uṣdā chaukī bāghayā, shahrī bāghayā thānā;  
        Sīkha nūn Angrezān ne mārīā hōyā Rab dā bhānā.  
   16. { Majān maqān ānka 'tāthē malādā Ludhānā.  
      Dūrōn Lāhōrōn chāliā Pārangī kārke mandā bhānā;  
      { Dar dar uṣdā chaukī bāghayā, shahrī bāghayā thānā;  
        Sīkha nūn Angrezān ne mārīā hōyā Rab dā bhānā.  

TRANSLATION.

1. Beautifully planned is the city of Ambarār 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 Khaibar 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 Rāvī's bank, and my second beyond it.

   My third halt will be at Pūl Kanjīrī and my fourth at Wazirābād.'

6. Patting his bay steed Ranjit Singh said; 'Save my honour for the sake of my grey hairs.

PPPP
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. Sirdár Tejá Singh has also been killed. One of the warriors went to burn Hari Singh Nalwa'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 Dás, otherwise Banda Sahib, Disciple of the Guru Sahib, Thā Singh.

Ahwāl Lachhman Dás urf Banda Sahib, Chela Guru Singh Sahib.

Dohā.

1 \{ Abchalā nagār hai Sri Ganga ke pād,  
Sādhū Lachhman Dās hai bairāgi, kare nivē. 

2 \{ Khātri Sodhī-lane, sūn, bhaya, bairāgi dē,  
Abchal nagri Ganga-tāt, sādha tap ko jādē.

Chaupā.

3 \{ Sundar Rām bhāgīchā lāgād,  
Sukh samihū, dukh nirkhat bhāgād. 

4 \{ Anek bhānt phal phul suhādē,  
Khāy, mirg, guṇiad, lahut sukh ddē. 

5 \{ Wā ke mūh banti dmāt,  
Sukh-su-tās sab bhānt suhāt

Dohā.

6 \{ Amrā sa voh ek patāy uchhā sukh-sār,  
Ohrā bēr chau surf raken rakhuvalē, bālkār.
The Legend of Banda Sahib.

Dohá.

Aur koi baishhe tahâp idi,
Pâsak bhûm mâreñ so tîn.

Jo palang ke nere jâvat,
Phîr jîwat pachhe nahîn dwat.

Pây pachhâren Gangâ tás,
Turt karen Amrupur wâs.

Dohá.

Sri Gurâ ke panth men szkal bhaye balwân,
Bádshâh daswén bhae Gurâ Gobind Singh án.

Kabit.

Gurâ Nânak, Gur' Angad, Gur' Amardâs, Gurâ Râmâs, Gurâ
Añjan dhâra,
Gurâ Hargobind. Har Bâi, Harî Krishn bichâra,

Tegh Bahâdar, bhayo, nám dhâr ek man tîno,
Sabd gurâ upâdh dën sangat ko dînô

Kalá dhâr Gurâ Gobind Singh bhae, amar bhae Kalâ men sâkhi,
Jhankâr, bhayo. tîrlak men bîrd, pej satgur ke rakhî.

Dohá.

Sri Gurâ Gobind Singhji dhârâ dharm Autâr,
Málekhnañ ke hat karno parbal, bhayo, balkâr.

Kabit.

Ashp ke aswâr bhayo, Gurâ Gobind Singhji sail sadháyo,
Gang ashnâñ kiyo hit hit, sân bhayo, Lâchmân Dâs ke bâgh men áyo.

Palang bichhen bâno uti sundar baiñhat wîhpah karkh, wîdháyo,
Bîr râhe bâl lâêi nû lâtât dhan, Gurûjî ko tej sowâyo.

Kabit.

Lâchmân Dâs Sâdhâ: Gang ashnâñ kar pâjá pâth matîtr jâp
amráî áyo hain,
Ago sû Gobind Singh baiñhat par pank mâhîn, dharm autâr
shubhr afit soháyo hain.

Nîrkh chakrit, bhayo, aiso baiñh kaun áyo, tej wâ partâp jân bismây
suháyo hain.

Bîrân ko dûjû, kar pâk te pachhâro nar, aiso ahankâri bûdîs ao kaun
áyo hain?

Chandâ.

Bîrân ánk bhânt bal lâyo;
Palang nahiñ so âtho âthâyo.

Gurû Gobind Singh jo abtâr,
Kidê karûn birâp balkâr?
734  The Legend of Banda Sahib.

Doh.  

21 { Pachehat Gurud Gobind Singh tum ko saahd koaun ?
  { At-parchand daffal tuje kiun dhar baishhe maun ?

22 { Edhib ke banda bhaye, ehh hamaro nam,
  { Ni dun japo baishhe Parmeshwar Sri Ram.

Ochampai.

23 { Tum banda edhib koi piyaro,
  { Te jaa aei tap kornoude.

24 { Ab kar apne shashkar dhoro,
  { Dharm kai yeh bachen hamaro.

25 { Malechhan, sun, judh raakae,
  { Banda Sahib nam kahdo.

26 { Lachman Das jai sant ne kio kek kar dhara,
  { Mughlan ka hat karno laqe karan danga.

27 { Wahe Gurur kai fateh, so wade Gurur kai raj !
  { Gurud Gobind Singh amar hain, k'oh dharm k'oh kaj.

Ochampai.

28 { Judha karat Turkapan sun bhari,
  { Mughlan ki buh sen sanghari.

29 { Jang Sarandh ank bidh bhayo,
  { Tiag deh Gur surpur gayo.

Doh.

30 { Dhutia Labana, bhayo, sikh Gurur kai jaan,
  { Ik sath mohar Gobind Singh denu thw man.

Ochampai.

31 { Dhuthe ko Gurud bachen sunday,
  { Sikh Gurud kai bahen suhanay.

33 { Ab tum jado apne gama,
  { Kudos deh tihain bieram.

Kabit.

33 { Gurud Gobind Singh kahe Dhuthe k'd : gama tumhare dwenge,
  { Do ungli tumki kar apni pakar naheide lai dangwenge.

34 { Sikh apnde bhai tujhi ko apne pas manawenge,
  { Tab jano tum Gurud hamara ek sau moharen pawenge.

Ochampai.

35 { Oshah bibhan Gur surg sadhane,
  { Dhutia apne dwara dya.

36 { Bahut dawas sun phir kahe jaa,
  { Gur ko charmoo lai gaa.

37 { ' Kab Gur es deh men daaw,
  { Do ungli muj k'o paktawen;
A town close by holy Ganges, and in it lived a saint, one Laohhman Dás Bairági.

He was a Khatri of the Sodhi sect, but he became a Bairági,

At Abchal town on the Ganges bank he performed penance

In it lay a beautiful and pleasant garden,

In it (was found) every kind of pleasure, without pain.

In it were countless kinds of fruits and flowers,

Birds and leer added pleasure to its delights.

In it stood a summer house, just at its centre,

A pleasant dwelling which afforded joys of every kind.

In it was spread a luxurious couch,

Which was guarded on all four sides by four champions, powerful men.

If any one went to sit thereover,

They straightway threw him on the ground.

Whosoever even approached the couch,

Never came back alive

They cast him into the Ganges,

(And) forthwith he entered Heaven.

All the Gurb’s followers became powerful,

Gurú Govind Singh was the 10th King

Possibly an allusion to the four takhts of the Sikh Gurus.
Know then the Gurus:

Teg Bahādur, who believed in the unity of God
gave the boon of the Gurus' 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
honours of his Guru

Holy Govind Singh was an incarnation,
he showed his might in assaults on the Mlechhas.

Mounted on his horse Guru Govind Singh went forth,
bathed joyously in the Ganges and so came to Lachhman Dās' garden.

There he found the splendid couch and seated himself thereon
with great delight,
in vain the brāhmaṇas (champions) put forth all their strength:
Blessed be the glorious Guru!

So Lachhman Dās 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.
Attack the Mlechhas courageously,
And earn the title of 'God's Slave'.

Lachhman Dás, the holy one, took in his hand the sword,
And resolved to put the Mughals to death, in battle.

(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.

He made fierce war on the Turks,
Many Mughals were destroyed.

He fought at Sarandh with all his might,
The Gurú gave up his life, and went to Heaven.

Dhúthá Labána became a disciple of the Gurú,
And had a mind to offer him 100 gold mohars.

The Gurú exhorted Dhúthá,
And he, the Gurú's disciple, was greatly pleased.

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,
Graping 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.'

Ascending his (celestial) chariot, the Gurú went to Heaven,
And Dhúthá returned home.

Many days he waited there,
In expectation of his Gurú's coming.

(Thinking) 'When will the Gurú come to this country,
And give me his two fingers to hold?

And ask me for the 100 mohars?
Blessed then will be my lot?'

To the bank of the Chenab river came Banda to do penance,
Seeing the great purity of its soil there he rested.

All the rulers of the land came to do him homage,
Dhúthá Labána bowed his head to the Gurú.

He called Dhúthá to him,
Bandá, 'God's Slave' spake to him.

He gave him his two fingers,
And mentioned the 100 mohars.

Dhúthá was greatly delighted in his heart,
Saying again and again 'Blessed one!' he clung to his feet.
Then he returned home, 
And sent for all his kinsmen. 

He filled a platter with the 100 mohars, 
And a quantity of jewels and clothes. 

With food and drink and all kinds of sweetmeats; 
Taking his whole family with him. 

Drums were beaten for joy, 
Dhurtha danced before them from love. 

Dancing, leaping, he went to the Gurú, 
With his lips he sang his praises. 

I have found my Gurú, my Gurú, and he hath comforted me! 
He who had cut off the Turks' heads, he is my Gurú. 

Blessed be Gurú Govind Singh, who is an incarnation of God, 
Blessed be Gurú Govind Singh, who has saved Dhurtha! 

O! blessed Gurú, happy is my lot, 
To-day have I met with my beloved Gurú. 

Taking up the sword he has slain the Mughals, 
Restored religion to all India. 

Whoso believeth in his Gurú, 
And embraceth his feet, will get the reward of salvation. 

Let me remain clinging to the Gurú's feet. 
In the end the Gurú will save me. 

Many drums were beaten, and Dhurtha danced, 
Filled with love he danced fervently. 

With dance and song he went to the Gurú, 
And bowed his head at the Gurú's feet. 

Gurú Govind Singh appeared as the 10th King, 
The 11th was Banda, 'God's slave.' Save thy disciples! 

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, 
People from all directions come and pay homage there. Blessed is the advent of Gurú Banda Sahib in this world.
The Legend of Banda Sáhib.

People from all countries and Sikhs from thousand kos come there and repeat the name of Wáhgurú Banda Sáhib 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 Gurú Banda Sáhib and see how Hákim Ráí 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 gondhana. 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. 1 Looking into its face she gives it some money and cakes, and then the family priest makes her worship Ganpati. 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 karfi or manacle made. This she wears on her right leg, and it is believed to prevent her future children's premature death. [Dera Gházi Khan District.]

In Fázilka an observance, now nearly extinct, is observed by Hindu Aroás in the third month of a first pregnancy. It is called the ánkh sáláf, because after it the wife ceases to apply antimony to her eyes. Her parents send her rice which is distributed among her kin.

In Siálkot the observance of the third month is called thákni. 2 Dried dates and pieces of coconuut are given to the wife, and of these she eats a little, the rest being distributed among her kinsmen. In Hoshiárpur a similar rite is observed; leaves of wheat flour fried in ghé 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 Hisáir the kani rite—described below—is in

1 In Patiála if the woman eats real pearls in her menses she will also give birth to a male child.

2 But in Gurdáspur the rite known as thánkí (clearly =thákni) 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: saltish consistables, such as pāpārs, pūl̓āras and sewáy, or vermicelli, being distributed among the brotherhood. The thánkí is followed by the great rít, held early in the eighth month, which is a religious ceremony. The woman's parents send her presents, and she washes her head etc. as in the thákni. But a panâdí is called in and performs certain religious rites. The women of the family also sing certain rite hymns, and the occasion is one of great rejoicing. Pun vaman, defined by Platti (Hindustani 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 sivaní, which used to be performed in the sixth month.
Later observances in pregnancy.

vogue in some parts. But elsewhere such observances are usual and somewhat elaborate. Thus in Jind during a first pregnancy (jethā hamāl) we find the mithā bohīā, 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 sādh, is observed, the mother sending her daughter two and a half suits of clothes, one and a quarter maunds of sweetmeats, and Rs. 7.

Later observances.

During the seventh month occurs a rite of a religious character, called the bhījān kā bhojān bharnā. This consists in the woman’s offering four and a quarter sers of rice to the bhīs or spirits, in ten thālis or plates, of which one is given to a Dūnni, 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 sanskār, and foreshadow the janm, mūndan and jameo sanskārs or rites at birth, (first) tonsure and initiation, which will be described in due course.

The garbh sanskār includes two distinct rites, the chhoṭi or lesser, and the bari ritān 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 ghi. 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 bari ritān; 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 ghi are then distributed among the brotherhood.

In Ferozepur these rites are replaced by the jār bharneki and bhog bharneki observances. Of these the former simply consists in making kachhi paṇni 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.

1 Mithā ‘sweet’; bohīā a small basket, Panj. Dict., p. 283.
2 Sādh, s.f. lit. “a half.”
3 To these four sanskārs should apparently be added a fifth, the nām karn or naming which precedes the mūndan.
4 E.g. by the Lahoria Kathrīs, but the Bunjāli Kathrīs are said only to observe the bārī ritān.
5 Tewar, or tewr, three articles of clothing; a trowsers consisting of a gown, shawls and shift (ghaghri, dopatta and kurtā). The bārī consists of two articles only.

The paṇnis are made in the following proportions, rice flour 5½ sers, sugar 2½, and ghi 1 sūr.
The wife's parents send her a double turban, 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 khūm of rice are then boiled, with five of sugar and two and one-half of gīr, 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 Maihra? (waterman), and her Brahman priest.

Mid-pregnancy.

It is clear that the chhottī rījān are observed at or about the time when half the period of gestation has elapsed, and indeed the rite is called the adh gabh in Amritsār, Gujrerāwla, and in Bahāwalpur. In Hoshārpur 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 Siālkoṭ the adh-gabh is also said to be observed, but not by the Jaṭā, and is described as simply consisting in the distribution of pāpars, pakauras etc. among the brotherhood.

In Siālkoṭ the mid-pregnancy rite is called the pāon bharī or the 'heavy feet.'

In Rājanpur tābūl a rite called chibān from chibī, 'loin,' is commonly observed among Hindūs as well as Muhammadans. After six months in every conception the pregnant woman is required to bathe

But Banīs, who come from the south-east, do not observe the adh-gabh. One account says it is observed in different ways, 'by all sects of Brahman and Hindus'; another, that it is called rā ṭa and is observed, in different ways, by Brahman, Marājana, Khātrī, Sūnārs and Juiwars, but not by Jaṭā; while a third alleges that the adh-gabh is performed in different ways, but on the same principle, by all Hindūs; whereas the kawī is confined to Brahman, Khātrī and Arora. In Ajnāla it is said not to be observed at all.

In Hoshārpur the wife's parents send her a piece of red sālā and some rice. She bathes and puts on the sālā. Rice is also distributed among the brotherhood.
under the direction of a dāi (midwife), who ties beads round her loins, thereby implying the safe completion of the conception and easy labour.

The seventh month: kanjī.

Corresponding again to the bāri rītān, described above, is the kanjī, 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 Bágrīs the wife's parents send clothes for herself and her husband.

In Hoshiárpur 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, pāpars and pāhūras, 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 menials, Brahmans being also fed in the name of ancestors. In some places the wife's parents feed Brahmans, giving them wheat-flour and kārī. 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 kanjī is observed in the seventh or ninth month, by all castes but not in all parts of the district. In Ajnāla it is called rītān.

In Gujránwāla the kanjī 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 Gurdáspur a wife, when pregnant for the first time, is sent to her parents' house in the seventh month, and presented with a ser 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 kānjī is a kind of sweetmeat: Hoshiárpur.
2 Made of gram flour and curds fried in oil.
3 But in Ramnagar, a town in the Gujránwāla District, it is said that no rite is observed in the seventh or ninth month, only the adī-gadā being observed.

In Muzaffarnagār no special rite is observed during pregnancy by Muhūmmadans, but Hindus usually observe the māhāwan and kānjī during the 6th and 8th months when a woman is pregnant for the first time. This is an occasion for feasting and rejoicing. The parents of the pregnant woman send her clothes and other presents at the kānjī; she bathes, washes her hair, and puts on her new clothes and ornaments. This ceremony is intended enter alia to make the fact of the first pregnancy of a bride public, or at least well-known in the brotherhood. A particular custom among Muhūmmadians of good family is called gudd dena. It is performed at the end of the 8th month. The dāi 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 dāi then divines the sex of the child and generally informs the mother of it.

In Jind tahal during the seventh month among Hindu Chhīmhas the pregnant woman performs the rite of bhog bhrāna offering 10½ or 5½ sore of rice to the Brahman or spirits, while rice with gur is distributed among the brotherhood. Among Muhūmmadan Saggi 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 (kumbh) is then filled with water, and a lamp filled with ḡī 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 gandh čhitrāwa), 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 Sialkot 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 ṛṭi in Panjābî, bhora¹ in Lahore, bhora in Montgomery and sīmanat in Sanskrit, is known as sawānī 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 kaṇjī and adh-gaab 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 kaṇjī or ṛṭi 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 ṛṭi 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-ḍhāmī.

Another ceremony, with which the husband’s parents are closely associated, is the dewā-ḍhāmī.²

In Montgomery this rite is observed in the seventh or eighth month. The family priestess lights a lamp fed with ḡī in a corner of the house, making a hearth and seven cakes of earth, and covering the latter with vermilion. Before these things the husband and wife prostrate themselves, and big loaves of flour fried in ḡī 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,³ a rupee and a half sor of jaggery. This rite is observed three days before the anjīl ceremony. But in Gujranwāla it is said to

² Dewā or dīd, a lamp; ḍhāmī, not given in the dictionaries, is possibly derived from P. ḍhām, s.i. a feast.
³ Trewar = trewar; see note ⁶ to p. 782 supra.
be held at the same time as the rít, 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 devá-dhámí is also held on the same rít, by the kinswomen 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 halwa 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 cowdung are then made, and cardamoms, rice, barley, mung (pulse), pitwa 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 halwa is given to the priestess, who also gets five annas or Re. 1½. Next day she is called in again and lights the lamp, which she extinguishes with milk and water. This ends the rít.

In Baháwalpur, on the other hand, the devá-dhámí is performed by the husband’s father, who lights a lamp in a corner of the house, making an effigy of Ganesh and worshipping his ancestors, with his face turned to the north or towards the Ganges. While worshipping he must unloose the string of his chola or shirt, or the gods will not accept his devotions.

In Mandi the rít of the fifth and seventh months are not observed at all, but in the beginning of the eighth month the athwámna is celebrated by putting an idol of Ganpati on a red chauki; 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 bardánwín, at which the wife’s kinswomen 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 cocanun, a pomegranate, and a mixture of rice, sesame 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 reverses Ganpati, and a vessel (kalas) of earth, brass or copper is put in an octagonal jantar (diagram), and in it is placed a cocacnut, with an image of Vishnu. The wife is then directed to worship the kalas and after that a havan is performed, a he-goat being sacrificed to appease the fire deity. Brahman and near relatives are then fed, and the kinswomen sing songs and make merry all night. This rite is observed in every pregnancy.

1 The Sanskr. pun san. In the parent State of Suket the athwám 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 rupee is also sent. They also send one or two garments for the husband’s mother.

2 Or vicariously a cocanut, 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 Hisār the *kanjī* is observed in the seventh or ninth month,¹ and in some places the *adh-garbh*² is actually said to be deferred till the ninth month. In parts of Hoshiārpur 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 *shagūn* or good augury, and boiled rice is set before. Sweets etc. sent by her parents are distributed among the brotherhood.³ 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 *kari* (gram flour cooked in whey) to the brotherhood in order to proclaim the pregnancy.⁴

*Athvānsā.*

At the commencement of the eighth month the Shaikhawat Rājputs observe a rite called the *athvānsā.* The wife's parents send her clothes, ornaments, fruit, money and on their receipt all her kinswomen assemble. Brahmans 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 necklet of its flesh is put round the child's neck. Then it is dressed in a blue *kurta* and cap, with a belt of blue silk round its waist. These clothes are worn for six or seven months, but the necklet is retained for two years and the belt worn till it reaches the age of five.

*Māwali.*

All Hindūs who believe in the god Māwali 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 PāΠikā the *kanjī* is said to be held only in the ninth month. In Gujārnāl it is observed in the seventh or eighth.
² *Adh-garbh = adā-gabh*.
³ The Bādeo Brahmans 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 castes, and that it is repeated 'several times.' It is specifically described as being observed thrice, in the fifth month (when *kanjī* and *pakṣawas* are distributed); in the seventh (when boiled rice and pulse are sent round), and in the ninth (when moist gram and jaggery are distributed among the brotherhood). It is not stated that all three rites are observed by the same caste.

RRBB
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 Dera 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 locking or unlocking a lock, lest its fingers be bent and powerless. If they cut wood with an axe, the child will have a hare-lip; 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, syánas or wizards prevent it by giving her (i) a piece of wood from a scaffold on which a man has been hanged, or (ii) piece which have been thrown over the bimán 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,³ 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.

¹ In Kangra in the eighth month of pregnancy the pregnant woman is seated inside a sháván in which bel-bága ‘leaves’ are placed and in which a small lamp is lit. Puja is done to Ganesha. This is called ashad.

² 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 faces 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.

³ For the significance of the sequence of births, see Folk Lore, vol. xiii, pp. 68—67, and pp. 279—383.
Hence the number eight is never mentioned in speaking of a child's age, un-giñat or 'uncounted' being used instead: thus, un-giñat din = eighth day, un-giñat barha = eighth year.

The athwáhá.—In the Dera tahsil of Kángra a child born in the eighth month is called an athwáhá (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 Kángra a child which dies at birth, or immediately after it, is insuspicious, 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 Hindús in Baháwalpur, 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 ghi, 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 múng (a kind of pulse), green cloth or fruit, such as oranges etc.

Jupiter: yellow things, such as yellow cloth, gram-pulse, yellow sweetmeats (nukhti and laddu), gold etc.

To avert the evil effects of Ráh (or ascending node): cocoanuts, ghi, sugar (khand) and másh (a kind of pulse); and that of Kret or typhon (the descending node): tamosa (a kind of sweetmeat) and bluish cloth are given in charity.

This is termed girah-púja (or worship of the planets).

A birth which occurs during the panchak period will, it is believed, be followed by the birth of three children of the same sex.

The gánds 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 Brahmanes 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 Brahmanes are rewarded.

1 But the same writer (S. Gurdial Singh in J. A. S. Bengal, ii, Pt. I, p. 205), says that a child is never said to be so many days or months old, but so many vahar = 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 Káncra:—

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 Ráhu, are reverenced. A havan is also performed, ak 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 sankránṭ day, against seven kinds of grain, all of which is given away.

A child (unlike a calf) born in Bhádon is lucky, while one born in Kátak 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 asterism 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 Kátak must either undergo symbolical birth from a cow (goporub), or also both it and the parents must bathe on the first sankránṭ after the end of Kátak in water drawn from seven wells and mixed with turmeric, sandal, ginger and other drugs. These are termed sarbokhadi, 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. Haván is then performed, and lastly a tray of ghí 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 sere (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 ghí. Worship, in which white sandal-wood and white flowers figure, is also performed. This, however, is an orthodox rite, and in Káncra the popular idea is that a child born in the gháṭi-chandarmáv, i.e. when the moon is inauspicious, is not ill-omened.

The unlucky tiths or lunar days for birth are the amáwas, or last day of the dark half; and the chatúrdash (vulg. chaadas) are fourteen, the last day but one. Children born on the former day are unpriopitious 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, pipal etc. A cocoanut 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. Haván is performed with sesame, pulse (mášk) and white mustard. The idol is given to a Brahman.
Natal astrology.

The following thirteen nakshatras are unlucky:—

1. Asauni, 7. Grahn (eclipse),
2. Rawati, 8. Atepat,
3. Maghán, 9. Shaukránt,
4. Shelkhn, 10. Gand,
5. Múlan, 11. Chandas,
6. Jeshtha, 12. Amáwas,

especially 1 to 6, each charan having special influence of its own. Thus in Shelkhn the second charan is fatal to wealth, the third to the mother, and the fourth to the father. In the Jeshtha asterism, which is divided into ten charanas, each of six ghatis, we have the following scheme:—

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Father, fourth charan; brother, third charan.</td>
<td>Mother, fourth charan; brother, third charan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elder brother: eighth charan—child to itself if born in fifth charan; to the members of its family if in sixth or seventh; to its father-in-law in the ninth; and to everything in the tenth.</td>
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In the Múl asterism the first charan is unpropitious to the father, the second to the mother, and the third to wealth.

1 In Nápur tahsil of Kangra the evil influence of a birth in any unlucky nakshatras is averted by bathing the parents and child with water from a jar, containing 1000 holes, into which leaves from 108 male trees (mango, pipal, basan, etc.; while nákh, pear, and beri, plum, are feminine). Children born in the remaining seven of the thirteen nakshatras specified are not very unlucky, and the planets are merely worshipped by more rigid observers of Hindu precepts.

2 Lit. 'foot.'

3 To avert the evil influence five earthen jars, filled with water and leaves (pipal 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 hawan performed with ghá: Kangra. In Pera the five jars should contain gold images of Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh, Indra and Varuna.

Special attention may here be directed to the position of the mother's brother in 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 a piece of ground is plastered with cow-dung and a platform for a hawan made on it. On this platform mantras are written in flour. In five jars, full of water, are put the leaves of five trees (pipal, mango, palikhar, palas, and a fifth), with panchamrit and panchgarbh. In a sixth jar, unbaked, with 1000 orifices are placed 107 different drugs. The parents and child are then drenched through a sieve, and then they join in the hawan, which must be celebrated by sixteen Brahmanas. Finally parents and child bathe in the water from the five jars. [Kangra.]

6 The rites are the same as in the case of a Jeshtha birth, except that the idol made is a gold one of rákheśu: Kangra.

Among Hindus in Ambá astrologers are consulted about the auspiciousness of the birth. If the child was born at an auspicious time, called gundmul, 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 gets 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 Shelkhán Jeshthá and Reoti asterisms, and the first in the Múla, Ashwini and Maghá 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 Jeshthá, Múla, Ashlekhán and Maghán asterisms only as unlucky.²

In the Simla hills the evil influence of a birth in the Krishnpak chauñas is averted by propitiating the nine planets. A birth at the end of a month and in the Jamgandhjag, Kalijag etc. is unlucky to the parents etc.; and they should not see the child's face until alms have been offered. Triplets portend the speedy death of parents, and to avert the evil, havan is performed, alms are given to the parohit and the śánti mañkat 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 Káŋgra a pilgrimage is made to the family god (kul-deota), and a he-goat, called the kudnu randá, is let loose in his honour, another being also sacrificed at his shrine, and a feast given.³

In Saráj a few people of the village visit the parents' house and 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 wadhá ka rupáyá, and it is all deposited with an honorary treasurer, and when enough has been collected a great feast is held.

In Hamirpur the panjáb 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 Jeshtha or Múla cases, but a cow is also given as alms in the child's name: Káŋgra.
² In the Dera tahsil of Káŋgra the rites observed on such births, or in those which occur under an inauspicious (ghatak) moon, are simple. Images of Brahma, Indar, Béraj (Bor) and the Moon (Chandarmá) 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 Tazia as a water-carrier, or in some other capacity; and such sons always wear the green uniform 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 reproach from their associates. MS. note in a copy of Siesman's Rambles and Recollections (by the late Mr. Carr Stephen).
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 (Jesth) must not be married in Jesth: 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 Sindh the former superstition prevails and its results are thus described:

Trikhal is the third conception after two births (without regard to the sexes of the former children). It is a Jaṭki word, meaning 'third' and implies contempt. This conception is considered unlucky among Hindus, especially in Jāmpur 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 Trikhal.—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, trikhai, 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 trikhal 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 ghī down the gutter of the roof of the room in which the child was born.

But in Dahomey a boy born after twins has a special name (doas), according to Barton: Mission to Gelele Kin of Dahome, I. p. 33, 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 sandur (red oxide of mercury) and scented with gugal (a drug) and attached to the bed of the mother. The shoe is re-painted with sandur and scented every Tuesday.

(4) If the third day after the birth be a Sunday, a ceremony known as trikhal shanti (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 shanti shastr 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:

Terijan man ya na jan men mere kharne ko jagah de.

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 Kasur ¹ that a girl after three boys is not unlucky at all) and evil is to be feared 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, Ashokan and Magan the leaves of 7 trees ² are used as described above and in the case

¹ P. N. Q., III, § 453.
² And in Amritsar a girl so born is called ‘bukhai’ or lucky child: ibid., II, § 824 also § 186 (in Bombay).
³ They should be male trees (katha, anar, tāt etc.) according to an account from Jhelum.
of a child born in Kātak —

Four images of Brahma, Indar, Rudar and Sūraj 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 Rāhu and a third of the sun or moon (as the eclipse may have been), are worshipped.

Another name for the trikhal is tretar (said to be derived from Skr. īrī, 3 and atīr, enmity), and in Hoshiāpur the performance of a fire sacrifice with the aid of a Brahman after the nūtak period is usual. Pala wood is burnt and sugar etc. thrown on to it.

In Karnāl and Rohtak a son born after three girls is usually called tretar (or named Telu Rām) 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 105 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 Brahmans are also feasted. After these ceremonies a pair of snakes are made of a precious metal and given with 7 kinds of grain to the Dākaut 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 Sirmār State to immigrants from Hoshiāpur. 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 śāstras. In 1885 a Sanskrit book called Trikhai-shānti was published at Lahore giving an account of the belief. The sage Pushkar asks Brāhat 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 1 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.3 But in Karnāl the 8th child is regarded as peculiarly dangerous to the mother. The remedy is to pass a charkha or spinning wheel thrice round the mother and give it to the midwife. The charkha must be in perfect order.

1 The part which the maternal uncle plays in marriage rites is well known. He is in grave peril if his sister’s child cut its upper teeth first.

2 Connected apparently with the eight uamns of Rudra. Muir’s Sanskrit Texts. IV, pp. 388, et seqq.

3 I. N. Q. I., V, § 94.

SSSSS
Omens in children.

Dhá's-síra or '2½ heads.'—Mr. W. S. Talbot writes that in Jhelum trikhal 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 dhá's-síra, mula or sa't-síra is a child whose head has not been properly shaped.

There is no objection to twins. But in Kángra 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 seed 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 Hoshiárpur 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 sers 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 dánton ka thakna or 'the charm of the teeth.'

In Karnál when a child of either sex cuts the front teeth of its upper jaw 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 ser of kasár or pamjí (wheat flour baked in ghí and mixed with sugar) and half a coconnut 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 Pátílá. 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 (Manūrī paisa) 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 paisa 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 universal custom for the wife to return to her own parents' house for her first confinement.

A child born in the house of his nána, 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 begun be noises abroad, lest publicity increase their severity. And if the pains are severe a tray (thálī), 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 Ludhiana it is tied with the jameo of an elderly man belonging to the family. This is also the usage in Hoshiarpur 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 Gujranwala the cord is not cut till two or three hours after birth.

**Disposal of the after-birth.**—In Ferozepore the secundine 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-bed.**—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 shángtī is performed 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.

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1 cf. Temple in *Proper Names of Panjabis*, p. 50.

2 In Hoshiarpur delivery is said to be effected on a chápādī.

3 And if she has given birth to a girl, eh: is told she has borne a stone.
In Hoshiápur a woman whose child has died within forty days is called a parekhánwáy,\(^1\) 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 anti-septic treatment. One important point to note is that the observances are far less elaborate in case of a girl child, and this idea, 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 súlák but it is known as chhát, especially in the north-west of the Punjab.

Its duration is, in theory, ten days among Brahmins, twelve among Khatris, fifteen among Vaisyas 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 Khatris; or only eleven or thirteen for all castes.\(^9\)

Among the Jats of Hoshiápur, 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 put. The method of treatment after birth among the Naís, to prevent her becoming an evil spirit. The sweepers drive an iron nail in the ground for the same purpose, and the Jatnawar send for a Qáxi to recite some words called kilna. No unusual treatment is practised among other low castes in this tahsil.

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\(^9\) In Rohat and Lohán it would appear to be only ten, expiring with the dasúghan. In Gujránwála it is said to be thirteen days for Brahman and sixteen for others.

In Patiála 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 be taken 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. Midway 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 unburnt bones are picked up and the ashes collected into a conical heap on which the lower part of a hand flour-mill 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 Pehawa where he undergoes purification under the guidance of the Brahman of that place.

In Sangrúr the *Gagathris mantra* is recited by a Brahman when a woman dies in child-birth among the Naís, to prevent her becoming an evil spirit. The sweepers drive an iron nail in the ground for the same purpose, and the Jatnawar send for a Qáxi to recite some words called kilna. 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 dā’s 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.
(vi) There should be a lock on the bed, or else it should have a chain round it. This is termed bel maria.
(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 unclean.
(x) A lamp must be kept burning all night, and allowed to burn itself out in the morning. A son is called phar kā dīwā, 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 nain. The latter brings some cow’s urine in a thikra or jar, with green grass, a supāra, and a nahernd, 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 nai’s (the nain’s husband’s, not the nain’s) slippers, and walk out of the room carrying the child. The nain sprinkles oil on the ground outside the door, and there the jhitwari, or some other menial, 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 belnā or velnā—to press or roll; also to strike the bridegroom’s hand at a wedding. Bel marnd is not traceable in the Panjabi Dictionary.
3 In Jind the nain makes a safya (a mark said to be like a cross) on the wall near the door, and receives a rupee and some rice; and the mother eats some khichri (rice and some p lue, soaked) on this day.
pot of water and some green grass. Both she and the nain are paid for their services.

In the outer room Vidihata (vulg. Bidh) Mata is worshipped, ro men, not even a Brahman, being present. The women make an idol of gobkar, 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 kasumbha, until the ancestors have been worshipped and kinsmen feasted. On this occasion the dhiánis, girls born in the tribe, must also be fed, feeded and reverenced.

Third day.—On the third day the observance called báhir is current in Rohtak, 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 páo of grain. The nain makes a chauk on the ground, in which are depicted the planets. The eldest woman of the family then puts five sers 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 nain, the Brahmani and the midwife. A chhaták 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 nain waits at the door with a materna with which he touches the boy, for which he gets a rupee. He also puts blades of dabak grass in the turbans of the child's forbears, in order that they may multiply like the grass. For this he receives a second rupee.

In Hoshiárpur 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 Sirmir, too, she bathes on the third or fifth day; and in Mandi a rite called the tiraphal kó gontar is observed

1 Or dhiáhan or dhián, a sister or daughter. The term is used by Brahmans, misrásis 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 mukol. The threshold of the house is painted red. The person who sweeps the yard gets purd tar (rice, sugar, cash etc.). Then the mother is bathed in hot water and made to worship Ganpati, whose idol is put on a yellow chauk, and offerings made to it. A Brahman now makes panchpákki, mixing it up in a jar with a blade of dabak grass. He gives three spoonfuls of this mixture to the mother and thus removes her impurity. He next receives his fee in money, and then places a ball of cow-dung, containing gold, silver, a pearl, and a bead of coral, near the idol. This ball is called báiyáki, 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 thókar (Euphorbia Royleana), and these he is made to wrusnap 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 Ganpati's chauk. They are then covered with a red cloth. The mother's brother's forehead is then marked with the tilak, 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 dish called pichkíagra. (Pichkí — rice water.)
Post-natal rites.

on the former day. In Rawalpindi the mother bathes on the third, fifth or seventh day, and chūra (baked bread, sugar, and gāhī) 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 Dasāna tahsil of Hoshiārpur 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 panjīdān or fifth-day observance simply consists in a bath, and Hoshiārpur. 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 nain plaits her hair. Then she is brought out into the courtyard, wearing the nain’s dopatū 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 then brings some grain and money and puts them by the lamp. Then rice, loaves and mūsh are distributed among the brotherhood, the grain and money brought being divided by the midwife and the nain.

Sixth day.—The ceremony called the chhati was doubtless originally, as the name implies, observed on the sixth day, but it is now extinct (in Sirmūr), or else held on the sixth or any subsequent date.1 Only in Mandi must the rite called chhati gontar 2 actually be held on the sixth day.

Elsewhere the chhati is known as the dhamān, and is held only in cases when the child was a boy.

1 In Gujrānwāla the chhati is described as being observed on the fifth day, on which day the child is named.

2 This resembles the tirphalla. The house is swept, as before, and Ganpati again worshipped. Then images of a cow, a calf, and a herdsman are made of brass. These are known as āndā vachha, and are placed near the goddess’ idol. Pančkhāb is given to the mother. The females of the brotherhood assemble and sing songs. They are regaled on moist grain, and red thread is then sent to the mother’s parents, a custom called dopatān, or ‘giving the thread.’ In return they send money and sweetmeats. In Mandi is also performed the third or last gontar. 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 Ganpati. Alms are also given to avert evil planetary influences. On the following day the priest performs a hāmāna (hom), in much the usual way. The mother and all the members of her family are then purified, and finally a biyāhī of cow-dung is made, and the mother instructed to clean her teeth with twigs of a fragrant plant. These twigs are struck in the biyāhī and preserved as long as the child lives, being worshipped at its birthdays. The biyāhī, with the twigs struck in it, must, at this gontar, be set afloat on a river or stream.
When the mother goes to her parents' house for her confinement the chhati 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 (chhati ka ashnán), 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 chhati is said not to be observed by Brahmins or Khatri, but only by Aroras.

In Montgomery the chhati is termed sathi, and the Brahman suggests the boy's name — no such observance being required for a girl. In Rohtak 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 thápás 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 neighbouring houses.

Dhamán.—In the Hazratubad of Attock the term dhamán 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 chápái. Sweet porridge is also distributed among the brotherhood on this day. If during the dhamán period thunder is heard, a pewter vessel is beaten, lest the sound of the thunder reach the mother's ears.

Seventh day.—The sútuk, 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 dosathām (lit., bathing on the tenth day after childbirth). In Sirmür it is also called sondhia, and is observed at any time before the child is five years old.

Dhamán.—In Sialkot the dhamán rite is observed on the eleventh day by Brahmins, and by other castes on the thirteenth, i.e., after the sútuk is over. Four copper coins are placed under the mother's feet,
and an adol 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 pANCHGANC, 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 kinswomen 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 sütak 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. Brahmans 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 Hoshiápur by bathing the mother and purifying all the vessels used by her since the birth by fire.

**Thirty-first day.**—The thirtieth day is only the occasion for a bath, in Hoshiápur.

**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 chura karam. In Mandi an observance called the chura karam or jarolan is held in the third or fifth year of the child’s life in Mág, Phágán, Baisákh, Jéth or Háy, 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 chauk 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 dūh grass is placed on the platter. A little oil is then dropped on the children’s heads, and their bodies are rubbed with bānā. 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 Gānpati, and the priest parts 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 dūh grass, to their

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\[1\] Like the tagadhrí, in some parts of the Punjab, and probably, the adéra in Amritsar, the taragga appears to foreshadow the jāne, 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. tārdat or tārdj (taran also), which means a string tied round the waist; a string or silver string worn round the waist of men or boys, especially Márwaris (Punjabi Dictionary, p. 1108).

\[2\] This is not done in Amritsar, in which district the room is simply cleansed.

\[3\] Hindi sadhan, a paste made of meal turmeric, oil and scent, used to clean and soften the skin.
Various rites.

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 Rohtak, a month or so after the birth of a boy, a rite called dogkar pūja 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 dabh 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 dabh 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 sarth leaves and ties them with a mauli 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 she 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 Man, 1902, No. 2.

Chola.—The ceremony of clothing a child for the first time is usually called chola, and is held on various dates. In Rawalpindi a Brahman fixes a day; in Amritsar also this is the usual custom, but often Aror's and Khatri's hold it on the thirteenth day.

In Ferozepur the chola 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 Bidh-māta, or 'goddess of fortune.' Next the barber brings cow's urine in a cup, in which he also puts some blades of dabh grass. Then the mother puts on the barber's shoes, and, holding his skirt in her hand, she reverses the Bidh-māta, her children sitting on

*This rite is called jafū semechna.
The first tonsure.

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 "dubh" 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 rupee in the cup, but if it is a girl annas two or four suffice. Pinjiri and lumps of parched wheat are distributed to the brotherhood, and the females belonging to it place grain before the image of nish-māta. 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 chōla also takes place on the thirteenth day, but if the boy was born on one of the six unlucky asterisms, the observances is postponed till the twenty-seventh. In Gujranwāla, however, the chōla 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 Hoshiārpur the family god's temple or some Muhammadan saint's shrine is usually visited.

Chhuchak.—In Rohtak the mother's parents send her clothes and ornaments for herself, the child, and her husband. This present is called chhuchak, and it is sent in response to the badhās (vide supra).

Festivals.—The Lohri, following a birth is observed with special pomp, copper coins and cowries being given away to the poor.

So, too, the next Diwālī 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, 2 and in different localities. In the south-west it is known as the jhand 3 and elsewhere as the mūndan or bhaddan. 4 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. 5 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 Baisākhi or Dassehra. In Hoshiārpur 6 a boy's ears are bored on this occasion, and some people smear his forehead with goat's blood.

In Ludhiānā the rite is, like the birth observances, described as the mūndan sanakār, and it is unlucky to shave a child's head until it has

1 The accounts of the chōla rite are very confused, because chōla 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 chōla. And a boy, born after several successive female children, is dressed in one made of cloth, which must be given by a friend (Ferozepur). But in Rāwalpindi the cloth is got from a friend or the mother's relatives under any circumstances.

2 The Hindu Bānis of Mahrāj in Ferozepur have a special time for the rite eis., the light halves of Āsauj and Chet, and a lack of the hair is then left uncut.

3 Jhand, lit. lūna, or down, is the hair on the head of a new-born child.

4 Mundan = Mūndna, to shave. Bhaddan, s.m. = shaving.

5 Some sections have fixed places for the observance of the rite, e.g. the Khanna Khattis observe it at Dīpālpur. In Rāwalpindi, most of the Khattis observe it at home, but not so the Jaggi and Awal sections, and some families observe it at Naddi in the Baisākhi, or at the Jogi shrine at Kot Serung.

6 But in the district a distinction appears to be drawn between the cutting off of the jhand, which is removed at a tank or under a jhand tree, before the child is three (though o. y. a few families observe this rite), and the regular bhaddan, which is performed at a tāhurdwāra or gur.tūdra between three and five years of age, and is often celebrated with considerable pomp.
The sacred thread.

been performed. The menials receive fees, and the brotherhood is regaled with sweets at the first tonture, after which bodi or tuft of hair is allowed to grow, but it is more usual to let the bodi 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 Gujranwala the observance is called rit 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 Brahmins, otherwise Brahmins appear to have no part in it.

The janeo or sacred thread.—We are accustomed to talk of the janeo 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 janeo takes but also proves that it is inaccurate and misleading to call the janeo '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 janeo varies in every caste or group or sect. It will thus be most convenient to deal with the form of janeo as worn by each caste.

The tagadhri.—It was formerly customary among Hindús for children to wear the tagadhri before they reached the ages at which the janeo could be worn, and in some parts of the Punjab the custom still survives. The tagadhri is worn round the waist, and is made of munj or, if the parents are wealthy, of silver.

Making the janeo.—Pure cotton is purchased in August, and on the 15th day after the new moon it is spun into thread by a Brahman girl (Jhelum), or by a married woman whose husband is alive (Gujrat), never by a widow. The cotton should be picked from a field free from filth.

A janeo may consist of one or two agras.

The making of on agras is thus described:—There are three lines on the fingers. The Brahmins should wind the single thread over the upper line 96 times, the Khatri's over the central line 86 times, and the Vaisya over the lowest 76 times. The thread is then made into three folds and twisted on a kath, a special tool used in preparing the janeo. It is then

1 Buddi, syn. munna or rakha.
2 In Ferozepur the bodi is allowed to grow on the Baisakhi or Dasera, and in Rawalpindi on the seventh day after the jhand.
3 One account puts 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.
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 granthys or knots in a agra depends on the number of purvaras or famous ancestors in each gatra. One agra is allowed to a Brahman in the Brahuchāri or discipleship stage, the second being added when he reaches the second, the Grihasthāshram 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:

**Uarna. Material. Length. Ages.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Ages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahman</td>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>8th year up to 16th</td>
<td>after conception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatri</td>
<td>Hemp</td>
<td>11th, 12th, 22nd</td>
<td>24th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaisya</td>
<td>Wool</td>
<td>12th, 22nd</td>
<td>24th</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A chappa is four fingers' breadth. The first year in each case specified above is called mukhāy kālī, i.e. the precise or proper time. After that janeo may be put on in the gaun kālī, i.e. up to the last year specified, after which the man is anudhiman 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 Khatriya 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 Khatri's janeo should, according to one account, be of silk thread, and the Vaisya's of pashmina. In Benares a janeo of silk lace is made into which certain vantaras are interwoven. Sometimes in Sirmur it is made of fibre from the bark of the gudāla 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. Brahman with a janeo of 96 chappas
2. Rajputs
3. Khatri
4. Rathis

The ordinary janeo is of three kinds:

- Brahmgandh: 
  - (i) with 5 knots for the higher grades of Brahmanas.
  - (ii) 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 shukha, boli or chota (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 charam), take a rahu band, or staff of dhak wood, in his hand, and put on padakas or khuras (wooden shoes). The rites in ancient times included various burnt offerings made in pits (hawan kund), over which a wooden frame (beds) was placed. The 9 planets were also worshipped.

Then the guru 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 (safa), 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 guru, 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) nitya-shabih: 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-shabih: 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 pitris or ancestral manes.

(iii) In worship of the rishis 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 ponths 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 Brahmin knot, and to them is attached a parsi (a ring of gold or rhinoceros horn), and to this again a wad, also of the latter material. This janeo should be of black wool, and is worn like a necklace.

The Kali-sutar.—Besides the janeo, Achárya Brahmins, Vaishnav and Bairagi sádhás wear a kali-sutar, or thread round the loins, made of wool or muni.

*This Mantra is called Gayatri and runs—
Tat Savituro navam dasha devaye Dhr-aki dhi yo yo na prachodayat, “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.”*
Among some tribes a woman who has previously miscarried wears a charm, such as a thread or amulet, on her navel; others wear a cowry on that part to avert the child's being born deaf. The charms are blown upon before being put on, the fee paid depending on one's means.

*Satwáhin.*

In Ambála the observance in the seventh month, or *satwáhin,* 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 Sirmúr 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 *kioka.*

In Káŋgra on the commencement of the seventh month the woman's parents bring her presents consisting of red clothes, dry fruit, henna, scented oil, and *mísí,* 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 *nāra* 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 coconuts or 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 *karáhi* of flour, *gur* and *ghā,* 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 Kapúrthala 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 Máler Kotla the Muhammadians, especially the dominant Pathán families, observe two distinct customs on a first pregnancy. As a rule the first, the *satwáhin,* 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 *mirána* sings the appointed eulogies, called *sohlu,* of Shaikh Sadr Jahán, to a drum accompaniment.

*Kioka,* not traceable in the dictionaries.
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 Sāiḥkh, who often makes her his mouth-piece. Sweets are then sent round to relations and neighbours, and the mirāsan dismissed with her fee. In the evening the darwashes 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 one 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 Dummi 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 Kakezais (distillers), Qasābs (butchers), Arāiūs (market gardeners), Dhobīs (washer-men) and máḥkīs or watermen. 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. Patāshās 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 trewar, and to boil rice which is eaten at a feast in the name of their ancestors. The trewar 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 dandāsā.1 She also avoids the shade of the dharek 2 and the shadow of a woman suffering from athrā,3 i.e. one whose children die in infancy.

In Fatehjhang rit is observed in the seventh month, halwā being distributed among the brotherhood. This is done either in her parents'  

1 Dandāsā or walnut bark is used as a toothstick (the literal meaning of the word), or for chewing, in order to redden the lips.

2 Dharek, the Melia Azedarach.

3 Athrā (? lit. a bead—the word does not appear in the Punjabi Dictionary). An athrāwāli is a woman whose children are born prematurely and generally die. A bead, which changes its colour, is believed to counteract the effects of athrā. This bead is rare and is sold by giants at fancy prices. It is also tied to the leg of a new-born child as a talisman against athra; and athrā ka manka means one of a changeable, volatile disposition (manka = bead in Punjabi).
Moslem pregnancy rites.

The satwans.

Muhammadans in Hansi observe the satwans in the seventh month of pregnancy. Seven or nine jars of water are brought from 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 naherna, some mehndi, 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 naherna and silver vessel are kept for the chhati. After this one and a quarter pâos 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 satwans and simply consists in the parents sending their daughter a gift of clothes, henna and dried fruit in the seventh month of her pregnancy. In Rohtak the satwans is held at the beginning of the seventh month. The woman is dressed in red, and sugar also put in her lap. The Dhum 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 châwali.2 In the seventh month one or two men, and several of the women, bring parched unhusked rice, patâshâs 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 Hisâr. 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 Hammâls of Hansi have a curious custom, which looks like a relic of the cowade. The woman's parents send her a present of Rs. 5, a suit of clothes, some scent and a comb. After bathing she puts on her husband's trousers, and a chaplet of flowers. Dhum women also sing songs on this occasion. Boiled rice is distributed among the brotherhood.

2 Til châwali is simply rice and til mixed: it is used as a food.
Moslem pregnancy rites.

In the city of Delhi, where Muhammadans of good birth are numerous, many elaborate customs connected with pregnancy survive. The craving for tart, savoury food has given rise to the polite phrase: in kā khātī-mītho ko jī chāhā hoi, lit. ‘her heart yearns for bitter-sweet things,’ i.e. ‘she is pregnant.’ Other phrases are pān bhārī hōnā (to be heavy-footed), do-jīya hōnā (to have a second life), din chārīnā (to dawn), āmēd hōnā (to have hopes) etc.: and women friends say muhārak salāmāt! i.e. ‘may you be blessed and the child be safe!’ to the expectant mother.

The satwānsa in Delhi.

When the seventh month begins the woman’s parents bring her sadhar,1 a Hindu custom. This sadhar 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 neg,2 all the rest being divided amongst the other members of the family. A cocoanut is then broken in half; and if the kernel be white the woman will have njū plūl or white fruit, i.e. a boy. This cocoanut is called jhandāla, or ‘hairy,’ just as a new-born child is so called.3

The næmāsa 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, neg for the husband’s sisters, and rupees to buy the panjīrī,4 which must be made at the woman’s house. Her lap is filled, as in the satwānsa, 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 neg 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-cup used for the oil. The woman now goes to her parents’ house—an observance called pān phernā, or turning the feet, with some panjīrī, and returns some six or seven days later, bringing with her fresh fruit and sweets. After the næmāsa is finished, the midwife goes to buy the kioka 5 or various drugs required for the confinement.

In Dera Ghāzi Khán some Muhammadans have the Hindu superstitions regarding the effects of an eclipse on the foetus, if either parent undergo violent exertion.

1 Sadhar is said to mean seven things in Hindi. In some families it is brought in the fifth month.
2 Neg 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. nolar.
4 Panjīrī consists of five (whence the term) ingredients, viz., dry dates, gum, water- nuly seed, cocoanut and ginger—all mixed with sājī or meal and fried in ghi.
5 Cf. supra, p. 729: the word seems to have a different meaning in Sirmār.
SECTION 4.—MUHAMMADAN BIRTH OBSERVANCES.

When the birth-pains commence, Bibi Mariam ka panja,1 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 faqirs also indite charms, which are tied round the patient’s waist, or sometimes a Muhammad-Shahí rupee, on which is inscribed the kalima, is put into water, which is then given her to drink. In Kángra the báng, 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 Hindús, delivery is usually effected on the ground,2 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 child-birth 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 hándi (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 wel, 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: Iláhi! is ki mushkil ádán ho! (‘God! grant that her troubles may be lightened!’); others vow dauna (sweets put in cups made of folded leaves) to Mushkil-kusha.3 Meanwhile the midwife tells the mother: Jhelí do, jhelí, i.e. ‘bear down.’

A child born feet foremost is called a pa’ol, 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 kaláwa, 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 Jind and Karnal, she is allowed to lie on a bed.

3 Ali, 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 *pahllamthi,* 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 *nál kafáj 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 Gujrat 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 secundines 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 *narrā* or *nalla* 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 *qasūba* or handkerchief folded in a triangle. The nose also is pressed to prevent its hardening on exposure into a bad shape.

The *mulla* is next sent for without delay. He repeats the *subah kí azám* in the child's right ear, and the *takbīr* in its left. Batáshá'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: *Yahā́n fera nád to nahnī gera, jo tu jāne ko nām hī nahnī leta?* '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.

3 The Khattars of Rawalpindi have the uncut part of the cord, after it has dried up and fallen off, encased in silver and hung round the child's neck as a charm against stomachache.

Throughout the south-east Punjab the umbilical cord is carefully buried, often with the after-birth, in an earthen vessel (*šākār*) in a corner of the house. In Hissáir, neither parent should touch the cord. In Wángra, 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 *nār kafáj.* Among the Kashmiris only the secundines are buried, the piece of the cord cut off being kept to cure the child if it gets sore eyes. In Amritsar the uncut piece is preserved with the *shākār.* In Dera Ghází Khán the cord is carefully preserved and buried on the right of the house-door. In Multán it is buried where the birth took place.

4 This is also done in Hissáir, but neither there nor in Delhi is any vessel used to force the head into a round shape.

5 The morning call to prayer. But usually the *azám puān* and simple is specified (for this see Hughes' *Dictionary of Islám,* s.v. *Azám*). The usual synonym for *azám* is the P. *bāng,* lit.: a call, or cock-crow. In the south-east of the Punjab it is whispered, in Bahá'wálpur repeated in a loud voice, and elsewhere recited or repeated apparently in the ordinary voice.
The mulla receives a gift. After bathing, the child is made to lick honey, and then the khutti is administered.

After the khutti 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:

Birán, bháiya, main teri má ki jái,
Holar sunkar, badháwa lekar ñi,
Birán, bháiya, main teri má ki jái:
Chháti dhuláí katói lángi, to lat dhuláí rupaiyá,
Páñh dhulán ko chéri bungi; to khass cha'han ko ghórá.

"Brother! I am thy mother's own daughter, and hearing that a son has been born into 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 neg, 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 achhwani amongst the kinsfolk and receive a present in return; but amongst the poor the mother alone is given achhwani.

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

1 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 Hisar. Sometimes he whispers the call to prayer through a nara or tube; and, if the child is a girl, he sometimes whispers the takbir in both its ears, not the bang. If a mulla is not available, any man of reputed piety may perform the rite, receiving some sweet stuff, not a fee. In Karnal 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 Kânga this duty devolves on the child's uncle, or any pious member of the family. In Mâlêr Kôša 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 asâin she turns its right ear towards him, and then its left as he recites the taqbir. Until the asâin is thus repeated, the belief is that the child is convulsed with fear. In Jind some juice of the date is poured into the child's mouth, if it is a boy, in token of welcome.

2 Called dho ka dudhi or milk of flour, and it is used because amongst Hindus it would be sin to throw the milk after it had been used for washing, on the ground.

3 She is called dhidáni. But in Siálkot the breasts are washed by the nain.

4 Achhwani (or ohâ—i.e. Sirmur) = candle, Platts, &c., where it appears to be traced back to ajëwâin. It may, however, be derived from châ, six. It is given to the mother for six days. A cup of it is sent to every house in the brotherhood on the day of the birth (Hisar), but not universally. The achhwani (or a) is also distributed among kinmen and neighbours in Mâlêr Kôša, 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 'mánâb 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. Lest the mother sleep on, and her blood so stagnate and gets cold, women take it in turns to sing jachágiśiān or lullabies, of which the following are examples:—

1. Mero bábal ko líkhiyo sandes, jhándulá aś háúa:
   Bábal hamúre rájá ke chákár; bírán tále bheś.
   Jhándulá aś háúa.

   "Tell my father that his daughter has borne a son: my father is a servant of the Rájá, i.e. he is well-to-do; and that my brother is yet a child: the young one was born this day."

2. Āj jum m lîyá mere ráj duláre ne, pálná bándaṅgi, rī, pálná bándaṅgi!
   Ghi khíchri bheji, bábal,
   Hubrang, sughar jachá ko main táre
   dikháṅgi, rī, pálná bándaṅgi!

   "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 ghi and khíchri 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 chhatī.'"

3. Jachá, meri kāhe ko rūthi, main terā itr, khilāndā rī!
   Kaho to jachá rānti, dāi ko bulā dún—kaho kone patang bichhā dūn—kaho thaṭhai nachūn.
   Chorus—Jachá meri &c., &c.
   Sonth main bhāl āyā, ab la ānghā, rī!—hāth men kündā,
   bajal men solā lāyā rī! sonth bŷūl āyā, rī!
   Chorus—Jachá meri &c., &c.
   Tere holar kā naukar, ae begam, main terā naukar, terā
   chákár rī, sonth main bhŷūl āyā rī!
   Chorus—Jachá, meri kāhe ko rūthi, main terā itr, khilāundā, rī!

   This is a comic zachágiśi—as if it were made by, and sung for, the husband. The husband addresses the wife and says: "Beloved zachá, 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 (trāś thāṭ)1 to amuse you. I confess that I forgot to bring dry ginger for the zachā-khándā, but I can go for it immediately and bring it quickly—my hand was employed bringing the kündā (stone mortar), and under my armpit I had the sonṭā (a heavy wooden

1 To beat time, as in music, and dance, clapping the hands.
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club, used as a pestle), which were for your use—so you see, my dear, I could not help it: O my queen! I am your child's servant—your servant—your own servant. Why are you displeased? No doubt, I forgot to bring the sonth (dry ginger)."

4. Albele ne mujhe darad diya—sanaalya ne mujhe darad diya:
   Sanaalya ne mujhe darad diya, patalya ne mujhe darad diya:
   Jaa kaho larke ke bawa se, unohe naubat dharao re!

Chorus—Albele ne &c.

Jaa kaho larke ke naana se, rang bhari khichri ldo re!

Chorus—Albele ne &c.

Jaa kaho larke ke mamas se, hansli, kare gharhao, re!

Chorus—Albele ne &c.

Jaa kaho larke ki khal se, kurte, topi ldo, re!

Chorus—Albele ne &c.

Jaa kaho larke ki bawa se, thand, bhagatne nachao, re!

Chorus—Albele ne &c.

"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 storey or roof); have nifiri 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 khichri with all due magnificence, for the chhatti (sixth day) is given by him: go, and tell the mother's brother of the child also to make ready the hansli (necklet) and kud (wristlets), i.e. give orders to the goldsmith to prepare them: go also, and tell the mother's sister to have ready the kurte (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 bhand and bhagatie."

This last song, though it is in reality the pean of joy sung by Deokiji 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 chhatti 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 nakhi (‘nose-cut,’ or noseless one, i.e.
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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 chhätti or chilli.

It is also worthy of remark that a hejrá (eunuch) goes daily to each mahallah (street) and cries Huđ lețá ? Kāun sā ghar jāgá? (i.e., ‘Has a son been born?’ ‘Which house has awakened?’) Some child, or the sweepress of that quarter, informs him of the family in which a son or a daughter was born; going to that house he gets two pice presents and goes away, some coins, from one pice to two annas, into a earthen jar, the Aijra’, thikri, consisting in

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 sağäi. The money dropped into the jar is the midwife’s perquisite.

The aqiqa or tonsure — The aqiqa 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.1 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.2 As a rule the aqiqa is celebrated within seven days of the birth.3

The child’s head is shaved, and the weight of the hair in gold or silver given away as alms.4

1 The meaning of the word aqiqa is disputed. It may mean (1) the hair on a newborn child’s head, like jhand; or (2) be a derivative of the root aq (to cut or sacrifice). Even amongst orthodox Muhammadans the observances vary, cf. the Mishdi-ul-Masā’il, Mathews, II, pp. 315, 16.

2 In Bhīwānī it is only observed by well-to-do people, never by the peasantry, sa semine, but on the chaffi 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 fulfillment of the vow. In Śīlkot the aqiqa is displacing the old dhāmān rite.

3 It is very commonly held on the chaffi, or on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, or twenty-eighth, in Hiṣnā; on the seventh or tenth in Bhīwānī; on the seventh, fourteenth, or fortieth in Sirmūr; at any time within six months in Kāngra, very commonly on the fifth, or in Nūpur, on the eighth; in Māler Kotha on the sixth; on the seventh, eleventh, or twenty-first in Lahore; it is also very common in the central Punja to perform it on the sixteenth, thirteenth etc. day, e.g. if the birth occurred on a Monday, it would be held on the following Sunday, and so on.

4 In Delhi, and some other parts, this is the barber’s perquisite.
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The hair itself is carefully buried in the earth. 1 For a boy two he-goats are sacrificed and for a girl one. 2 The bones must not be broken, but carefully buried in the ground. 3 The flesh is distributed 4 among the brotherhood uncooked; or else they are feasted on it.

But the child's parents, and its parents' parents 5 must not eat of the flesh. Such are the main outlines of the rite.

Berī barhāna.—A blue cotton thread, called berī, is tied to the left foot of a child 6 in the name of Muin-ud-Dīn 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 maledā, 7 two pice and a trouser-string.

Bindū bandhna.—If a man's children die in infancy, he puts a bit of bindū or silver wire in the left ear of his next child.

Petā charhāna.—Women desirous of offspring often vow to offer petā 8 to the shrine of Dāna Sher 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 chhattī or sixth day.—The religious observance of the aqīqa is closely associated with the chhattī, the chāchak, and the naming of the child, three observances which will now be described.

As among the Hindūs, the chhattī, 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 īs līya ki sob kām sudh hon, 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 delivered over to the washerwoman, to be thrown into the river; in Hisār it is carefully preserved; in Māler Kotla it is kept wrapped up in bread; in Rāwalpindi the hair is caught by the sister, or father's sister of the child, lest it fall on the ground, and kept in the house with great care.

2 In Kānpa 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 skull to the waterman or the mullū (Hānsi). In Kānpa, 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 Dera Ghāzī 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 (Ludhianā).

5 Only the grandparents, the great-grandparents apparently not being debarred.

6 In Rohtak 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 Maledā, thick hand-made bread broken or pounded, and then mixed with sugar and ghi.

8 Petā—intestine.
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 eunuchs, bhánda, Sháh-tiayam-tiya, and dancing-girls; while inside the house Domnis and chúnéwáníán 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. Mubárak bádián or congratulatory songs are sung, such as:

Jami jam shádián, mubárak bádián;
Báwep farsand salámat, salámat-bádián.

“May you be ever blessed with such happiness; nay, may you, with your son, ever enjoy peace.”

Or—

Naurang chúre-wálíán, meri jachá ránián:
Suhá jord pahin suhágan moti bhari ránián:
Naurang chúre-wálíán.

“Our Zacha 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 Hissár the chhatti 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 chechák, or gift of clothes, and the agíga is observed on this day. If a man does not observe the chhatti it is said:—Chättí na chhilá hogayá.

Like the Hindús, 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 chhatti ká ghusal, and food called sudak ká kháná 2 is sent to all the women of the family.

The chhúchhak.—The chhúchhak is very commonly observed on the chhatti, 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 chhúchhak. In the south-east the first confinement is arranged for at

1 Among the zamindárs of Baháwalpur and Ahmadpur a ceremony called the doyás is observed on the sixth or eleventh day after birth; chillre or small leaves, also termed wasáda, are cooked, dipped in syrup, and distributed among the brotherhood.

2 Sudás.
her husband’s house, but the mother visits her father’s house some four or six months later and then brings back the chhúchhak.\(^1\)

Generally speaking, the chhúchhak appears to be used for any present sent to the mother or child on the chhátí, aqíqa etc. by her parents or other relatives, or even by relatives of the child’s father. In Rohtak, indeed, the term appears to be limited to the presents made by the father’s sister of the child.

In Hisár mention is made of a gift called jamawana, made by the mother’s parents to her. It consists of gum, ghi and sugar, with clothes and ornaments for the child, and would appear to be distinct from the chhúchhak.

Wehám.—Closely analogous to the chhúchhak is the wehám observance, which is widely spread throughout the submontane and southwestern districts.

In Lahore the wehám is, among well-to-do people, a link in a chain of elaborate observances. On the chhila, or fortieth day, the women of the family assemble and make presents to the mother and child, who are then taken to a shrine. Chárá 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 wehám. 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 wehám presents, the women of the mahál come to view them, and the child’s grandmother distributes sweetmeats and panjírī to the brotherhood. In return the women each give the child a rupee, or less.

In Amritsar the term wehám is applied to the presents made by the mother to each of the kinswomen assembled on the fortieth day.

In Baháwalpur the parents give her on the eighth, twenty-first, or fortieth day, when she bathes, pinnís,\(^3\) 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 haslí, a silver necklet or a gold mohár for the child.\(^4\)

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1. Platts, *sub voce*, says chhúchhak 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 Hisár it takes the form cheochak.

2. In Kapúrthala the observances are simple. On the third day the father sends a man of khíchrí to his wife’s father, and he, on the eighth day, sends in return pinjírī, clothes and ornaments for the mother.

3. Pinnís are rolls made of ghi, flour and gur, and weighing about half a āḍha each.

4. In Sialkot the parents send their daughter ghi and sugar on the same day, with or without pinnís, 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.
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The treatment of the mother.

In theory the mother is bathed on the tenth, twentieth, thirtieth and fortieth days, as in Rohakt, Hissar, Karnal, Ambala and Sirmur; but to this rule there are numerous exceptions.

The bath on the fortieth day is called chhilla (lit., fortieth), and that on the tenth daswan, on the twentieth biswan, and on the thirtieth tiswan. But in the Karnal District these three earlier baths are called chhoth chhilla; and in Delhi, the daswan chhilla (tenth), biswan chhilla (twentieth), chhoth chhilla (thirtieth), and bara chhilla (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 chhaffi, mother and child are both dressed, their heads being enfolded 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 chaumak 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 jinns and parsi 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 mirg. Hence this observance is called the mirg marna, 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 Shah Nazir of Delhi, described this custom thus:

Wahi phir shah ne vih rasal ki wa'hu;
Chhaparkhat par qadam rakh, ho ke shadahu.
Ada kar harf i 'Bismillah' saraa,
Kamun-o-tir lekar mirg mara;
Namudar is tar'ha saqf mev tir,
Folak par kakhusha ki jaist takhir.

As well as on the sixth chhaffi.

E.g., in Sirkha she is said to be bathed (tw only) on the sixth and fortieth days. Or on the fifth, seventh, or tenth (Karnal), every eighth day (Kaparthal). In one account from Hissar 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 (chhaffi ka ghusal) and on the tenth (on both these days the midwife gets dues), on the twenty-first (when pangsiri is distributed and a feast held in memory of the ancestors), and on the thirtieth and fortieth days. In Sialkot the mother is bathed on the fifth, if the child be a girl, and on the eighth if it is a boy.

Fr. chaumak, 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 qat.
"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 bismilah, his arrow shot by him into the roof looked like the Milky Way in the firmament."

After seeing the stars the mother returns and seats 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 zachá rani or ‘queen mother’, together with seven other women, whose husbands are living, takes a little from each dish, and the only words heard are mubarak! salamat! Songs are also sung:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zachá jab dekhne ko úi táre,</th>
<th>Chhattí ki dhám ño pahunon falak tak,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sitáre charhí-igardún ne utáre.</td>
<td>Qamar aur mushtari donon pukáre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huá farzand yih sab ko mubarak:</td>
<td>Khudí ne kyá khushi donon ko dí hau:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaho, larke ká báwá, míra máre:</td>
<td>Damáme baj gae—gúnje naqáre.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“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 mág márná, whereby his courage may be proved. When the sounds of rejoicing at the chhattí 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-bachhá, also prevailed, and the other Mughals of Delhi also observe it with slight variations. A big, sweet loaf was made of 5½ sars 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 suhágans, 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-bachhá, ‘take the child’; the next one would say, Allah niyabán, bachcha, ‘God is the protector of the child’; and, passing the child between her legs, would say to the third Bigir bachhá. In this way, each of the seven suhágans 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 Játs, Gujars, Aráins, 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 phálá (ploughshare) over his shoulder and a parain or ox-goad in his hand. In Máler Kotla the rite is called chhattí ke táre dekháwá, ‘to show the stars of the sixth.’
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The mother comes out attended by the midwife and a woman carrying a lamp. A man of the family carries the Qurán, 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 khichri. Thrice she spits rice out of her mouth to the right and thrice to the left. The reader of the Qurán gets a silver coin and some gur, and the midwife takes the khichri. On this day, the sixth, the mother is bidden to eat her fill, otherwise the child will have an insatiable appetite all its life.

In Kangra the mother sees the stars on the seventh day, unless it fall on a Friday.1 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 Qurán. In Gujrat the Chibh Rájpút 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.

Sardán karne ki rasm.—Just after the tåre dikhána the families of the old Mughal dynasty performed another called the sardán2 karne ki rasm; 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 teethered 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 baotchha ceremony. In Delhi city this observance is called shiríá, and is only practised if the child actually gets ill. The women ask the question shiríá gayá? They reply gayá 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 Ráwalpindi and Gujrat. In the former district a boy is presented with a totá 3 by the tailor: with a chaplet of diharek and sirs leaves by the flower-woman 4—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 máchhi makes a net and casts it over the child, as an augury that he may remain dutiful and obedient to parental control; the sweeper (munallí)

Because if she bathe on a Friday she will live barren for twelve years! Tuesday and Sunday are the lucky days for the bathing.

1 Sardán; possibly a contraction of sar-gardán, i.e. that which is passed over the head; shiríá clearly from shirí, milk.
2 A toy made of several pieces of cloth of all colours, strung on a thread like the tail of a kite. This is hung out to the roof of the house but without any express meaning. This is also done in Gujrat.
3 This is done in Gujrat by the Aråm or flower-woman and she receives a rupee.
orings 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 kamāyar or painter brings a paper horse. Each of these dependants receives his customary dues in return.

In the villages of Gujrat 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 Siálkot and Gujrat. In the latter district the mother bathes on the fifth or seventh day and puts on new clothes. Bread with halwá is distributed among the brotherhood. This is called dhaman karna.1 In Siálkot the observance merely consists in the kinswomen assembling a few days after the birth, and in distributing halwá and chapátis among the brotherhood.

Pichháwán.—The belief in the evil effects of the shadow (pichháwán) of a woman whose child has died young survives among the Muhammadans of Gujrat. Every precaution is taken to prevent her getting access to mother or child, and green sarín leaves are hung over the outer door to avert the pichháwán. Certain tanks are believed to have the power of curing children who are affected by pichháwán and so waste away, if bathed therein.

Kunisht.—A curious custom, not very clearly described, is observed in Siálkot 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.

Fosterage.—In well-to-do families a wet nurse (anná) is chosen from some decent family, with a nurse (mání) to dress the children; a ddáda to bring them up, and a girl (chhochko) to wash soiled clothes, and to play with the children, under the mother's supervision.

In the morning the chhochko plays with the children, humming the following verses:

For boys—1. Mián áwe dúron se,
Shópá bándhán khajáron se.
"My master has come from a far country;
i will tie his horse to a tall palm tree."

1 Among the Gujars the Brahman actually comes in on this day and makes a chauka in which a lamp of flour is lit. Huge loaves of bread, each weighing a topá, are given to the menials and the Brahman himself gets a topá of flour. In well-to-do families a special kind of halwá is made and eaten by the members of the got, but no one else may partake of it. Even married daughters cannot eat this halwá 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.

*Kunisht means apparently, 'hell,' 'younger,' 'of the lowest age,' in Punjabi.
2 Mian dwe danr ke.
    Dushman ki chháti 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."

Or 3. Jug, jug, jug, jug, jia karo,
    Dush malida piyá karo.
    "Long, long, may you live on;
     Milk, crushed bread with butter, live on."

When the daddá washes the child's face she sings:—
    Chhich chhich kawwá kháe;
    Daddá bhátí nanna khé.
    "The dirt, the dirt, the crows may eat;
     Milkie, ricie, tiny will eat."

At noon, the anná sings the following lullaby (lori):—
    A já, r! nindiyá tú á kyun na já?
    Mere bāle ki ankhon men, ghul mil já.
    Áti hún, būvi, áti hún :
    Do, chār, bāle khiláti hán.
    "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 Tú so, mere bāle! 'tú so mere bhole! jab tak balí hai nayd :
    Phir jo paregá tú dunyá ke dhande, kaisá hai jhúlā! kaisi hai nind!

Ochorus.—Tú so, mere etc. etc.
    Khel, tamáshe, kar le tú sáre; kahti hún tujh se, ankhon ke tare!
    Zindá hai mán bhí, báp bhi bāre : kar le tú árám Suyyad piyáre.

Ochorus.—Tú so, mere etc. etc.
    Khel tum aise khelná, lañá! jin sena ho mán báp há jálná :
    Dunyá se gār, gār, sanbhal-kar chalná ; sakri hai gháti, rasta
    phisalná.

Ochorus.—Tú so, mere etc. etc.
    "Sleep, my babe! my innocent babe! while to the child there's sleep,
     Caught up in the whirl of (life's) business; where is thy cradle, where thy sleep!

* Hindi for an age, epoch, period, long time, always.
Mostem birth observances.

Chorus.—Sleep, my babe! etc. etc.

All fan 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:

Ohandá mámún, dúr ke. Piyálí gáí tút,
Bare pakáwen, dúr ke; Ohandá mámún gae rúth,
Ap kháwen thált men, Piyálí dí aur,
Ham ko dewen piyálí men.; Ohandá mámún de daur.

"Uncle moon arar, 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:

Akko! makkho!

When the child is just able to articulate, she sits him on her knees, and swinging him, resting on her back, and moving her knees up and down, while she sings:

Jhujjhú Jhote, jhujjhú-jhú:
Jhujjhú ti dálí jhúm párí;
Miyáñ, ne chun, chun, gud bhári.
Pakke, p'kke, miyáñ kháèn;
Kachche, kachche naukar kháèn.

Jhujjhú = 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:—

Khabardár rahiyo, huyhíyá! rájá ká kot yírta hai: Agá! rá! rá! dhám!

"Look out, old woman! the king's fort is tumbling down: crash! crash! down! thud!"
Moslem birth observances.

If it is a girl, she amuses her thus:—

1. **Bíháí** rí tu bát, **change din lá:**
   *Jíven tere báp aur bhaí!*
   "Miss, you are princess; you have come at a nice time:
   May your father and brother live long."

2. **Bíháí**, leťiyán, chhaparkhat men letiyán:
   *Máre magrárí ke jawáb na detiyán!*
   "Miss daughter, you lie in a mosquito curtain:
   Through pride, you don't answer me."

3. **Akkhó! makkho! merí bíné ko, Alláh! rakho.**
   "Akkho! Makkho! O, God! preserve my lady!"

If, while asleep, the child smiles, they say that Bíháí is making it laugh. Bíháí, or **Bh Mátá**, 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-jagá** or vigil.—The name **rat-jagá**, 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 chaṭṭí dúkh chutáí, sál-giráh, bismilláh, or wedding. The frying-pan is kept on the fire all night, and fritters are made, **Alláh** niyán ká rahm ¹ being also baked. This is done to ensure divine favour. At the same time, the bíbí ki niázs, or offering to Fátima, daughter of Muhammad, is also made. Seven kinds of fruit and vegetables, in plain or sweetened ² rice, are served in new earthen vessels. On this offering are also placed some misští, phúiel (scented oil), surma (antimony), henna, kaláwa (coloured thread), sandal-wood and five annas as chirdághí or lamp fee. Formerly it was also customary to put some slaked lime in a small plate, into which the pák-dámanán or chaste wives, who partook of the food offered in the niázs, 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 tribunal usages, accretions on the orthodox observance. This is simple. Though not even alluded to in the Qurán, the rite is held to be sunnat, i.e. founded on the customs of the Prophet, ³ 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 halwdé prepared from a rice and flour, kneaded in ghá and sugar, and in which are mixed dried fruits.

² The proportions being 5¾ sers of rice to 2½ sers of sugar and 3¼ of curd.

³ See article in Hughes' Dictionary of Islam. In the Punjab the rite is commonly called **khatád**, cf. A. **khatnah** or **khitán**; but the term **tahor**, i.e. **tahür** (purification) is also used.
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 chhaff.

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 lie in the fact that it is regarded as a wedding—indeed, in the south-west of Baháwalpur it is actually termed shádí. 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 intoxicates the boy with ma'fún, so that he may not feel the pain.

As a rule the barber operates, but in Kángra the Abdal is sometimes employed, and in the west of the Punjab the Pirhain. In Baháwalpur the boy is told by the guests to slap the Pirhain, 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 Kángra 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 mauli 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 Máler Kotla the boy is ceremoniously bathed on a wooden stool, and then his mother’s brother ties a kangna 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 Baháwalpur the boy’s mother stands by with a Qurán 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 root, or even attached to it with a piece of straw, in Hisáár. In Baháwalpur it is called khol, 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 Baháwalpíndí the operation is often carried out on the same day as the aqíqa. The child’s sisters and his father’s sisters are presented with clothes, and they sing:—

Hárid ni máye Háríd,  
Hárid te bhági bharsa,  
Jis ghar eñ defrá jamíd,  
Hárid ni máye Háríd,  
Hárid te bhági bharsa,  
Ohio ghar bhágíbhariá,  
Hárid ni máye Háríd,  
Hárid te bhági bharsá.
"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. *omannat*, in Punjabi *manaut*) 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.

**Badháwa.**—Another type of vow is to place a silver necklet round the child’s neck every year, or to make him wear a *hamá’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 *dasawndh.* 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 Badháwa FIr Sáhib.

In Siákot the term *badháwa* is applied to the custom of putting on the *hamá’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 *nițâz* is offered, and the whole head shaved.

**Imámon-ka-paik.**—During the first ten days of the Muharram, some people get their children made messengers of the Imáms (*imámon-ka-paik*), 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

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1. In Siákot and Baháwalpur the *haslí* or *hamá’il* becomes the property of the boy’s wife when he marries. In Hissár the sale-proceeds are sometimes spent in sweets, which are distributed among the brotherhood. In Kapurthala the necklets 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. *Dasawndh*, lit. a tithe, also a votive offering made at the age of ten: see P. Dictionary, sub voc *dasawndh*. Sometimes a rupee is simply put by each year till the child is ten.

3. *Badháwa* = 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 Siákot 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 opprobrious name to the child.
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Mostem birth observances.

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or friends. But a lock of hair called liś is kept and removed some years later at a Pir’s shrine; but the observance is not common.

In Rawalpindi the jhanḍi 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 suchī bōdi—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 ḫandī 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.

Marāṇḍon ki rasm.—When the child is about five or six months old its mother’s mother sends some marūṇde, and these are distributed in the family. The marūṇde are balls made of wheat or parched rice mixed with sweets, or else of mo ḥār ke lāḍḍu mūṅ ki ɲāl mixed with syrup, together with poppy seed or boiled wheat. The balls are made by closing the fist (muṭṭhī ke baṇḍ karna se), and are sent because at this age the child begins to open and close its fists.

Section 5.—Hindu Betrothal Observances.

Sastraic Ideas on Betrothal.

A Hindu friend has furnished me with following account of orthodox Sastric 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 sakulya, and lastly the mother. But if any one of these disregard the prikraśi or kālaśār (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, be constantly

1 Marūṇḍa or marūṇḍa, a ball of parched sugar mixed with crude sugar, sometimes of a large size: P. Dictionary, pp. 781, 777, 779.

2 Pandit Shib Rām Das, a Brahman of the Ganghār section (Bhāṣīṭ gotra) of Bunjūli status, whose family was originally settled in the Jhang District.

3 The sakulya, i.e. one of the same kul 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 (sukhskam) 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 his 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, the 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 trinbha 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.

1 Some of the Pashtu verses descriptive of good looks popular in Kurram run:—

*Nin mein o irt della chti pasdr thor gul'dna
Narat mottá sarinda zulf tédrána
*Nin mein o lidalla ding gár'dán mirmúna
Hindu betrothal observances.

Shastric law classifies women into four groups; Padmani, Chitarni, Sankhani and Haahti.

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, Kátik or Chet, when Venus and Jupiter are on the wane, during the shrádhá, annual or general, dwitiik (intercalated month), or the anátrá, when Venus and Jupiter are in the same rds, and so on. Sundays, Tuesdays and Saturdays are also to be avoided.

Betrothal was generally observed during the following Nakshatras (asterisms):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Utrán and Parhán} & \quad \begin{cases} 
\text{Phalgani.} \\
\text{Khárán.} \\
\text{Bhadarpadán.} 
\end{cases} 
\end{align*}
\]

Also in Rohni, Kritkán, Mrigshár, Maghhán, Hust, Swáti, Utradhán, Kután and Reota.

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 mangha-charan or benedictory prayers, and Shri Ganeshji is worshipped.

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) lustful. The hair, eyebrows and eyelashes should all be long and black, the teeth white and the lips red; the shames of rosy cheeks are enhanced by a black or a green mole; the neck should be long, the fingers tapering and the waist slim.
Hindu betrothal observances.

in a brass dish (thali); rice is thrown on Ganesha 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 wāhādān, i.e. ‘the dān 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 pradiyate kanya, ‘a girl is given but once.’ Formerly, in respectable families, a betrothed girl whose fiancé 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 jānaya, 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 kinmen. The boy’s parents and kinsmen make gifts to Brahmans and distribute money among them, an observance called nāvān (lit. name).

The boy is next taken to his father’s house when a morsel of bread, butter, sugar and khichri ¹ is given him. This rite is called Grāhin dēna (or gift of a morsel of bread). The females also distribute khichri 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 gur and a rupee, five pieces of turmeric, some supāri (betel-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:—

Kanjur te Qasdi, chūṭ nāl chūṭ wāṭdī—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 Hindūs 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.²

Betrothals are of three kinds:—

(i) dharm ³ or pun, in which the girl is given by her parents as a quasi-religious offering to her future husband.

¹ This is the custom in the Jhang District.
² Punjāb Customary Law, ii, p. 118.
³ Dharm dē paēhrē in parts of the South-West Punjāb.
Hindu betrothal observances.

(i) *Watta saffā* (exchange), in which two or more families exchange brides.

(ii) *Takke* or *takkiyān di pachār*, in parts of the south-west Punjab, in which a bride-price is more or less openly paid.

(iii) 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 Gurgão 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 *thak* or *sikka*. 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 (*chauki* or *pattra*) slightly raised off the ground, on which, after it has been swept and smeared with cow-dung, a square (*chauk*) 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 (*chhowāra*), one or more rupees and some clothes as a *shagūn* or conventional gift to the boy. These are made over to him by the *lādū* (a priest, a barber, or a bard) at his parents' house in

1 *Watta dī pachār* in parts of the South-West.

8 Such a betrothal (or the price paid for it) is said to be called *dambāk* in Ludiāna. *Puchār* 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 Shapur, among most of the Khatrīs and Aroras, the boy's father takes the first step, but among the Khokharāns, or upper class Khatrīs, the girl's father does so (xv, pp. 22-3). In Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazāl Khān, 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. 28).

8 In Hindi a betrothal is called *sagā*, in Punjabi *mangewa* or *mangī*, from *mangnā* 'to beg in marriage'. *Kurmā* is a term widely used, especially in the Punjab. In Muzaffargarh (South-West Punjab) *puchār* is the term used by Hindus. *Ropa* 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 bridgroom.

4 Also called *ropna* (in Sirsa). The use of the term *tika* (*thikka* in Punjabi) in this sense is unusual and apparently confined to the South-eastern Punjab. Thus in Hānai the girl's father sends a barber with a rupee to the boy's house, and the barber gives this rupee (which is called *tikḍa*) to the boy. In Jhelum *tikḍa* is used as equivalent to *silak*.

No public inquiry is made about the girl, but the women find out among themselves.

4 Called *negi* as entitled to *neg* or *lk*, i.e. dues, in the South-East Punjab. But a commoner term is *lādū* i.e. one entitled to *lādū* dues.

7 This mark is more correctly and usually called *silak*. It is usually made on the boy's forehead by the girl's Brahman with turmeric and rice. Occasionally her barber affixes it. In Jhelum it is affixed during the reception of the *shagūn*. 
the presence of his kinsmen, and in return he sends the girl a shagún 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 gōtrachār. 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 shop 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 suin or seur henceforth existing between them. This relationship prevents their visiting each other or even eating together, while the future son-in-law (jawātra) may not even speak to his father-in-law (sokra).

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 rite:—

In Muzaffargarh, where the rite is called pānī pilāwan (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 Baháwalpur a very similar ceremony called mathe bagāwan 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: hān kāki mihāś ghin, 'dear sister, take this sweetmeat,' and she must reply liā bhirawā, 'brother, give it me.'

¹ P.C.L., xii, p. 3.
² They say they have come to arrange for the pachār (betrothal) of so-and-so chaudāri's (notable's) son. The reply is that the girl's father will consider the proposal (vichār karna), 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.L., xx, p. 15.
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 lagawán* 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 Kirá 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 fail 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 *Sawan*, 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 lagawán* or *sawan* 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) *amho samhãnd* or simple exchange; (ii) *trahbanj* or threefold barter;³ (iii) *chobhañj* or fourfold, and so on, in Muzaffargarh.⁴ 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 Ganesh and recites the *gotrachdr*. The gur or fruits are taken home and distributed.

In Jhang exchange betrothal is called *amo sámne*, a term which in Multán is applied to direct, as opposed to *tarain ostni* or indirect exchange. In Ludhiana betrothal by exchange is called *határh*.

In Ludhiana exchange marriage (*batte ká biyáh*) sometimes takes the form called *báhke ká biyáh* 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 (*báhhdá*) has to be paid to the party giving the adult girl.

Among the Gaddis of Chamba, marriage by exchange is called *bola*, and the first of the rites observed resembles those described below in a dharma-puna betrothal. But when all the boy’s people go to complete the alliance, a grindstone, pestle and *sil* (mortar) with three or five lumps of gur, *supári bihan*, and *rolián*, are placed before them, and the *parohit* taking the *supári* 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 *supári* etc. is put in a dish with the gur broken into small pieces, and distributed among the guests, the boy’s

¹ *The mathe lagawán* is also observed in the villages of the Multán 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-puṇa 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 lāgis (or more usually one man, the nāi) to the boy's house where the ordinary rites are gone through.¹

In the north-eastern (Himalayan) corner of the Punjāb, 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-puṇa betrothal the girl's father gives the parohit some dubh 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 Gānesh, 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 Kanets, 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 Gānesh. 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 puṇa. Thus in Siālkot, among the Chūhrās, the boy's father goes to the girl's house with a female kinsman, and is then feasted, 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.L. v (Ludhiana), p. 43. But in Musalmānegarh Gauchar is not apparently worshipped in tukkē betrothals, xx, p. 16.
² The above are the customs in vogue among the Gaddis of Chamba, but in the Churī 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 jūth, and the act jūth gānd. 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 Gujars, Rors and Jats of Kaithal,\(^2\) the tribes of Sirsa,\(^3\) and in the Shâlpur 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 re-marriage have a strong feeling that the betrothal duly effected gives the boy's family a claim on the girl's hand, so that, in the event of her original fiancé'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 \textit{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). Immorality 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 \textit{Jâts} 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.  
\(^3\) P.C.L., iv, pp. 89-94; cf., li (Gurgdon), pp. 116-119.  
\(^4\) P.C.L., pp. 24-5.  
\(^5\) P.C.L., xix, p. 15.  
\(^6\) P.C.L., xiii, p. 4.
Hindu betrothal observances.

Hindus, 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 Rajpūts assert that betrothal cannot take place before the age of ten, and girls are certainly betrothed at a much later age among Rajpūts than among other (and lower) tribes, so much so that it is common to defer a Rajpūt girl’s betrothal till she is fifteen or even twenty. In Ambala, the Gūjars of Rūpar 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 Gurdāspur, Siālkot, Shahpur, Jhelum, Dera Ghāzi Khān, 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 Lahore, Jāts betroth from four to six; and Rajpūts 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 unmarriage 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 Hānsi the 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 bubā. These, too, are returned with some cash, oil and clothes added, only three or four ordinary trinkets being retained.

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1 P.C.L., x, p. 4.
2 P.C.L., viii, p. 8; x, p. 4.
3 P.C.L., x, p. 4; xi, p. 4; xiv, p. 6; xix, p. 18; xx, p. 18.
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. 8.
9 P.C.L., xii, p. 3.
10 P.C.L., xv, p. 20; xix (?), p. 17.
Hindu betrothal observances.

In Multán and Muzaffargarh, there is a similar custom called \textit{subha}, 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 Sirmúr.\footnote{Very similar to the \textit{subha} observance, yet distinct from the observance called \textit{gur} in Multán. It consists in sending \textit{gur} (jaggery), fruit and vegetables with two rupees (Bahawalpur coinage, which is cheaper) to the boy's father, 'some time after the betrothal has been completed.'}

Muzaffargarh also appears to have some distinctive local customs in the \textit{ság} or \textit{wat walaśan}, which consists in the girl's father sending the boy's a request for \textit{ság} (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 \textit{wair sáb}, 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 \textit{Rám sat} 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. 1-4-0, 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 'Rám Rám' (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 \textit{píridśi} 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 \textit{píri}.\footnote{Betrothal among Hindús 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 lump of \textit{gur} with a rupee to the boy's. In well-to-do families this ceremony, which is called \textit{shaqši}, 13 to 25 rupees with 100 \textit{kídś} (sugarcandy) are sent. In the case of a \textit{mdśi} (a widower) of good social status and well-to-do the amount often rises to Rs. 500 or even Rs. 1003.}

After the betrothal comes the \textit{pair pánd} (to put in one's feet) ceremony. At this the girl's people send as many as 51 trays of \textit{lādś}, \textit{lāchś} and other sweets to the boy's parents, 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 no males) to the girl's. These 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 \textit{surūrdnā} of Re. 1-4-0 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 \textit{mohar} or a half \textit{mohar}. One rupee each is given to all the other relatives of the boy, but his father and grandfather get a whole or half a \textit{mohar} according to the status of the family. The girl's party are not served with refreshments. The boy's parents then celebrate the \textit{bhājśi}. In the case of a \textit{mdśi} there is no \textit{pair pánd}, strictly speaking, nor is there in that of a \textit{swākśān} (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 dhany and milai ceremony is observed. On this occasion too the girl's people send 51 trays of toddu &c. with a big chaf! full of dahi (whey) 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 milai (= 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 parohit 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 salámi, which involves the gift of a rupee by the girl's relatives to each of the boy's. At the milai the kinsemen 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 dons a mukat and then he and his sarbála (a boy under 10 years of age and closely related to the bridegroom) don clothes especially prescribed and march out of the house after the tambol has been taken. The boy carries a sword in his hand. The boy then mounts the mare with the sarbála behind him. The mare is fed on dál. The boy's sister then holds the reins of the mare and refuses to release these until she gets some money as wág phardá (= to catch the reins). She sings the following song:—

Kí kuchh denna vird wág phardá
Kí kuchh vird dál charádi.

'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 dál ?'

The boy and his sarbála then ride off to the girl's home accompanied by a couple of friends and a servant. On disembarking at it he is beaten with thin sticks (tili mähl) by little girls who sing:—

Saa guchhádi, jawádi mera kehra,
Jide hath gánd sír sehra.

'The mother-in-law asks: 'who is my son-in-law?'

One with a gánd round his wrist and a garland of flowers on his head."

This done the girl's relatives try to put a lañghá (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 sieve with a lamp in it which he knocks over with his sword. He is then accommodated in a room till the time for the lówá 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 a goddess but the boy does not always submit to this as he has been warned by his mother, sister &c. against such traps. When the time for the lówá draws nigh, he goes to the bed, and is seated on a khárá turned upside down with the girl similarly seated alongside him. Here too a number of small girls behind him try to beat him with tiny wooden boxes called gábbiás máról and annoy him with various tricks. He tries to snatch from them as many of the gábbi as he can.

The wedding rite having been gone through the khatpújá 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 kinswomen to recite some chhánds and for these he is paid a rupee each.

The chhánds are:—

Ohhand paráde di jí chhand práde kesar.
Saer merí Débaráti, saushra merí Jormeshar.

After this the girl is taken to the doli, but before doing so the following song which moves every body to tears is sung:

Lai challe bóbál lai challe wai.
Mainá doli pa káhár bóbál lai challe wai.
Rák bóbál rák lai wai.
Mainá rák hún dihára dór.
Hun kí bóbál tara dôwa.
Was jardí kara dôwa.
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 kahdras are taking me away in a doli!
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 some one else, your claim now is false."

When the bride has been seated in the doli often with a little girl beside her, she goes on crying. The doli is carried a few paces by her nearest relatives and then by the kahdras, 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 sohag and those at the boy's ghori.

Sohag.

Deode da raja bap chhaadjá, maháy rania mán.
Patti bháda vir chhaadjá, chhaadjá sab parvár.

"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 pafti. I am leaving the whole family."

Ghori.

Sir tere nawrangia chórí, kalgi dí ajab báhrá.
Pair tere makhmal dí jufí turnáde pambah de bhár.

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 bon-fire is lit and the girls sing:

Sofí sofí wai lokariyo sofí st,
Bab deve Mohan Lói taiuná waufti st.
Is waufti dí vel wadhal st.
Ghar bathide nú nu sañthá dháti dí st.
Pa máé dí káte kutté nú nu ut pán.
Kálá kutdá de dustá, terdá jówá, majhi gáti.
Mohmá dé ke já dhári phul pauá ke já.
Dáhri teri hari hrári, motádi dál fari bhári.
The boys sing—
Suñ gohá, há khvoyá.
Suñ lakañ, há shakar.
Isá 0! Isa khoi bhádi khúa.
Hilá 0! Hilá, ai ke hilá.

"If you cast cow-dung cakes you will get khoya 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!"

Sddé mití dás ni mádri lumará!
Sddé chuíhe ká ni mádri lumará!

"Give us our turn! aunt fox!
Eat up our rest! aunt fox?"
Hindu marriage observances.

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 Brahmins and Khatri, while among Jats marriage generally takes place according to the asura form, in which a pecuniary is struck. In Bahawalpur also the Brahman 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: (i) bedi bidh, the ordinary Hindu forms; (ii) ruti mandi, 4 or 5 men go from the bridegroom to the bride's house, dress her up, put a cap on her head, and then bring her home to the bridegroom; (iii) Ganesh puja, the form used by Brahmins, Khatri, Sunars (goldsmiths etc. in marrying a Kanet girl). But another account distinguishes the three forms as Brah, gahdharb and ghatbidh, and a third classifies the usage in vogue thus:—

(i) Brah
(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. ruti mandi, in which the bridegroom accompanied by 4 or 5 kinsmen goes to the bride's house and brings her home.
3. madhuxa, concubinage.
4. randol, widow-remarriage.

These four forms are more or less observed in all tribes. In Nos. (ii) 1 and 2 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., xii, p. 7.
2 P. C. L., ii, p. 185.
In Chamba the Gaddis recognise only three forms, *bidh*, i.e. regular marriage, *jindphuka*,¹ and *jhanjarra* or widow-remarriage. But in the Churah *vide*ral of that State regular marriage would seem to be either (1) *jandi* or (ii) *sir guddi*²; corresponding to the *jindphuka* is the *man-marzi* or marriage made by a couple of their own free will; while widow-remarriage is called *bandha lana*.³

The term *Jhanjarra* is used for the remarriage of a widow in Kânga and Kulu as well as in Chamba. But in Sirmûr 'regular' marriage is termed *jhaïra*, in contradistinction to *rit* or marriage with a woman purchased from her former husband—the madkhulla of Kulu; but the *jhaïra* is not the orthodox Brahmanical marriage, which is all but unknown in the trans-Giri part of Sirmûr. *Jhaïra* is in fact solemnised without the *phera* 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 *gharastini*. 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 *jhaïra*.

Apparantly then *jhajra* means 'putting the nat’ or nose-ring in the bride’s nose,' but to the west, *i.e.* in Kulu and Kânga the term has come to be applied to widow-remarriage.

¹ It appears to be also called *jar phuka* and is solemnised by burning a *karjora* or kahmali bush, *i.e.* by setting light to the bush and tying the end of the bride’s sheet to the bridegroom’s woollen 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.

² 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 he-goat: in a *sir guddi* double that amount is paid, but not always accepted, and the bridegroom is only accompanied by 3 men. In both forms a rupee is given to the bride for her *bandha*, an ornament.

³ *Bandha lana*, lit. to put on the *bandha*, the ornament which distinguishes a married woman.
Hindu marriage observances.

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 lakhnootari 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 pheret and if her people approve of it messengers from both sides go to the parohit and get him to prepare the lakhnootari.

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 (kathlewad).

3. Investiture with the sacred thread.—In the twice-born castes (Brahman, Kshatria and Vaisya) the boy must be invested with the sacred thread before the wedding can take place.

4. Pera.—This is the first of the wedding ceremonies. Pera is made of mèle or pulse, finely ground, called piṭṭi. The bridegroom takes his seat on a woolen 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. Piṭṭi is distributed among all the relatives 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 Rajpūts these presents are made by the bridegroom's father.

6. Sāhā chitthi.—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. Brahman bhoj.—Sweetmeats and cash are distributed among the Brahmins 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 Brahmins 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 Brahmins. In the trans-Sutlej districts the ceremony is called thāma, and the

1Among the Khatris and Brahmins of Gurdaspur along with the 'sāhā chitthi' are sent some cash, from Re. 1 to Rs. 250 in amount, ornaments and clothes for the kānmana (boy's mother): also a kafara (cup) resembling a tabalābiz, some māri (refined sugar), a coconut and a rupee for the boy. These articles are known as the ṭikka. The boy's parents give the bearer of the chitthi a bag containing bits of coconut, almonds, dried dates &c. weighing at most 20 seers. They also give the bearer a bid (gift) for the girl.

2Now-a-days in Gurdaspur the girl's boy's parents with the sāhā chitthi send the boy's parents a mauli as a mecha or measure for the preparation of the girl's garments.

3These offerings are made not only at weddings, but on all auspicious occasions of a similar nature.
number of dels is fixed at 252 altogether.

The minimum rate per del is a quarter of an anna and the maximum one rupee among persons of ordinary means; and the bridegroom's father is put to ruined expenditure on that ceremony which arises solely from a desire for ostentation. (This custom prevails generally among the Kaláls.)

10. Hath bhr, chonk 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. Máián.—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 batna 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 Gurdáspur 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 chathiná, 'to apply oil.' Watna or batna is also rubbed on their bodies. On the same day pakurás (lumps of flour) sweetened and fried and rice are distributed among the kindred, and the kanga or gáua, a coloured thread, is tied round the bridegroom's right wrist.

These ceremonies are performed by both the families concerned.

12. Chakhí chung, kothi dáta &c.—The special millstone which is to be used to prepare the marriage feasts 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 Gurdáspur 6½ sers 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. Shás.—This ceremony is performed on the morning of the wedding day. The bridegroom takes nalu, 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 (mukat) and a garland of gold or lace on his head. All his kinsmen and friends pronounce blessings on him and money, called dhur, is distributed
among the Brahmans present. A boy relative of the bridegroom is made his sarbālā, and if the bridegroom die the bride is wedded to the sarbālā, as her marriage must never be postponed, under any circumstances whatsoever, when she has once gone through the ceremony of jāl charhānā.

14. Ghori charhna, jandi kātnā. In the evening the bridegroom proceeds to the bride’s house with his sarbālā riding on a horse, the whole wedding procession following him. On his way he cuts a branch of a jandi tree with a sword. Āphar is made on this occasion.

In Gurdaspur after the boy has mounted the mare the women sing songs and some cash (as sirāwāra) is waved round his head and then distributed among the iāgis etc.

The first day in the bride’s house.

15. Jūthā tikka.—While the bārāt is waiting outside the town this rite is performed. A line (tikka) 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 bārāt to conduct them to the place appointed for their residence. Āṭahār is now made.

16. Bateri.—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. Milā.—At twilight the wedding party goes to the bride’s house, some of whose inmates approach and receive it with due respect. First sarnasār is interchanged between the parties, and then an elderly kinsman of the girl presents nāsar 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 shāstrās is that the girl herself should come forward and present a nāzar to her lord as a mark of obedience. But this custom is not now observed, as the marriage is celebrated in her childhood.

18. Chānāj jorna.—An examination of the bridegroom to see whether he is an expert marksman or not. A chānāj with a lamp burning in it is hung in the middle of the doorway, and the boy takes it out with a sword.

19. Ghopl.—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. Jhilrān.—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 chandis, 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 Brahman 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 yajñā (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. Sañg-pattāri, sausaroch.—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 bedi and this rite is performed under it.

A priest, conversant with the Vedas, ignites the sacred fire and pours into it with due mantras 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 mantra. 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 effulgent light which pervades 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 mantras 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 mantras it appears that marriage among the Aryans is not a civil contract but a spiritual union of two souls for

As in Islam
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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
more satisfaction of lust being held abominable. It was for that
reason that the Arya Shástrás prohibited remarriage of widows, for ties
once consecrated by Vedic ceremonies were considered indissoluble for
ever.

23. Lassi 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. Mitha bhat.—In the afternoon the marriage party is entertain-
ed 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.1 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 Rájpúts.) Each of
them eats separately out of paltals 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. Vará súi.—In the evening costly costumes, beautiful gold
and silver ornaments, prepared for the bride, are sent to her, as well as
some hennah, almonds and cocoanuts. The pomp displayed on this
occasion is proportioned to the wealth of the family. The parents of
the 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, razáís, 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 Sita 2 unto Ráma, Rukmani 2 unto Krishn, Damodri 3
unto Ráwan, Sachi2 unto Indr, &c. 3

1 In Gúrdásápur this usage is also called khuriti. The rest of the sweets is given to
the bridegroom's barber. Similarly on the second day the bardí is entertained with sweets
called bīka bhat, the residue being given to the bride's barber. The sweets served on the
third day are called danda.

2 These heroines were famous for their chastity and attachment to their lords.

3 At the khat in Gúrdásápur the bridal pair are seated on the couch given to the bride-
groom in dower, and Ganeesh and the nine garáhas are worshipped. Then the bride's father
presents (as sankalp) 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 jori) and a rupee is
waved round their heads and given to the barber. The bardí or wedding party then
depart.
27. *Dákhila.*—When the bridal party returns home, on their arrival in the town the procession moves slowly through the bazar with great splendour. The boy mounted on a horse proceeds first and the wife is borne after him in a *doli.* Among the Hill Rájpúts the girl is carried first. *Aphar* 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Jitne dharti til gireśi,} \\
\text{Utne baukti put janesi.}
\end{align*}
\]

'May the bride bear as many sons as sesamum seeds have fallen to the ground.'

29. *Bari háth dáiná.*—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. *God lená larke ká* (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 *nazars* to the elder relatives of her husband, and in return gets presents and clothes from them.

31. *Got kúndála.*—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 horá.*—The mud vessels that are hung in the middle of the house are now taken out.

33. *Kangna khelhá.*—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. *Mukláná.*—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.

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1 In Gardáspur this observance is also called *udpasi* or returning and the rite of waving the cup round the boy’s and girl’s heads is known as *páni udápás.*
Among Muslims 'betrothal' is known as *mangwā, mangū, mangān* (and other forms of that word,\(^1\) which literally means 'asking' or 'begging'). It is also called *sagāl*, especially in the south-east, and *kurmāl.\(^2\) 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 *shāgin\(^3\) among the higher castes, *e.g.* in Hoshiāpur. The Arabic word *nisbat* is also used, chiefly in the towns. Another common term is *nāttā* or *nātā*, which has a somewhat derogatory meaning, so that *nātā denā* means to give girl in marriage, an admission of inferiority in status. The bridegroom is styled *mangēdar* or *mangētar,\(^4\) a term also applied to a betrothed girl, while *bendhā* is used in the south-east. In the north-east he is called *dūlo, or dulhā, or naushā,\(^5\) nausha, naushā, or naudhō being variant forms of the latter word, and in Gujrānwālā lārā is also used. In the Talagang tahsīl of Jhelum he is called *nādha* and his bride is *kuri, literally a girl or a virgin*. In the south-west *qhot* is in common use.

The bride is correspondingly *bendhāni, dulhān, or kwār* in the south-west, and after she is married *nodh* or *bahū.\(^6\) The latter term means literally son's wife.

In the Pashto of Peshāwar betrothal is called *koyiddān*. The bridegroom is called *changhūl* and the bride *chunghalā*. During the days of marriage the *changhūl* and *chunghalā* are respectively called *kháwand* and *náwī.

The boy's father is particularly, and the boy's kinsmen are generally, called *putreta*. Similarly the girl's father or party is *dheta*.

**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 *māshhāta* 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

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\(^1\) *E.g.* *mangara* in the Rājanpur tahsīl of Ćera Ghāzi Khān.

\(^2\) Fr. *kurm, a relation of marriage.*

\(^3\) Or *shāgin, lit. 'an omen.'

\(^4\) *Mān gār ata, from mān gār ati* is also used.

\(^5\) This word appears to mean 'new king.'

\(^6\) See Maya Singh's *Punjabi Dicty.*
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on 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 ḥikrī kī māṁg,1 because, if a girl be born according to anticipation, the boy’s mother drops a rupee into the girl baby’s bath or mixes sugarcandy 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 bātānd bat-jānā, 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 mouth’ (mūnkh mīthā harne kā dīn), 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.2 In the Sangrūr tahsil of Jīnḍ the request by the boy’s father is called dhuk and he visits the girl’s father in the evening. The dub-i-khail is then observed, the senior member of the boy’s party commencing the prayer.

In Dera Ghāzi Khān the negotiations which precede a betrothal are called sawāl 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 Gurgāon 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 mīrāst 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 mīrāst 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 milāp. 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. thātra, an earthen vessel. Māṅg, asking.
2 This paragraph applies to Delhi city.
3 The barber is given rice, gāṅī, and sugar, but nothing containing salt should be offered him on this occasion.
Moslem betrothal observances.

When such a negotiation is initiated by the girl's father certain special observances may occur. Thus in Sialkot a mirāsī, barber, or even a Brahman, is sent to the putretna 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 dālān. The putretna's lāgī also assemble, and the dheta's lāgī is given some sugar in a plate, from which he takes a little in his mouth. This observance is called munh jihlāwnā or jihlāwnā = to desic: P. D., p. 522. Then the lāgī is given khichri. He eats some of it and drops a rupee and some copper coins in the plate. These are distributed among the putretna's lāgī. Next day the boy's kinsmen feast the lāgī on rice and sugar or mutton and bread. At the zuhr prayer carpets are spread in the boy's house and the whole brotherhood assemble. The boy is seated in front of the lāgī, who gives him from Re. 1 to Rs. 25 as well as a date or sugarcandy to eat. Then he exchanges congratulations with them and observes the wiyat khair. After this all present congratulate the boy's father. The dheta's lāgī presents a sum varying from Re. 1 to Re. 11 for distribution among the boy's kāmnās. The boy's people also distribute tapāsās of sugar among the people on this occasion. Some well-to-do Jats and Rājput families also send a camel, a horse, and ornaments such as bangles or butkāns1 for the boy's mother. This is called tikkā bhejnā. 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 lāgī. On the lāgī's departure the boy's father gives them as waddīgi from Rs. 4 to Rs. 8, which is divided into four shares, three being given to the lāgī named above and the fourth to the lāgī of the maternal relatives. No mention is made on this occasion regarding the date of the wedding.

A very few wealthy families in Gujranwāla also observe this custom of sending a tikkā, but in a slightly different way. It consists in sending a barber, a mirāsī, 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 lāgīs named, the boy's father invites his kinsfolk to his house and displays the gifts mentioned. Congratulations are then exchanged and tapāsās distributed among those present. Rs. 2 to 5 are given to each of the bride's lāgīs, and they are then sent back. Various intermediaries are employed in the preliminary negotiation. Thus in the Bhakkar tahsil of Mīānwāli, on the Indus, a Sayyid, maulavi, faqir, or any respectable elder, is sent to the girl's father by the boy's to make a request (dhukvā) 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 Leih tahsil of this district among the leading families, almost all Syyids and dominant Baloche, the first step to take when a boy reaches a marrying age is to send a dhuk or embassy of picked members of the family to the girl's father. His refusal will be definite.

1 Budkā, a gold coin worth Rs. 5: P. D., p. 188.
not always abrupt, but his acceptance ostensibly reluctant and well-considered. The families now begin to associate, but the girl veils herself from all the males of her intended husband’s family.

But in Hazara generally no intermediary is employed save the barber, and he is not called when the parties belong to the same brotherhood, for then the womenfolk arrange matters. In Peshawar an elderly kinswoman of the boy acts as dalala, or go-between, and it is only when she has succeeded in securing a bride for him that a jirga of Sayyids and ulamas is sent to the girl’s parents. If they are wealthy they put off the jirga twice or thrice before finally consenting.

Even after these preliminary negotiations the final betrothal does not always take place at once. Thus in Bhakkar and Leialk a few days after the negotiations have closed the boy’s people go to the girl’s house and formally present her father with a few gold or silver ornaments for her use, and after the duá-i-khair has been repeated distribute sweetstuff. This observance is called nishani, or ‘token.’ In Bhakkar the boy’s father is said to place a ring on her finger and a bhochhan or sheet on her head, and this is called nishani. The betrothal follows a month or two later. But among the Utmánzais in Hazara the nishani only precedes the betrothal by a couple of days, and is observed in rather a curious way: the boy’s party takes present to the girl’s village. After nightfall they are invited to her house, and the mirá is brought a plate, into which the boy’s father puts the ornaments. Of these the girl’s father takes two or three by way of nishani, and then the betrothal is announced, the duá-i-khair recited, and congratulations exchanged. The mirá’s fee for this service varies from Rs. 4 to 8, twice that of the barber, so the part he plays must be regarded as important. The boy’s teacher gets from Rs. 1 to 5. Among the Jaddans in this district the nishani appears to be the betrothal itself, for when a match has been arranged the boy’s father sends food—called jirga ki rofi—to the girl’s and then pays a visit (jirga), which must be made on a Monday or a Friday, and by night, to her house. The jirga or visitors are then fed, and a barber presents sugar in a plate to one of its members. He drops Rs. 30, 50, or whatever the girl’s father demands, into it and the barber carries it into the house. The girl’s father accepts part of the money and returns the rest. The duá-i-khair is then recited, and a rupee given to the mosque. A barber then gives the boy’s kinsmen in a cup (kotara), into which they drop a rupee. In another cup mehndi is brought, and this is applied to each man by way of nishani. Another rupee is dropped into this cup also. Within a week of the jirga’s departure, some of the boy’s kinsmen take a sweetmeat called pakvada to the girl’s house, where they spend the night. The return visit is called mili. At the next ‘Id the boy’s parents send the girl clothes and uncooked food, with an ornament if well-to-do, and similar presents are sent on every ‘Id and Shab Barát until the wedding.

In Peshawar also the nishani is the nátá or betrothal. When the last jirga has obtained a definite promise of the girl, a body of the

1 Called duá i 1 or rupee.
Moslem betrothal observances.

boy's kinsmen go to the girl's house, and take one to seven ornaments with them as nishâni. When they arrive they are seated on a carpet, and the barber brings a patnos into which each puts some money. The ornaments, too, are put in, and then the patnos is sent inside to the girl's womenfolk. The amount of money agreed upon and the nishâni are kept, and the patnos with the balance sent out again to the boy's kinsmen. The betrothal is completed by the father paying certain fees to the barber, the imam of the mosque, and the mutrib. On the third day after this the girl's parents send the boy a ring and a suit of clothes—a gift called jorâ—and at each fair and festival his parents send her presents till the wedding.

In the Utmannâma Tappa of Peshâwar the nishâni observance appears in all essentials under the name of thâl—the plate in which the ornaments for the girl are placed. The thâl ceremony concludes with the return, it is said, of all the ornaments and cash offered. However this may be, at its close each person present drinks some sharbat and puts some mehndi on his hands—an observation called ghântâ, which is held to make the betrothal binding. The third day after the betrothal the girl's kinswomen go to the boy's house for two or three days, and when they depart his parents give his future mother-in-law and sister-in-law a rupee each 'by way of parona.' This observance is called channa arta. Again, two or three days later the bridegroom, with two or three friends and females, goes by night to his father-in-law's house taking with him sweetmeats and cash Rs. 2 to 10. The party are feasted and then the bridegroom puts the money into the plate and sends it with the sweetmeats to his mother-in-law as salâmâna. Shortly afterwards the bride's parents come, flinging jets at him, and sprinkle scented water over him. This is called ubadachvâl. At each fair and festival after these ceremonies the bridegroom sends gold or silver ornaments for the bride.

In the Chakvâl tahsîl of Jheân a very similar custom exists. To ratify the understanding already arrived at, the boy's father goes one day to the girl's and presents her with sweetstuff and Rs. 21 in cash in the presence of her brotherhood. Her father accepts from Rs. 1 to Rs. 5, rarely taking the whole, and coloured water is sprinkled over the whole of the boy's party. The dâd-i-khair is recited at night, and they return next day. This is called nishâni raûkhâ. The boy does not accompany the party on this occasion. On the first 'Id after it, the boy's father sends presents for the girl, and if he is well-to-do he sends clothes to her mother and sister as well—when the gift would be called dhâi twâr denâ, 'to gift 3 (literally "2 ½") sets of clothes'. The fathers may also exchange gifts of clothes, but if the bride's parents only receive garments for her they need only give sweetmeats in return. If this gift is brought by a barber the girl's father gives him a rupee, a turban, and a kurtâ—an observance called kapre denâ. At the next 'Id clothes &c. are only sent to the girl. In Talagang tahsîl the nishâni is merely a present of Rs. 5 in cash and as many paos of sugar made, it seems, at betrothal. So, too, in Harîpur tahsîl, in Hazâra, it is an ornament given to the girl at the mangeva. Finally, in Hoshârâpur, at least among the Pathâns, we find the nishâni following the solemn be-
brothal, at which a manulav invoke the niyat khair twice and the girl’s father gives dried dates and sugar to the boy’s party by way of shagun. The contract having thus become irrevocable, some date of the lunar month is fixed for the nishdini, which merely consists in the interchange of presents, feeding of laji, and the payment by the girl’s father of sufficient money to buy the boy a ring.

Betrothal as an usage and as a rite.

In the Western Punjab Muhammadans tend to assimilate the betrothal to the regular nikah, or wedding. This is especially the case in Hazara. In that district some people celebrate the manghwa only at betrothal, others solemnise the nikah simultaneously with it, but without fixing the amount of the dower. That appears to be fixed subsequently, and the nikah is regarded as irrevocable when the amount of dower has been fixed. In Haripur tahsil, after the dud-i-khair, the ritual of offer and acceptance is solemnised at the betrothal. In Attock tahsil, too, a mulkhiy officiates at this ceremony.

In the Raiganpur tahsil of Dera Ghazi Khan the position is this: When persons of the same tribe make a betrothal by exchange, the nikah is not performed at the betrothal, but the manghwa is performed, and the du-d-i-khair is recited in connection therewith. But if a betrothal is made in consideration of a cash payment the nikah is solemnised simultaneously with the manghwa. The amount paid varies from Rs. 100 to 300. But elsewhere it is rare to find betrothal regarded as a religious rite, though occasionally the niyat khair, or invocation of a blessing, is invoked by the Qazi’s reciting the du-d-i-fatih-khair, as in Ferozepur. In that district this is the only ceremony at a betrothal, the boy’s father visiting the bride’s and receiving a red khes, or mutaha, after the niyat khair, while the boy does not accompany his party. In Mandi the following times are considered inauspicious for a betrothal, and in fixing the date for it a Qazi is consulted:—

(1) The first ten days of the month of Muharram.
(2) The month between the ’Id-ul-Fiter and the ’Id-ul-Zuhã.
(3) The month of Jamadi-us-Sani.
(4) The last day of every month.
(5) The 3rd, 8th, 13th, and 18th of every month.

Auspicious days for a betrothal are:—

(1) The 7th, 11th, 14th, 25th, and 27th of every month.
(2) All days except the 3rd, 8th, 13th, and 18th.

But this custom appears to be confined to that State, for in the adjacent district of Hoshiarpur any date may be fixed for the betrothal, and at most a manulav is called for the niyat khair. In Dasya tahsil any date of the lunar month is fixed. This is called parnã, and on it a party of four at least visits the bride’s house with presents, which vary according to the means of the parties. Among the Pathãns, called Wilayati and Muhammadans of Kangra generally, betrothal is styled bale, or ‘assent.’ Among the Saddozi and Qizzilbashi Pathãns of Hoshiarpur, for instance, the bale simply consists in a visit by the boy’s
friends to the girl’s father and a formal acceptance of the proposed match. The boy himself does not take part in any of ceremonies before his wedding, though these are rather elaborate, and include the shirvā khori (sweet-eating) and rakht-burānī (cloth-cutting). At some date after the bāle the boy’s father, accompanied by some of his family, takes some sweetmeat, pieces of silk and rich cloth, unsewn and uncut, for the bride, but ornaments are not sent till the eve of the wedding. This ceremony is performed with some little éclat. The sweetmeat, which is always a mixture of patāsha, nuqal, and silāshchidāna is arranged in trays carried by menials, who form a procession. Before them goes a band. The ladies of the boy’s family follow in close carriages. Sometimes fireworks are also used. When this procession arrives at the girl’s house the boy’s mother or some elderly relative puts a ring on the bride’s right-hand finger and says, ‘bismillāh’ (by the name of God). She then throws a shawl round her shoulders. After this she cuts the cloth with scissors, repeating ‘bismillāh.’ Congratulations to both the parties follow, and sweetmeat is distributed among the women inside the house as well as among the men outside. Finally, the date of the wedding is decided upon and publicly announced.

In Kāngra the bāle is a little more formal, and it is also followed by similar observances. The boy’s father, with some respectable elders, goes to the girl’s house on the 11th, 17th, 27th or 29th of the month. The girl’s father also assembles some men at his house before their arrival, and soon after it he distributes sweetmeats, such as putāshas, giving a plateful of sugar with his own hands to the boy’s father, and congratulations are exchanged. The giving of the sweetmeats shows that the girl’s father has agreed to give his daughter to the boy. This ceremony is called shafī khori, and females take no part in it. On this day, and sometimes on the next day too, the boy’s father sends sweetmeats and fresh fruit to the girl. This sweetmeat is called majmū razā. The fruit is distributed by the girl’s parents among their relatives. Thereafter (till the date of betrothal) on each ‘Id-ul-Fitr the boy’s parents send some mehndī and food to the girl and a he-goat or ram is also sent to her on each ‘Id-ul-Zuhā. The animal is painted with mehndī and a silver hämsi put round its neck. It is sacrificed by the girl’s parents. On each last Wednesday of the month of Safar, 20 silver rings and a gold ring, with a suit of clothes and some mehndī, are sent by the boy’s parents to the girl’s. The silver rings are meant for her friends and the gold one for the girl herself. On the Shab Barāt fireworks are also sent for the girl. These practices are kept up till the nikāt, and there is no limit to the period intervening between the betrothal and the wedding.

The date of the nikāt is fixed in consultation. First of all the date of the rakht bari, or cutting of the clothes, is settled. The boy’s parents take even suits of silk clothes to the girl’s house. These clothes are carried by servants on their heads. A pair of laced shoes is also taken. The first cloth for the bride is cut by the oldest and most respected matron of the family. The girl’s parents supply the boy’s with food for the night at the rakht bari, and the men of his
party depart after taking it. This ceremony is performed ten or eleven
days before the wedding.

The auspicious dates for a betrothal are variously given. In the
Abbottabad tahsil of Hazara very few days are unlucky, and auspicious
dates are the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 14th, 15th,
16th, 17th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 24th to 27th, 29th, and 30th. But
one list from Rajanpur, in Dera Ghazi Khan, omits the 2nd, 6th, 8th,
9th, 10th, 15th, 16th, 19th, 20th, 22nd, 25th, 26th, and 30th, while in
the Liaf tahsil of Mianwali the 7th, 11th, 14th, 24th, 25th, or
27th day of the moon is considered really prosperous, though, excepting
the ten days of Ashura, all other days of the year are admissible, whether
lucky or not, for performing mangna.

In Ferozepore no regard is paid to the date of the month, but the
boy’s party should reach the girl’s house on a Thursday
night.

In Lohara the usages in betrothal are typical of those in vogue in
the south-east Panjab. In that State, betrothal (saqati) is never
solemnised on the 3rd, 13th, 23rd, 8th, 18th, or 28th of a lunar month.

The bridegroom (benahd) only accompanies his father and kinsmen
to the house of the bride (bebdh a n) if specially desired to do so by the
bride’s father. The boy’s father then presents Rs. 35 in cash and a
cocoanut in a vessel, together with 5½ sera of sugar, one sera of henna,
and a silk cloth, which are put in the bride’s lap—an observance called
god h u r a n a (literally, ‘to fill the lap’). Then the girl’s father
presents the boy some cloth, a rupee, and a cocoanut, with clothes for
himself and his mother. Next follows the shukarana, or thanking,
a feast of rice, coarse sugar, and ghi, given to the boy’s
party, during which the girl’s kinswomen fling insults (sathintan) at
them.

The betrothal ceremonies in vogue among the Muhammadans of
the Lammân tract in Bahawalpur are described below:—

Betrothal is called mangna or mangewa. On the date fixed for
the betrothal the patra or boy’s father party pay a visit to the akha
or girl’s father, and this visit must be paid at night and on the 1st,
5th, 7th, 11th, 14th, 17th, 19th, 21st, 25th, 27th or 29th of the lunar
month. The bridegroom accompanies the party, which takes a quantity
of tapadas (sugar cakes) with them, and on arriving at the girl’s house
the dudi-i-fatih khair or niyat khair is observed, the ceremony being
begun by the person who arranged the betrothal. After this the parties
exchange congratulations and the bridegroom is given a lungi. The
boy’s father usually distributes the tapadas, while the bride’s father
entertains them with milk. The bridegroom’s party return home the
same night. Subsequently a party of women visit the girl’s father on
behalf of bridegroom’s father, taking with them tapadas and a trewar,
comprising a buchhun, in which are tied some coins (varying from
4 annas to Rs. 25), fruit weighing from 2½ pados to 5 seers, a bracelet,
a set of bangles and a ring (or pathi mundri), and these ornaments and
clothes are put on the bride by the women.

1 A pado = ⅛ of a sera.
Mostem betrothal observances.

In well-to-do families a woman who makes bangles accompanies the party to the bride's house and puts glass or ivory bangles on her. In other cases the bride is taken next day to a shop and the bangles are bought and put on there. After this the nose of the bride is bored, and as a compensation for the pain she is given 1½ chhatáks or 1½ pedas of sugar-candy.¹ Finally the visitors are feasted with chhora (rice or bread with ghí and sugar) by the bride's father, but nothing that has been cut with a knife, such as meat, is given them.² This ceremony is termed nath urdá.

Usages subsequent to betrothal and prior to marriage.

Chandránán.—On the first day on which the new moon is seen in the lunar month following the betrothal the bridegroom visits his father-in-law in order to congratulate him on the new moon, and takes his meals in his house. This is termed chandránán khádnán. The bridegroom drops from Re. 1 to Rs. 10, according to his means, in the plate in which food is given him, and his father-in-law in return gives him a ing. This usage is virtually confined to Baháwalpur, being expressly non-existent or obsolete in almost every other part of the Punjab.

After the chandránán on both the 'Idas, on the Ashura (the 10th of Muharram), the Shab Barát, and the last Wednesday in Safar the boy's father sends uncooked food (rice, ghí, sugar &c.) to the bride. Here again nothing that has been cut may be sent, and this rule is observed even on the Baqr-'Id day (the festival on which sheep &c. are sacrificial).

But in Dera Ghází Khán only a rupee is sent to the bride on the first 'Id. No uncooked food is sent her on the Baqr 'Id, when her home is not far from the boy's.

In MÁwáli, on the first 'Id-ul-Fitr, after the mangewá the boy's father sends the bride a bhardhan and a silk kurtá, some rice, ghí, sugar &c. Besides these articles and clothes are sent on each 'Id or festival after the mangewá. This is termed wargá or sanbhál bhejná, to send a support or pledge.

After the betrothal various social observances take place, but however costly they may be few have any religious or ritual significance. For example, among the Jándús and in the Abbottabad tahsil of Hasára uncooked food is sent to the girl on each 'Id and Shau Barát after the betrothal. This usage is very widespread, but the customs as to what is sent vary considerably. Thus, in Pesháwar, well-to-do people send clothes and ornaments.

¹ Round Mithankot, in Dera Ghází Khán, the bride's nose is bored by the boy's kin-women, and they give her the sugar-candy, the one who actually performs the operation giving twice as much as the others.

² Round Mithankot this restriction is only imposed on the bride.

³ In the JÁmpur tahsil of Dera Ghází Khán uncooked food is sent on the 'Ida, Muharram days, and Shab Barát by the boy's parts, but not on the last Wednesday of the month of Safar.
Moslem betrothal observances.

In Gujranwala on the 'Id day after the *mangni* the boy’s party goes to the girl’s house with ornaments and clothes, which are put on the girl on a auspicious day. Even poor people take a suit of clothes and silver ornaments worth Rs 20 to 50, while the rich send silk clothes and ornaments costing as much as Rs. 500 to 2,000. Congratulations are exchanged between the parties, and sweets distributed on this occasion. This custom is, however, not in vogue among cultivators. It is confined to the higher castes living in towns.

*Kawará ká ráwand.*—In Hoshiarpur the presents thus sent are called ‘Idi and Shah Barátí. In Mandi on any festival day, such as the ‘Id or Niáz, and at any marriage in the girl’s family after his betrothal, the boy is invited and feasted with rich food. This is called *kawár ká ráwand.* On the other hand, among respectable families, the girl is supplied with clothes etc. till her *nikáh*.

A similar custom exists in Loháru. In that State *bidri* is a present of sweets etc. (including clothes, if they can be afforded) sent to the girl by the boy’s father on every festival between the betrothal and the wedding. If no ornaments or clothes were given to the girl on the day of the *mangni* they are sent with the first *bidri*. In return the girl’s parents also send a *bidri* to the boy. If the Tij festival of the Hindús in Láma happens to fall between the betrothal and the wedding Muhammadans send *sandhár* to the bride. This consists of *khajárs* (sweets shaped like dates), made of wheat flour and coarse sugar fried in oil, together with a suit of clothes for the girl.

In the Pindí Gheb talúsí, on the day after the betrothal, the females on behalf of the boy’s father, visit the girl’s house, taking with them dried dates, *mauli* thread, and cash for her. This is called *gad*. The boy also visits the girl’s house on the second or third day, his mother-in-law gives him a gold or silver finger ring or some cash. The girl’s other relations also give him money.

In Pesháwar city, at an undefined time after the *mangewá*, some of the boy’s kinswomen go to the bride’s house for the *mílní*, as it is called. They take sweetmeats with them, and the bride’s parents serve them with boiled rice and sugar, called *chobba*. This ceremony is performed during the day, and the women return home by night. They drop from Re. 1 to Rs. 5 into the vessel from which they are given the rice. At every festival day the boy’s parents also send the girl rice and sugar, and in return for this they are given a *chádar* or *dopatta*.

But in Siálkot the *mílní* is not carried out by the womepeople at all. In that district some time after the betrothal and before the wedding,

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1 This usage is subject, of course, to endless variations, not only in different localities, but also in different castes. Thus in Ferosepur, after the *mangnám*, food, clothes, and ornaments are sent to the bride on the ‘Id. Among Bodhás the boy’s mother goes with these articles herself. The ornaments are a *kamli*, bangles, a *gokhrá* (all of silver), and clothes—a gown and a *kurta*. Sayidás send 5 *ser* of rice, a rupee, for the price of *ghf*, sugar, shoes, teacups, a laced *kurta*, and *dopatta* bangles, and *karyán*. Rajputs send all but above except the rice, and in return the bride’s father sends a laced *kurta*, turban, shoes, and a finger-ring; for the boy on the last Wednesday. Among Arabíos the boy’s father sends two *ser* of rice and one of sugar. Half of this is sent by the bride’s father in return.
the fathers of the boy and the girl meet together, and this is called mitui. The boy's father on this occasion sends the girl some ornaments and clothes, which are put on her. In return her father may give the boy's father valuable clothes and ornaments as well as a she-buffalo or a mare, but this is not generally done.

In Hazará the mitui appears to be called pair gela. Directly after the betrothal, on the return of the boy's party from the girl's house, his kinswomen, with other females of the village, visit the girl's mother, taking with them drums and singing songs on their way. They also take sweetened bread fried in oil. This is called pair gela. The bride's kinswomen return the visit in a similar way. By this it is intended that if a birth or death takes place in either of the two families their womenfolk can take part in the marriage festivities or the mourning rites.

The meaning of the term pair gela is not very clear. In Attok talsil it is thus described: After the conclusion of the betrothal on an 'Id day, the boy's mother, together with thirty or forty other females, the boy, and his sarbálas, visit the girl's mother by day. She takes with her clothes, sweetmeats, and parched grain, and presents them to the girl's mother, who distributes them among those present and dismisses her female visitors with present of clothes, but the boys and his sarbálas stay on for four or five days. On his departure his father-in-law to be gives him clothes and a ring. Sometimes the sarbálas are also given clothes. This is called pair gela. On the first 'Id the boy's mother also takes mehndi, jaggery, rice and clothes for the girl, and this is repeated on all subsequent 'Ids.

But in the Harípur talsil of this district it is said that on the third day, or some time afterwards, the females of the boy's family pay a visit by way of pair gela to the girl's mother, taking with them ornaments &c. On their return the girl's parents give them clothes, &c.

In Miánwáli a similar usage is called pairá chhorná. After the betrothal the boy goes to his father-in-law's house, and after taking food there, he drops from Re. 1 to Re. 5 into the dish in which his dinner was served. His mother-in-law to be then gives him a gold or silver ring in return.

Section 8 — Muhammadan Marriage Observances.

In the following paper the observances followed, after those connected with betrothal have been completed, just before, at and after the wedding are described. No rigid classification by localities is possible, but speaking very generally the marriage observances of the Muhammadans in the South-East Punjab differ a good deal from those of the centre and north-east districts. In the latter the Muhammadans are few in numbers. The Muhammadans of the Western Punjab, including the North-West Frontier Province, have a good many characteristic usages not found in the centre or east. Roughly speaking then the arrangement in this account follows their territorial differences.

I.—In the South-East Punjab the wedding rites vary among different castes and tribes to a bewildering degree. Those in vogue in the Loháru State may be regarded as typical and are described below, together with those found among the Meos who are Muhammadans with a strong survival of Hindu beliefs and ideas.
Preparations for the wedding.

Ten or fifteen days before the date of the wedding the bride’s father sends the gandh (lit. a knot). In this observance a piece of silk is knotted as many times as there are days remaining till the wedding day. A kangan or bracelet of silk (containing a ring of iron, another of lac and some tāl) is also made for the bridegroom. The gandh, the kangan with a lump of sugar and a rupee, are sent to him by a barber and his sister or his father’s sister hangs the gandh on a peg.

Bān butānā then follows. This observance consists in rubbing the bodies of the pair with butān 3 or 4 days before the wedding.

Among the Moes of Gurgon bān is said to be ‘taken out of’ the pair from their respective houses thus:—He (or she) is led out of the house, holding a plate on which is a lighted lamp, to a certain distance and then brought back. This is done seven times. Kinswomen accompany him (or her), singing songs.

The bridegroom is also bathed by the women of his family and oiled. This observance is called tel charkānā.

A knot in the gandh is untied every day, and when only one remains tied the boy’s father sends for his kinsfolk, who are feasted and in return present their neatā or tāmbol.

Shortly before the wedding party sets out from the boy’s home as is seated on a stool and bathed by the barber. At the same time seven women whose husbands are alive pound up barley in a mortar—an observance called jau chhāre.

After the boy has been bathed his mother’s brother lifts him down from the stool, a custom called pōl utānā or pīrīk utānā.

After this four women lead the boy away under a piece of cloth held over him like a canopy, and seat him on a cot. He is then dressed in new clothes and the kangan tied on his wrist.

Another observance which takes place a day or two before the wedding is the nikāsī. In this the boy, dressed in his new clothes, with the kangan on his wrist and a chaplet of flowers tied round his head, is mounted on a mare (never on a horse) and taken to a mosque, where prayers are said by him and a congregation. On his return he goes round the whole town and is then taken to some house other than his own home until the wedding party sets out at night.

On the day of the nikās the girl’s home the fūndsā observance is first held. In this the women assembled jest with one another and hold a mock marriage, one dressed in man’s attire and holding a sword in her hand being wedded to another by a third who acts as the Qāzi. Another of the women also puts her face into the mouth of a jar and calls all the others ill names.

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1 See Note A on page 886
2 See Note B on page 886.
3 See Note C on page 887.
4 In the Sangur tahsil of Jīdl when a wedding party among the Sayyids sets out the boy is made to cut a branch of a fazād tree. When his party reaches the bride’s house the qānds and barber each get from 9 to 15 pies. This fee is called pherd.

* Pot, a plank or shutter (~ Panjabi Doby, p. 884.*
While the wedding party is still a mile or so from the bride's home the boy's father sends a bunch of green leaves (called hari dālī) by his barber to the father of the girl. The latter receives it seated on wooden stool and (after giving the barber a rupee as his fee) stains his hands with red and places them on the barber's breast or loins. The latter then returns. Meanwhile the wedding party is nearing the bride's home and is met by the girl's people, being conducted to a suitable place for its stay. Songs are now sung by the girl's kinwomen and the potter's wheel worshipped by them.

At sunset the bridegroom performs the toran. Five wooden sparrows are hung up at the bride's house-door and the bridegroom moves them with a stick.

After the toran the bridegroom goes to the bride's house, but a barber stops the way and measures him with a thread, receiving for this a fee of Rs. 1-4. Then the bridegroom enters the house of the bride who has taken her stand inside the door. Giving her a rupe, he places his hand over hers—an observance called hath-lewā or 'hand-taking.'

The nikāh is now solemnised according to Muhammadan Law and the amount of the dower fixed.1

Ceremonies after the wedding.

On the morning after the nikāh the bridegroom and his shahbālā with their companions are feasted on khtir, an usage called kanwar kalewā.

After this sugar on a plate is set before the bridegroom and he puts some money into the plate—an observance called sātā artā.

Next, the pair are seated facing each other with an earthen plate full of water between them, and a silver ring, a nut and two or four coins are put on the bride's head which she inclines, thus throwing the coins etc. into the water. Both then scramble for them in the plate—and the one who first gets the ring wins. This is done thrice. The rite is called júā khelānā, 'to gamble.'

On the day on which the wedding party is to return home the bridegroom goes to the bride's house and there the pair sit facing each other. Here again the shahbālā accompanies the bridegroom. The pair then come out of the house with their clothes knotted together. The bride's father now gives her clothes etc., a couch and, if he can afford it, a horse, camel or cow. The wedding party departs, with the bride in a cart or on a camel if possible.

On nearing the bridegroom's home the clothes of the pair are again knotted together. At the entrance the bridegroom's sister bars their way till she receives her dues, and further in stand vessels through which the bridegroom must make a way with his sword, the bride

1Another usage prior to the nikāh consists in the wedding of bari by the boy's father to the bride. The bari consists of clothes, shoes, dried dates, almonds, maize and, if he can afford them, ornaments.

After the bari the wedding-party take the boy to the girl's house where her mother places a tray of sugar before him. Into this tray he puts a rupee, called sāhādānā or the mother-in-law's due.

In Rohitak the bari is also called sahehnā and consists of presents sent to the girl by the boy's maternal relatives.

After the bari has been received the women of the bride's family go to see the place where the boy's party is staying—an usage known as dera ḥāhāni or khtir. There they are given dried fruits.
accompanying him. Both then seat themselves in the house and the shahbaldâ says:

_Bhãdô, bhãdî muâj phar pahîla beça sar gur._

Throwing a coconut into the air he says also:

_Dahne goda dhahni aur bain goda sût._

_Mujbhe ien laddu aur bhâbî ko milen pût._

The pair then separate.

Rice is then boiled by women whose husbands are alive and eaten by them and the bride—a rite called _sât_ (seven) _suhâgan hâ kundâ_.

Two or four days later the bride's brother or other kinsman goes to bring her back to her own home, and he takes with him some sweets. This usage is called _len hâri_.

Mukhâvâd^1_ takes place as a rule one or two years after the wedding. The husband fetches his wife from her home, receiving a present of ornaments from her father, if he can afford to give them.

^1_ Or child in Gurgion, e.g. among the Meos who have several usages. Sometimes the bridegroom accompanies the bride to her home, stays there 3 or 4 days and then returns with her. Sometimes _mukhâvâd_ takes place after one, sometimes after three years, in which cases it is much more formal and costly to the girl's father—and less so to the bridegroom.

_Fixing the wedding day._—In the central districts this is not a very prominent rite, but in some parts it survives. Thus in Gujrat in order to fix a date for the wedding the girl's parents send a barber and _mirâdâ_ with Rs. 5 to Rs. 21 or a gold _mohar_ for the boy, as well as Rs. 2 to Rs. 11 for the _lágâ_ which sum is also called 'village expenses' to the bridegroom's house. The boy's father then invites all his kinsmen and friends. The boy is seated in the midst of the assembly and the barber gives him sugar candy to eat. He also puts in his skirt the cash or the gold _mohar_. Then congratulations are exchanged.

This ceremony is called _bhûcha_. The date of the marriage is fixed at it and the barber and _mirâdâ_ are given from Rs. 1 to Rs. 5 by the boy's party. His parents also dismiss the _lágâ_ with a _chumâ_ and Rs. 1 to Rs. 11 together with a _bîhâ_ (bundle) containing dried fruits such as almonds, coconuts, dried raisins and _pattâsâs_.

In Gujranwala to 'tie the knot' or _gaûnd pând_, as it is termed, is the ceremony of fixing a date for the marriage. If any ceremonies connected with the betrothal have not been already performed, they are now observed. The wedding day is fixed by correspondence between the parties or at a personal meeting.

So too in Mandî some respectable men of the boy's family go to the girl's house with a _Qazi_ and he fixes there the dates of the _nikâh_ and _dhâm_, and that for applying _mehndî_.

These dates are always close to one another. Congratulations are exchanged and sugar sent to relations to notify them of the date of wedding, the _lágîf_ deputed giving each of them sugar while they in return give him from one pie to two _annas_ by way of _waddâgî_.

The _mehndî_ ceremony is performed before the _nikâh_. Women of the boy's party paint his hands with _mehndî_ at night. Then some _mehndî_, a silver ring and Rs. 1-5-0 in cash are sent to the girl through the _lágîf_, women also going with him. _Mehndî_ is also applied to the girl. The females of both parties keep awake singing songs all night. On the next day at 4 P.M. _bûfâd_ is rubbed over the bridegroom's body and he is bathed. Then he is seated in a special room and some of his relatives and friends sit with him. He is dressed in such clothes as are worn by a bridegroom and a _sîhâ_ is placed round his head. At 8 or 9 P.M. the bridegroom is taken to a mosque in a palanquin or on a horse. He is then made to pass through the bazars and all this time dancing girls dance before his horse and fireworks are let off. He is then taken at a slow pace with the whole of the wedding party to the bride's house, and all are seated then in a specially decorated room. The men of the girl's party and the _Qazi_ also come there. The girl's guardian allows the _Qazi_ to perform the _nikâh_. He first fixes the amount of the bride's dowry which depends on the will of her guardian. It is never below Rs. 32-8. If the amount is not fixed according to the demand of the bride's guardian he is entitled to marry her to another. Thereafter two witnesses and a _nâzîf_ are appointed by each party. They go with the _Qazi_ to the bride and perform the ceremonies of offer and acceptance; she and the bridegroom are told to repeat the sacred _külma_ five times. The _bhûcha_ ceremony is performed in the presence of all the kin. The dowry, _wiz._ wearing apparel, bedding, a couch, b. _usehâb_ utensils and ornaments are given on this occasion. Dried fruits and sugar candy are distributed among the people. The _Qazi_ gets Rs. 1-4 for the ceremony while his assistant gets _annas_ 4 for the _dûa-i-khâir_. All these expenses are borne by the bridegroom. Besides copper coins are distributed among the poor. The bride's guardian feeds the wedding party.
Moslem marriage observances.

H. Perhaps the best idea of the wedding rites current among the Muhammadans in the Central Punjab may be gathered from the following skeleton account of those prevalent in Gujrānwałā:

Sikrā bānā ḫnā and Khāre churhñā.—One day before the wedding the bridegroom is garlanded with flowers. This ceremony is called sikrā bānā ḫnā.3 On this day also tambol (presents in money) is offered by the brotherhood and the bridegroom’s father gives to his kamūns (menials) their lāg or dues according to his means. Before the sikrā bānā ḫnā the bridegroom ascends a khārā and breaks 5 or 7 chhunals.3

When the wedding procession is about to start, the boy is made to ride on a mare. This is called shahrī charhñā, and his sister asks for ḫag shahrī or a fee for holding the reins. He gives her either a she-buffalo or money according to his means and wishes. Then his mother performs the sit wārānā or sacrificing over the head, the amount of money offered being a rupee or two which sum is also given to the kamūns. After this the boy goes to do obeisance at the shrine of an ancestor of the tribe and then the procession leaves at such a time that it may

1In Hoshiārpur on the wedding day the bridegroom bathes and a garland of flowers called sōhan sikrā is hung round his forehead. A coloured cloth is also tied round his head as a turban and saffron sprinkled over his clothes. But Muhammadans who are strict followers of the shahrī do not observe these usages.

This account says nothing of the māna ḫhā or articles sent by the maternal relatives of the bridegroom in Sālīkot and forming part of the dowry. The māna ḫhā generally consists of a couch, pīṭḥā, 21 large cakes of flour fried in ghee, 5 suits of clothes, 5 necklaces and some ornaments. The articles given by the parents of the bride generally are an ār, ḫhāj, an or rings, ḥāl, chank and mahān (ornaments worn on the head), jhunke, quilt, pillow, 21 suits of clothes, 101 laddus and sometimes a horse, cow, she-buffalo and a camel. The bridegroom sits on a couch on this occasion.

4In Sālīkot the wedding party on its arrival at the bride’s house is put up in a hut outside the village. The bride’s father sends it ḥukkös, sharīat etc. by a lāqi who is given annas 8 or Re. 1 as his lāq. After this the party is called for and the barber on behalf of the bride’s father brings with him a basket full of sugar and the fathers of the bride and the bridegroom meet together. The father of the bride gives the other on this occasion some money or a horse. The wedding party is then seated close to the bride’s house. The bridegroom’s father drops some cash in the basket of sugar. This is followed by a feast to the wedding party. A sieve is suspended in the way and is removed by a female barber on receipt of Re. 0-1-3 as her due. The sweeper also stands in the way of the wedding party and does not allow it to pass without getting his lāq also. The bride’s sisters also exact their lāq which may amount to Re. 1-4-0.

Then the wedding party is served with food. This is followed by the performance of the bera shahrī ceremony. It may be noted that after the wedding party has taken its food until the next ceremony many sikhrīs (jees) are sung at it. Many obscene songs are sung on this occasion.

In Kāṅgā the sikrā is performed after midnight and after it congratulations are exchanged and sweetmeats distributed. The bridegroom is then called inside the house by the women. The bride takes her seat on a maraqatsad with females around her. The bridegroom takes his seat at her right and a piece of cloth is thrown over both of them. The Qurān and a looking glass are placed inside this sheet with a cup of sweet water and a spoon. The bridegroom gives a spoonful of the water to the bride and her relations also give her a spoonful to be given to the bridegroom. After this they look at each other’s face in the looking glass. This ceremony is called ahas maraqatsad. The bride is then taken to the house of her father-in-law in a palanquin. On the third day the females of the bride’s family go to her husband’s house to bring her back. The dowry is then exhibited to the kinsfolk. The bride sits in a maraqatsad for three days. The bridegroom then comes, takes his wife’s arm and leads her to a separate compartment in the presence of the other females. This is called chauddhī.
reach its destination at nightfall. Some people take with it a band, fireworks and dancing girls, but others do not. When the procession reaches the bride's village, some men come to receive it on behalf of the bride's father. It is then seated at a place where carpets have been spread. *Huqqas* are first smoked and an hour or two later tea is served if it is winter and in the hot season *sharbat* by the bride's party, who then go away. Then the bride's father accompanied by some of his brotherhood enters the house in which the bridegroom's party has been lodged before food is served. As soon as he arrives the ceremony of *milni* is observed. If he is well-to-do he offers a mare as a *milni* present to his *kutum* (the bridegroom's father) and they embrace each other. On this occasion too the *lägis* are given money as their fixed dues. After this the bride's father takes the bridegroom and his party with him to his house and provides a feast for them.

*Chhanni turwánad.*—Some women of the bride's party now come and take a *chhanni* or sieve which is hanging over the doorway and in which a lamp is burning. After this he and his party sleep, but early in the morning at about 9 A.M. he is awakened by the women of the bride's house and taken to a female apartment where the bride's sister makes him play *berá ghol* and exacts some money from him but the sum taken does not exceed Rs. 11.

*Nikáh.*—The actual wedding ceremony, the *nikáh*, is performed at 8 or 9 A.M. or at some later hour. On this occasion some people distribute *chhoha'ras* while others distribute uncooked rice mixed with sugar.

*Post-nikáh ceremonies.*—When the *nikáh* is over the bride is made to ascend a *khárdá* and her maternal uncle causes her to descend from it and in return he gives her a she-buffalo or a sum of money which must exceed Rs. 11.

*Dowry.*—Then the bride's father places on cots whatever dowry he has prepared for his daughter, whereupon the parties meet together and give *läg* to their *kamins*. This done, the dowry is packed up, the bride seated in a palanquin and the bridegroom's party departs with it and the dowry. When the bride arrives at her father-in-law's village, some women of his household accompanied by singing *mirásans* receive her and bring her to their house.

*Ceremonies observed on arrival at the bridegroom's house.*—When she reaches the house door she alights from the dooly and oil is sprinkled on the threshold.

*Sacrificing water (suggested to mean drinking health).*—After this the bridegroom's mother sacrifices water over his head and attempts to drink it but is dissuaded by her son. The bride is then seated on a carpet or mat or some suitable place in the house.

*Mund dikhádi or face-showing ceremony.*—The bridegroom's mother then gives a sum of money as *mund dikhádi* or 'showing the face' to the bride who removes the veil (ghánghat) from her face and is entertained with milk.
**Moslum marriage observances.**

Gând khólá (untwing the gánd) — The next morning the bridegroom and bride untie the gánd.

The bride returns to her father’s on the third day after the arrival at her father-in-law’s house.

In Shakargarh — although the máyān is said not to be performed — the day before the wedding party starts for the bride’s house, drums are beaten and next day the boy is seated on a khárá and básá rubb on him but the practice of breaking chaputs ceased 16 or 17 years ago. His party should reach the bride’s house in the first part of the night. Some people take drummers with them. On their arrival the míln ceremony is performed.

In the míln the men of both the parties stand opposite one another at some distance, and representatives of each embrace. The bride’s representative gives a rupee to the boy’s. His barber also brings some sugar and rice in a vessel. An ulmá recites the niyat kháir and gets Re. 1-4-0 and 4 copper coins from the bride’s father as his fee. The barber also gets four annas on this occasion.

In Súlkot the míln is thus described:— The girl’s father takes his stand on an open site outside the village of the boy’s father who comes to meet him there with all his party. Fireworks may be let off at this meeting which is called míln. At it too the mirdásis of the parties recite their genealogies. The parties pass a rupee over one another’s head and give it to the mirdásis. This is called sir márnda kúram.

On the arrival of a wedding party in Hoshiápurr the customs of míln and peshtára are observed and the party is served with sharbat. It is also supplied with food for one or two days.

III.—In the Western Punjab we are introduced to a number of new rites and to a still greater number of new names for usages already described:—

**Preparations for the wedding.**

In Házára preparations for the wedding are made a year or the after the mangewa. When the date for it is fixed some money is given to the boy’s father to purchase pará kaun or provisions, viz. wheat-flour or rice, yhí, pulse, salt, pepper, turmeric, wood, jaggery, cotton, couches, stools, utensils &c. required for the use of the wedding party. When these things have been procured by the bride’s father, he informs the boy’s father that the wedding party should reach his house on a certain day and that the máyān and sale ceremonies are to be performed on such and such days.

In Pesháwar city in order to fix a date for the wedding the girl’s parents send some respectable members of their kin to the boy’s parents. They also send some sweetmeats to the other party. The cash sent to them on this occasion is called gádh.

To prepare for the wedding in Attock the boy’s father with 10 or 15 men goes to the girl’s father and pays him from Rs. 15 to 30. This is called pachán. After this a date is fixed for the marriage.
Moslem marriage observances.

Among the Dhundas of Hazara after the betrothal a day is fixed for the wedding. On this day the boy's father pays Rs. 10 to 20 to the girl's father. This sum is called puch nankā. The girl's father hands it over to the girl's maternal uncle and he in return gives her utensils, a couch and so on.

Among the Jaduns when some time after the betrothal preparations for the marriage are made the imām of a mosque is consulted to fix an auspicious day for the wedding.

Naming the date.—In Attock tahsil the naita, the term applied to the ceremony of fixing a day for the marriage, is thus observed:—The boy's father with 3 or 4 other respectable persons go to the girl's father and asks him what amount he will accept for the expenses of the wedding. He agrees to take as much grain or cash as he thinks will be consumed and in addition what he will have to spend on the bride's ornaments and clothes.

In Pindi Gheb when the parties are ready to celebrate the marriage two or three men of the boy's party go to the girl's father for the gandh prawin and to settle an amount to be paid for the supply of food to the wedding party. One day before the wedding the females assemble in the house of the boy's father and go to the girl's house with drums, mehndi & c. to unplait the girl's hair. This is called mendhi kholnā and mehndi lana. The wedding party sets out on the wedding day. The number of men in a wedding party depends on the position of the boy's father, and drummers and bandsmen are sometimes engaged. The party reaches the bridegroom's house in the evening and is put up in a separate house. On its arrival the bride's father sends it a pitcher of sharbat, a plate of halwa and another of mutton. The party is first served with the sharbat which is called haddi sharbat while the mutton and halwa are placed before the bridegroom.

Gandh baadhni.—In Leiah allowing a reasonable interval after the nishāni the boy's party express a wish to have the wedding performed, consult a few near relations and friends and with the consent of the girl's guardians fix a date for it. To satisfy people that this has been done they exhibit a long, slightly twisted thread, coloured white, red and yellow, usually with a knot tied in it and keep it for future use. This thread is called mauli ēdā dhagā. This done they distribute sweetmeats, repeat the dua-khair and withdraw. This ceremony is called gandh bandhni. The day thus fixed must be one of the following dates:—4, 5, 7, 11, 14, 17, 21, 24, 25, 26 or 27 of any moon, but the whole months of Kātak and Chet and the 10 days of Asūrā are not allowable for marriage. A wedding during the remaining 20 days of Moharram, though admissible is unlucky.

About a week or so before the wedding day the boy's father engages a barber or mirīās and handing him the thread sends him round to notify the date by delivering a bit of it to every relation and friend entitled to join in the ceremony. This is called gandh pherāni. The

1 Mendhi kholnā.—A day or two before the wedding the bride-groom's womenfolk accompanied by his younger brother go to the bride's house and lave her hair unplaited. Songs are sung on this occasion (Miānwāli).
preparations then begin. Among the Dhúnda after the arrival of the boy's party the women perform the bera ghorí at night. In this observance the boy gives the bride's kinswomen Re. 1 to 5 Rs. in a thál. This sum is taken by a barber or miráśí. After this the boy is given sharbat to drink and the barber is given another rupee for this service.

In Multán on the wedding day the girl's kinswomen pass the night with the boy, making him walk through the mohallas and bazars of the village. This is called torná.

In Aṭṭokh tábís before the arrival of the wedding party the boy and his sarbálá visit his father-in-law by night. He unplaits one lock of the girl's hair and the rest is unplaited by her sisters and brothers' wives. She is made to wash her hands and face and don fresh clothes. All the people sit outside the house on this occasion. A barber then conducts the teri ghorí ceremony by placing a stool and lighting lamps on a thál before the boy. He and his sarbálá drop some copper or silver coins into the thál and this money is taken by the barber. After this the boy is made to walk through streets for the whole night.

On the wedding day in Bhakkar after levy of the tambol the bridegroom is taken to a mosque or shrine. He is then garlanded, a gáná tied on his hand and one of his kinsmen is made his sarbálá or best man. The garland is generally prepared by an Arání's wife. The gáná is a coloured thread. This is followed by the dhok or setting out of the wedding party to the girl's father's house, camels and horses being employed as conveyances. They reach it at nightfall and the girl's father supplies them with food once or twice. The nikáh is performed at 10 or 12 p.m.

In Miánwáli however the gáná is more elaborate. There the gáná banlā, as it is called, is in vogue among all tribes except the Patháns. The boy's womenfolk get a thread from the girl's house and make from it a gáná, which consists of an iron ring, a cowry and a bead (mañá). The gáná is knotted 7 times. Then the womenfolk return home and tie a similar gáná to the boy.

On the wedding day in Miánwáli or a day before it the females go to a well or river accompanied by the bridegroom's sister and sarbálá. The sister carries a pitcher on her head and draws water from the well. Songs are sung on the occasion. On their return home the bridegroom is bathed in this water and seated on a khárdá, batná is rubbed on his body. This is also called ghapoli. After bathing the bridegroom is made to break dhóknás.

Among Patháns in the Abbottábád tábí of Ilázíra the nikáh is performed when the bride has been taken to the bridegroom's house. A mullán is sent for and seated on a cot with the bridegroom seated beside him. Two trusted persons called the witnesses then go to the bride to ask her consent to the contract. She empowers one of her relations to have the ceremony performed and fix the amount of dower. He is called the dört bháí, and the ceremony is performed after obtaining his permission. The amount of dower varies from Rs. 25 to 500. On the

1 No explanation of this curious usage is given. In Chakwál miráśí women take the boy through the streets and bazars of the village by night and bring him back home in the morning. They sing songs as they go.
Moslem marriage observances.

bride's departure her parents give her ornaments and clothes worth from Rs. 20 to 5000. The bridegroom is also given a suit of clothes.

In Chakwál those who are strict observers of Muhammadan Law use a mare instead of a gol to take the bride to her husband’s house. On reaching its door she will not enter it until she is given some cash by her parents-in-law. On entering the house a child is placed in her lap, and she gives it a rupee. The bride stays in her father-in-law’s house for the first time 4 or 5 days. Meanwhile the bridegroom’s kinswomen visit her and give her money. This is called salám karwát. The kinsmen also feast the bride and bridegroom. After this some relative of the bride comes to fetch her back to the house of her own father, and he brings sweets on behalf of her parents which are distributed among the kinsfolk.

In Leih the observances are the same as in Baháwalpur, but at the first interview between the newly married couple no sooner has the bridegroom entered the bride’s room than a woman ready waiting for the purpose flings a handful of water with all her strength into his face before she will allow him to come further. This is supposed to make him blind with love for the bride. This same woman then leads him close to the right side of the bride who, veiled and dressed in coloured garments, sits bent forward. Here he spreads a clean white cloth and says two rakats of namáz and then sits down. Next his father brings a little perfumed oil which he rubs on his son’s head and then holding it in his right hand knocks it gently twice or thrice against that of the bride and wishing them prosperity retires. No male save the bridegroom now remains amidst the party of women, who surround the pair singing aitras or marriage songs and throwing flowers on their heads. On its conclusion some chosen women sit down and put a round piece of hard dry gur into the bride’s right hand with instructions to hold it fast. The bridegroom is then told to try and open her palm with his right hand and take the gur, without hurting her delicate fingers. It generally takes a few minutes to unfold the palm while the women around joke, laugh, clap hands and cry:—“Take courage, hold fast, don’t unloose your palm &c.” This done they put the same piece of gur into the bridegroom’s hand bidding him not to hold it fast but to unfold his palm by-and-by, after the bride has merely touched it once or twice.

Some post-nuptial observances.

Takhat. - In Jullundur on the morning after the nikáh the bride and the bridegroom are seated opposite to each other on a cot given to the former on her marriage. Several ceremonies are then performed. The bride puts a cloth round the bridegroom’s neck and does not let him go until he promises her to give all that he may earn. This is called tákhat ubelna. This is followed by the giving of warf, a name

1 In the villages of Baháwalpur the bride is taken to her husband's house on the back of a camel, ox or a mare, while in towns she rides in a ratá (chariot) or on a mare, the custom of using a gol or planquin not being in vogue in this tract.

2 In Multán the ornaments and clothes put on the bride on the bridegroom's behalf on the wedding day are called warf; while those given to the bridegroom on her behalf are called dájá. Some rich people spend heavy sums on the dájá. It consists of clothes, gold and silver ornaments, household utensils as well as a cow, a she-buffalo and sometimes a camel also. In some families dájá is given on the satwára day. The girl's parents feast the kinsfolk on this day.
Morm marriage observances.

applied to those ornaments and clothes which are given to the bride on behalf of the bridegroom. It consists of ornaments, namely, a gold okhánk, silver kánsí, háxík, jhá́́nĥar, náxá, a gold moňi, and a ring called kawdr bár ka 痈 hallá, as well as 7 tewars. Moreover a suit of clothes for the bride and almonds, dried raisins, coconut kernel, dried dates, mauli, mehdí &c. are sent with the warrī. Then the bride’s parents exhibit her dowry, which consists of a gold nosering, ear-rings, 11 tewars and 7 bewars,7 turbans, a couch, a stool, a box and some household utensils. Then the wedding party departs. Generally speaking a dólí is employed for the conveyance of the bride and a horse for the bridegroom. When the bridegroom reaches his house his mother takes a cup full of milk and water mixed, passes it six times over her son’s head and drinks it. Fowls are cooked on the bridegroom’s arrival at his house. The kaungá is performed on the third day after marriage. The bride and bridegroom are seated opposite each other in the presence of the women and a vessel full of water is put between them. They then undo each other’s gánáš. Thereafter a barber’s wife throws a rupee, a ring and 7 copper coins into the water. This is called kaungá khelna. On this day or the next boiled rice mixed with sugar called bhub bhat is distributed to the kinsfolk.

In Gujránwála after the dowry has been displayed the bridegroom goes inside the bride’s house and pays his respects to each member of her family. In return for each of them gives him a rupee. A lóqá is also given to each member of the wedding party. This is called báhi jawái. The bride’s parting from her parents is always sorrowful. A dólí is used for her conveyance. It is carried by kshárs and a female attendant accompanies her to her father-in-law’s house, and on her return she gets a rupee as her lág. On the bride’s arrival at her new home she is first served with cáář, and her new female relations give her cash and patášás by way of mánk dakhální. Generally speaking she is sent back to her parents’ house on the 3rd day. The man who accompanies her is given a suit of clothes on his return. The mukláwa ceremony is generally performed a year or two after the marriage and when the husband goes to his father-in-law’s house for this ceremony his sister-in-law conceals his shoes. He puts up there for some time and then returns to his own house with his wife.

Eahi jawái.—In Sialkot on the day after the wedding one látá is sent to each member of the wedding party in the morning. This is called báhi jawái or breakfast. The barber who brings the látá gets Re. 1 as his lág. The wedding party is served with food at noon and then they make preparations to return home. The nikáh is often performed before the dinner.

Lassí pair and got kunála.—In Sialkot after the departure of the wedding party the bridegroom’s mother and his uncle’s wife put their feet in some lassí. This is called lassí pair páná. Then milk and rice

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1 A tewar consists of three garments, viz., a kurtá, trousers and dopatta.
2 A bewar consists of two only, viz., a kurtá and dopatta.
are eaten by all the women together and taut thread is tied to the
hair of the bridegroom's mother. This ceremony is called got kunála.

Got kunála.—But the got kunála has another and more usual form.
Thus in Hoshiarpur on the day after the wedding it is thus described:—
Rice is boiled and put in a vessel from which all the near kinswomen
and the bride eat together. One plateful of rice is also sent to each
kinsman. By this ceremony the bride is admitted into the bridegroom's
got. The lágis who come with the bride are given their dyes and dis-
missed after 2 or 3 days. A little while later the near kinsmen of the
bride bring some clothes and sweetmeats and take her to their house.
This is called hort. Similarly the bridegroom is invited to his father-in-
law's house. He takes with him 2 or 4 lágis and some sweetmeats.
This is called manda jhukdo. Thereafter, when the bride's parents are
ready to send her to her father-in-law's house, they invite some men of
that family and send with her sweetmeats and clothes—half as much as
was given in dowry. This is called the mukláwa. When the bride is
sent for the third time, it is called tirnoja

Dhám.—In Mandi an observance called dhám is performed on the
3rd day after the wedding. The bride's guardian accompanied by both
the parties as well as by the wedded pair goes to the house of the boy's
father, and its womenfolk take the pair to a separate room and give the
bride milk to drink. The boy's father serves both the parties with
rice and mutton. Those of the bride's party who take this food are
called the ladhí tari, and it is called arandal. As the Muhammadans
of Mandi rarely marry outside the State the mukláwa is often performed
the same night, but those who marry outside it perform this ceremony
after the marriage. The date for it is fixed by the Qázi. The boy's
father simply sends his son with some relatives to his father-in-law's
house where they are feasted and on the following day the girl's father
sends her back with his son-in-law after giving them some clothes.

In Siálkot the mukláwa ceremony is performed some time after
the wedding. The bridegroom accompanied by his barber goes to his
father-in-law's house taking with him 101 laqús which are given to the
bride and lágos are distributed among the lágis. A pírki, couch,
spinning wheel, balls of various colours, spindles, clothes &c. are given
on this occasion by way of dowry. The bridegroom's shoes are also
hidden and he makes a search for them everywhere, but when con-
vinced that he cannot find them he gives Re. 1-4 to his sisters-
in-law as their lág. This ceremony ends with the sending of the bride
with the bridegroom.

Speaking generally in the Western Punjab the mukláwa is re-
placed by the satwára or sathúr, which varies in many details. Thus
in and around Máchhora in Dera Gházi Khan a week after the wedding
the bridegroom goes to his father-in-law's house with his bride, and
they both stay there for a day or two and then come back. The gánás
are removed on this day.

About Madgola the satwára is also performed 7 days after the
marriage, and the bridegroom takes his bride to her parents. Both of
them ride a mare. The gánás are removed a day or two before the
Moslem marriage observances.

nakwara and the bridegroom returns home with his wife a day or two afterwards. The bride's parents give her clothes on this occasion also. Round Asri the bridegroom goes to his father-in-law with his wife on the 7th day after marriage.

In Rajaipur too on the 7th day after the wedding the bridegroom goes to his father-in-law's house with his wife, and they put up there for 2, 3 or at most 7 days. They are given a bath and leave off the clothes worn at the wedding. Among the Baloch these clothes are given to a mira waist woman, but in other tribes they are taken back to the bridegroom's house. He gives the lungi which was given him by his father-in-law to the mira waist. After this the couple return home riding if their village be far off, but if it is very near they return by night on foot. The ganas are often removed on the same day, but some people keep them on until they break off themselves. When the bride returns to her father-in-law's house her near relations give her sweets varying from half a pado to a pado.

In Multan however the girl is sent to her father's house. This is called satthura. The girl remains in their house for as long as he is willing to keep her. After that the bridegroom goes to fetch her back. On this occasion also her parents give her clothes and ornaments. After the marriage the girl's father abstains from eating at the house of his daughter.

Again in Bhakkar the females of the bride's family go or 7 days after the wedding to the bridegroom's house and bring back the bride. She is kept there for some days, and then the bridegroom goes to fetch her and gets some clothes, sweetmeats &c.

In Chakwal tahsil the bridegroom goes to his father-in-law's house a few days after the wedding, stays there 5 or 6 days, and is given a very warm reception. This is called satthura. Then he takes his wife home.

In Bahawalpur the bride's mother and relations visit her 3 or 6 days after the wedding and in their presence and that of other women of the brotherhood the couple untie each other's ganas. This is termed gana-chhoran. The women of the bride's family distribute tikra (a kind of sweetmeat) and those of the bridegroom's churi, and the women of the brotherhood put tapusas in the bride's lap. This ceremony is called pado. The bride is taken back to her parent's house on the 4th night, and stays there for an hour or two only. (This custom is more general in towns.) On the morning of the 4th day both bride and bridegroom visit the house of the former's parents and there take their supper, after which they return. This ceremony is termed satthwara.

Some special local customs in Ferozepore.

A curious rite called bhatti jhalak is current in Ferozepur. The boy accompanied by some women and his sister's husband as sarbala goes outside the village. There a hearth (bhatti) is made and in it the sarbala kindles a fire which is put out with the water brought from

\(^{1}\text{Jhalka, a flash, glance, splendour, etc. (Punjabi Dictionary, p. 491).}\)
the well by the brother's wife of the boy. This is done several times, and then the whole party returns to the boy's home. On his arrival there he is seated on the basket and bathed with the water from the well, for which service the barber is paid Rs. 2. All the kinsmen now contribute neota, and the bridegroom dons coloured clothes, saying salâm to all present and receiving in return something from each of his kinsmen. After this the cobbler puts shoes on the boy's feet and the potter brings two chapnis. These are placed near the basket with a pice under each and the boy, jumping from the basket, smashes the chapnis. Sandal is then applied to his forehead—an observance called munh chisturna, or 'painting the face.' He is also garlanded. Next a plate is put before the boy and into it the neota received from the brotherhood is placed. When the neota is given the miräşı proclaims the amount given by each donor and concludes with the jhukái which runs:

Jang par abre so bhare so dharm.—'If you give your due faithfully this well (otherwise you will be taken to task for not so doing).'

After the jhukái the women take the boy to the jungle, singing songs as they go; and there they walk seven times round a jandi tree, twisting a red thread around its trunk. Then the bridegroom strikes it with a stick, whence this observance is called jandi waddi (waddhnu, to cut or reap). At this observance also a miräşı gets Re. 1. After it all the females return home and the wedding party sets out for the bride's house. On reaching her village it halts outside and if it has dancing girls with it they amuse it by dancing. Meanwhile the bride's father together with his tâgis comes to them and meets the father of the bridegroom. This is called murti. Thereafter some girls come to the bridegroom and apply antimony to his eyes. After this the ceremony of khudaknas is observed. A short time afterwards the party leaves for the house of the bride. While on their way the bridegroom's father gives the nearest relation of the bride from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10. On entering the village fireworks (if there be any) are let off. The bride's father puts up the party in a separate house and the bridegroom is taken to the females. His mother-in-law takes some curd with his fingers and applies it to his eyebrows. She gives him Re. 1 on this occasion. Thereafter a miräşı female measures the bridegroom with a thread. The miräşı and the barber then take the party to the house of the bride. The bridegroom's father on this occasion gives the bride as much money as is asked by him. When this is settled the nikâh ceremony is performed. On the occasion of its performance uncooked rice and sugar are distributed among those present. The person performing the nikâh ceremony gets Rs. 1-4 as his fee. Thereafter the party is served with boiled rice and sugar. Those who are opulent entertain the party with mutton and rice. Rs. 25 to Rs. 100 are spent on this entertainment. The party puts up from one to three days. At the departure of the wedding party the bride's father assembles all his kinsmen and gives the following articles to the bride:—

a couch, stool, antimony pot, plate, chhanna, quilt, pillow, clothes,

1 This water is drawn in a new pitcher by the boy's sister-in-law, on the third day. She goes to the well accompanied by women led by a miräşı beating a drum. For this the miräşı gets a fee of a rupan. Apparently the waddhnu or waterman also helps the sister-in-law, for he gets a fee of two rupees, besides some coarse sugar.
nose-ring and ear-rings. At this time an empty vessel is placed before the bridegroom's father. He drops from Rs. 5 to Rs. 25 into the vessel. Both the parties give Rs. 12 to each other's kámañás. When this is all over the bride is seated in a cart. She is attended by one of the female lágtís. The party stays for a short time outside the village. The headman of the village is given his fee by the father of the bridegroom. Thereafter the parties meet each other and the wedding party leaves the village. On the third day the bride and bridegroom are seated opposite each other and a plate is placed between them. This plate is always full of a mixture of milk and water. The bride takes off the ornaments of the bridegroom and drops them into the mixture.

**Dowry.**—The terms for dowry are various and so are the customs connected with the institution itself which is chiefly notable for the disregard paid to the rights of the wife in what is ostentatiously given to her at marriage.

In Hoshiárpur one or two days before the wedding the bride's maternal uncle brings a nose-ring and ivory bangles with some clothes and cash for the bride. The articles are collectively called nána ke chīkhak and are exhibited to the kinsfolk. At or after the nikáh the amount of dower is fixed. It is in no case less than Rs. 3-8, but it may exceed Rs. 100 or even Rs. 1000. After this the wedding party is served with food and is supplied with food and is supplied with cots to sleep on. Wari is the term applied to the valuable clothes, suháqiya1 and dried fruits sent by the bridegroom's father to the bride. Khat is the term applied to the clothes, ornaments, utensils and all other requisities of a new household supplied by the bride's parents to the bridegroom.2 The number of clothes &c. is not fixed. Rich folk in order to be well spoken of give 101 clothes, 40 pieces of cloth, Rs. 100 in cash, a palanquin, a box, a small wooden box, utensils, gold and silver ornaments, a mare, a she-camel, a she-buffalo and a suit of clothes for the bridegroom. Some Rájpúts give as much as Rs. 500 or Rs. 1000 in dowry. On such an occasion the members of the wedding party give a horse to the mirášt, and each member of it is given Re. 1 and a piece of cloth. Thereafter the parties depart. The boy's father passes some silver and copper coins over the doli.

In Hazará before the nikáh the bride's nakil is sent for and asked by the Qázi to fix the amount of dower. Of this there are two kinds, viz., shará or lawful and riwáji or customary. The amount of the former is Rs. 125 but that of the latter varies from Rs. 100 to one, two or more thousands of rupees. Some people execute bonds for the amount of dowry. This classification is independent of the two

1 Unlike the Muhammadans in Bahawalpur the amount of dowry is fixed in Hoshiárpur according to the bridegroom's pecuniary position at the nikáh. Dowry is called suháqiya in this district.

2 In Gujránwila the khat or dowry which the bride's parents wish to give their daughter is presented to the bridegroom's father in open assembly. Generally it consists of from 17 to 21 tezsars, 7 to 11 suits for the boy, utensils, a couch, stool, cattle and ornaments. New clothes are at the same time put on the bridegroom, and he is given a new suit of clothes by the bride's father &c. to put on. The salâm ceremony is performed on this occasion, that is the bridegroom pays his respects to his mother-in-law, father-in-law and other near relations. In return for this he gets Re. 1 from each of them.
kinds of legal dower, *vis.* deferred and prompt. In theory deferred
dower becomes due by the bridegroom when he cohabits with his wife,
but it is never paid on that occasion. After the nikáh the dower is
placed in the courtyard of the house and shown to the people. The
money presented in the thál by the boy's father is spent on ornaments
for the girl, and these are put on her at her departure. The clothes
exhibited in the dower are not sent to her father-in-law's house but are
kept by her own father, and she fetches them when required.

Among the Jâdûns of Peshávar also the dower to be given to the
girl is spread on a carpet and shown to the people, but it is not given
to the bride all at once, out of it only a suit of clothes is given her and
a suit is also given to the bridegroom. The remaining clothes are
given her when she comes back to her parents' house.

Among the Swâtis of Manschra talsil the dower merely consists of
a few clothes, ornaments, a cot and a quilt, and even the cost of the two
latter articles is borne by the bridegroom's father.

In Bhakkar the nikáh-khwán who appears to be a maulávi goes to
the bride with two reliable witnesses and tells her that her nikáh is to be
performed with so and so. She replies that her father or brother is her
agent and the maulávi then asks his permission. The amount of dower
is fixed with the consent of the parties. In general it is 100 copper
coins with a gold mohar but it may be as high as Rs. 500 and a gold
mohar.

The boy's father also gives or is supposed to give the bride glass or
ivory bangles, a gold nose-ring, a gold champákali, silver taróre, gold
or silver earrings, and a silver hamáil. Her father also gives her a gold
khálmáln, a gold basauti, a silver losi, rings for the hands and feet, 10
suits of clothes, a trewar, bewar, quilt, curtain, pillow, ladle, antimony
pot, pewter plate, couch, pírka, &c. A cow, buffalo or mare is also
given sometimes.

In Baháwalpur the amount of the dower is fixed The boy's father
usually takes with him some fruit, *gut,* til-shákkar (sesamum and
sugar mixed), *hastí* (necklet), ring, *taro,* (an ornament worn on
foot); *bohatte* (armlets), *takhí, dawátí,* or *patriñá* (square pieces of
silver worn round neck), all of silver (a *nath,* good nose-ring, which,
however, is more generally given by the townspeople); and a *tarevar,*
or *tewar,* or *tewar,* three garments, *vis.* a boochhan or dopàta, cholà or kurtá, and
ghadrá (petticoat) or suththàan (trousers), a ghadrà being given by the
Jât tribes in general and a suththàan by the Bâloch. In villages the
bride's father generally gives no feast to the bridegroom's party, and in
towns too this custom is practised but rarely.

In the morning a *vakíl* (guardian) and two witnesses go to the
bride to ask her consent to the contract, and when she gives it the nikáh
ceremony is performed according to Muhammadan law. The barber or
the *mírásí* distributes til-shákkar or sesamum and sugar among those
present.

In Pera Gházi Khán at the time of departure the bride's father gives her the following articles by way of *díj:*—boochhán (10 to 15), gowns (6 to 7), earrings, utensils &c. Wealthy men give a cow or a buffalo for their son-in-law. The boy's party is not served with food by the bride's party, but on the other hand the bride's party is supplied with food by the bridegroom's party.
Some special tribal customs.

An additional ceremony is performed among the Blattī Rājpūts of Ferozepore. When the bride reaches the house of her father-in-law she is seated opposite to the bridegroom. A sword is placed between them, and a retā (an instrument used by cobblers for stitching shoes) is also placed near their heads. After this the females commence singing, and keep it up the whole night. The cobbler gets 4 to 8 annas as his reward on this occasion. This is called retā jāga or waking for the whole night. On the 7th day the bride goes back to her father's house. After this, the bridegroom is sent in company of a mirāsī and a barber with the consent of the bride's father. On this occasion they bring back the bride. This is called muklāwa. Nothing is spent on the performance of this ceremony. The marriage expenses vary from Rs. 50 to Rs. 4,000.

In Hissār the Muhammadan Kahārs have some interesting ideas about marriage. To negotiate a betrothal 5 or 10 men of the girl's family visit the boy's home and his father and kinsmen entertain them there for a day. Three days later the boy's father summons his kinsmen and in their presence the girl's father or a near kinsman gives the boy a lump of sugar and a rupee. When the girl's party departs it is given a piece of cloth worth two rupees. This, it is said, makes the betrothal irrevocable. Prior to the wedding the girl's father sends a tewar, or gift of three garments, and a dosāra (two garments, i.e. a phulkāri and a white sheet) by his barber to the boy's father. On his arrival he summons the boy's kinsmen and consults them as to the species of wedding to be performed. Weddings are of three kinds or degrees:—

(i) Superior or ghares ki shādī, in which the boy's father fills an iron vessel with sweetmeats and then places a silver bangle worth Rs. 15 or 25 on top of it. One laddu (sweetmeat) is sent to each man invited. Seven feasts are also given to the boy's party in this kind of wedding. The dower must be not less than Rs. 101.

(ii) Gur ki shādī, in which 10 or 20 vers of coarse sugar are consumed, a little being sent to each invited guest. Five feasts must also be given to the boy's party. The dower fixed is Rs. 80.

(iii) Tage ki shādī, in which a red thread is sent to each guest, and only four feasts are given. The dower is Rs. 21. When the wedding party reaches the girl's home the eldest representatives of each party meet and the girl's gives the boy's party (or representative) a piece of cloth. This is called sharbat pilāna. The nikāh is then performed. Before leaving with the bride the boy's people send dried fruits to her house and then the girl's father gives her dower. On reaching their home the pair and all their near relatives must sleep on the ground as it would be unlucky to sleep on beds. This observance is known as thāpa. Next morning the women of the family take the couple outside the village to beat the ground with jāl sticks, an observance called chharī.

The Pachhádas of Hissar have some distinctive wedding customs. In betrothal the barber and two men of the boy's family go to the girl's home and give her father some money. After being feasted there
two or three days the barber receives two rupees and each of his companions a piece of silk before they go. \textit{Per contra} the boy's father has to pay the girl's Rs. 12 as menials' dues. This makes the betrothal irrevocable. When the parties have reached maturity the girl's father sends the boys three garments, which become the barber's perquisite. When the boy's party reaches the girl's village it must ride round it (gáun ká pherná) before entering it. Meanwhile the girl's people come out to receive them with sharbal, for which the boy's father has to pay Rs. 8, together with Rs. 7 for antimony and Rs. 21 for the chhántí observance. The wedding party is then feasted. At the actual níkáh sugar and rice are distributed, but they must be uncooked. This observance is said to be peculiar to the Pachhádas. Rs. 14 are next paid to the girl's party for menials' dues. Among the Pachhádas the gifts of the girl are called kharwa (apparently because they include a pair of sabots, kharán). Another distinctive usage is the bhotání, the bride's mother-in-law giving her some money on her arrival at her father in-law's house.

Among the Wiláyati Patháus in Hissári, e.g. at Tohána, the wedding is a simple affair. No observances are usual until both the parties are of age, when a date is fixed for the níkáh. The boy's party proceeds to the girl's home and is there feasted. Next morning the girl is made over to them, with her dower, but she returns the very next day to her parents' house for the ordinary chauhtí observance to be held. On this occasion the boy's party sends her fruit and vegetables. She again goes to her husband's home at night, but visits her parents' house for a year after marriage on every Friday, whence the custom is called \textit{júna}. These customs would obviously be impossible in a tribe which did not closely intermariy.

In Hissári Qassábs effect betrothals by exchange or if that is not feasible by purchase. The boy's father pays the girl's a rupee, or even less if he is poor, and receives from him an equal sum. He also has to pay the barber a fee of one rupee. When the parties are of age the girl's father convenes a meeting of his kinsmen and proposes a date for the wedding. Then he sends the barber to the boy's father, with seven copper coins, a rupee, a lump of sugar and a bit of cloth, to announce the date proposed. The boy's father summons his kinsmen and, accepting the cloth and sugar, remits the other things to the barber. Boiled rice with sugar and girlí is then distributed among the kinemen. This observance is called gáth by the Qassábs.

The boy's party goes to the girl's home on the day fixed for the wedding and is feasted on \textit{panjíri} (made of coarse sugar and parched flour) in vessels, into which they drop from four annas to a rupee. Women of the boy's family accompany his party in this tribe and sing congratulatory songs at he níkáh, those of the girl's side singing in reply. The \textit{mi/mi} is in which the eldest representative of the girl's party formally meets the eldest representative of the boy's and gives him sweetened water to drink together with a sum of money. The boy's party departs on the 3rd day after the wedding, after giving the bride a present of clothes and ornaments called \textit{bári} (a kind of dower), but of these the girl's father only keeps a few, returning the rest. When the bride departs her father also gives her a dowry of ornaments, clothes, utensils &c.
In Lohárú the Qassábs are said to have some different usages. Thus at a betrothal the boy’s father gives the girl’s a rupee, receiving two in return. This is called *salám*. Then the boy’s father puts some sweets in the girl’s lap—the god *bharaṇ*. He also gives her some silver ornaments. If the boy be present the girl’s father gives him a rupee, a coconut and a suit of clothes. *Bidris* (presents of sweets, clothes and ornaments) are also exchanged on every festival, twixt the betrothal and the wedding *gañdh*.

Among Muhammadan Rájpúts in Hissár brides are purchased for cash, the amount being negotiated through a barber. As soon as it is settled the boy’s father summons his kinsmen and his son is seated on a chair while the barber places a lump of sugar in his mouth and a rupee in his hand. This is called *ropaṇā*. A date is then fixed for the wedding and the boy’s party proceeds to the girl’s home. There it is received by representative men of her family bearing two or three vessels full of sweetened water. The eldest representatives of each side then meet formally in the *mińji*, the girl’s representatives giving a rupee and a piece of cloth called *rizá* to the boy’s. Gifts are also made to menials. The boy’s party is suitably entertained and then the *nikák* is solemnised according to Muhammadan Law. After the *nikák* the boy is taken to his bride’s house and there his sister-in-law puts questions to him and the *kaungrá* or bracelet which was tied on the wrist of the pair (*sic*) is unfastened. When the pair return to the boy’s house they are given a blanket to sleep on—an observance called *thaṇṇá*. Muhammadan Ráwats in Hissár retain two Hindu rites: at betrothal they have the *tīlak* marked on the boy’s forehead by the barber of the girl’s family; and they retain the *tewa* or observance in vogue when the date for the wedding is fixed.

Among the Sayyids of Hissár the wedding is a very simple affair and closely resembles that in vogue among Patháns.

The few Shaikh Quraishes of Hissár intermarry with those of Patiála. At betrothal the boy’s father sends the girl two ornaments, one of silver, the other of gold, through a trusted menial, usually a barber, who goes to her house alone. There he is given from one to five rupees and sent back. The *nikák* is in accord with Muhammadan Law.

Among the Saddozai and Kiz'ilbásh Patháns of Hoshiārpur several special usages are in vogue. The bridegroom is led into the room where the bride is seated amidst her kinswomen. She stands up to show her respect for him, but as there is a belief that the one who sits down first will yield in influence to the other they each try to persuade the other to sit down first and this contest causes much merriment among the women.

*Aina mushaf.*—When the pair sit down a covering of silk or shawl is spread over them. First of all an open *Qurán* is put into their hands as a token of blessing. Then the bride gives her husband a spoonful of *sharbat*, and he does the same to her; but as the bride is shy some one holds her hand and puts the spoon into her husband’s mouth. Next a looking-glass is given to the pair and for the first time they see each other’s
The bridegroom pays a few rupees for each of these ceremonies. When the dinā mushtaf (showing the Qurān and looking-glass) is over the bride's father or guardian puts her hand into that of bridegroom and bids them farewell. This is always a touching scene. The bride is then taken to her husband's house in a palanquin with due pomp. When she reaches it the members of his family pay her some money, termed rū-numāż, as a fee for seeing her face.

Takht jami.—On the 3rd day after the marriage the bride's mother and relations bring her dowry. She is seated on a cushion called takht or bride's throne.' Then the bridegroom leads her a few paces by the hand. When this is done they are allowed to become more familiar and they are at liberty to abandon their shyness.1

Pathāns of Peshāwar.

In the Utmān-nama tappa of Swāhi tahsīl, in Peshāwar, some respectable person goes on the boy's behalf to the girl's parents and proposes the betrothal contract. If they accept a date is fixed. Before that date the boy's party sends some jaggery, rice and wheat flour to the bride's house and goes to her house on the night fixed. The articles referred to above are consumed on this occasion.

Thāl ceremony.—After taking their meal at night the heads of both the parties sit in the courtyard of the bride's house and the mirāsī or the barber places a basket containing 4 or 5 sera of jaggery in their midst. The head of the boy's party puts some rupees into the basket. The amount is not fixed, but is settled by the head of the bride's party. Generally it varies from Rs 50 to 1000. Silver ornaments, such as bangles, kangān and bracelets, are also placed in the thāl (plate). After this the basket is removed by the barber or mirāsī who takes it inside the house, and it is returned filled with sugar by the inmates. This concludes the thāl ceremony. The money and ornaments are afterwards returned. Then the bride's party sends sharbat and mehandī. Each person present drinks a little sharbat and some mehandī is placed on their palms. This is called the ghānt ceremony, and it is the binding element in the betrothal contract. After this congratulations are exchanged and the bridegroom's party returns home the same night.

Channa artā.—On the third day of the kojidan the bride's kinswomen assemble and take some wheat flour, ghī and jaggery to the bridegroom. They remain in his house for 2 or 3 days. Halwa and other sweetened articles are consumed as a feast. At departure the bridegroom's parents give his mother-in-law and sister-in-law Re. 1 each by way of parona (dopattā). This is called channa artā.

Wadh or marriage.—The period between betrothal and marriage in this tappa is 1½ years. The date of the wedding is fixed by the eldest representative of the boy's family in consultation with the bride's parent. A suit of clothes is sent her prior to its fixture. Similarly a suit of clothes is sent to the boy by her parents. On the wedding day the boy's party reaches the bride's house at night. It is called jāāji, and the bride's party is mājāji. Both parties pass the time in friendly

1There are no customs of muklāma and mornī doll (sending the bride back to her parents' house) among these Pathāns.
festivity. After the distribution of lāgs among the lāgs the bride and bridegroom are dressed in new clothes. The bride is put in a gōlī. When it arrives the nikāh is performed and the parties retire in the morning. Marriages in this ṭappa are made on a low scale. In Peshawar the expenses are very heavy.

Pathans of Isa Khel.

Shudnāmā — It is the beating of drums and the playing upon of musical instruments on the occasion.

Wa'ima. — Both the parties give a feast to their respective relations on the day of marriage. The practice of breaking dhaknts is in vogue in some families. When the bridegroom breaks them they say that he is a brave man. On the arrival of the wedding party at the bride’s house prayers are recited according to Muhammadan Law. The nikāh ceremony is performed through a rābil and nikāh-khwān. After this dates and sweetmeats are distributed among those present. The lāgs are given to the mīrāsīs &c. The bride is conveyed on a camel or mare. Sometimes a palanquin is used for the purpose.

Tarija.—On the third day after the marriage the girl’s parents send the same articles as were sent by the boy’s parents by way of chan tārd and thāl karan.

Satwārā.—The bride returns to her parent’s house only a week after her marriage.

Khattaks of Kohāt.

Kwasda or betrothal.—The father of the boy accompanied by 5 or 6 persons and a mullāh goes to the girl’s father to obtain his consent to the betrothal in private. The rasmanā or price of the girl is also fixed at this visit. After that, on a Monday, Thursday or Friday, the father of the boy accompanied by 40 or 50 persons and a mullāh goes to the girl’s father for the betrothal ceremony. The boy also accompanies them. The nikāh is performed and the price is also paid. Gur supplied by the boy’s father is distributed by the barber. Among the burkha, gur is not distributed, but instead a goat supplied by the father of the boy is slaughtered. Niundra, called in Pashto achaunai, is also paid then.

Four or five days after the betrothal a gold or silver finger ring and a suit of new clothes are sent by the boy’s father to the girl’s father for the girl. The girl is made to wear the finger ring and the dopatta (head dress) at once as a mark of betrothal. After this the father of the girl gives feast to the bridegroom and a few of his relations and gives the bridegroom a finger ring also. On the two ‘Ids and Shab Brat a suit of new clothes and cooked food are sent by the bridegroom’s father to the bride.

The father of the bridegroom accompanied by a barber and a mullāh goes to the bride’s father to fix the date of marriage, and the amount of rice, ghi &c. to be supplied by him for the feasting of the marriage party is also fixed.
Moslem marriage observances.

Two days before the marriage a few women on behalf of the bridegroom go 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 gur is distributed. This ceremony is called kenavl bisbána (in Hindki). Next day in the afternoon many women on behalf of the bridegroom take fried jawar, grain or gur to the house of the bride's father. This is called khaunam.

Before the starting of the marriage the bridegroom and his friends are made to wear a garland, called serf 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 ornyama (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 gift is called brakta, 'share.'

Pathans of Isa Khel.

In Isa Khel taksil the terms used for betrothal are the Persian khulwéstgári and the Arabic khustha. 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 mirsd, from 1½ pados to 1½ of sers of mehndi, jaggery, a silver ring, a gold dubb, a kurti, and an orhni. 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 misrd by way of chun tára or sehra. The girl's father in return gives ½ or 2½ sers of jaggery.

Munh chhuráwan.—After her betrothal the girl keeps parda from the boy's relatives. A few days after the khulwéstgári 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 munh chhuráwan.

Thál karan.—After the mangni the boy's father's party send chun tárti, i.e. 25 plates of halwá, each also containing 10 dharáris or baked loaves. Besides these they send a sehra or 30 plates of halwá. The halwá &c. is distributed by the girl's parents among their relatives.

Warana.—On each festival day after the mangni, such as the 'Id-ul-Fitr, 'Id-ul-Zuba, the last Wednesday of Safar and the Shab Barát, the boy's parents send the girl's ghí, sugar or sugar-candy, rice, flour or baked loaves, a kurti and a silk orhni. But respectable families do not accept these things.
Khawání-piwaati.—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 Bannu.

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 kojikota, the girl’s father gives her a large ring and a silk worked handkerchief.

The bridegroom does not go to the wedding (shádi) 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 chauk 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 pagri each and a rupee each is given to the women. At bed-time the orthodox nikáh 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 nikáh 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 stops 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 Dūm plays little part except as a musician.

NOTE A.

The full expression is kāpā yā gandhōn pāka anyām shādī murār karva and in Mīfānśil 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 Re. 1. The date is fixed on any day between the 5th and 10th of the lunar month.

NOTE B.

The variations in the observance of gandhī pōrān are of course numerous. Thus in Shakargarh talīsl, Gurdaspur, a body of 20 or 25 persons of the boy’s party goes to the girl’s house taking 6 to 7½ maans of sugar. On the first night of their visit they are feasted and the boy’s father drops from Rs. 1-4 to 11-4 in his dinner plate which the barber takes away, getting 4 annas as his fee. The rest of this money is returned by the girl’s parents. Next day the boy’s party is feasted 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 ½ seers of sugar go with it. Taking these gifts the boy’s parents drop Rs. 20 to Rs. 00 into the basket which is returned to the girl’s parents through the barber. They pay the lāғīs their dues according to the custom of the village and remit the balance. Each lāғī of the boy’s party also gets a rupee on occasion. The females of the girl’s party too distribute sugar among their kinsfolk. Then comes the gandhī, 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 cat pānā, as it is called, occurs a month or two before the wedding the date for it is fixed at an assemblage held in the girl’s house and care is taken that neither the departure of the wedding party from her house nor the tel chārkānā fall on the 3rd, 8th, 13th, 18th, 23rd or 28th day. The best dates for the wedding are the 10th, 14th, 20th and 26th.

In Sialkot gandhī pōrān is called gandhī pānā. The barber goes to the boy’s party with a trewār which consists of a kura, donattā and sathāna, i.e. kura for the samdhān (the boy’s mother or aunt). A little oil is dropped at the threshold on his arrival and his first meal consists of khichri. Then the kinsmen are invited and the girl’s father gives the boy a rupee, another to his barber and some copper coins to his lāғīs. The trewār is then shown to the kin and given to the boy’s party. In return it gives a bundle of mehndī, maulū, tapānās, dates, dried raisins, coconut, 11 sers of jaggery and 11 sers of sugar besides rice and sugar, for the girl. The date of the wedding is fixed on this day.

Gandhī pānā.—Then the parties send gānās, i.e. they send jaggery and maulū or tapānās to kinsfolk to inform them of the date of the marriage and invite them to give tambol.

Gandhī pānā.—The father of the boy, accompanied by his brotherhood and taking with him soma gur or tapānās, visits the bride’s father and after consulting him fixes dates for the following ceremonies:—

(1) the mendhī khōlān dī or unplaiting the hair; 
(2) the chīkīn dī, the day on which bātnā is rubbed on the bodies both of the boy and girl, and on which the gānās are tied; and
(3) the dhole-dī, the date of marriage.

These dates are generally fixed at some intervals, thus if the 11th be fixed for the mendhīs the 14th and 17th are fixed for the chīkīs and dhol respectively.

Another term applied to fixing the date for a marriage is din dharrā. It is used in Jullundur and on the day when it is held the boy’s father summons his kinsfolk, male and female, and songs are sung, sugar and copper coins being also distributed. Apparently this observance is different from and supplementary to the gath pānā.

Round Mithankot the unplaiting must be done on the 11th, 14th, 17th, 21st or 25th of the month.
In the eastern Punjab, in the valley of the Jumna, the ceremony of fixing the date for
the wedding is called lagan. Thus in Ambala when the girl's father wishes it to be solemn-
ised he summons his kinmen to fix the date for the nikah which must not be any date in
the lunar month obnoxious to marriage according to Muhammadan Law or custom. As a
rule the nikah is never solemnised in the same month as that in which the date of the lagan
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 seers of sugar, a handkerchief, ring and a few rupees, from
Rs. 2 upwards according to his means. This is the usage known as lagan.

On the barber's arrival the boy's father invites his kinsmen 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
amongst 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 Gujratwala when a barber, a maulvi or both go to the bridegroom's house to fix a
date for the marriage on behalf of the bride's father, they take with them a few rupees which
is called the gandh ka tawar.

Note C.

But in some parts, principally towards the west and centre, other ceremonies precede
the baftna. Thus:—

In the Chakwal tahsil of Jhelum before the maja a male or female barber takes
oil in a vessel and stands by the boy. His kinsmen then put oil on his head and
fingers. They also throw copper coins into the vessel of oil and these are taken by
the barber. This ceremony is called tejligia. The maja is then begun. The boy's party
invite the kinsfolk by sending round jaggery, and some mills are set up in the boy's house
for grinding flour. Females who have received jaggery go to the boy's house and grind
corn on his behalf. This is called chakki ching. On the maja day the parties distribu-
te the halwa to their kinsfolk and if the boy's father is wealthy he proclaims by beat
of drum in the centre that no one should cook anything in it the day before the wedding.
On the wedding day a feast of mutton, bread and halwa is given to every one in the
village. This is also called chak dewa. People incur very heavy expense in connection
with this feast and many families have ruined themselves over it.

Similarly in Jullundur maja is preceded by the tej charha which is performed Ame-
sa few days before the wedding. A little oil is rubbed on the girl and boy. Both are
ranged on kharda and baftna is rubbed on their bodies. Gandas are tied to the right hand and foot
of each. A gandh is also called kancna. Henceforth they are considered to be in maja till their wedding.
The boy is prohibited from leaving his house from this date. The baftna is ground by seven females (whose husbands are alive) in a mill. This grinding is called
chakki ching. Both bride and bridegroom wear dirty clothes from this date. On the
day of the wedding the bridegroom again sits on a kharda and breaks charha. He is also
asked to put card on his hair and wash his hand with it. Thereafter the nigaat-khadi is ob-
served and a garland of flowers hung round the boy's head. The wedding party starts at about
8 P.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 nikah is performed at 2 A.M. and by others at daybreak.
A vakil 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 sweetsmeats or dates on
this occasion.

This usage is called elsewhere chikin and it is followed by a period, during which the
bride is said to be in maja. Thus in the Bhawalpur State from the date of the chikin
ceremony till her marriage the bride wears dirty clothes and is said to be in maja, which
the bridegroom also observes. The beating of drums, etc., begins from the very date of the
chikin. On the day of the do the bridegroom mounts the khara (a basket) and breaks
some chhusa (small earthen covers for pitchers &c).

1 In Chakwal Muhammadans preserve a curious Hindu custom. One day before the
wedding party sets out the bridegroom pretends to be displeased with his family and
goes to some relative or friend's house. His father goes to pacify 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 Nadaa tawa.
Moslem marriage observances.

The marriage procession starts in time to enable it to reach its destination at the time of the suhr (the second prayer, recited between 1 and 3 P.M.), or in the first quarter of the night. Villagers prefer to receive the party at the suhr 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 bride's village the bridegroom and his best man (sabdad or sarbedd) are made to stay apart in a hut (subhat) where they remain till the nikah. 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 chathra day a sword or iron of some kind is placed in his hand and the carrier is told off to accompany him. This man is called a hami or 'iron man' and for his services he gets a handkerchief or a ritha. In this district too the rites of githa tandhals and phul chunnas are observed. In the former the boy's sister ties his shirt to her own and receives a gift of Rs. 1 to 20 for so doing. In the latter a mirzaan 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 sirmeel when all the women quit the house leaving the bridal pair inside it. For 2 or 3 days after this the bride keeps her face veiled from her husband's father and brothers, but when they give her a rupee or so she abandons her parda before them. This is called ghund khula dik.

The mehdal ceremony is observed to its fullest extent in Kàagra. 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. Then all the boy's clothes and shoes are put in a plate. Men of the girl's party take these articles to the boy's house in the evening, but females alone take part in the ceremony. The girl's sister goes with them and applies the mehdal dik to the little finger of the boy's right hand, and some is also applied to the sarbedd's. A bit of cloth is taken to tie over the mehdal dik. 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 food at the boy's house and return home at night, the bridegroom's mother-in-law or his elder brother's wife accompanying them. Mehru 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 nikah is performed next day.

The mâgâd period or condition is closely connected with the tying of the gándâs, but what the connection is does not appear. Thus in Gujranwála and 3 or 4 days before the wedding the boy and girl are placed under mâyâs and the gândâs are tied. In this period their bodies are rubbed with bahna and mehdal dik (myrtle leaves ground and made into a paste) is applied to their hands and feet.

Among the Sadozai and Kizzilbash Pathans of Hispânpur the mâyâs is unknown or has been reduced to a simple observance called hina or mehdal dik in which one day before the wedding the bridegroom's father sends dry hina for the bride. Some, however, of her party, including her younger sister or any other little girl of her family, go first by night to apply saturated hina 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 hina is sent back for the bride to dry her hands and feet with.

In Siálkot this usage is called mâdâ purnâ. A few days before the wedding each party distributes ghumântôn, boiled wheat, to its kinsmen after applying oil to the bride or bridegroom in this wise:—The boy or the girl is seated on a khâräd (basket) below which a lamp is lit. The womenfolk sing and suhâgan (women whose husbands are alive) apply oil to the heads of the boy and girl. They also put a little wafna on their hands and rub the remainder on the body. A gänd is then tied to their hands and from that day a knife is kept in the boy's hand so that he may not be overtaken 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 mâyâs or mâdâ, by mâyâs women who sing such songs as the jaggi challa, Rekh, Baghe Chherewal naawarang and Sasei as sung by Maulavi Ghulâm Râshid. One day before the relatives assemble, i.e. on the wedding day, the bride and bridegroom's hands are painted with mehdal dik which is also distributed to the kinsfolk. All the kinsmen too apply mehdal dik to their hands. After the mâdâ gándâs are tied to the mill, sieve, winnowing basket, water-pitchers &c.

In Siálkot a rite called gharâf gharol bharna 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 (sadû). This woman is accompanied by her husband and their dopasfas 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 Ganes Purana.

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 shāmākhīn dhūmā (place of cremation) a vedi (a rectangular pit for sacrificial fire) some 2 feet deep is dug, and the funeral pyre, of dhāk, pipal 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 mantras from the Veda, and at the end of each mantra, at the syllable swāha, each casts into the fire an oblation of ghṛ mixed with camphor, saffron, and other aromatics. The weight of ghṛ, if thrown into the fire in the oblations, numbering 494 in all, must equal that of the corpse or at least 20 sars. 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 condolence, 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 asthisamachaya 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, sada varta etc., at their own expense, to commemorate the memory of the departed.

When they reach the house the barber’s wife takes the pitcher, bread and a tabā (two copper coins) as her perquisites while the red cloth is kept by the mistress of the house.

Aftcr the ghārā ghārōli the boy is made to sit on a kharā by the barber’s wife, and a lamp is lit beneath it. Then he is washed and a little card thrown on his head. The women all stand round the kharā and the barber gets his wels of silver and copper coins in the vessel containing the curd. A rupee is also placed under the boy’s feet and this too is taken by the barber. All the women contribute wels on this occasion. The other menials also get wels. After the boy has bathed the barber covers his head with adā and ties a phul-kārī round his loins instead of a leiband. He then jumps from the kharā and breaks some chapnis. The tambol is then received and the barber is paid his dues. Thereafter certain persons join the wedding procession. When on his departure to his father-in-law’s house the bridegroom mounts the mare, his brother’s wife puts anointy into his eyes and his sister seizes the mare’s reins to exact their dues. The song sung on this occasion is:

Ki kujh deñā utsirī wāg phārayī
Wāg phārayī ghophi dāndā charāyī

“Oh brother let me see what thou givest for taking hold of the mare’s reins and for feeding her with grain.”
The other rites, observed by all the Hindus in general, follow the Garût Purâna Yagna Vâlik Smrît and other smrîtis, which are believed to be based upon old Hindu books, such as the Grihya Su'ras and Brahman Granthâs. 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 panch ralnâ (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 karmi-dharmi. 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 dhûk wood without the vedî, and the corpse is burnt without going through the havan described above. The kapal kirya or breaking of the skull is performed by the karmi-dharmi. After it all return, wash their clothes and bodies at a tank or well and offer up tilanjâli (an offering of water mixed with sesamum seeds) on behalf of the deceased's soul.

But the karmi-dharmi has still to go through many other ceremonies. He places a ghara for a male, and a cháli 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 kûsha 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 kânas or reeds in the evening. On the 4th day the ceremonies of ashtîsumânya and the chaturthik śrâdhas are performed. Food with daksina is given to a Mahá-Brahman and the deceased's bones are picked out of the ashes and sent to Hardwâr to be thrown into the sacred Ganges.

The dasâhi or shaving of all the members of the family and washing clothes is gone through on the 10th day.

The kirya karmá and pindi-chhed ceremonies are performed on the 11th day. In the former, pindas are offered on behalf of the soul, and food and shayâ, which consists of a cot, a pair of shoes, an umbrella, some pots and ornaments, are given to the Mahá-Brahman for the sake of the dead. In the pindi-chhed the pinda or ball 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 bûrah is performed on the 12th day. In this ceremony 12 gharás or chádis (as deceased was a male or a female) filled with water, and each covered with a small piece of cloth, a mathâ (a large cake of wheat flour cooked in ghî or a ganirod (a large cake of sugar) and some pice are given to Brahmans.

The brahma-bhoja is performed on the 13th day in the case of a Brahman or Kshatriya and on the 17th in the case of a lower
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 caste. Food with *dakshā* (two pice at least as a fee or present) is given to 18 or 17 Brahmins. With this ends the ceremony.

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 netaks or *laddu* 360 in number with some pice as *dakshā* 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 Ráj.

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 *Bishan Sahamurt-rám* and *Bhagwat Gita*.

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 charpaí (cot) or some other place, is smeared with cow-dung and some dab 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 *tulsi* 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 Rohtak it is believed that the soul will in that event be re-born as an evil spirit.

In Jinda the dying man is laid on the ground and grain, money, a cow &c. are given in alms according to his means with his own

The orthodox alms are (4) the *gauḍa* or gift of a cow, whose horns are ornamented with gold or silver rings, while her neck is garlanded and her body covered with a piece of new cloth—red in the case of a female. Copper coins are placed at her feet, and she is led up to the dying person who gives her to a Vedwá 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 Vedwá’s hands. This ceremony is called *gauḍa* ‘gift of a cow’, or *baitarni*, ‘vaticum’. Subsequently (4) the *raskha*’s gift, of sugar, alkali, soap cotton and other necessaries of life, is given to the Vedwá. Lastly a *dipa*, earthen lamp, containing a silver or gold coin is placed in the palm of dying person, and after the recital of mantra is given to the Vedwá, but this rite is not observed in all parts of the Punjab. This account comes from Sialkot. In Bhangra it is believed that he who dies with the cow’s tail in his hand, through the help of the cow (*Baitarni*) crosses the deep Baitarni river or Bhangra *nadi* which is supposed to exist between this world and heaven, and which it is difficult to cross without the aid of a cow. The cow is afterwards given to Brahmins. After this a lamp called *dwa dhyayárd* 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 during that time and if horns out it is considered a bad omen.

In India when a child over 27 months of age, a grown-up person or an old one is dying the ground is first plastered with cow-dung. Then *kusha* grass 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. to Lanka or Ceylon. This is called in Urdu *manil rasál*.

Or Ganges water, with gold and a tiny pearl, are put in his mouth as passports into Swarga; Karnál. In Multán a little before death a small piece of gold, a pearl and a porcelain head are put into his mouth so that the deceased may be purified. A nut or anything given by guru 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 bliss 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.
hands. This is called the <i>ahāya ḍān</i> or <i>akhṛt ḍān</i> (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, <i>satvāja</i>, some iron, wool, salt and money are put before him, and he is made to give these articles as his last alms or <i>ant-ḍān</i>: a cow <i>baitarni</i> 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 <i>achāraj</i>, whose office is hereditary. Where it has no <i>achāraj</i>, the ḍān is given to a Nāth and the cow to the local god. When dead, a <i>dīpāk ḍān</i> or a gift of lamp is made and a <i>panch-rotan</i> (a collection of 5 metals) is put in the mouth, a <i>sankh</i> (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, <i>ex-officio</i> his chief mourner. In Ambala he is commonly called the <i>karmā dharma</i> or in Siālkot <i>bhuniwālā</i>.1

After the death he shaves his head, beard and moustache, leaving only the <i>bodi</i> 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 Brahmacarya 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 Jamná, she may only eat once a day.

1 The <i>bhuniwālā</i> 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) doffs his clothes, gets 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 theur heads and faces shaved in honour of his death. The <i>bhuniwālā</i> then puts on a <i>dhoti</i>; <i>pard</i> and turban of pure white cloth and a sacred thread, and performs <i>havan</i> (a sacrifice to fire) and <i>sankalpa</i> giving a few alms to the <i>achāraj</i> who appears at the lamentable scene of mourning.

In Multán 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 <i>Mausuri</i> 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 stretcher called <i>vimūk</i>. Several 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 <i>vimūk</i> 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 hou-shold, in particular the daughter-in-law and grand-daughter-in-law walk round the litter and do obeisance giving alms to the family barber.
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 red 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 golda denta. In some places a lighted lamp is also held by the son. He then 'sits in kiria' (kiria bishada), 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 karnanda—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 svahag on her husband's death. This is called svahag utarná. 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 tilak is applied to his forehead, a juneo 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 red called chundri. 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 missi, 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 occurs 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 too for example in Bannu before the cremation all the deceased's children and grand-children get their heads, moustaches and foreheads shaved and very often the man who performs the kirya gets all the hair of his body shaved. In Isákhel 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 kirya. If an elder brother or uncle dies without issue only he who performs his kirya 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.
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In Kulu 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 mitwa-sthāni (death-bed) and dūrāṇḍi (door) pīndas 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 būsraṃ (rest) pīnd being given and the mat on which the man died burnt. All the way grain, fruits and pice are thrown over the corpse, which is then taken to the burning-place where the fourth pīnd is offered. A funeral pyre is then made, and when the corpse is put on it the fifth or chīḍa pīnd 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 kirm-kartā or man who gives the pīndas 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 paroṭit sprinkles water over the pile: this is called kapāl (brain) motaḥ or kapāl kṛṣṇa. The shroud is given to the achāraṇ and the other white cloth is given to the musicians or Dāgīs. 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 asthīs (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 (pīnjā or arthī) is made of the pieces of the bed on which the deceased lay prior to his death, or of bamboo or fardāsh wood. Upon it is laid the hair shaved off the next of kin, together with the wife's bangles 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 bawān 2 replaces the arthī.

The carrying out of the corpse.

After the body has been tied on to the bier the first pīnd 3 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 pīnd 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 rath (Platts).
2 Sanskr. śīṃsā.
3 The 5 pīndas are all made of branly flour, ghi and in Jīnd city are prepared at the time by the Nāsik barber's wife and carried in a dish, thāṭī, by the Mahā-Brahman who also carries a garūṇa or basin full of water.
4 Head foremost in Kurnī: in which District, it is said, the bier is merely halved in a tank and pīndas again placed on it. Then all the pīndas are hung into the water and the body taken up again feet foremost.
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gharában¹ or adhmárag or 'half way' between the gate and the burning ground. Before this fourth pinda is offered water is sprinkled on the ground and the bier is set down, the first pinda being replaced by this, the fourth. This rite is called bárá dená, or the 'rest giving,' and the place of the halt is termed hisrám, 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 pinda is offered at the burning ground. These offerings are supposed to pacify the dûts of Yáma (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 Rám seven times to invoke God's help for the dead. On the same ground the chîta, funeral pile, is raised and the body being placed on it a panchratans (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, pîpâlî, dák or jand 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 vedî or pit for the sacrificial fire.

When the pyre has been completed the fifth and last pinda is offered and any valuable shawl or other cloth removed from the corpse, and given to a sweeper or a Mahá-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,² its hands being placed behind and so underneath it to prevent its being cruel in the future life.

The shroud is torn near the mouth, and the panjpratni 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.³ 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 (dhanjiye) 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 Multán the gharában 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 kriá karm walks round it thrice 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 Multán.

³ He then throws the stick over the corpse beyond its feet.
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He pours over the skull a cup of ghee, mixed with sandalwood and camphor. This rite of smashing the skull is called kapāl kripā or 'the rite of the skull.'

Kār denā.

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—qāh márnā.

Tilānjali.

After the qāh 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 tilānjali. Or a little water mixed with sesame is distributed in the name of the deceased.

In former days a siápā 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 Bhāt leads the mourning, and for this she gets a fee which may vary from an anna to Re. 1-4-0.¹

In Sīlkot cremation is called sanskāra 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 ghee and panchratni 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 bhungiwālā performs a havān under the directions of the achāraj. 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 bhungiwālā sets fire to the four corners of the pile and walks round it four times throwing pieces of wood into it while the achāraj 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 kirpāl kirpā 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 achāraj recites aloud a mantra ending in the familiar words yatra śe tatra gachhate ‘whence 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 Multān. 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 achāraj 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 bhungwal DSM 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 drunk 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 condole with the relatives. This is called pahá páhá 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 stápá, in which a hired woman of some low caste (stápá ki náin1) 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 Naí gives them am 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 Naí 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, khichdi (rice and pulse), flour and ghí in case the deceased was an adult and sugar and rice also in case he was an old man. This provision is called karod bāttā or 'bitter food' and the remains of it are not kept but distributed among the poor. In Gurgaon if the deceased was a Brahman uncooked khichdi (a mixture of dhál and rice), pulse and flour are brought by his fajmáns and if he was a Mahájan 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 gaurdās

1 Lit., a woman of the Naí or barber caste.
Hindu death observances.

(some loaves 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 woollen clothes but only a dhoti (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 ghát bhrána 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 Bann after burying a child or burning a person when the people return home they call a Machháni or waterman's wife to the door and give her a heap of corn. This ceremony is called bhrá bhárá. By it the right of crossing the river in the lower regions is secured to the deceased.

Ním ki pāti: chabándá.

The funeral party now returns to the village, accompanied by the Náj who has plucked a branch of a nim tree. From this every one takes a leave 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 chaudhrí or other elderly man saying, after the members of the party have sat for a time close to the deceased's house, Bhágyo dhoti sukho, '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 his 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 shudh oshnán, bath of purification, and then resume their ordinary duties.

The Náj now obtains from a Kumhár all the articles required for the g at, together with those required for burning the lamp at the spot where the deceased died. These articles include some dâd grass, jórán, sesame, milk, Ganges water, an earthen jar, and twáś leaves. The chief mourner accompanied by a Náj takes these to a well by which he hangs a jar, full of milk and sweet water or simply water, in a chhi ká 1

1 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 pálã ukháná.

2 A ghóra in the case of male, and a cháfti in that of a female: Ambála. In Kángs this jar is called choara and is hung on a stako of pálã 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 dab grass so that the water may trickle slowly to the ground. Hence it is called dhárrá (from dhár a stream) in Jind. In Gurgão certain trees are set apart for this rite, which is known as ghat márná 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 Yáma-Loka. A small fire must also be kept burning there.

At the same time a lamp is lighted and placed on the ground outside 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 Ambála this observance is repeated daily for 10 days.

Next day the karam-kartá (one who gives the pindas), 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 ghí is placed on some sand in the compound on a teapot; and a very minute hole made in the bottom of the jar to let the water out slowly, and kusha (sacred grass) is put in the jar. On each of the nine subsequent days only one pinda is given and more water is poured in the jar to keep it full. A lamp is kept burning for nine days and the Garur purán 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 Náth who gets As. 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 spindl karm is performed: a bed, umbrella, shoes, a cow, cooking utensils, a suit of clothes and jewelry being given to the acháraj.

In Multán on the day after the kiria some more wood is thrown on the pyre so that any part of the body unburnt may be completely cremated.

Soharí.

Kanets and other low castes give one pinda every third day, putting the pinda in a hollow piece of wood and taking it to the river, where the karm-kartá holds it by one end and a carpenter by the other, the latter

1 Whence it is called ēhattí dīvā or 'breast lamp': Jind.
2 In Kangra this lamp, called the dīvā dha riara, is said to be placed by the head of the corpse; and the wick must not be renewed: it is insuspicious if it fail to last the 10 days. Both this lamp and the choara are taken at the expiration of the 10 days to the river side, or to a spring, or placed under a bar or pipal tree.
3 Called the dāduhi in Jind.
cutting the wood at the middle and thus the ping 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 sarvāhā.

After the funeral a pāndit is sent for in Gurgáon to ascertain the soharst and teram days.

The soharst, also called astat sanchi (or in ordinary speech phul chugna) is performed on the third day after the death, provided it does not fall on a Bhadra, panchatk, 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 pre and there cook rice and pulse, each in separate vessels. A ping is then placed by the deceased’s skull, and eight balis set round it in as many different directions.

The bones of the deceased, which are universally called phul, 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 hoe. Then the bones are washed in a karei (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 Jīnd only the bones of the hands, toes and the teeth are gathered into a theī, a purse of silk or of dear-skin, and then taken to the Ganges or Pihewa tirtha. In the Kurakshetra 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 Brahman or a Kaháir.

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 Jāts 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 Jann, while round Tohána in Hissáir the ashes are merely piled up in the crematorium.

Hindus dwelling in the Kurakshetar 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 Asthi sanchaya in some parts.

2 The bali consists of a little rice and pulse put in a dona or platter of leaves.

3 The only exception is in Multán where the bones are called golā. To ‘pick up’ the bones is chugna in Panjabí.

4 Distance is not a factor in the matter since in Bhakkar 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 *dán-pun* at Hardwar and his expenses on the journey. On reaching Hardwar the bones are cast into the river and alms are given. Some water is taken home, where it is called Gangajal and worshipped. Brahmans are fed on his return and some cloth, cash and grain are given to the *parohit*.

The *pinds*.

In addition to the 5 *pinds* offered during the actual funeral, other *pinds*, 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 *pinds* 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 *pád* chugná is over in Jind, the eldest son or he who performs the *kriča karm* has a *kathá* (reading) of the Gardar Purdána recited by a Brahman at the deceased’s house for 10 days among Vaisyas and for 13 among Brahmans, Káyasths and Játs; and some money is spent on this *kathá* by the members of the family and kin.

*Of patak or impurity.*

Corresponding to the *váta* or ceremonial impurity which ensues on birth is the *patak* or *bhíś*, sometimes erroneously called *váta* which ensues on a death. In theory the period of this impurity is 10 days among Brahmans, 12 among Khatris, 15 among Vaisyas and a month for Sudras, but it is now in practice 1½ 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.

*Pátaık* extends in theory always to kinsmen of the 7th degree.

These rules are, however, subject to many variations. For instance in Siálkot the *bhíś* 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 Baháwalpur the family in which a death has taken place is held to be impure for 18 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 bheit or impurity is called bhifal.

In Bhakkar tahsil 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.1 It is removed by breaking old earthenware, as well as by washing clothes &c. On the last day an acharaj is fed and after taking his meal he recites mantras whereby the house is purified. But in other parts of Miánwáli a family in which a child dies is impure for 3 days; and in all other cases for 11 days among Brahmans, 12 among Khatriis and 13 days among other Hindus.

In Bannu 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 kirid karm is performed, at least in theory, on the close of the period of pollution. Thus in Gujranwála it is performed by the eldest or youngest son on the 13th day, as the family is deemed to be in súrak (state of impurity) for 13 days. This impurity affects the kin to the 3rd or 4th generation. So too in Kapúrthala the kirid karm is performed among Brahmans on the 11th day after death, among Khatriis on the 13th, while Vaish observe it on the 17th and Sudras on the 31st day after death.

In Sháhpur, 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-Námi sadhús does not mourn or perform any kirid karm after death.

1 But the period of bheit is also said to be as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of deceased</th>
<th>Duration of bheit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over 6 months, up to 3 years</td>
<td>Immediately after burial or throwing into water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 3 years, up to 5 years</td>
<td>1 day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 5 years, up to 10 years</td>
<td>3 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 10 years</td>
<td>6 days.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11, 12, 13 days according to the caste.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hindu death observances.

There is in some parts a tendency to simplify the full rites. Thus in Kohat 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 adhunam and the pinda kavan (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 pinda 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 raising 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 ghâ is put in its mouth. After the kapâl kiran the man who is to perform the kiran karm 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 funerai withdraw. A short distance from the pyre on their way back all collect and each picks a few blades of grass while the achâraj panti (sic) recites some mantras, and on their completion all men except the one who is to do the kiran karm 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 sesamum into it while the achâraj recites mantras, throw it on the ground. The deceased's family then gives the achâraj sweetmeats and 1½ yards of cloth are given to the man who is to perform the kiran karm for his turban or bhungti. After prayers all may now depart or accompany the deceased's family to their house which the kiran karm 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 pandit recites the Gaud Puran by night or day. In the morning a pindi and in the evening turkashita is offered during these 10 days outside the door of the house. The kiran 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 pindi karm (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 kiran man's head and the same day all the deceased's clansmen bathe and the boys get shaved. The kathâ or reading ends on this day and the pandit is given some cloth and cash. The relations give turbans to the kiran 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. Brahms perform the kiran on the 11th day, Khatris on the 13th and Aroras on the 15th. At this rite the achâraj makes figures of the deotdas (gods) on the ground with dry flour and then reads mantras. 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 khonsi very like the kiran is held on the 16th day when Brahms are
Hindu death observances.

fed. Until the _khorsa_ is done, the deceased's clansmen are considered impure (_sutha_ ) 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 _khichri_ (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 _athra_, a kind of disease.

In Gurgon from the time the bier is taken up until it reaches the burning ground all the mourners keep saying in a loud voice _Rám nám sat has—sat bole gat hai_ 'The name of Rám (God) is true and will last till eternity. He who meditates on His name, will get salvation.'

**Káraj or Káj.**

The _káj_ or _dám_ ceremony is not performed on any particular day in Gurgón but care is taken to perform it as soon as possible. In villages the people cook rice with _ghī_ and sugar, while Bánis and Brahmans in the town fry _laddu_ and _kachauris_. All kinsfolk whether living near or at a distance are invited and the people of the village, as well as Brahmans, Jogis and beggars are fed with sweetmeats. 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 _pattal_ 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 _laddu_ weighing a _ser_ to each man of the tribe which does not disdain to receive alms. Some people have been known to spend about a _lákha_ of rupees on an ancestor's _káj_. Relations invited on the occasion are on their departure given cash as well as sweetmeats. Those who are bound by relationship to pay something give money when the deceased's heir binds his turban.

Among the Bishnois the dead are buried at a place called _ogará_ 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 _tfju_ or _káj_ ceremony on the 3rd day after death. The ceremonies connected with the 13th and 17th day are not performed. The _káj_ of a youthful person is on an ordinary scale, _i. e._ only 20 or 22 kinsmen and 5 or 6 Brahmanes are served with food. Recitations from the sacred books are continued for three days. The _káj_ of an old person is celebrated with great _ecolat_, 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.

**Purián bхаrná.**

The food prepared on the _káj_ 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
Hindu death observances.

...crows than by any other bird. The period of impurity of pātak 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 kāj day.

Barnī bathānd in Gurgāon.

This observance depends on the pecuniary means of the deceased’s heir. On the sohārī pāṇḍits are sent for and made to recite the Gāyatrī mantra about 125,010 times for the deceased’s benefit at a place fixed by the owner of the house. All the pāṇḍits rise early and after bathing recite the mantra till 2 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 pāṇḍits assemble at the ghāṭ to perform a havan. After this they are dismissed with some dakhšnā or remuneration.

Banjūr chhornā.

This rite is performed on the ekādshi or 11th day after death if the heirs are men of wealth and position. It consists in marrying a cow with a bull. The dues on this wedding are as usual given to the menials concerned, and after it the cow and bull are spotted with mehndi 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 bahrkhotvar chhornā or akal chhonā. 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.

Gaukhas jārnā.

This is only performed when the banjūr chhornā 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 chhatris.

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 chhatris in Gurgāon 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 chhatris to a considerable height so that they may be seen from the roofs of their houses.

The following superstitions are current in Gurgāon:

(1) One who joins in funeral procession to the burial or burning ground abstains from eating sweetmeats or drinking milk for that day.
Those who raise a funeral pyre for the first time do not drink milk or eat sweetmeats for three days.

If any one dies in the panchak, his death will be followed by another and so a panchat shánti is performed.

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.

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.

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-great-grandson at his death as he will then go to hell. A body is watched till the soharni 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 another one.

The shroud of a child dying of màsan (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 auspicious if it occurs during the amávas and kanagat 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 Sílkot are:

(i) the pinda offering:—On the day after the funeral, the bhungtwalá rises early and bathes, puts on a pavíttram (a straw ring), performs a haván, offers one pinda (a ball of boiled rice) and goes out to water a sacred pipál. All these practices are repeated every morning and evening up to the 10th day under the directions of the acháraj. The number of pindás, 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 chautka:—On the 4th day, after performing these rites in the morning, as usual, the bhungtwalá with his friends and relatives goes to the cremation ground for the bone gathering (phül chunná). 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 sanyá and other viands, he performs a haván 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 sankalp 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 mantra 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 4 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 Miánwáli 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 Is. Khel some kinsmen accompanied by an acháraj 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 tahál Gardür Purán 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 dasáhi 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 chhahns (pieces of cloth) with 10 pice and 10 laddús of rice, each wrapped in a chhahná, and cooked gram among the Nái, Jhiwar, Brahman and relatives of his family. This observance is called dasáhi ke laddá bátpná. 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 nákána, 'to avert the impurity,' or evil influences of the death.

**The dasgátar.**

The 10th day after death is theoretically one of ceremonial importance. In Gurgáon it is known as the dasgátar, and upon it the first sejá is offered. During the 9 preceding days the ghat has been kept filled and a single pind 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 36 pinds, and lighting 360 lamps. In addition 16 special or khosri pinds are given and isánjali is also distributed 360 times. After this the ghat 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.

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1In Sháhpur on the 4th day an effigy of the deceased is made and sweetmeats and copper coins distributed.
In Kulu on the 10th day after death a goat is killed and relations feasted. This is called sondha. The ceremonies of jowásha etc. are not observed. The higher classes perform the shudhi 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 Lág drink lagrí or sur (hill beers) on this occasion, while the Dágis 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, Dágis, etc., 3 days.
- Kanets, 3, 5, 7, 11, or 13 days.
- Brahmans, 11 days.
- Rájpúts, 13 days.
- Khatris, 15 days.
- Mahájans, Bohris, Súds and goldsmiths, 16 days.

In Siálkot 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 curds 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 kiríd karm, 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 khas or kháshak 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 acháraj 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 Garúr Purán the same day, receiving some cloth and a little money as his fee. But of late in the towns the Brahmans have not completed the Garúr Purán till the 14th day instead of the 10th, because the pollution is absolutely removed on the 14th and also because almogiving to Brahmans is most proper when no impurity remains. On the day when the kiríd ceremony is finished, the acháraj 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 phil chugá
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(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 Kahár. The house is impure (pátak) for 13 days. On the 10th day the household perform dasáhi, i.e. they go to the tank, wash their clothes, shave and offer pínds. On the 13th day a number of Brahmans 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 Kirya karm. This Sáktot ceremony is performed on the 11th day among Brahmans, on the 13th among Khatris, and among Vaishas on the 16th. Among Brahmans the ceremony is observed by the eldest son, among Khatris by the eldest or youngest son and among Vaishyas by the agent of the deceased. A family in which a death occurs is considered to be impure until the Kirya karm has been performed.

The bhungiwálah rises early to make his ablutions. The acháraí draws a chaunk (square) showing therein the symbols of various gods and goddesses on the ground and constructs a pandál 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 Kirya karm 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 Khshatris and other castes excepting Brahmans on the 13th day. On this day, too, many Brahmans are summoned to a feast to be eaten by proxy for the deceased. Popularly the day is called Burá 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 Kirya karm, 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. Ghi 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 bhungiwálah 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 Kirya karm or
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survivals of the full karya rite. Thus in Jind on the 11th day after death a Brahman performs the pinda-dán. The pindas 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 alma to an achāraj, who is supposed to satisfy the desires of the bhūta or ghost-body by means of his mantras &c. This observance is called the karya of śayā or ceremony of 11th day. The eldest son who has performed the karya karm now changes his clothes and puts on a coloured turban.

In Bhiwāni the śayā 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 Sarasgis give the achāraj clothes, cash and utensils on this day.

The twelfth day after death.

Pārah.-In Ambāla and Karnāl the 12th day after death is observed as follows:—Twelve gharās (or chājis in the case of a female) are filled with water, covered with a small piece of cloth, and with a mathu (a large cake of wheat flour fried in ghi) or a gandora (a large cake of sugar) and some pice, given to Brahmans.

Dvadsha.—Four pindas, 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 3 parts, with a piece of silver or a blade of dab grass, and each part kneaded to one of the other three pindas, to typify the dead man's re-union with his forefathers. At this rite a Gujratī Brahman is feasted 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 spudi karm. It is observed on the 12th day by a Brahman, and four pindas, money and food are given to a Bihā Brahman.

Hawan.—In Gurgāon a havan is performed at the spot where the death occurred, and at night a fire of dhūck 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.

Brahmabhoja. Brahmans and Khatris celebrate the Brahmaghoja on the 13th day, other castes on the 17th. Food, with a fee of at least 2 pice, is given to 13 or 17 Brahmans.

Terasūn.—On the 13th day at least 13 Brahmans (one of whom must be a female, if the deceased was a female) are fed. The second seja dán, which is precisely like the first, is also offered on this day, but it is the perquisite of the paohit, the other 12 Brahmans each receiving a vessel of water covered with a bit of cloth, a cup full of sweetmeat, a nut, kanwal 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 Bhiwāni on the 13th day only one Brahman is fed, the

1 Hence this rite is known as the pinda ekhedan karam. In Karnāl it is said to be observed on the 11th day and as a rule only to be observed if the deceased left male issue. A condition not always adhered to.
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house plastered and cow's urine and Ganges water sprinkled in it. It is then considered purified.

Dastār Bandi.—The ceremony of installing the heir, of which the dastār bandi or tying on of the pagri is emblematical, is held in the afternoon of the 13th day after death. In Montgomery if the deceased had a shop his heir is made to open it.

The 13th is in a sense an auspicious day, auspicious that is for the performance of rites designed to secure future happiness. Thus in Gujrat a widow is made to don fine clothes and ornaments on the 13th 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 date. 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 date.

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 ga- was (small pots) with covers 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 Brahmans 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 jag, called the bara karna or 'making known' rite. A man of average wealth gives food to all the Brahmans of his town, and a rupee to each with a feast to his brotherhood. A very wealthy person gives a jag to 20 or 30 villages in the neighbourhood. This custom, still prevalent in the villages of Jind tabāsil, is also called kāj karna or hangama karna. The Neota 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 loaves and an earthen pot filled with water every month.

Satārīn —On the 17th day some food, clothes and utensils are often given to a Brahman, as in Montgomery.

The 5 tarwān or 17th day in Siālkoṭ is the occasion for just as many elaborate ceremonies as are performed in the kirya karm, but the gifts offered now go to the family parohit. In this district it is also called satārkhān and on it the period of impurity ends although the kirya karm is performed some days earlier according to the deceased's caste.

On or after the seventeenth day the ceremony of dhārm shāxta is observed in Isa 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 khātr and halwa or sweetmeat.

Some ceremonies are also observed on the 28th day or marak but it is needless to detail them here. (Siālkoṭ.)

1 Cf. the exchange of pagri or pagri.
2 The number of villages varies from 1 to 101.
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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 Brahmani if the deceased was a female) on the day *tithi* in each lunar month corresponding to the date of the death. In *Kángra* this is called *másak*, and consists in giving some flour and *ddl* to a Gujrati Brahman, hence called Mákhu 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 *shárádha* during the *kánagáts*. In these *shárádhas* priests and Brahmans are fed according to the position of the performer. Some also observe the *sambatsarí shrédha*, which are not confined to the *kánagáts*, but on the contrary are performed on the lunar date of the death.

Annual commemorations.

The annual commemorations are the *bargsí* or *barsi* or first anniversary, the *khiabi* or recurring anniversary, and the *chaubarti* or fourth anniversary of the death. The *barsi* and *chaubarti* consist in the offering of a *sejadán*, 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 *ganagáti*, but the *khiabi* is said to be observed every year until the heir goes to *Gyød* 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 *pahrs* 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 Baháwalpur 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 *Jind* children dying when under 27 months of age are merely taken down on to the ground and then buried. There is no *mánsíl rásánt*. Children in villages dying under the age of 6 years are similarly treated.

In *Kángra* the offerings at the *barghi* still go to the *acháraj*; those of the *chaubarghi* to the *paróhit* of the family.
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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; 2½ years or even 8 years in Hissar; before the 1st tonsure at 22 months in Kangra; 2 years generally in Siáltok, Gujranwala, Montgomery; 3 in Gújrát and in the Zafarwál tahsil of Siáltok; 5 years among Hindu Rájpúts, Jats and Mahájans in Rohtak; 2½ years in towns among the higher castes, but 6 years in villages among all castes in Jind; 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 mungan sanskár 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 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 Multán 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 Mahájans, 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 Jamna. 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 Sialkot although children over 2 are cremated no kirya karm is performed for those under 10 and both the bones and ashes of such children are set afloat or buried. In Zafarwál 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 or 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 Jamna or the Ganges, because Sítha

1 In Hissár the custom seems to depend on the parent's position or caste. As a rule a child under 2½ years is buried with a cup of milk at its pillow. But around Tobhána 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 5. 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 of less than 6 months dies it is buried but not under a tree and no cup of water is placed beside its grave except in the Daggar where the custom of placing the cup beside the grave does prevail.

3 But in the Khángíth Dagráh 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 die, townspeople as well as rich people in villages set the body afloat in the Jamna, 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.
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 jand 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 Isä 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 Gujrat this is also done, but a second jar, filled with rice and sweetstuff, is also tied round the child's neck.

Townspeople, 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 Siálkot 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 Kapúrthala the body of a child which has cut its teeth but not reached puberty is cremated, but instead of the kirya karm only the daigátri is performed. This merely consists in both men and women bathing at a well or river.

In Deera Gházi Khán the kirya karm 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 Gurgán), and masán in Jámipur.

In Gurdáspur 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 Péra Gházi Khán only men and boys, young or old, who die before the Sūtra puṣṇā is performed, are said to be thrown into a river.

2 In Gújrat it is said to consist in giving an achárya a suit of clothes, which would fit the dead child, on the 4th day when its bones and ashes are cast into a stream. Though observed on that day it is called the daigátri.

3 Not traceable in dictionaries.

4 Cf. Ph. Dicty., p. 737: masánda = masán = 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 Kapurthala 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 disinterred 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 (ṣad) 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 Kangra and with variations elsewhere. Thus in Tohana the father or some other relative of the dead child brings green dabh grass and casts it into the mother’s lap. In Isa 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 4 and 6 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 lākh.

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 Mianwali this is done by an Azifī.

2 In Pera Ghazi Khān they are put into the father’s lap, and he places them in the child’s cradle. If a Hindu child dies in Shahpur 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 sweetmeat is put into it.

* To prevent this fire is kept burning at the grave for 3 days: Karmā. 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 1ākh. 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 gur or sweetmeats they now distribute onions instead. So too in Bannu tahsil those whose children die one after the other distribute gur instead of balâshas 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 Hisnār the second child is dressed in clothes begged from another house. In and about Tohâna 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 Karnâl the father bores the nose of the son born afterwards and often gives it a girlish or worthless name, with a view to scare away death from it; it being considered that the Death-god (Ya'âna) strangles in his nose more male infants than female. In Kânga 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 cholâ ceremony. In Shâhpur a child born after 3 or 4 children have died is given iron bangles made of the nails of a boat to put on its feet. In Gujrat 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 Khotâ Râm (khotâ, an ass), Tindan (worm), Lotâ (an earthen vessel), Ledan (camel-dung), Chûhrâ (a sweeper), Chûhâ (rat), Gidâr Mal (jackal), Lâla-Lela (kid) and Dadçú Mal (frog) for boys: and Hirni (a doe), Rai (one mixed with others), Chûhrî (a sweeper), Chûhî (she-rat), Chîri (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 Nauri.
Effects on subsequent wives.

The páhájí. — If a man in Bhakkar lose his first wife and marry again he places a páhájí 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 ac plant, or a sheep, so that the marriage to his third wife may be his fourth, not his third. His third wife wears the páhájí of the first two, and the other rites are also observed.

In Multán 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 bier 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 tharā 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 stars 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 tharā but the 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 tharā 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 shamskhar, 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

² Pahájí = co-wife; in Multání = country-woman.
bricks at them, the besiegers retaliated and a hotly contested fight ensued, but at last the boy’s body was burnt and his ashes together with below them 6 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 11th and 13th 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 perquisite. If an old man die, leaving grandsons and great-grandsons, his relatives throw silver flowers, shaped like *chamba* flowers, and silver coins (or if poor, copper coins) over his bier. In Miánwálí only Muhammadans* and Acháryas will take these flowers and coins, but towards Multán and generally elsewhere people pick them up and place them round their children’s necks, in hopes that they will thus live as long as the deceased. But in some places, such as Hissár, 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 pilfered. 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 Acháraj.

Death from disease or violence.

As we have already seen children who die of small-pox are often thrown into water. And in Multán 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 Thánesar,

1. The *Hitkar*, Lahore, of July 19th, 1903.

* In Bannu when a young man or an old one dies, the kinsfolk throw copper coins and resin over his bier, and the coins are given to a Muhammadan beggar, but no Hindu beggar will take them.
Hindu death observances.

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 Kurusebhetar in the Shastras. 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 rape-seed into it. A bee is also put in, and the chela 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 kirta 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 shánti on the spindi day.

A death during a solar or lunar eclipse is considered inauspicious and in such cases grahán shánti is performed on the spindi day, but the other matters of ras and nakshattar 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 autar deota (sonless 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 chelas 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 jotshe 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 Bahawalpur the body is carried out through a hole in the wall. So too in Máler 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.
According to the older astrology the sky was divided into 27¹ lunar mansions (nakshatras), of which 2½ thus lay in each of the 12 zodiacal signs (burj or rās); and of these nakshatras the last 5, viz. the second half of Dhanishta, Sat Bikka, Purba-bhadrapad, Utara-bhadrapad and Reoti, occupy the signs of Aquarius (Kumb) and Pisces (Min). This period of 4½ nakshatras is counted as 5 days and thence called panchak, or, dialectically, panchak.

This period is uncanny 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 shānti 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 shānti 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 darbh or dabh grass (or among the well-to-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 Dera Gházi Khán 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.²

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 tiranjoli is given 5 times in the name of the 5 dolls. Then 5 Brahmans recite mantras, and make, usually in a thākuradvāra, a chauk on which they arrange 5 jars, one in the centre and one at each corner. Into these are poured water and pany-amrit, and they are then closed with bits of red silk on top of which are put copper plates with images of Vishnu, Shiva, Indra, Jám and Bhairon, 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

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 numbered Prét-bah,—mukh-ap, bhump and bars, and, after being worshipped with flowers etc. are placed on the pyre, at the head, eyelids, left armpit, abdomen and feet of the corpse: Kalasa,
Hindu death observances.

Cfatri ad Trikal (?). After the recitations are finished a hawan is performed. The Brahmans are feed’d 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 panchak. The head of the family also performs a chhaya-dan.

In the Pachhád tahsil 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 panjak shánti 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 Brahmans 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 panchak days.

Some of the Muhammadan peasantry in Baháwalpur believe in the panjak, 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 panjakau; 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) Blue pothas (small beads used by girls for decorating dolls) are put into the mouth of the corpse. (iii) A piece of ak 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 panjak 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 panchak also modifies the rites observed after the cremation. Thus on the 7th or 8th day after such a death orthodox Hindus of Dera Ghazi Khán sometimes make an image of 360 pieces of wood or of drush grass and burn it, with full rites; and on the 27th a special panjak shánt is performed.

In Gujrát 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 Brahmans recite mantras, receiving Rs. 1-4 (5 4-anna pieces) for their services.

In Sirmúr, on the corresponding day of the panjak in the following month, a door frame, made of thimbu 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
Hindu death observances.

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 smeared 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 Mula 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 woollen 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 Phag, 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 satak (from sat 7). In the same part of the hills it is also believed that if a die in

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1 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 if, 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 Jogini Devi being placed on its centre. About midnight a Brahman puts this loaf etc. before B and mutters mantras, 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 balis (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 perquisites.

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 Jam, the god of burning-grounds, for several days. Otherwise he would devour people.

In the Simla Hills the musicians and the makers of the baman 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 nakshatrás 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 Narain-bal or Gaya-vid is also performed.
If within 4 years of a death in the Simla Hills any one of the deceased's family be attacked by daidtal 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 (khelnd) 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 gatt 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 so on; 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 Gurgáo 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.

Amulets &c. are used to escape death. The Imam zamán ká runya 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 Mirán Sáhib, Madár Sáhib, and Khwája Sáhib. 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 jewellery 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 Qurán are recited, and just before death the medicines are stopped and 4 A disease in which blisteres appear all over the body while the extremities are inflamed. (Not in P. Dicty.)

3 This is called rakh sir karná in Ambál.
Moslem death observances.

Pure honey with sweet water is given to the dying person in a spoon. The kalima is whispered to him and he is also bidden to recite it himself. He is now made to look towards the north.

In Gujrát something sweet, honey as a rule, or if that is not procurable, sharbat is poured into the dying person’s mouth.

In Kapúrthala 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-yasín 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 cultured circles the shock is borne with resignation and the bereaved repeat:—Inna-lillāhé-wa inna tāhīe-rajinun, ‘we have come from God and to Him we will return.’

But in Gujrát when the end is seen to be near the mulláh is sent for to recite the Sura-i-yasín or other passages from the Qurán and this is called Hussaini parhná although the Muhammadans in this district are Sunnis. If a mulláh 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 Leihā tahsıl of Miánwáli a form of death-bed confession is found. It is called hadía Qurán. If the dying person is in his senses he takes the Qurán in his hands and confesses all his sins, saying that he has brought God’s own words (in the Qurán) as a claim to forgiveness. At the same time alms of different kinds equal in value to the Qurán or the book itself is given to a poor orphan or a mulláh 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 mulláh in front of them to pray for the deceased. This is called nimáj janáshāh. After this another hadía 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 hadía is made by the heir.

When the body is buried, the mulláh standing at the tomb calls out the Dáng, 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 Lá Iláha Illálláh-o-Muhammad-ur-rasúl-Alláhe; 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.
If the deceased was one of a well-to-do family and died a day or two before Friday eve, his heirs engage some hāfiz or mullah 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 too 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 kaufi wate di roti or kaufi roti which must not be confounded with munir-chhor or munk-chhor which is the food supplied to the bereaved family by its nearest relation.

In Kangra the face of the dying person is turned towards Mecca. If possible the corpse is buried on the day of death but when this cannot be done the Qurān is recited and a knife placed upon the body to keep off evil spirits.

In Gurgāon two classes of Muhammadans must be distinguished. The first includes the immigrant Shaikh, Sayid, Mughal, Pathan and Baloch and the second the indigenous Meo, Khánzāda and Rájpút converted to Islām 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 Qasāi, Kunjra, Bhatiāra, Manbīr, Saqqa, Nāi, Míráśi, Dhunna, Teli and Rangrez, 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 bier is set down at least once on the way. This is called muqam dēna. At this spot the head is always kept to the north. After the burial some grain and copper coins are given there in alms.

The place where a person breathed his last and was washed is called lahād and a lamp is kept burning there for 40 or at least 10 days. A man always remains sitting on the lahād.

**Washing the body.**

The body is washed with various rites and by various agents. For example in Gurgāon some of those present at the death who are acquainted with the doctrines of Islām wash the body with the heirs' permission. If it be washed in a river or tank it will not require lahād, but if washed inside the house a rectangular pit of the height of a man and 4 or 5 feet deep called lahād must be made for it. A flat board prepared from a public fund raised for this purpose is then put up over the lahād. 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
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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 Qurán 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 muláh, 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 muláh proper perform other functions. For example in Jullundur a special class of muláhs called murda-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 Sháhpur each mosque is in charge of an iimám or ulmá who teaches the boys to repeat the Qurán and officiates at weddings and funerals. But, it is also said, the muláh recites the burial service (janáza) accompanied by the mourners. He gets as his fee a copy of the Qurán 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 ghussul (washer of the body) is sent for. Meanwhile the Qázi 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 Qurán are written on the shroud with burnt charcoal or clay. Camphor dissolved in rose-water is painted.

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1 Parsur, Jull. S. R., p. 68.
2 Sháhpur Gazetteer, 1897, p. 86.
3 Ib., p. 3.
4 Sometimes the kalima or ayat-ul-bursi is written on the shroud.
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 Qurán 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 sanakh. Similarly a piece of cloth is tied round the head across the chain to shut the mouth. This is called tahk-ul-hanak.

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 shara' on all the points which touch the ground when the head is bowed in prayer. Then the shroud is wrapped round the body.

In Gurgão Shía Muhammedans use the shroud on which verses from the Qurán 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 Shías believe that followers of Hazrat Ali 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 Shīa and to prevent their troubling him. It is considered essential by some tribes to shroud the body of a female in red cloth.

The Chhímbs (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 Rájpút, Awán, Ját, Gujar, Dogar and Arán of Ludhiana women spin cotton with folded feet in the month of Ramzán 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 Jampur, Dera Ghazi Khán, when the body is dressed in the shroud (kafran) a piece of cloth called kafrin, wetted with 'ab-i-sam-sam or water from the well at Mecca and inscribed with the words bismilláh-ir-rahmán-ir-rahim and the kalima, together with some khák-i-shafa or earth from Mecca, is placed on the breast. If these articles are not procurable the kafrin is wetted with ordinary water and a clean clod of earth used.

In Gujrát the mullah merely writes the kalima on the shroud in geri (?).

In Gurgão if a woman die in child-birth some superstitious females tie an affi (skein) 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 seed 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 maulud 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 mullah 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 askat is performed, but only in the case of adults, minors being regarded as innocent and not answerable for their doings. The askat is thus performed.

Some cooked meat and cash, varying in amount according to the means of the parties, with a copy of the Qur’an, are placed before the mullah in a basket. Another man sits in front of him so that it lies between them. The mullah 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 Qur’an are given in alms to atone for those sins”: and so saying he passes the basket with its contents to the other man who gives it back again. The mullah 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 mullah is then paid Re. 1 with the copy of the Qur’an, and the body is interred.¹ The sheet spread over the coffin is now given to the Naib (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 Siálkot the askat is performed before the burial. Several mulláhs sit in a circle, the leader being given a copy of the Qur’an; a rupee and some copper coins, grain, salt, sweetmeat &c. are also placed before him. Then one of the mulláhs 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 mullah distributes the cash &c. among the poor and the other mulláhs. If the deceased was old, clothes are distributed among the poor. The Qur’an and a rupee are taken by the mullah himself.

In Sháhpur poor people only borrow a copy of the Qur’an which changes hands for seven days simply as a matter of form. It is borrowed from a mullah who is given Rs. 1-2.

¹ The ahl-i-hadîth regard askat as an innovation and do not observe it.
Some of the deceased's relatives sit near the cot with the Qázi who takes the Qurán in his hands, and offers it on the part of the deceased, as a sacrifice for his sins. The book then changes hands, the Qázi is paid a rupee or more according to the position of the parties, and the Qurán is thus redeemed.

The followers and mourners in the meantime have washed their hands &c. for prayer. The Qázi 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 lahíd (burial niche). In sandy tracts, the knots tying the corpse are undone to admit of this being done. If the lahíd is in one of the sides, the opening is closed with cloths or earthen vessels, if in the centre, with fuel wood. All the by-standers 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 mistráśi. While the grave is being filled in the Qázi recites the khatm 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 tosha ki rotí 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 tosha ki rotí and grain are then given to the poor. In some places after the burial a call to prayer (dzán) is made and a prayer offered for the soul of the departed. Ali then return and after expressing their sorrow and sympathy with the relations of the deceased go home. In some places the women of the family cause fatihas 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 Munkir and Nakir.

So too in Raya while the body is being washed tosha (food for charitable purposes) consisting of halwá, boiled rice with sugar, and loaves 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 Qurán all the while, regarding this as an act of piety. The cot and tosha are set down outside the cemetery.

So too in Kángra 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.
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But in Isa 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 khatteu. The body before being taken to the burial-ground is shrouded in a cloth which is taken by the carpenter or ironmonger.

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 lakah, 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 lakah 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 chaddar in which the dead body was wrapped is spread over it. The members of the funeral party now recite the fatihah or verses from the Qur'an for the benefit of the departed soul and on their return console with the heirs. They then depart to their homes. Food and halwâ which are called tosha as well as grain and cash are carried in some quantities to the graveyard and distributed among beggars after the burial.

When the janâza of the corpse is being carried out in Dera Ghâzi Khán the Qur'an 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'an are removed when it is lowered into the grave.

When the body is taken out for burial some of those accompanying it recite the maulûd sharif, others the kalima sharif, slowly, until they reach the place where prayers called namaz-i-janâza are said. After the prayers the mullah who read the janâza stands close to the head of the deceased and calls on the assembly to give the benefit of the words, i.e. the kalâm darûd, khatm Qur'an 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, rukhsat ám, thrice. Then all who congregated for the sake of prayer return home while members of brotherhood carry the corpse to the tomb.
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Gurgan. In Gurgan 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.

Dura Ghassi 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 surat ikhlas over 7 cloths of earth and puts them together near the head of the deceased. Then all join in filling the tomb with earth.

Gurgan. Most of the Shias and some Sunnis place a written paper called ahaduna 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 looks, but may answer them with the aid of the agreement.

In Gurgan two loaves with ghit and sugar spread over them are tied in a handkerchief and are sent to the graveyard through a faqir with a pitcher full of cold water and a goblet, placed one over the other. After the burial the faqir recites the fatihah over the bread and takes it to his house. These breads are called tosha (provisions for the journey). As in life a man requires provisions for a journey so a dead person requires tosha on his last journey from his house to the grave.

In Kohit the female neighbours assemble at the house and standing round the body continue to wail, beat their breasts and slap their faces. A matron leads the mourning and the rest wail in chorus after her.

Meanwhile the deceased's friends and relations assemble for the funeral procession (janda) which is preceded by mullahs carrying from 3 to 21 Qurans 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 imam) 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 Quran. Cash and grain 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 let down and laid with the face to the west, stones are piled 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 kahad system containing a side sepulchre for the body, and the other a pit (achwan) 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 (mirde ká masla) 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 kinsfolk assemble in a mosque and offer prayers for the deceased. On the 3rd day 80 sipradas of the Quran are handed in separate parts to mullahs and others who can read so that the
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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 pirs 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. Dārā Shikoh also, when imprisoned by Alamlfr, 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 toshka and so sugar and ghī 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 Kausar, a stream in heaven, is sweeter than honey and whiter than milk or ice. In the time of Moses, manna and salwa (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 Qurān, especially the Sura-i-yasin, are recited. A copy of the Qurān and a little money are caused to be given by his hand in charity to a mullah. Kinsmen and relatives repeat the kalima 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 gahwara (cradle) is also made of white cloth. Moreover a dhodna, consisting of a dopatta or sheet of white muslin (malnad) or striped (dorjia) 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 be an old woman a coloured shawl (doshala) is put on her and given to the barber after the burial.

When the bier is carried out to the graveyard some grain, halwā (a kind of pudding made of flour, ghī 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 Qurān 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 mullahs observes the kāl khudāi (a recitation of certain Suras of the Qurān called Kāl) and is given some cash as his fee. Then follows the dastārshādī or formal recognition of the heir.

Every evening for 40 days the heirs supply food to the mullah 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 mullah and a general feast to the kinsfolk. 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. 60 according to his position.
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*imám* of the mosque. If the deceased was an old man or woman, people generally distribute pice in charity to such *fagirs* and blind men as may be present at the grave. The bread, *halwá* &c. mentioned above are also given in alms. Some people also appoint *háfs* or readers of the *Qurán* to recite verses from it at the grave till the following Thursday. In the case of an old man’s death *kamíns* of his family are also given a rupee or 8 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 *halwá* &c. mentioned above are also given in alms; Some people also appoint *idá* or readers of the *Qurán* to recite verses from it at the grave till the following Thursday. In the case of an old man’s death *kamíns* of his family are also given a rupee or 8 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 not business for 3 days but stay in the *deori* (entrance hall) or *baithak* (sitting place) for the *fatihá-khwáni,* and the kinsfolk come for that purpose. On the 3rd day the ceremony of *qul-khádá* is performed, verses of the *Qurán* 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 30th day after death. On the 40th day (*chihlam*) a feast is given to *ulmá* (learned men) and *fagirs,* and clothes, copies of the *Qurán* and cash are also distributed. Kinsmen are also invited if the deceased was an aged person. This custom is called *roti 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 *muládá* 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 *fagirs* at festivals and again after a year food is distributed among the poor.

The rites in Míánwáli are peculiarly interesting because of the part played in them by the *muládá* who is styled the *díndár.* After the *isqát* 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 *uchkar.* 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.
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The bereaved family is supplied with *kauri rofi* 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 *kauri rofi*. 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 *dindar* (or washer of the dead) gets some of *kauri rofi*. Contrary to the usage elsewhere the *dindar* leads the funeral prayers. On the 3rd day *qil khwâni* is performed in the following manner:

The *dindar* has a basket of grain put before him with a vessel of water containing leaves of a plum tree, recites verses from *Qurân* 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 *dindar*.

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 *qil* the mourners bathe, wash their own and the deceased’s clothes which are given to the *dindar*. 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 *dastar* 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 *fateh-khâmi* ceremony held immediately after the burial the relatives also contribute a rupee each. A little before death the whole of the *Qurân* is recited and the reciters given a *Qurân* or cash. On the second day after death the relatives visit the grave and recite the whole *Qurân* there. On the first Thursday after death, except by the poor who can only afford it for the first Thursday, the *dindar* is also fed daily for 40 days, and it is essential that his food should be sent him before sunset. It is called *arwâh* and is intended for the deceased’s benefit. The *dindar* 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 *halwâ* or some other sweetmeat is prepared and is sent to the *mullah* and *dindar*. This is called *ruh-ridâna*. 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, Qassâbs feed the poor in their names every Thursday, or at least twice a year.

The *qil-khwâni* ceremony is performed on the third day. The old clothes of the deceased are given to the *mullah*. 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 *dastar* by his *pir*
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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 ubbá ki rotián. Utha means inauspicious. On each Thursday in the first 40 days niás is given for the deceased’s benefit as on the 3rd day.

The chalísán ceremony in connection with a female’s death is generally performed on the 38th 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 niás is given and the fatika recited as on the soyam, 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 lahād (where the dead body was washed). In it are put two copper coins and a few plates of rice, bread and halwá 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 lahād for 40 days. It is also believed that the soul is allowed a walk at the time of maghrub prayers, and that it continues anxious to receive the niás &c. given for its benefit. Hence the chalisán 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 fatika 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 fatika. The tamáhi, chhamáhi and barsi ceremonies are performed after 3 and 6 months and a year respectively. One day before the ‘Id, Bakar ‘Id, Muharram and Shab Barát as also on the 14th of Rajab halwá and bread are given as niás. This is usually done for one year only, but some people observe these ceremonies always. Nothing is given by way of niás 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 darudn, biwan and chalisán, which last is generally performed on the 30th
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 khichri. On the death of a female also her parents give some cash by way of khichri. 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 nüds, recite the fatiha and light an earthen lamp on his grave every Thursday. Fruit and sweets are also offered at his grave. In Qadaria and Naqshbandia 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 Qurán, 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 khatañ m is given, i.e. food is cooked and offered to the qâzi, faqir, the tomb-digger, and bier-bearers of the deceased. It consists of milk, halwâ, 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 qâzi, with some cash and a Qurán.

From the tijâ to the 40th day the deceased’s heirs feed a needy person once a day for the good of his soul. The danârâ and bisrân ceremonies are performed in different ways by different sects of Muhammadans. Nâf (bread) and halwâ or other food is distributed by them to their kinsfolk as well as to the poor.

The followers of the Imâmia sect also hold another assembly in honour of their martyrs in addition to those already named. After it has dispersed they recite the fatiha 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 kul-khâri 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 tijâ the parents-in-law of a deceased husband give his widow some cash, clothes and ornaments which are called jora randsula or garb of widowhood.

The custom of giving kaure watta for 3 days after death is in vogue among the Muhammadan Telis of Peshâwar 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 qul-khâri and dastârbandi ceremonies are also performed on
that day. Other Muhammadans, viz. the Shi'a Qizilbâsh and Kashmiri communities living in Peshâwar, eat nothing from the deceased's house for 40 days after a death but they send nothing to it. The Persians, Wastir and Qâzi 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 mercantile tribes living in the city give Rs. 1 on the day of the gulk-hwâni by way of kaura watta. 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 fatihâ. The cot is carried by a menial, but not on his head in the usual way until he washes the village.

All men assemble at the takia and repeat the fatihâ. 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 deceased's house is termed godâ-diwâna, 'knee-resting.'

In Bannu tahsîl on the evening of the funeral the deceased's heirs feast people who come to pay them a visit of condolence. This feast is called shuma. All those assembled recite the kalima about 100,000 times for the benefit of the deceased's soul. Food is sent to the mullâh every evening for 40 days in succession. But no other ceremony is performed on the 3rd day. The deceased's heirs merely sit in chauk 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 Ulmâ 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 kauri roiti. The mourning (lidâ) 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 gulk-hwâni ceremony is performed and the whole of the Qurân recited for the benefit of his soul. His clothes are washed and given to the imâm of a mosque with some cash. The custom of giving ornaments is extinct. The deceased's heir is invested with a dastâr on the 3rd day, but his kinsmen contribute no cash. Rice, halwâ and roiti are given in charity for 5 or 6 Thursdays, but during this time no khâmat prayers are recited. Alms are also given for the benefit of the departed soul on the 20th day, and for 40 days a loaf with ghâ and sugar is sent to the imâm who washed the corpse. It is always sent in the evening and is called the nimâshân dî 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 goblet of sweet water is extinct. On the 40th day alms are also given according to one's means. A year or two after death the heir gives a feast called shuma to his kinsmen.
During the day the kinsmen 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 (tīz) friends and relatives collect at the deceased’s house or at the mosque and recite the kalima 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 kul panchāyat in Ambāla.

After this a new turban is put on the head of the heir and he is thus recognised the legal and religious heir of the deceased.

The ceremony known as tīz or soyam 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 Qurān, those who are not the kalima 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 Qurān, while Shīa’s close it by reciting the fatihā prayers in the names of deceased ancestors and prophets slain at Karbala. Those who embraced Islām recently such as the Rājpūts, Khānzādas, Gujars, Meos &c., excepting a few persons who are well versed in their religious principles, do not observe this rite.

In Gurgāon the daswān ceremony is performed on the evening of the 9th and the biswān on the evening of the 19th day. On these days also the fatihā 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 Gurgāon on the morning of the 3rd day, soyam, the qul khwānī or phūl ceremony is performed. The Muhammadan custom is that all assemble and some parched gram weighing 12½ sers is placed before each. Each then recites the first half of the kalima (La illā illāhī only) on the first 10 grains, and the whole of it on the 11th, keeping all the grain by their side. The whole kalima 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 ilāči dāna of the same weight is mixed with it. Then incense lobān and aggar are burnt and verses from the Qurān &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 fatīha is also recited on reaching the grave, and flowers are thrown on it, for which reason the soyam ceremony is called phūl. On the same evening niāz or fatihā is offered for the benefit of the deceased. Seven kinds of food, halwa, khir, flesh, bread, rice &c. are cooked and distributed among the poor after recitation of the fatihā.

Ceremonies regarding Karwi khichī.

At meal times remote relations of the deceased send cooked khichī 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 Qâzí commences, and he is given one meal every day for 40 days, the earthen vessels and the clothes used being also presented to him.

About two sers of gram, maize or some other grain is taken and the qul 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 Qâzis are invited to meet in a mosque and read the Qurân. At about midday the community collects, the Qâzis receive offerings from the heirs, and the whole community then bestow the spiritual benefit of the Qurân reading on the departed spirit.

Leih.

The kul-khawâni for children is observed both in towns and the villages. The Chandias 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 mullâhs recite in turn, one sipârâh 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 jândaa or at the burial. Trusting in the Qurân as their mediator, they begin their prayers thus: ‘O God! Forgive this man all his sins.’ The price of the Qurân is taken all out of the money the cost of the paper and ink used as hídâ is paid and annas 2 or more given to each kul-khwâni, 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-khawâni 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-khawâni the near kinsmen let the deceased’s heir put on a turban (dastár) and also give him a cloth for a turban and cash from 4 annas to Re. 1 as bhâji. The kinsfolk pay Re. 1 or flour according to their means. In villages, those who give bhâji are feasted; but this custom does not exist in towns. Wealthy people both in villages and towns appoint mullâhs to recite verses from the Qurân at the tomb for 3 or 4 days and even till the evening of the first Thursday after death. Whatever part of the Qurân 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 mullâhs, 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 mulláhs, at the tombs of infants, because they are innocent. Food consisting of bread with ghí and sugar on it and some milk or sharbat is sent every day before sunset to the mulláh 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 Ambála some well-to-do people engage maulavis versed in the Qurán to recite from it at the grave for a period.

In some cases the mulláhs are asked to recite the Qurán on the grave till the following Thursday. This ceremony is in vogue among followers of the Hadís sect, but elsewhere it is said that the followers of the Hadís sect do not perform any ceremony.

If the heirs are well-to do they build a hut near the grave and engage four mulláhs to sit in it, and recite the Qurán through from end to end day and night. These four mulláhs 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 mulláhs 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 unintermittently 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 Gházi Khán wealthy people arrange for háfis 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 Sharíf. 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 sweetneat at the tomb or give some cash to faqírs by way of hadya Qurán Sharíf.

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 Karnál is reproduced from the Settlement Report of that District written in 1893 by the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson :

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 (tandarwáli) of mango leaves; and a branch of átm 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 potra; thus potra ká amśr is equivalent to ‘a gentleman from his cradle.’ For 3 days the child is not suckled. 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 (cháta) the child’s destiny (lekh) 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 cháte ka thúkha; so a prosperous man is called cháte ka rápa. 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; gur is divided to the brotherhood. On the 7th day the female Dúm or bard comes and sings. Till the 10th day the house is impure (sútak); and no one can eat or drink from it, and no man can go into it unless belonging to the household. On the 10th day (dasástan) the net is taken down, the fire let out, all the clothes washed, all the earthen vessels renewed, and the house new plastered; the Brahmans come and do som to purify the house, and tie a táibri of yellow string round the boy’s waist; and the Brahmans 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 ekoti (scalplock) made; but there are no further ceremonies till his betrothal.

§ 817. Betrothal is called wáta; the ceremony sagas. It generally takes place in infancy. When the father of a girl wishes to betrothe 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 ropwa (fr. rokwa to restrain); and if the boy’s father returns Re. 1-4, called biddági, to the barber to take to the girl’s father, he hereby accepts the offer and clenches the engagement. This engagement is not a necessary preliminary of betrothal; and is most customary among castes, such as the Rájpúte, 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 Gujarás, on the other hand, the above ceremony constitutes betrothal; but the tika 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 (satdá), the barber \textit{ibid.}, § 312, and Brahman are sent with the \textit{pich-nariaj}; or one rupee which has been all night in the milk which is set for butter, a loin-cloth (\textit{pich}) and a coconuht (\textit{narjal}) The boy is seated in a chair before the brotherhood, the Brahman puts the \textit{fiska} or mark on the boy’s forehead and the other things into his lap, and \textit{gur} is divided by the boy’s father, who takes hold of the hand of each near relation in turn and puts some \textit{gur} into it. The boy’s father then gives Re. 1-4\textsuperscript{1} to the Brahman and double that to the barber. This is called \textit{net} or \textit{lág}, 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 (\textit{lágūs}) of betrothal; but Brahmins send the girl’s brother-in-law or relation by marriage. Exchange of betrothals between two families (\textit{sánta nánta}) is considered very disgraceful; and if done at all, is done by a tripartite betrothal, A betrothing with B, B with C, and C with A. Among the Jâts, 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.

Jâts marry at about 5 or 7 years old; Rors and Gujarats at 12 to 14; Râjpûts at 15, 16, or even older. The prohibited degrees are thus described:—Every \textit{gens} (\textit{got}) is exogamous; that is, that while every man must marry into his own tribe, no man can marry into his own \textit{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 \textit{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 to me, to the effect that the speaker could not marry into a ‘family of his own \textit{gens}, even if it lived 100 miles off.’ The prohibition is based upon \textit{simjor ki birîdârî}, or the relationship founded upon a common boundary; and is clearly a survival from marriage by capture. This limitation is further extended by the Râjpûts, so that no man of them can marry into any family living in the \textit{thapa} into any family of which his father, grandfather, or great-grandfather married. Thus if a Mandhâr Râjpût married a Chauhàn Râjpût of \textit{thapa} Jundla, his son, grandson, and great-grandson would not be able to marry any Chauhân of any village in the Jundla \textit{thapa}. But beyond this, and the prohibition against marrying within the \textit{gens}, the Râjpûts have no further limitations on inter-marriage. Among the other castes the \textit{thapa} is not excluded; but no man can marry into any family of the \textit{gens} to which his mother or his father’s mother belongs, wherever these \textit{gentes} may be found. The Gujarats, however, who are generally lax in their rules, often only exclude such persons of these \textit{gentes} as live in the individual village from which the relation in question came. In some parts of Ambâla the people are beginning to add the mother’s mother’s \textit{gens}, or even to substitute it for the father’s mother’s \textit{gens}; and this may perhaps be a last stage of the change from relationship through women to relationship through men.

\textsuperscript{1}Wherever other people give Re. 1-4, the Jâts pay Re. 1 and 4 \textit{takas}, that is 8 country pice at 5 to the \textit{nd}. 
Foster relationship is equivalent to blood relationship as a bar to marriage. 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.

Ibid., § 320

The boy's Brahman fixes an auspicious day, and decides how many ceremonial oilings (bān) 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 lagān or tewā, generally 9, 11, or 15 days before the wedding, which is a letter communicating the number of bān and the number of guests to be expected, and is accompanied by a loin-cloth or a complete suit of female clothes (tewa) and a pair of shoes. In all these communications the Brahman who takes the letters always gets Re. 1-4.

Ibid., § 321

The boy and girl then undergo their bāns in their respective homes. The women collect and bathe them while singing, and rub them from head to foot with oil and turmeric and peameal. The bāns 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 bān the mother performs the ceremonies of ārata and sevāt described below to the boy. The girl has only sevāt performed, as ārata can under no circumstances be performed over a female. The day of the first bān is called haladhāt, or 'red hand.' Seven women with living husbands husk 5½ 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 also marked with red or red and white marks. After the first bān the boy has the rákri or black woollen thread, with a small iron ring (chāllā) and some yellow cloth and betel-nut, tied round his left ankle. The girl has her small gold nosering 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 (churā) which no married woman may wear; and substitutes for them at least five of glass on each arm. Those glass wristlets and her nosering form her sohāy, and a woman who has a husband living (s hā an) must always wear them. When her husband dies she breaks the wristlets off her arm, and throws the pieces and nosering on to the corpse, and they are wrapped up with it in the shroud. After that she may wear silver wristlets again. And occasionally, if a widow has plenty of grown-up sons, she will continue to wear the sohāy.

Ibid., § 322

The day before the procession is to start or arrive, as the case may be, the manda or mandab is erected. At the boy's house they take five seed-stems of the long sarkara 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 ghi, with three little saucers under and two above this, and two pie, all tied on a thread. Finally, some five beran culms, and a dogar, 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 (chāt) 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 lichī or 'nest' of five earthen vessels, one
on top of the other, with a tripod of bambós over each.

On the same day the mother's brother of the boy or girl brings
the bhāt. This is provided by the mother's father, and consists of a
preents of clothes; and necessarily includes the wedding suit for the
bride or bridegroom, 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 bhāt is given, the boy's or girl's mother performs the
ceremony of drāta or māvuna. She takes a 5-wick lamp made of
glour, 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
svaiva, 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 baddus or sweetmeat balls. The people then at the boy's vil-
lage collect in the village common room and the neva (§ 337 infra) is
collected the thātī (giver of the thātī) putting in his money first,
which is a free gift and not entered in the account.

On the day when the marriage procession (janet, barāt) is to
start, the boy receives his last bāhu and is dressed in his wedding suits,
the kaguna 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
tinsel, a pechi or band of silver tinsel over the turban, and a serra
or fringed vizer of gold tinsel.

He then performs the ceremony of ghurchari. 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 Bairāgi. He is then put into a palanquin, and the pro-
cession to which every house nearly related must contribute a repre-
sentative, 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 Dūm, and the Brahmans, whom they
pay money to, and who put dūkh 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 ibid., § 325
them called bāc or goira. The girl's relations come to meet them,
bring in a loin-cloth and 11 takás and a little rice and sweetmeats in a
tray. The two parties sit down, the Brahmans read sacred texts, the girl's
Brahman affixes the tik on the boy's forehead, and gives a loin-cloth
and 11 takás, taking a loin-cloth and 21 takás in exchange. The two
fathers then embrace, and the girl's father takes Re. 1 from his turban and gives it to the boy's father, who gives him in exchange the cloth which is to form the patka at the wedding. The girl's father then asks the boy's father for either 11 or 14 pice, the goira kā kharch or expenses of the goira; 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 pice being thrown over his head as a scramble (bakher) 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 sister, or if she has no married sister her brother's married daughter, performs to him the ceremonies of ārata and sexual already described, and the boy's father gives her Rs. 1-4. She also performs the ceremony of wārpher 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 jandalwāsa or dāndalwāsa, 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 chopdi. Presently the guests are bidden to the girl's house, where they eat; but the boy stays in the jandalwāsa, 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 dhakko.

§ 326. That night, at some time after sunset, the wedding ceremony (phera) takes place. Shortly before it the girl's barber goes to the jandalwāsa, 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 (nālu), some henna for her hands, and a ring called the yoke-ring (jūa kī angūthī). The girl wears nothing at all of her own unless it be a pair of scanty drawers (dhola); and she is dressed up in the above things, and also in the clothes brought in the bhāt 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 cholādop, 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 manda.

There a place on the ground (chauri, bēnd) has been fresh plastered, and the Brahman makes a square enclosure (mandal or pūrī) of flour, and on it puts sand and sacred fire (hawam) of dhak wood, and ghi, 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 (kulīa) in the sacred
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anclosure, and makes the boy and girl dip their third fingers into turmeric and touch ice, which he then puts into the pot, 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 mañ amā tarkā dān, kanyā dān: 'I give you my daughter; I give her virgin.' This is called kanyā dān. Then the sacred fire is stirred up, the Brahman ties the hem (palla) of the girl's wrap to a piece of cloth called the patkā, 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 gēns of each, and the names of their ancestors for four generations. This is the pherā, 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 ghi 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 jandalwāsa 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 (badār) 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 Brahmins and barbers are performed.

At night the girl's father and friends go to the jandalwāsa; the two fathers, who are now each other's sindis, embrace; the girl's father gives his sindi one rupee and invites the whole bardā, including the boy, to eat at the girl's house. But when, after eating, they have returned to the jandalwāsa, the girl's friends follow then and make them give a nominal payment for it, called roṭi kā kharch, which is given to the menials.

On the third day, called bida, the neota is collected in the girl's house just as it was in the boy's house before the bardā started. The boy's people then eat at the girl's house, and return to the jandalwāsa, whence they are presently summoned to take leave (bida home). 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 patta is then performed. The girl's relations form a panchāyat 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 patta. 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 patta himself. While the patta
is being distributed, the girl's mother makes the boy perform the ceremo-
ny of banḍh khulāi, which consists in untwisting one knot of the manda.
She then puts the tikā on his forehead and gives one rupee and two
budḍas (a sweetmeat made into a ball), and the other women also feed
him. This is called johāri. Then the girl's father presents the dān
or dower, which includes money, clothes, vessels &c., but no female
jewels; and the barāt returns to the sandalvāsā. The boy's father
then visits all the women (patān) of his own gens who live in the vil-
lage, 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 larnumbi, 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, claps the boy's father on the
back so as to leave a bloody mark of a hand (thāpa) on his clothes. A
few pice are scrambled over the heads of the happy pair; and the pro-
cession starts for home, the girl screaming and crying as a most essen-
tial form.

When the barāt reaches the boy's village, the friends are col-
lected 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
barāt have brought from the other village and the boy's mother
measures them both with a selā or string made of the hair of a bullock's
tail, which is then thrown away. She also performs the ceremony of
sewala 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
patika 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 tulsi tree, the small pock 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
kesora, 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 kanga kheina. The girl unites the kangua or 7-knotted
sacred thread which the Brahman tied round the boy's wrist before he
started, and he undoes hers. The kangnās 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 dūbā grass in it. The two then dip for it several
times with their hands, the finder being rewarded with cheers.1 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
bhādi) sits down, opens her legs, and takes the boy between her

1 Among the Rājputs there are two kanguda, one with a rupee and the other with
betelnut tied to it. This ceremony is performed with the former kangud at the girl's vil-
lage the day after the phera, and with the latter as described above,
thighs. The girl sits simiarily between the boy's thighs, and takes a little boy into her lap. The girl or his mother gives him two laddus; and he says, 'a son for my sister-in-law, and two laddus 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 muklawa. This takes place when the girl is pul'ert; 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 nosering, an armlet (tadwa), and a boddice or anqa. 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 'oh! 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 (pilār) 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 Rajpūts who always marry late, and generally when the marriage has from any cause been delayed till puberty, there is no muklawa, but on the third day before the budr starts the ceremony of patra pherna or changing the stools is performed. The girl changes all her clothes, putting on clothes provided by her father, and also a large nosering, armlets, and boddice. The boy and girl are then seated on stools and exchange places, each sitting where the other was, and the patka 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 Musalmaṁs there is no ṭhēra; the wakāh or Musalmaṁ. Among Musalmaṁs there is no ṭhēra; the wakāh or Musalmaṁ. marriage ceremony being substituted for it, which the qādis reads in presence of witnesses. Envoys (wakils) go into the girl's house to take her consent ant 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 Musalmaṁs have begun to leave off the ṭhēna and ṭhāna and they often use no pechi, though they retain the ṭhēra.

Local and tribal variations are numerous, but quite unimportant. There are innumerable minūta which I have not detailed, and which vary greatly, though quite constant for each tribe or locality. The Rajpūts never use a ṭhāna, nor have the customs of ṭhāna; and the tent is often omitted from the ṭhāna 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. 1

When once the ceremonial goings and-comings are over—among Rājput, for instance, where there is no mukhāwa, 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 dower.

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 bhādi 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 bhāt is to be provided by the mother's father, he sends a little gur to each neotāra, 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 Rājput call the custom bel instead of neota, and take it, in the case of the bhāt, only from descendents 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 chheju. The ceremonies are exactly the same for a man's different marriages. But under no circumstances can a woman perform the phera twice in her life. Thus, among the Rājput, Brahmans and Tagās, who do not allow karera 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 Ját 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 mental castes can be so married; but the woman is then called heri hús, 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 wrislets (chûra) on her arm in presence of male and female members of the brotherhood. There is no meota 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 dûhû grass and sesame. Ganges water and milk, and a tiny pearl (they can be bought for a few pies), 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 sahdg, 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 ghiigt). They then place it on the bier (arti or pinji-) and bear it out head foremost. At the door a Brahman meets it with pinds (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 pinds are again put on the bier. Then all the pinds are flung into the water, and the bier is taken up the reverse way with the feet foremost. When they reach the burning place (chhalla), the corpse is placed on the pyre (châta), and the son taking sacred fire, lit by the Brahman, lights the wood (ddy dena) and fans it. This is the kirâ târî 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 (kâpdâl kirâ) 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 Jumna, water ibid., § 241. is thrown on the ashes; if in the Kurukshetra, 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 (phâl) 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 Jhíwar, must sleep on the ground, and not on a bed, on his way to the Ganges. After the death a ghara of water with a hole in the bottom, stuffed with dulk 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 (pútak) till the 13th day after death. On the 10th day the Máha Brahman or Acharj comes. The household perform dasáhi; that is, they go to the tank, wash their clothes, shave, offer 10 píndas, and give the Acharj grain enough for 10 meals. On the 11th or day of sapu, a bull calf is let loose, with a trident (tarsúd) branded on his shoulder or quarter, to become a pest. The Acharj is seated 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 Gújráti Brahman is fed, being given súdha or the uncooked materials for dinner only, as he will not eat food cooked even by Gaur Brahmans. On the 13th day the Gaur Brahmans are fed, and then the whole brotherhood; the walls are plastered, the earthen 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 jep have to be performed to purify it. Again, if he has died on certain inauspicious days of the month, called panéhak, 5 or 7 Brahmans have to perform barha 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 Musalman, who is, of course, buried with his feet to the south. Gosains and Jogis are buried sitting up in salt; and used to be so buried alive before our rule. Their graves are called samáda. Bairágis are burnt, and in the case of an abbott a samád erected over some of the bones. Chamáres are burnt; while sweepers are buried upside down (múndha).

Ibid., § 344. The disembodied spirit while on its travels is called parct; 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 súdha or uncooked food for two meals, a ghara of water, a towel, an umbrella, and a pair of the wooden thoes (khárdu) used where the impure leather is objectionable. At the first anniversary of the death (varand) 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 sajja. 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 those 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-Muhammadans, 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.

Gangá-bháis.—A fraternal relationship entailing the consequences of natural kinship and thus operating as a bar to marriage between the parties, who become Gangá-bháis 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 Gurgán women who exchange dopáttas (shawls) at a sacred place, or on a pilgrimage, become Gangá-bábin. Jamná bábin (if that river is the place of pilgrimage), or, generally tirthá-bábin. Such women each treat the other's husband as a jija, 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 involved 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 pahal.—Among Sikhs the taking of the pahul together creates a similar tie, and those bound by it are called gurbháis. 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 god lená, or 'taking in the lap.' An adopted son is

1 E.g., among the so-called Dards; see Biddulph's Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh, pp. 82-3.
2 E.g., among the Naumbdr Brahmanas of Košala, on the Malabar coast (see Calcutta Review, 1901, pp. 121 et seqq.), we find two kinds of religious and one of secular adoption. All three forms have remarkable effects on the laws of succession.
3 It is said that the exchange of págri at Hardwar merely cement 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 Multán the tie is called bAiroppí and does exist between men and women. In Wide-Awake Stories (Mrs. F. A. Steel and Sir R. C. Temple) Princess Ambergrine 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 chultán lena [literally 'to take handfuls' (of water)] Women thus become dhurm-bábin, if Hindus.
Fictitious kinship.

... termed *putreka* 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 *gândáns.*—An analogous tie can be created between two youths by exchanging *gándáns* or wedding wristlets, and eating rice and milk together. The youth who is to be married puts on a *gándán,* and his would-be friend unties it, while a Brahman repeats the following *mantra* :—

**TRANSLITERATION.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Manglang}^2 & \text{ Bhagwán-Vishnu}^4 \\
\text{Manglang Garar-dhwijá}^5 \\
\text{Manglang Pûnri-kákhiyó}^6 \\
\text{Manglá yatno}^7 & \text{ Hari.}^8
\end{align*}
\]

**TRANSLATION.**

*Bhagwán Vishnu* is the embodiment of bliss.

Garar-dhwij

Punri-kakhiyá

Hari is the abode of happiness.

God is the centre of all bliss, happiness emanates from Him.

This is a benediction (*ashir wád*) which a Brahman gives to other men. The idea being ‘May God, the embodiment of all bliss, give you happiness.’

Another *mantra* :—

*Yen bhadhó* Pali-rája dán-vandhro, *Máhá-bala* !!

*Te-pratwáng* prit-badhúní rakshe má-chal má-chal !!

“In the name of Him who killed Rája Bali, the mighty leader of the Druks, I fasten this rakhí 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 rakhí (amulet) is tied by a Brahman at the Rakhrí festival (on the full-moon day in the month of Sáwan).

Various other means are adopted to create or cement enduring friendships, hardly amounting to fictitious relationship. Thus the *wándán* ceremony affords an opportunity to swear lasting friendships,

1 The subject of adoption is fully treated in the present writer’s *Compendium of the Punjab Customary Law.*

2 *Gándán,* M., a string of coloured cords or of goat’s hair. The man or youth who unfastens the *gánda* of a bridegroom at his wedding is also bound to him by special ties of friendship.

3 Happiness, fortune, bliss, felicity.

4 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. *Dhwíj* means a banner, flag. It generally bears a picture of the deity’s vehicle.

5 An epithet of Vishnu. Lit., having eyes like a white lotus flower (*punri* = white lotus = *kákhiyó* = eyes).

6 Lit., house, residence.

7 An epithet of Vishnu.
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batáshas 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 Sânscíit friendship is sworn by one man's placing a sword between himself and his friend. The latter removes it, and the tie is complete.

Pagwaí.—But far commoner than the solemn religious bond created by the foregoing fictions is the looser social bond created by the exchange of pagris, or pagwaí, as it is called in Gujráí. 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 pagri 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-bháot or dharam-bháot, the latter term being ordinarily used to denote a brother artificially created as opposed to a natural brother.

Chádar or orhnd-bádal.—Women in the same way exchange chádáars or orhndas, and among Muhammadans become dharm-báhi or indm-báhi to each other. But these customs are more prevalent among Hindus than among Muhammadans.

A custom prevalent among children is noted in Ambála; friendship is made or broken off by placing the finger on the chin and moving it backwards and forwards, saying merí teri yári hodí, 'There is friendship twixt thee and me,' or merí teri yári kúnt, 'Our friendship is broken.' In Multán 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 pagwaí 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 pagris with him as a pledge that he will not lodge a complaint.

An apparent extension of this practice is the custom of tallí pánd,\(^{a}\)

1 But in Ambála, for instance, it is said that no such tie is created, because pagwaí sometimes takes place between persons of different religions (and between them no such tie could be created). In Jhang and Multán it creates no such tie.

2 Cf. the adage, Wair Baráda Bháttáda, Ki hoña pagi? otháda? When Baráda and Bháttáda are at enmity of what avail is it to exchange pagris?\(^{b}\)

3 Tallí, a small piece of cloth, a patch; tikr and tigra are not given in Maya Singh's, Panjábí Dictionary, but both are said to have the same meaning as tallí. 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.

\(\text{f} \text{a} \text{l} \text{l} \text{a} \text{ } \text{p} \text{a} \text{n} \text{d}, \text{t} \text{a} \text{d} \text{r} \text{i} \text{ } \text{p} \text{a} \text{n} \text{d} \text{a}, \text{t} \text{i} \text{g} \text{r} \text{a} \text{ } \text{s} \text{a} \text{n} \text{d}, \text{a} \text{s} \text{ } \text{v} \text{a} \text{r} \text{i} \text{o} \text{u} \text{s} \text{a} \text{l} \text{y} \text{ } \text{c} \text{a} \text{l} \text{l} \text{e} \text{d} \). 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 Mirasan or a Macbhiáni 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, if 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 palo pánd,² or níyát khair.³ Refusal involves divine displeasure. In the Mianwáli district it is customary for one side to send Sayyids, Brahmans, 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 káli sír)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 chhūka (hearth or oven) and says: ta angh-ore mn wumwale du, ‘I have grasped your oven’; thus claiming his hospitality.

Compurgation is also not unknown. Thus in Gujrat 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 suh lána, or taking an oath, but it is termed ras déna in Jhang, Multán &c.

¹ In Gujrat the suppliant party assembles all the respectable men of the locality, and they go in a body to the house of him whose favour is sought. This is called meta (? surely mela) pánd. In Dera Ghází Khán the demijonation is formed in a very similar way, and is called mérh (? mehá, ⁴ a crowd). Both Hindus and Muhammadans have this custom but only the latter take a Quran with them.

² Pallo, the border of a shawl; paman, to spread out the end of one’s shawl, to invoke a blessing; so called because Hindus spread out the end of their shawls on the ground before them when invoking a blessing.

³ If the complainant vouchsafe his solemn promise on the Quran to take no action he is said to be níyát khair khao, and is cut off from all social intercourse with his fellows, being only receives again into fellowship after he has given them presents and feasted the whole brotherhood. The surrender of the corpse reminds one of the attachment of the dead for debt. See The Grateful Dead.

⁴ Among some of the low caste daughters act as priests, visé Brahmans.

⁵ Káli sír, lit. ‘black-head’ apparently. A widow would seem to be sent because she is the most deserving or pitiable of all suppliants.
Fictitious kinship.

_Nanwati._—Very similar in idea is the Pathan custom of nanwati, or nahaurra. If a man seeks mercy, or the protection of a powerful patron, he or his relative goes to his house with a posse of leading men of the village and there kills a goat or a sheep by way of peace-offering.

Sayyid Ahmad Dehlari 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 _zawākh_. _Zanākh_ is the breast-bone of a fowl or pigeon, and two ladies used to break it, as we break a wishing bone. They then became _zawākh_, 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 Turkestan. Similar ties were formed by women of the palace who were known as _diljān_,'heart's life,' _jan-i-man_, _diilmā_, _dushman_ (lit., 'enemy'), _dugāna_, _chhagāna_, &c., but these ties were less binding. _Diilmā_ may be taken to mean 'confidante.' _Dugāna_ is applied to two ladies of equal age whose friendship is strengthened by eating phosphine almonds, 'as if they were sisters, born of one mother.' _Chhagāna_ would appear to be derived from _chhe_, 6, 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.3

Among the women of Delhi generally, the terms applied to such adoptive sisters are _sāhelī_ (companion),4 _bafrnī_,5 and _sakhī_, or _sakhellī_, but the latter term is seldom used except in poetry. Another term for adopted sister is _mīnkh-toli_, or 'adopted by word of mouth.' Other terms remind one of the _pātri-badal_ or _topi-badal_ brotherhoods formed among men and include the _challa-badal-bahin_, or sister by exchange of rings; and _depattā-badal-bahin_, or sister by exchange of scarves. The latter tie is formed ceremoniously, each sister sending the other an embroidered scarf (depotā) 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 _chhīni-bahin_; by affecting the same spiritual teacher (_pīr_) and becoming _pīr-bahi_; 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 Jamna or Ganga-bahin. The latter is the stronger tie. Foster sisters are styled _dudh-sharīk-bahin._5

1 _Zanākh_, Pers., means 'chin'; _Platte_ Hindustani Dictionary, p. 618, but it does not give _zantākh_.
2 _Jan-i-man_, 'life of mine,' or possibly 'life of my heart.' I can trace none of these Palace terms in _Platte_.
3 These palace terms have been somewhat disregarded, or have at least lost much of their original force, in _rekhī_, the doggerel verses written in women's language and expressing their sentiments (_Platts_, p. 611). _Chhagāna_, however, occurs in the verse: _Muk ne gaya s'ashig ko tinke chhunwale, Qurbān ki thi chhagāna saikhā Layāt;_ in the _Turkīra-ā-Gulstān_; _Sakhī_; of Mirza Fakhru-ad-Mulk. With the exception of _dugāna_ and _chhagāna_ they are said to occur in three books, the _Chata-bhānci_, _Suhbāriwali_, and _Baz-i-ākhir_, written by a gentleman who had been brought up in the Delhi Palace, and describing the colloquial language used therein.
5 An adopted visitor, or female friend: _Platte_, p. 194.
6 _A_ female friend etc., _Platte_, p. 666.
7 In Northern India, from Agra as far south as Bihar, the term _gūyen_ is much in use among women and in poetry. In Māwār and Upper India the corresponding term is _sainī_, which _Platta_ (p. 643) gives as a synonym of _saheli_. See _p. 928_ for _gūsā_; 'a partner,' or 'female companion.'
CHAPTER III

CASTE AND SECTARIAL MARKS IN THE PANJAB.

SECTION I.—CASTE MARKS.

Caste marks, like sectarial 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brahmans</th>
<th>Kshatriyas</th>
<th>Vaisyas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clothing in skins</td>
<td>black deer</td>
<td>red deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacred thread</td>
<td>cotton</td>
<td>hemp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>dhāk</td>
<td>bar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Brahmacharyas 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>Brahmans</th>
<th>Kshatriyas</th>
<th>Vaisyas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under garment</td>
<td>hemp</td>
<td>silk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper garment</td>
<td>black-buck</td>
<td>rūrū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>dhak</td>
<td>bilva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Height of staff</td>
<td>to the head</td>
<td>to the fore-head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girdle</td>
<td>munj</td>
<td>murba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was a difference also, according to caste, in the forms of the words used by the Brahmacharyas in asking alms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brahmans</th>
<th>Kshatriyas</th>
<th>Vaisyas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhavti bhikhyam</td>
<td>bhikhyam bhavti</td>
<td>bhikhyam dehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dehi</td>
<td>dhūti</td>
<td>bhavti</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.

1. i.e. of the wood of the *butea frondosa*, *ficus indica* and *acacia arabica*, respectively.
2. Called the *chhichhra*.
3. *Aegle marmelos*, or wood-apple.
4. *Ficus glomerata*.
5. According to Manu, *sloka 45*. The varieties of the Brahmacharya staff above given are arranged according to the *Gṛhyasūtra*. Manu, *sloka 45*, gives a wider range of choice: e.g. Brahmans, dhak or bilva; Kshatriyas, bar or khaivai (acacia catechu); Vaisyas, jāl or gūlar.
6. A creeper.
7. A creeper.
9. Brāhmanas also used bhrākāśī, ashes, for this purpose.
CASTE AND SECTARIAL MARKS.

Caste Marks: Manu, Grihyasūtra, etc.

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Caste Marks: Meru Tantra.

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Vaishnava Sectarial Marks.

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Marks of Hindu Religious Orders.

January, 1917.—No.5786:1658.
Caste marks.

(vide Plate, fiae 1, 2, 3 and 4). The colour, as well as the form, of the caste-mark was distinctive for each caste, as under:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Colour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahmana</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>Vaisya</td>
<td>Pale yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kshatriya</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Sadra</td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to a sloka in the Padma Purāṇa, the colours abovementioned correspond with the complexion of each caste, which was assumed to convey its general mental qualities:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Quality</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahmana</td>
<td>Venerable</td>
<td>Vaisya</td>
<td>Merciful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kshatriya</td>
<td>Merciless</td>
<td>Sadra</td>
<td>Vain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Meru Tantra, however, prescribes quite a different set of marks (vide Plate, fiae 5, 6, 6a, 7 and 8):—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Colour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vardhapedra</td>
<td>Tripundra</td>
<td>Ardhachandrakā</td>
<td>Chaukā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other authorities again permit Brahmanas to wear the tripundra in its straight form, though Shāktakas might wear both, while the vardhapedra is prescribed for Kshatriyas.

The materials for the vardhapedra wear also varied to saffron, ayurvedic 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-ganṭh, and those representing the old Vaisyas, the viṣṇu-ganṭh.

SECTION II.—SECTARIAN MARKS.

1. Vaishnava.

Sectarian marks as now used are probably of comparatively modern form. That of the Vaishnavas is the urdhvapundāra, representing the bishṣupad 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 Punjabi:

2 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 Gurgán a house should, if possible, face towards the Ganges, never south. In Dera Gházi Khán this aspect is specially unlucky.

2. The astrological aspect.

In Trans-Gírí Sírmúr the nám rás of the village settles the aspect in the first instance. If it is Kumbh, Tulá or Brichák, the house must face west: if in Brikh, Kunyá or Makár, south; if in Mín, Kirkh or Míthán, 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 nám rás 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.

SECTION II.—TIMES FOR BUILDING.

1. The auspicious moment.

In Sírmúr a handful of earth from the site selected is taken to a Brahmán, 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 nám rás 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 Gházi Khán.

3 In this District, if a pípaľ tree grows within the house precincts, it is unlucky. But in Lahore symmetry and even safety are sacrificed in order to preserve a pípaľ tree growing on the site of a house, or within its precincts, unless the tree can be easily transplanted.
Building ceremonies.


Baisákh, Bhádou, Mágh and Phágun are lucky, unless the builder’s nam rás is in Saturn, Mars, Ketu or Ráhu.

In Kángrá, the only lucky months are those between Mágh and Hár.

In Dera Gházi Khuán, the lucky months are Sáwan, Kátik, Poh, Phágun and Baisákh.

Phágun and Baisákh are the lucky months. (Sáwan provides sons: Kátik brings gold and silver: Poh finds worship acceptable to God.) The unlucky months are Hár, Bhádou, Assúj, Maghar, Mágh, Chet and Jéth. Hár breeds mice; Bhádou makes the owner ill; Assúj produces family quarrels; Maghar produces debt; Mágh creates danger of fire; Chet brings ill-luck, and Jéth loss of the money spent in building.

SECTION III.—FOUNDATION CEREMONIES,

1. Sirmur.

In Trans-Giri Sirmúr a betel-nut, for fertility, and a pirindá 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 Sirmúr four jars containing articles, brought from Hardwár or other sacred place, are set at the four corners of the house, and on these are laid the foundation stones.

2. Kángra.

In Kángra tahsíl the foundations are laid at an auspicious moment, when a stone chakî (grindstone), called vástá, is placed in them and worshipped, a goat being sacrificed and kádh pirshád offered to it.

3. Ambálá.

In Ambálá, 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 shilá aushápar, ‘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.

*A 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 cocoanut 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 gândá of wool, with a small bag of madder 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 maulí thread, with a bag containing rice, rape-seed, a bit of red silk cloth, a kaurí, 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 kángni 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 pirinda, a betel nut, and an iron ring, called the three shákha, 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 wástá or jagjúp, is also set up in a niche in the hall.

3. Ambala.

When the building is finished a black kandí (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.
Building ceremonies.

A staircase should always be to the left of the entrance and contain an odd number of steps.

SECTION VI.—OCCUPATION CEREMONIES.

1. Amhala.

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 katha is performed. As a preliminary, green leaves from seven trees are tied to a mauli 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 Wastá, 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, curd, 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 also. A Brahman recites mantras, and then all the articles brought in are placed north and south of a bedi, 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 katha,2 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 kathá of Sat Narain 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 bhasha pujá 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 sher-dahan, lion-mouthed, or bagh-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-mukhā, 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 krakš-daḥaṇ, 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 gul. 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 bhaṣṭuṛāj (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 Palwal tahsil of Gurgaon 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 Kātik 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 Najir Jāṭs of the Samrāla tahsil of Ludhians think an upper storey brings bad luck.

2 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.
SUPERSTITIOUS DECORATION OF BUILDINGS.
2. Figures used on religious festivals in Gurgaon.

(a) Solono

On the Solono day a figure, called soni (Plate I, fig. 2), is drawn in red on the house wall. It is said to represent the asterism Śrāvana, and is worshipped by placing sweetmeats before it, which are afterwards given to Brahmans.

(b) Nāg Panchāmi.

On the Nāg Panchāmi, 5th of lunar Bhādon, 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) Kāthik and Dīwāli.

In Gurgaon, Bāniās and Brahmans draw the figure on Plate II, on the house-wall. It must be begun on the 4th and finished on the 6th of lunar Kāthik.

The first part (a) is called śīyā and represents Rādhikī (Rādhā) spouse of Krishna. This is worshipped on the 8th of lunar Kāthik by placing sweetmeats before it.

The second part (b) represents the goddess Amanashyā and is worshipped at noon on the Dīwāli by placing before it rice and milk, which are afterwards given to Brahmans.

The third part (c) represents Lakshmī as the goddess of wealth, and is worshipped at midnight on the Dīwāli by placing money before it. An all-night vigil is kept on this occasion.

(d) Deo-uthān.

On the Deo-uthān day in Kāthik 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 Brahmānī, 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 Nārāyan.

(e) Nārāyan.

On Nārāyan’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.

(3) Figures of deotas.

In Sirmūr a house is at once abandoned if the sign or image of a deota 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 Binnāik or Bindāik, covered over with an earthen jar fastened to the
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 dehrah, 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 Bhaīn or Ataīh Devī.

At the wedding of a boy or girl the enclosure of the dehrah is plastered over with cowdung and the figure of the dehrah drawn anew with ground rice in red and yellow. See Plate I, fig. 1.

The enclosure in which the dehrah is drawn is decorated with pictures of Ganesh, Devī, Shib and Pārbatī 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 cowdung.

SECTION 11.—CEREMONIAL MARKS AND SIGNS.

1. Swastika.

(a) Form.

The usual form of the sātiā or sātiā is but in Dera Ghāzi Khān District a curious arm is added. See Plate I, fig. 1.

(b) Meaning.

The sātiā is divided into four main lines which represents the gods of the Four Quarters:—Kuber, north; Yām rāj, south; Indar, east; Varun, west. The four additions represent the gods of the 'half quarters':—Isar, north-east; Agni, south-east; Vayu, north-west; Nainit, south-west. In the centre sits Ganpati, lord of divine hosts.

(c) Uses.

To bring luck; it is drawn on the doors of and inside houses and shops in Gurgáon.

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 siras or mango leaves tied across the door as a sign of rejoicing.
SUPERSTITIOUS DECORATION OF BUILDINGS.

Plate II.
SUPERSTITIOUS DECORATION OF BUILDINGS.
Plate III.
Building ceremonies.

(b) Variants.

In Ludhiana it is termed kainknlwål.

In Sirmur a bandarwål of red flowers is tied all around the houses on the first of Baisakh to invoke the blessing of Sri Gul.

In Sirmur, in Bhado a branch of tejbal is kept at the door to avert evil spirits and ddgs.

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 hisä-dhärä, and is a symbol of Lakshmi as goddess of wealth.

In Firozpur, the Bhábrás carve in wood over their doors during a wedding the following figure:

3. Thapa.

(a) Meaning.

A thápä 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 Shástrás, thápärs represent the hands of Asvi, god of wealth, and Púshá, god of intelligence.

(b) Use.

A thápä is always a sign of rejoicing.

(c) Gurgán.

In Gurgán, five or seven thápärs in red beside the house door denote the birth of a boy or a wedding in the family: a single thápär in yellow, with another drawn in ghi, denotes that a vigil (jagrátá) is being kept in honour of the house goddess.

(d) Ludhiana.

Thápärs 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 pherá, and in the former after the bride enters it.

SECTION XII.—SHOPS AND OUT-HOUSES.

1. Shop.

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 (dháp) is burnt before it. In time the layers of cowdung form a considerable incrustation on the wall. (Thara literally means a platform).

Vide Punjab Notes and Queries, 1886, p 771.
Building ceremonies.

2. Out-house

The kothá, 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 \[/// \equiv /// \equiv \equiv\] is continued all round the kothá, 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, \[\vDash\vDash\vDash\vDash\vDash\]. Beneath the heading at the four corners is added a svastika without the usual regular additions, but with four dots: \[/\] 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 kothá 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, 1 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 (ratwáł) of a living animal is made to avert evil. The formal entry is made at an auspicious time fixed by the ulama, the corner carrying a Qurán, with some salt and a jar of water as emblems of fertility.

1 Punjab Notes and Queries, Series II, § 75.
CHAPTER V.

Dancing.

In Baháwalpur there are several kinds of dances:—

1. Jhumar khás or sádá.
2. " dákánwád or chhej.

Of these the former is in general use among Muhammadans, and the latter among Hindus (Kirárs), especially among the Pushkarn Brahmans.

The sádá jhumar is further sub-divided into 3 varieties called sidhi, Balochki, and tretari.

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 Balochki the movements are the same, but the hands are raised above the head. Tretari 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 Nawáb) and religious.

It is also performed by Muhammadans, when they visit a shrine to offer a na'az or manáni such as áq-gháta (or flour and a he-goat). That is to say it has sometimes a religious character.

The sádá jhumar is also called záláwin if, performed by women, and mardáwin if danced by men. The záláwin is danced by village women, or by Miráns, 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 záláwin and mardáwin are performed.

The chhej of the Hindus is also of three kinds:—(i) sidhi, (ii) phirwi and (iii) bisháwin. 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 (daká) are carried. The Pushkarn also perform this dance individually. The following are the songs:—

Subh sádiq sahába manen.
Dance: putran ko gane gehe.

Jhumar, on the Indus.
Jhumir, on the Chenab

A circular dance of the Játs at weddings and other occasions. There are three kinds:—

1. Lammwechar or southern.
2. Trá' tari or ‘with three claps of the hands.’
3. Tirkhi, or quick-time.

Jhumri = dancer. (Mullâni Glossary, p. 87.)

In Shalpur:

Ghumbà, s. m. | circular dance of men
Dhris, s. f. 

Samm, s. m. ... women.

Bagha, s. m. (mar or wagh) a circular dance, beating with feet, and raising arms alternately. Gramma: and Dictionary of Western Punjabi, p. 69.

HÍBO, S. F.—A circular dance danced by Játs at weddings and wherever they happen to collect in large numbers. They form a ring and dance round; their arms stretched out to a level with the head, are moved round with a wavy motion. The other circular dance in vogue is ‘jhumir,’ which differs from HÍBO only in that the dancers keep the hands low and clap them together as they move.

The rhythm is tan na na, tan na tan, tan, tan.
Dancing.

Or the following dohra:—

Miśī Ṛām nām āl bālī,
Jīhā dān tūsān te gholī.
Iehra Ṛām nām dhīyāwan,
Wai Kunțh wich wāsa pāwan.
Miśī Ṛām 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 sidhi then is distinctly a religious dance.

(ii) The phirwī or chinan jhumar is performed thus:—

B. C. D. A. I.

The dancers, who may number 100, carry sticks (dikas) and dance in a circle, and from time to time dancers change places. Thus A goes to A1, and, still keeping time with hands, feet, and stick to the music, fence with C and E. Similarly D. move to D1. and fence with B and G and so on.

(iii) The biṭhāwin is performed sitting, the players swaying their bodies, otherwise it is like the sidhi.

The two latter dances are not much in vogue.

Kirārs who are expert in the chhoj are in great request for the chandrāta, i.e. the Wednesday, Sunday or Friday, preceding the day fixed for a wedding.

There is also a dance called dhamal, performed by Jāts in the Minchinabād iḷdqa. They dance round a drum singing:—

‘Allāh Muhammad Chār-Yār, Hāji Qutb Farīd’; (i.e., God, Muhammad, his four Caliphs, and Qutb Farīd.)

While uttering the word ‘Farīd’ the Jāts 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 Khaṭṭaks have special occasions on which dances are held.

1 (Lorimer’s Wasiri Pasho, p. 830).
Observances in Karnal.

(a) LAKHMJI OR SRI,
found by Rāmānuja Achārya.

The Panjábi followers of Rāmānuja 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 Rāmānuja Sect, and red by the Rāmānand Sect, who are bairágis.

(b) Seshji,
found by Mādhu Aghārya.

This sect also has two divisions, and they use quite separate marks. That of the Seshji Sect is a tulsi leaf and is called sri gunjan mali (Plate, fig. 11), and that of the Gopálji Sect has a peculiar elongation down the nose (Plate, fig. 12).

(c) MAHĀDEVJI OR RUDRA,
found by Balabh Aghārya.

This sect has seven gaddis or seats, six of which use the ardhpund mark, some with a dot below it (Plate, figs. 13a and 13b). The seventh gaddi, at Gokalnáth near Mathura, uses two vertical lines (Plate, fig. 14).

(d) SANKĀDIKA,
found by Nimbark Aghārya.

This sect uses a modification of the ardhpund with the sri (Plate, fig. 15).

2. Saivas.

The Saivas commonly use the curved tripund (see Plate, fig. 6a), representing a half-moon, the symbol of Siva. The tripund 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 tripund 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 devotee. The worshipper of Siva wears the tripund made of ashes, saffron or sandal. The worshipper of his consort Devi has the central dot made of sandal coloured red. The worshipper of Ganesh has the central dot of sindur (vermilion). The worshipper of Sūrya wears no special colour, but his tripund mark is sometimes red.

1 Vaishnavas have of course other insignia, as the necklace of tulsi beads, in contradistinction to the rudraksha of the Saivas. The Vaishnava sectarian marks in Southern India differ altogether.—vide Dubois, Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies, 3rd ed., p. 112.
The Sháktaks are distinguished by a single dot of vermilion (Plate, fig. 18).

The Samsars, the Sanos and the Shankars are said to use the urdhpund and the tripund indifferently, and the Ganpatis to use the tripund 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 Bairagis and some Udásis paint a curious mark (Plate, fig. 22) on the forehead, and also wear their hair long (jata).

Jogis, both of the Aughar and Kanphatta degrees, as Saivas wear the tripund without any special embellishments.

Sutrā-shāhīs paint the forehead black.

The Achāri Brāhmaṇ in the first stage of his career wears a red vertical line with a white one on either side. (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 tripund with two lines added above (Plate fig. 24). Others have a tulā-patra inside a tripund, 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. Saniásis who visit Hinglāj in Balüchistán are also said to tattoo an emblem of Mahádev under the sleeve.

Branding is, however, a much more common device, at least when the pilgrim belongs to a religious order. Thus, Bairagís who visit Rámár, sixty miles from Dwárka, have the seal of Rámár seared on the

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1. “A single mark of red-lead ” is worn in Kohát by the Teri Sholi, a class of Musalána jāgirs, who wear a long cloak, often carry a tridcut 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 Udásis and Sutrā-shāhīs.

3. This appears to resemble the Vaishnava namam of Southern India.
wrist so as to leave a black brand. Those who visit Dwārka itself have a tapt mudra, or brand of a conch, discus, mace, or lotus, as emblems of Vishṇu, or a name of Vishṇu, burnt on the arms. Those again who visit Rāmeshwar have the right shoulder branded thus.

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 kuchchilipottus, or small tinsel discs, available in the bazaar at the rate of about half-a-dozen for a pie. 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 kuchchilipottus 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 tattooed vertical line, the operation being performed generally by women of the Korava 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 unconsciously."

1 The tapt mudra is a 'burnt impression' as opposed to the sital mudra or 'cold impression,' which means the painting of emblems daily on the forehead, chest or arms with gopi khandan 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 Hardwār, Gaya, Mīrza pur, Bareli, 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 Rām-nām, Rām Nārāyan or some such Vaishnava term.—Ed., Indian Antiquary."
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