NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE HIMALAYA
OF THE
N.-W. P., INDIA.

E. T. ATKINSON, B.C.S.
NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE HIMALAYAN
DISTRICTS
OF THE
N.-W. P., INDIA.

The following pages are taken from the second volume of my
"Memoir on the Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Pro-
vinces of India," devoted to the tract between the River Tons on the
west and the River Sárda on the east, and comprising the British dis-
tricts of Kumaun, Garhwal, Taráí, Dehra Dún and Jaunsár-Báwar. It
is an attempt to trace the history of the Khasiya race, a member probably
of the great Aryan family that became Dasyus by reason of their not
following the Aryas in their religious observances. They are the
Casiri of western writers, living next the Conæ or Kunus, the people of
Kunáor, and traceable through the Puránas to the present day. This
tract contains the great shrines of Baddrnáth and Kedárnáth, and by
piecing together all the isolated references to it wherever found we are
able to give a fairly connected history from a very early date. For the
modern traditions I have been chiefly indebted to the late Rudradatta
Pant, a learned Brahman of Almora, and to the examination of all the
civil and other records of the Commissioner's office. The identifica-
tion of the site of Brahmapura and the Amazonian kingdom, mentioned
by Hwen Thsang, the Mallas of Nepál, and the connection between the
Khasiyas of Kumaun and the Kators of Chitrál to the west throw
considerable light on the early history of the Province.

St. Leonards-on-Sea, E. T. ATKINSON.
September 6th, 1883.

I would here note some of the more obvious ' errata':

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CHAPTER I.

HISTORY.

CONTENTS.


In a previous chapter we have given a general sketch of the principal races of men inhabiting the Himalaya-Tibetan region. We have shown how their distribution, their character and their habits have all been affected by the physical circumstances of the country in which they live; how physical unfitness has retarded the diffusion of particular races, and how physical adaptation has encouraged it. The operation of these general laws is well exhibited in Kumaon and Garhwal. Here the entire tract between the snowy range and the plains of Hindustān is in its main physical characteristics Indian. The country which lies between the snowy range and the ghāt-range or water-parting is on the other hand entirely Tibetan in its character. These statements are more especially true of the inhabited portions of the two regions. The mass of the population of the first-named tract is found in the valleys and the lower slopes of the mountains below an elevation of 6,000 feet. Here the climate is thoroughly Indian; a well-marked winter, almost entirely without snow, is followed by a summer of nearly tropical heat that is further succeeded by a season of periodical rain. The vegetation is semi-tropical in its character and the common agricultural productions are those of the plains of northern India. In the valleys beyond the snowy range, the Bhot of the inhabitants of the lower hills, we find

1 In this chapter it is intended to give only the general ethnography, reserving census and caste details and folk-lore for the notices of each district given hereafter. So far as possible matters affecting the Kumaon Himalaya will alone be noticed, but much concerning other portions of the great range must be incidentally mentioned, for which the fuller explanation may be obtained by following up the references given in the foot-notes.

2 Chapter I., Vol. I.
ourselves under altogether different conditions. The heavy falls of snow in the winter months give to the climate at that season an even more than Tibetan rigour. The summer is always temperate and the periodical rains fall only as moderate showers. The vegetation is scanty and sub-arctic in its character and the late spring and early autumn restrict agricultural operations to one precarious summer crop of a few of the hardier products of northern countries. Precisely then as the climatal conditions of the Himálaya approach those of India on the one hand or of Tibet on the other, so do we find that the Hindu or the Tibetan element prevails among its inhabitants.

In considering the origin and position of the races inhabiting the Himálaya between the Tons and the Sárda, it will be necessary to discuss the ancient geography, history and ethnography of the tract, for the materials for these really separate studies are one and the same and it would lead to much useless repetition to separate them so as to make each intelligible by itself. We shall therefore in the following pages combine all that we have been able to gather regarding the early history, geography and ethnography of the Kumaon Himálaya, and although it may take us into what at first sight may appear to be matters unconnected with our subject, a little reflection will show that where the materials for positive deductions are wanting, we can only arrive at some certainty by establishing negative propositions. The Himálaya of these provinces is not an isolated tract separated from the rest of the Himálaya to the west or from India on the south by such physical or ethnographical boundaries as would give it a peculiar character and would lead to a well-marked local history. On the contrary though, as we shall see, it has a local mediæval and modern history, its earlier history must be looked for in the notices that we possess regarding the western Himálaya as a whole, and it is only after a careful and comprehensive view of those notices that we can arrive even at the negative conclusions which are all that we can expect to establish in the present state of our knowledge. It is still, however, of some advantage to show that many of the existing theories regarding the origin of the people of these hills are devoid of foundations in fact and are otherwise impossible. We shall endeavour, therefore, to trace out every reference to this section of
the Himalaya and thus afford indications which in the absence of more precise information will enable us to form some conception of its position in history. We hope that it is hardly necessary formally to depurate the criticism of those who have the inestimable advantage of access to great libraries and the society of the learned. The following pages simply profess to be suggestive notes on a comparatively virgin field in Indian archaeology and are the fruit of the leisure minutes, we may say, of an unusually laborious Indian official life. We shall leave to those most competent to decide the ultimate value of the results of our researches into Kumaon history; but, in any case, we believe that we have added something of permanent value to existing knowledge and leave to others the task of completing the work. The Hindu writers, though professing to give in many cases the geography and history of the countries known to them, have with an universal persistence disfigured their accounts with the most puerile and groundless stories and have so mingled truth and fiction that it is difficult in any case and impossible in most cases to distinguish facts from fables. With the exception of the Kashmir chronicles we are not aware of any writing that deserves to be called an historical composition, but none the less is it necessary to consult these records and endeavour to collect from them the historical indications that they still assuredly possess.

The great mass of the population in Kumaon and Garhwal profess a belief little differing from the orthodox Hinduism of the plains. The existing inhabitants belong to the Khasa or Khasiya race and speak a dialect of Hindi akin to the language of the Hindus of Rajputana. All their feelings and prejudices are so strongly imbued with the peculiar spirit of Hinduism that although their social habits and religious belief are often repugnant to those who strictly observe the orthodox ceremonial usages of Hinduism, it is impossible for any one that knows them to consider the Khasas to be other than Hindus. There are several facts connected with their history that show, whatever their origin may have been, the Khasas have for centuries been under the influence of the Brahmanical priesthood. The shrines of Kedár and Badari are both within Garhwal and from time immemorial have been visited by crowds of pilgrims from all parts of India, whose enthusiasm for Hinduism must have acted on the hill men brought into connection
with them as guides and purveyors. Again, many of these pilgrims took up their residence in the hills and leavened the manners and observances of the rough indigenous population. Many other immigrants arrived to take service amongst the petty princes of the hills or to receive their daughters in marriage, and thus we find a considerable sprinkling of families all through these hills who consider themselves one with the various castes in the plains whose tribal name they bear. To the north in the inter-alpine valleys of Bhot, we have a tribe of decided Tibetan origin and whose affinities are found in the trans-Himalayan tribes of Hundes. They are known as Bhotiyas by the people of the lower hills, who in turn are designated Khasiyas by the Bhotiyas, whilst the people of the adjoining portion of Tibet are known as Hunas or Huniyas. In addition to the tribes already enumerated there are the Rájis or Rájyas, the modern representatives of the Rájya-Kirátas and the Thárús and Bhúksas of the Taráí lowlands and traces of the Nágas and Sakas, whilst others contend that we have here also old Baktrian (Yavana) colonies. For our present purpose it is only necessary to observe that there are, at the present day, three great divisions of the population, the immigrants from the plains, the Khasas and Bhotas. With regard to the first division we shall reserve the detailed examination of their individual claims to the local accounts of each district which will follow hereafter. Here we shall endeavour to ascertain who these Khasas, Bhotas, Hunas, Sakas, Yavanas, Nágas, and Rájya-Kirátas were and what was their position with regard to the neighbouring tribes, a study that will necessarily lead us to consider the general history of ancient India wherever these names occur and much that might appear foreign to our purpose, but which bears materially on the conclusions to which we shall eventually arrive.

It is not often that the Hindu writers tell us much that we can depend upon regarding the peoples of ancient India, yet it may be gathered from them that at a very early period, the compilers of the sacred books possessed a considerable knowledge of the geography of these mountains. This knowledge, though veiled in the later works by a cloud of silly legends, is none the less real and, when stripped of the marvellous, can be verified, at the present day. In Vaidik times, when the
elements were worshipped, when the primal manifestations of nature absorbed the devotion of the Aryan immigrants, the noble range of the Himálaya fitly called 'the abode of snow,' was looked on as the home of the storm-god, the mother of rivers, the haunt of fierce wild beasts and more fierce wild men. It then received the homage justly due to it as the greatest and most formidable of all the mountain systems that the Aryans had met with and was finally declared to be the home of the gods. From the earliest ages, the great, the good, and the learned have sought its peaceful valleys to enjoy nearer communion with the deity. In the manuals of the later Pauránik records we find almost every hill and river reverently and lovingly described and dedicated to some one or other of the members of the great pantheon. Legends of the gods and saints and holy men adorn the story of each peak and pool and waterfall and give that realistic turn to the teaching of the earlier priesthood which appears to have been peculiarly adapted to the Hindu mind. "He who thinks¹ of Himáchal, though he should not behold him, is greater than he who performs all worship in Káshi. In a hundred ages of the gods I could not tell thee of the glories of Himáchal. As the dew is dried up by the morning sun, so are the sins of mankind by the sight of Himáchal."

The sources of our information may be thus briefly indicated:—

**Sources of information.**

First the Vaidik records. Max Müller assigns a date between 1200 and 1000 B.C. to the older hymns of the Rig-Veda;² Haug places their composition between 2400 and 2000 B.C.; and Duncker states that the immigration of the Aryas took place about 2000 B.C., and the origin of the oldest songs of the Veda cannot, therefore, be considered earlier than the sixteenth century before Christ. For the songs of the Mantra period containing the later hymns Max Müller gives 1000 and 800 B.C. as the date of their composition, whilst Haug and others place them between 2000 and 1400 B.C. The works of Müller’s Bráhmana period include the Bráhmanas, Upanishads, Aranyakas, and similar writings chiefly expository of those of the preceding period which are included in the Sanshitas or collections of the four Vedas. To the Sútra period are assigned the six Vedántas.

¹ From the Mánasa-khanda of the Skanda Puráña in Sir John Strachey’s notes, to which also I am indebted for a paraphrase of a portion.
or branches of Vaidik exegesis and the Sútras or redactions of
the ancient Súkhás containing aphorisms relating to sacrificial and
domestic duties and the like. These last belong to the Smriti or
traditional class. The epic poems or Itihásas form the second divi-
sion and are represented by the Mahábhárata\(^1\) and the Ráma-
âyana. To the third division and latest in point of time belong the
Puránas and their continuations to the present day, including the
local collections of legends regarding the lives of the saints, the holy
places and the miracles performed there. From the earlier Vaidik
records we learn that the Aryas came from Central Asia and
established themselves on either bank of the Indus. The greater
number of the hymns of the Rig-Veda refer to this period of the
Aryan history and distinguish between the immigrants and the
aborigines. To the latter they give the generic name of Dasyu,
which subsequently included the non-Aryan tribes as well as those
of Aryan descent who separated from Aryan practices in matters of
religion and polity. The later Vaidik records indicate the gradual
advance of the Aryas to the south-east until we find them in the
Itihásá or epic period occupying the whole of the upper Duáb.

The geographical indications in the Rig-Veda are of the most
meagre description and consist of the enu-
meration of certain rivers in the celebrated
'hymn to the rivers' and the names of a few tribes and countries.²
The rivers named show that the Aryas were then living in the tract
between the Indus and the Satlaj and were not well acquainted with
the region between the latter river and the Ganges. The rivers
Ganges and Drishadvati or Kaggar are named but once, the Saras-
vati and Jumna are only mentioned a few times, but the Sindhu or
Indus is frequently referred to, and to it as 'the most copious of
streams' the river-hymn is addressed. In one verse, the other
rivers are asked to receive this hymn:—"Receive my hymn, O
Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati, Sutudri, along with the Parushni: listen,

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1 As to the date of this work, see Gazetteer, II., 60, note. That the principal
part of the Mahábhárata belongs to a period previous to the political ascendency
of Buddhism had been proved by Professor Lassen; Müller's History above quoted,
p. 62. The archaic portions of the Mahábhárata may be earlier than some of the
works of the Smriti class and the older portions of the Vishnu Purána may be
earlier than portions of the Rámayana, but still the general statement given above
is correct.

2 Étude sur la géographie et les populations primitives du nord-
ouest de l'Inde d'après les Hymnes Védiques, by M. V. de Saint-Martin. Paris,
O Marudvриha along with the Asikni and Vitasta; O Arjikiyā along with the Sushoma.” In the succeeding verse the Rasa, Sveti, Kubhā, Gomati, and Krumu are mentioned as tributaries of the Indus. The Sutudri is the Satlaj: the Parushni is the Iravati or Ravi: the Marudvriha is the Chināb after its confluence with the Jhelam: the Asikni is the Acesines or Chināb, and the Vitasta is the Hydaspes or Jhelam. The names Arjikiyā and Sushoma signify, according to Lassen, vessels used in the preparation of the Soma juice and are not the names of rivers. The Kubha is the Kopenes or Kābul river, the Krumu and Gomati being the Kurun and Gomai rivers. The Sveti is the Swāt river and the Rasa appears to be some other affluent of the Kābul river. The earliest seat of the Aryas in India is therefore the lower Kābul valley and the adjoining tract along the Indus, a place of which we shall have much to say hereafter. The knowledge of the Himālaya is confined to certain allusions to winter: thus in the Rig-Veda we have1 the prayer:—“May we rejoice living a hundred winters (satahimaḥ) with vigorous offspring.” In the Atharva-Veda the following passages occur:—“He whose greatness these snowy mountains (himavanto) and the sea with the aerial river declare.” “May thy mountains be snowy (himavanto), O earth, and thy wilderness beautiful.” Again in the same work the medicinal plant kushṭhika is said to be produced to the north of the Himavat and to be carried thence to the east. In the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa the Uttara Kurus are referred to thus:—“Wherefore in this northern region all the people who dwell beyond the Himavat (called) the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras are consecrated to glorious rule.” In a passage of the Kaushitaki-Brāhmaṇa2 it is written:—“Pathyā Svāstī (a goddess) knew the northern region. Now Pathyā Svāstī is Vāch (the goddess of speech). Hence in the northern region speech is better known and better spoken and it is to the north that men go to learn speech: men listen to the instructions of any one who comes from that quarter, saying, ‘he says (so and so);’ for that is renowned as the region of speech.” On this the commentator remarks:—“Language is better understood and spoken’: for Sarasvati is spoken of (as having her abode) in Kashmir, and in the hermitage of Badarikā (Badrināth in Garhwal) the sound

1 Ibid, p. 323.  
2 Written by Sankhayana for members of the Kaushitaki Sākha: see Müller, Anc. Sansk. Lit., 180, 246; Weber, IIlist. Ind. Lit., p. 50.
of the Vedas is heard.” So also Lassen:—“An account is to be found in an ancient record, according to which the Sanskrit had been preserved in greater purity in the northern countries than elsewhere, and Kashmir and Badari, at the sources of the Ganges, are specified by the commentator as such regions. This is, however, not sufficient to prove that in the different provinces of India there were then fundamental differences in the sacred language.” The medical treatise of Charaka makes the physician Bharadvája a disciple of Indra and assigns to the neighbourhood of the Himálaya that gathering of sages out of which came the instruction of Bharadvája by Indra. The treatise referred to has, according to Weber, “rather high pretensions to antiquity; its prose here and there reminds us of the style of the Srauta-sutras.” From the later Vaidik records, therefore, we learn that as early as several centuries before the Christian era the shrine of Badari was celebrated as a seat of learning and as the abode of holy men.

We next turn to the names of the peoples known to the Vaidik writers. In a verse of the Rig-Veda Visvámitra asks:—“What are thy cows doing amongst the Kikatas? They yield no milk for oblations and they heat no fire,” implying that they were a people who knew not Aryan rites. Again in the Atharva-Veda, in an invocation to Takman, the personification of itch, as Chachak Devi is now of small-pox, it is said that his abode was among the Mújavats and Mahávrishas. As soon as born he sojourned amongst the Báhlikas, and he is here desired to depart to the Gándháris, Mújavats, Angas, and Mágadhás. The Kikatas are elsewhere explained to be one with the Mágadhás or people of Behar. The Báhlikas are the people of Balkh; Gandhára is the tract around Peshawar, and the Mújavats are elsewhere explained² to be a mountain tribe of the north-west frontier. In the Bráhmanas, the name ‘Báhika’ is applied to the tribes of the Panjáb generally, and it would appear that they as well as the Kámbojas, a frontier tribe to the north-west, spoke a dialect of Sanskrit, for Pánini, in his grammar, explains the dialectic differences between the speech of the Aryas and that of the Báhikas and Yaska those between the Aryan speech and the language of the Kámbojas. There is also evidence³ to show that the people of Gandhára were in

¹ Ibid, p. 268. ² In the Mahábhárata. ³ Muir, II., 353.
the habit of holding intercourse and contracting alliances with the Aryas. From these indications Muir argues that:—"Although in individual passages of the Mahábhárata hatred and contempt are expressed in reference to the tribes living along the Indus and its five great tributaries, yet there is no trace of these tribes being regarded as of non-Indian origin." * * * "The Indians distinguish not expressly, but by implication, the nations dwelling between the Indus and the Hindu Kush into two classes: first those to the eastward of the Indus, and some of those immediately to the westward of that river, as the Gandháras, are in their estimation Indians; . . . . but with the exception of the Kashmirás and some less known races these Indians are not of the genuine sort: the general freedom of their customs is regarded as a lawless condition." And Weber similarly remarks:—"The north-western tribes retained their ancient customs which the other tribes who migrated to the east had at one time shared. The former kept themselves free from the influence of hierarchy and of caste which arose amongst the latter as a consequence of their residence amongst people of alien origin (the aborigines). But the later orthodox feelings of the more eastern Aryas obliterated the recollection of their own earlier freedom and caused them to detest the kindred tribes to the westward as renegades, instead of looking on themselves as men who had abandoned their own original institutions." Thus we have three classes of inhabitants in Upper India, that branch of the Aryas to whom the composition of the Vedas is to be attributed; their brethren in race and language who did not follow them in the development of their religious system and the aboriginal tribes.1

The question remains as to who were Aryas and who were Dasyus. The primitive meaning of the word 'Arya' is still a subject of discussion. Some trace it throughout the Indo-European region in the 'Arya' of the ancient books of Persia; in the name 'Ariana' applied to the

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1 Quoted from ibid., 354. 2 It may be well to notice here in what respect the tribes not belonging to the four classes, such as the Bákikas and Khásas, offended the prejudices of the twice-born. One of the charges brought against them is the boldness and unchastity of their women, "who sang and danced in public, drunk and undressed, wearing garlands and perfumed with unguents." Another charge is that they had no Veda, no Vaisik ceremony and no sacrifice. Again, a Brahman then becomes a Kshatriya, a Vaisy or a Sudra, and eventually a barber. The aboriginal tribes would also seem to have been in the habit of burying their dead. Muir, II., 412, 482. 3 Van den Gheyn. Le nom primitif des Aryas. Précis Historiques, 1880.
tract comprising Herát, Afgánistán, Khorásán, and Biluchistán; in the name 'Aryaka' (Irák); in the word 'Ariya' in the inscriptions of the Achaemenides; in the name 'Iran' in those of the Sassanides; in the 'Arioi' (Ossetes) of the Caucasus; in 'Argeia,' an old name of Greece; in the name 'Hermami' in Germany; and even in 'Erin,' the old name of Ireland. The meaning attached to the word in the earlier hymns of the Rig-Veda appears, however, to be 'light-coloured,' 'pale,' 'white,' as compared with the Dasyus or black Antiochones. Gradually as the Aryan forces advanced the word carries with it the meaning of free, noble, brave, masterful, wise, as opposed to the enslaved, debased, and ignorant Dasyus, and here we find the white-faced immigrants called collectively the Aryan 'varna,' or 'colour,' a word which is to-day translated by caste ('baran'). The Greeks also knew of this contrast between the dark and light coloured races of India, for Ktesias records that the Indians were white and black, and that he himself had seen several of the fairer race. The Dasyus are described as a black-skinned race who despised the rites and ceremonies of the Aryas, and again as goblins and demons inhabiting the forests and mountains of the frontier countries. In the Rig-Veda it is recorded that Indra, "armed with the lightning and trusting in his strength, moved about shattering the cities of the Dasyus," and the gods are prayed to "distinguish between the Aryas and those who are Dasyus:"

"By these (succours) subdue to the Aryas all the hostile Dasa people everywhere, O Indra, whether it be kinsmen or strangers who have approached and injuriously assailed us, do thou enfeebles and destroy their power and vigour and put them to flight." — "Who delivered (us) from the destroyer, from calamity; who, O powerful (god), didst avert the bolt of the Dasa from the Arya in (the land of) the seven streams." — "He who swept away the low Dasa colour" (varnam)—"scattered the servile hosts of black descent"—"conquered the black-skin." Again Manu writes that those tribes which are without the pale of the castes, whether they speak the language of the Mlechchhas or of the Aryas, are called Dasyus, and there is not

1 Muir, Sana. Texts, II. 368: 'hatvi dasvan pra aryam varnam dve'; slaying the Dasyus he protected the Aryan colour.
2 M'Crindle's Ktesias, p. 13.
3 Muir, l. c., 358.
4 The Dasyus had chiefs over each tribe, several of whom are named. They lived incitings, were intelligent and knew the law, but did not adopt the Brahmanic ritual, especially the complicated system of sacrifice requiring the aid and presence of several priests. See Muir, II., passim.
wanting evidence to show that some of the opponents of the orthodox immigrants to whom we owe the Vedas were of their own colour or caste. In the hymns of the Rig-Veda we have addressed to Indra implying the existence of Aryan foes as well as Dasyus:—

"Do thou, heroic Indra, destroy both these our foes (our) Dása and our Arya enemies"—"May we, associated with thee, the mighty one, overcome both Dása and Arya through thy effectual energy"—

"Whatever ungodly person, Dása or Arya, designs to fight against us, let these enemies be easily subdued by us." The Aryan tribes, we further learn, were divided into clans, each under its own Raja, and the newcomers pressed on the old settlers and fought with them. A formidable coalition of the Bharatas and others whose family priest was Visvámitra attacked the Tritsus on the Sarasvati, whose spiritual guides belonged to the family of Vasishtha, and we have the prayers of both priests invoking the aid of Indra in the coming battle. The Bharatas were defeated and the song of victory of Vasishtha shows us that the enemies against which his side fought were Aryas. In the Aitariya-Bráhmana, the author, after quoting a saying of Visvámitra, adds—"Most of the Dasyus are descended from Visvámitra." Thus we see how certain Aryas who did not follow the orthodox guides became classed with the aborigines, and thus arises one source of the great confusion observed in the later ethnology. The system existing on earth was also transferred to the sphere of the gods, and here we find the Dasyu race represented by the Rákshasas, Dánavas and Daityas, sometimes the rebellious subjects and sometimes the slaves\(^1\) of the deities. It is in the later records that most details are given, but before proceeding further we will note the route by which the Aryas passed into Upper India.

So late as 1840, Professor Benfey argued that most probably the Aryas dwelt for some time in little Tibet, near the sources of the Indus, before passing into India, and that the route adopted by them was through the passes along the Kumaon and Garhwal frontier to Indraprastha. In this view he was supported by Professor Weber as the only one consistent with the materials at their disposal. On reading through the Rig-Veda, however, both these eminent scholars abandoned this position and agreed in the result now generally accepted, that the Aryan tribes moved from Baktria into India by

\(^1\) Dasyu is connected with dása in the sense of 'slave'; Muir, II., 387.
the Hindu Kush through the Kābul valley and across the Indus\(^1\) to the Sarasvati, the route that has been taken in every successive great invasion of India.

From the Sarasvati, the Aryas pressed on and occupied the upper Duāb, and it is here we find them in the Itihāsa period, when the Mahābhārata was written. The Uttara Kurus are now mentioned as living in Hari Varsha, as a people whom no one attempts to conquer and their country as the home of primitive customs. In describing the condition of the southern Kurus it is said that “they vied in happiness with the northern Kurus.” In the Rāmāyana, it is recorded that the Uttara Kurus are liberal, prosperous, perpetually happy and undecaying. In their country there is neither cold nor heat, nor decrepitude, nor disease, nor grief, nor fear, nor rain, nor sun, a description which has been localised in Kumaon, but here agrees better with the tract to the north of the Kashmir valley. Lassen remarks that though the country of Harivarsha belongs to the region of mythical geography, the existence of the Uttara Kurus has a basis of geographical fact from (1) the way the country is mentioned

\(^1\) _Ibid._, 309, 337. Larsen writes:—“The diffusion of the Aryas towards the south, points to the conclusion that they came from the north-west from the country north of the Vindhya, probably from the region bordering on the Jumna and the eastern part of the Panjāb. Their extension to the east between the Himalaya and the Vindhya also indicates the same countries as their earlier seats. We find, moreover, evident traces of the Aryas in their advance from the north-west, having severed asunder the earlier population of Hindustan and driven one portion of it towards the northern and another portion towards the southern hills. Further, we cannot assume that the Aryas themselves were the earlier inhabitants who were pushed aside: for the inhabitants of the Dakhin, like those of the Vindhyan range, appear always as the weaker or retiring party, who were driven back by the Aryas. We cannot ascribe to the non-Aryan tribes the power of having forced themselves forward through the midst of an earlier Aryan population to the seats which they eventually occupied in the centre of the country; but, on the contrary, everything speaks in favour of their having been originally settled in those tracts where we find them at a later period and of their having once occupied an extensive territory.” Again, he writes:—“There is only one route by which we can imagine the Aryan Indians to have immigrated into India; they must have come through the Panjāb and they must have reached the Panjāb through western Kābulistān. The road leading from the country on the Oxus into eastern Kābulistān and the valley of the Panjikora or into the upper valley of the Indus, or from Gilgit over the lofty plateau of Deosai down on Kashmir, roads now known to us as the roughest and most difficult that exist and do not appear to have been ever much or frequently used as lines of communication. We can only imagine the small tribes of the Dāradas to have come by the second route from the northern side of the Hindu Kush into their elevated valleys, but we cannot suppose the mass of the Aryas to have reached India by this road. All the important expeditions of nations or armies which are known to us have proceeded through the western passes of the Hindu Kush, and if we suppose the Aryan Indians to have come into India from Baktria, this is the only route by which we can assume them to have arrived.”
in the Vedas; (2) its existence in historical times as a real country, and (3) its being referred to as the home of primitive customs.

As regards the frontier tribes, the Mahābhārata mentions the conquest by the Pāṇḍavas of “the Utsavasankatas, seven tribes of Dasyus, inhabiting the mountains.” Again, “Pākasāsani conquered the Daradas with the Kāmbojas and the Dasyus who dwell in the north-east region, as well as the inhabitants of the forest, with the Lohas, the farthest Kāmbojas and the northern Rishikas.” Moreover, Saineya, the charioteer of Krishna, is said to have “made the beautiful earth a mass of mud with the flesh and blood of thousands of Kāmbojas, Sakas, Savaras, Kirātas, Varvaras, destroying thy host. The earth was covered with the helmets and shaven and bearded heads of the Dasyus,” clearly intimating that the word ‘Dasyu’ is here a generic term denoting the whole of the tribes who are previously mentioned in this passage. The same record affirms their connection with the Aryas in the verses:—“These tribes of Kshattriyas, viz., Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Drāvīras, &c., have become Vrishālas from seeing no Brahmans.” This statement is repeated subsequently with the addition of the Mekalas, Lātās, Konvasīras, Saundikas, Darvas, Chauras, Savaras, Barbaras and Kirātas. Again the Yavanas are said to be descendants of Turvasu, the Vaibhōjas to be sprung from Druhyu, and the Mlechchha tribes from Anu. The Mahābhārata thus not only uses the word ‘Dasyu’ as a generic term for the border tribes, but also makes these tribes to belong to the Kshattriya or warrior race. How it came to pass that these Kshattriyas lost their Aryan status is thus related:—“Satyavrata was degraded to the condition of a Chandāla or outcast and called Tri-sanku on account of three sins (tri-sanku) of (1) killing a cow, (2) displeasing his father, and (3) eating flesh not properly consecrated, But on his repentance and feeding the family of Visvūmitra during a twelve years' drought, he was transported to heaven. His descendant Bāhu was vanquished by the tribes of Haihayas and

1 Ptolemy describes Serica or China as surrounded by mountain ranges, the Annibian, Auxacian, Asmiren, Kasian, Thagurian, Emusus and another called Otterokorr, and places the Otter-korr west southermmost of all near the Emodian and Serikan mountains. It was doubtless from the ancient legend quoted in the text that the Greeks derived their idea of the Hyperboreans, the people who lived a thousand years, a long and happy life, free from disease and care in a land all paradise: see McCrindle's Ancient India, 34, 77.
Tālajhangas and died in exile. To him a posthumous son named Sagarā was born, who nearly exterminated the Haihayas and would have also destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas, had they not applied to their family-priest, Vasiṣṭha, for protection. The priest desired Sagarā to refrain from the slaughter of those who were as good as dead, for he had compelled the tribes to abandon the duties of their caste and all association with the twice-born, and Sagarā thereon imposed on them peculiar distinguishing marks. He made the Yavanas shave their heads entirely, the Sakas to shave the upper half of their heads, the Pāradas to wear their hair long, and the Pahlavas to let their beards grow. He deprived them of all religious rites and thus abandoned by Brahmans, they became Mlechchhas.”

This instructive legend shows us that the writers of the Itihāsa and early Paurānik periods believed that these tribes had a common origin with themselves, though, as Muir shows, “they, at the same time, erroneously imagined that these tribes had fallen away from Brahmanical institutions: thus assigning to their own polity an antiquity to which it could in reality lay no claim.”

In another passage of the Mahābhārata we have the statement that “in the region where these five rivers (Panchnad, Panjāb) flow after issuing from the mountains dwell the Bāhikas called Arattas. * * The name of the country is Aratta; the water of it is called Bāhika, there dwell degraded Brahmans, contemporary with Prajāpati. They have no Veda, no Vedic ceremony, nor any sacrifice. The gods do not eat the food offered by servile (dāsamīyāṇām) Vrātyās. The Prasthalas, Madras, Gandhāras, Arattas, Khasas, Vasātis and Sindhusauvíras are nearly all very contemptible.” Here we have the Khasas associated with the tribes of the Panjāb, which would show a more westerly location than Kumaon.

The same record shows us that around Hastināpur, the seat of the Pandu rōj, were Dasyus variously known as Asuras, Daityas, Bhillas, Rākshasas and

Nāgas on the Jumna.

1 Assisted by the Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas, according to the Vasu Purāṇa; Wilson, VIII., 293.
2 Wilson, VIII., 294, who notes that the Greeks commonly shaved a portion of the head; but it is doubtful whether they ever shaved the head completely. The Skythians shave the fore part of the head, gathering the hair at the back into a long tail, as do the Chinese. The mountaineers of the Himalaya shave the crown of the head, as do the people of Kāfirsīn, with the exception of a single tuft. It is doubtful who the Pāradas are, except the ancestors of the Brahuis may be assigned to them, and then the Pahlavas will be the Parthians.
3 L., 488.
4 In the Meerut district.
Nágas. The great Khándava forest in the valley of the Jumna near Indraprastha or old Dehli was occupied by the Nágas under their king Takshaka, who were expelled by fire and driven to take refuge in the hills. The Aryas continued their progress and preceded by Agni, the god of fire, occupied the whole country as far as the Sadántra or Gandak. We also read that Arjuna during his exile visited the holy places and at Hardwar met Ulúpi, the daughter of the Nága Rája Vásuki, whom he espoused. The same record gives a brilliant description of the city of the Nága Rája, that it “contained two thousand krores of serpent inhabitants; and the wives of all those serpents were of consummate beauty. And the city contained more jewels than any person in the world has ever seen, and there was a lake there which contained the water of life and in which all the serpents used to bathe.” Throughout the Mahábhárata the Himalaya is considered holy ground, the well-loved home of the gods, where there were many places of pilgrimage (tirthas).

After the destruction of Dwára, when the Pándavas were told by Vyása that their power had departed and that they should now think of heaven alone, it was to the Himalaya that they retired. Placing Parikshít on the throne of Hastinápur and Yuyutsu in Indraprastha, “Yudhishthira then took off his earrings and necklace and all the jewels from his fingers and arms and all his royal raiment: and he and his brethren, and their wife Draupadi, clothed themselves after the manner of devotees in vestments made of the bark of trees. And the five brethren threw the fire of their domestic sacrifices and cookery into the Ganges and went forth from the city following each other. First walked Yudhishthira, then Bhima, then Arjuna, then Nákula, then Sahdeva, then Draupadi, and then a dog. And they went through the country of Banga toward the rising of the sun; and after passing through many lands they reached the Himalaya mountain, and there they died one after the other and were transported to the heaven of Indra.” From Kurmáchal in the extreme east near the Káli to Jamnotri and the Dún the wanderings of the Pándavas are noted by some rock or stream commemorating some exploit or calling to mind some scene in the story of their travels. At Deo Dhúra, the grey granite boulders near the crest of the ridge are said to have been thrown there in sport by the Pándavas. Close
to the temple of Devi in the same place are two large boulders, the uppermost of which, called ‘Ran-sila,’ is cleft right through the centre by a deep fresh-looking fissure, at right angles to which there is a similar rift in the lower rock. A smaller boulder on the top is said to have been the weapon by which Bhima Sena produced these fissures and the print of his five fingers is still pointed out. Ran-sila itself is marked with the lines for carrying on the gambling game of pachisi which even in their wanderings the Pāndavas could not abandon. They are also the reputed founders of the five temples to Śiva as Kedáreswar and did penance at Pāndukeswar close to Badarináth. All along the course of the sacred river are pools and streams, temples and rocks, sacred to the Pāndavas and across the Ganges in Tihri, the course of the Jumna is in a lesser degree consecrated to their memory. At Bhúnghora above Hardwár the priests show the imprint of the hoofs of Bhima’s horse, and they say that Drona, the preceptor of the Pāndavas, resided in the eastern portion of the valley of Dehra Dún, the Drona-ka-asrama of the Kedára-khanda.

The law-book of the Mānavas is clearly in its present form the outcome of many hands at various times, but will be more conveniently referred to under the received title ‘Manu.’ It is still the great authority on the systematic ethnography and cosmo(n)ogy of the Hindus, and affords us further evidence of the existence of the belief that the majority of the border tribes were regarded as of the same stock as the Aryas, but degraded members of it. It tells us that the references made in the Shástras to castes other than the four is merely “for the sake of convenience and conformity to common usage.” Even the very lowest classes, such as the Nishádas and Chándálas, are derived from the miscegenation of the four castes. Like the authors of the Mahábhárata, Manu affirms that the Kshatriya tribes of Paundrakas, Odras, Draviras, Kámbojas, Yavanás, Sakas, Páradas, Pahlavas, Chínas, Kirátas, Daradas, and Khasas, became Vrishalas or outcasts from the extinction of sacred rites and from having no intercourse with Brahmans. Further, as already noticed, he declares that “all the tribes which by loss of sacred rites and the like have become outcasts from the pale of the four castes, whether they speak the language of the Mechchhhas or of the Aryas,
are called Dasyus." Here we have again the connecting link between the earlier and the later records and the natural explanation of the entire phenomena. As in Africa, at the present day, the tribes converted to Islam, leaving behind them their heathen practices, look with contempt and even hatred on their brethren in race who adhere to paganism, so the Aryas despised those of their race who remained content with the primitive belief which was once their common property and refused to accept the sacerdotal innovations, or who being of non-Aryan descent declined to accept the Brahmanical creed. The terms of abuse used towards these tribes by the priestly writers prove nothing more than the existence of the 'odium theologicum' which has burned fiercely in all climes and countries from the earliest dawn of history to the present day. The preceding extracts show that even in the most orthodox writings the Khasas are looked on more as heretical members of the great Aryan family than as outcast aborigines, and that from a very early period they have been recognised as an important tribe in Upper India.

According to the Mahabharata, Krishna visited the hermitage of Upamanyu in the Himayala, where "the mongoose sports in a friendly fashion with snakes and tigers with deer." He also visited the Pandavas in their exile and is said to have himself, in company with Arjuna, lived a considerable time in Badari. Arjuna as Nara and Krishna as Narayana "mounted on the chariot of righteousness, performed an undecaying penance on the mountain Gandhamadana." There they were visited by the sage Narada, who "descended rapidly from the sky to the spacious Badari. There he saw the ancient gods, the two most excellent Rishis," and there he remained with them for a thousand years. Again it is said that the Chakravarti Raja Dambodbhava, having an overweening conceit of his own prowess, visited Gandhamadana (Badari group of peaks) with his army and resolved to overthrow the Rishis. They tried to put him off by saying that they were divested of all earthly passions and lived in an atmosphere of peace. Dambodbhava, however, resolved to attack them, when Nara took a handful of straws and scattering them to the winds so whitened the air and so filled the eyes, ears, and noses of the men of Dambodbhava's army that they fell at Nara's feet and sued for peace: referring doubtless to a snow-storm encountered by the
invaders. In another part of the same record Krishna is thus addressed:—*Formerly Krishna, thou didst roam for ten thousand years on Gandhamádana, where the Muni Sáyangriha was.* * * Thou didst stand on the spacious Badari, a hundred years with thy arms aloft, on one foot, subsisting on air, with thy outer garments thrown off, emaciated, with thy veins swollen." Badari is also called Siddhásrava, 'the hermitage of the perfect', "where the illustrious Vishnu was perfected when performing a great act of austerity in the form of a dwarf, when the empire of the three worlds had been taken away from Indra by Bali." Tradition states that Ráma performed austerities at Rikhikes, and his brother Lachhman at Tapuban, in order to wipe away the sin of slaying Rávana. The grammarian Vararuchi also visited the Himalaya and by propitiating Mahádeva obtained from him the materials for his Pániniya grammar.1 When near his death Vararuchi again retired to Badari, and "throwing off this mortal coil, resumed as Pushpadanta2 his seat among the brilliant spirits of heaven." Gunádhya, brother of Pushpadanta, followed his example and worshipped 'the crescent-crested deity' in his mountain home. It was here, too, that Sahasráníka, rája of Kausambhi, when wearied with the toils of state, spent his declining years in solitude and devotion.3

We now come to the Pauránik period and find that the legends concerning the Himalaya have grown with the people, and that in the later development of Hindu mythology they occupy a much more important place. There is little doubt that the story of Mount Mero, the Olympus of the Indian gods, was suggested by the sight of the lofty summits of the Himalaya crowned with perpetual snow. In the geographical notices contained in the Puránas we have the traditional distribution of the countries and peoples then known to the compilers, and to their pages, amongst that is puerile and absurd, we must look for the little further aid to our researches that can be derived from indigenous sources. Lassen4 writes:—"It is true that

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1 Wilson, III., 174. 2 Ibid., 184: Badari is mentioned in the Pádmas Purána as one of the celebrated Vaishnava tirthas where bathing is particularly enjoined. Pushpadanta was born as Devadatta and from worshipping Mahádeo was through his favour united with Jaya, daughter of Raja Susarma, and retired in his old age to Badari. So also in the Vámana Purána the sacred character of the linga at Kedár and Badari is extolled: Ibid., VI., lxxv. 3 Ibid., III., 196. 4 Muir, II., 337.
we might be tempted to discover in the superior sacredness which they (the Aryas) ascribe to the north, a reference, unintelligible to themselves, to a closer connexion which they had formerly with the northern countries: for the abodes of most of the gods are placed to the north in and beyond the Himalaya and the holy and wonderful mountain of Meru is situated in the remotest regions in the same direction. A more exact examination will, however, lead to the conviction that the conception to which we have referred has been developed in India itself and is to be derived from the peculiar character of the northern mountain-range. The daily prospect of the snowy summit of the Himalaya glittering far and wide over the plains and in the strictest sense insurmountable, and the knowledge which they had of the entirely different character of the table-land beyond, with its extensive and tranquil domains, its clear and cloudless sky and peculiar natural productions, would necessarily designate the north as the abode of the gods and the theatre of wonders; while its holiness is explicable from the irresistible impression produced upon the mind by surrounding nature. Uttara Kuru, the Elysium in the remotest north, may be most properly regarded as an ideal picture, created by the imagination of a life of tranquil felicity, and not as a recollection of any early residence of the Kuru in the north. Such at least is true of the representation which we have of this country in the epic poems. It is, however, probable that originally, and as late as the Vaidik era, a recollection of this sort attached itself to that country, though in later times no trace of it has been preserved."

It is not difficult, therefore, to picture the Aryan immigrants arriving at the Ganges and sending some adventurous spirits to explore its sources. After traversing the difficult passes across the snowy range and the inclement table-land of Tibet, they discovered the group of mountains called Kailás1 and the lakes from which flowed forth the great rivers to water and give life to the whole earth. The rugged grandeur of the scene, the awful solitude and the trials and dangers of the way itself naturally suggested to an imaginative and simple people that they had at length rediscovered the golden land,2 the

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1 The name Kailás seems to be of Tibetan origin which would apparently show that the Hindus discovered the country around Mānasārovar after it had already been occupied by a Tibetan race.

2 Hiran maya, Suvarna-bhāmi.
true homes of their gods whom they had worshipped when appearing under milder forms as storm and fire and rain in the plains below. In the course of time, Brahmanical innovations caused the worship of Agni, Vāyu or Indra, Sūrya and the other Vaidik gods to give place to a system where the intervention of a sacerdotal caste between the worshipper and his creator was essential. The transfer to the new system of the localities already held sacred soon followed, and Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, the triad of the new revelation, took possession of the Himālaya. In place of domestic worship offered by individuals for individual good and addressed to unreal presences, a highly ornate ritual was introduced administered by a consecrated class and addressed to visible types. It is in this later stage that we find Hinduism as described in the Puráṇas, so late indeed that the worship of Brahma had already almost become obsolete. In the Vedas, the one universal Being is of a higher order than a personification of attributes or elements and however imperfectly conceived, or unworthily described is God. In the Puráṇas, the only Supreme Being is supposed to be manifest in the person of Siva or Vishnu either in the way of illusion or in sport; and one or other of these divinities is therefore also the cause of all that is,—is, himself, all that exists.” The Puráṇas exhibit a sectarian fervour and exclusiveness not found in the Ramáyana and only to a qualified extent in the Mahábhárata. “They are no longer,” says Professor Wilson, “authorities for the Hindu belief as a whole; they are special guides for separate and, sometimes, conflicting branches of it; compiled for the evident purpose of promoting preferential or, in some cases, the sole worship of Vishnu or Siva.”

Before proceeding further with our subject, it will be convenient succinctly to describe here the Puráṇas which form the class of writings that give us the greatest details concerning the Himálaya. There are eighteen Puráṇas compiled at various times by different hands. The Vishnu Purána which has been translated by Professor H. H. Wilson and edited by Dr. F. Hall is the principal and next to the Bhágavata

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is still regarded as the great authority on matters connected with their religion by large sections of the Hindu community. Both are compiled in the form of a dialogue in which some person relates the contents in reply to the inquiries of another. In the extracts hereafter given from the Skánda Purána, the narrator is Súta, or properly 'a Súta' (i.e., a bard or panegyrist and pupil of Vyúsa, the generic name for a compiler or editor). Each Purána is divided into khandas or books, which are again subdivided into chapters which often consist of māhātmyas or collections of local legends like the Mánasa-khand and Kedára-khand of the Skánda Purána noticed hereafter. Regarding this latter work, Professor Wilson writes:—"It is uniformly agreed that the Skánda Purána, in a collective form, has no existence and the fragments in the shape of samhitas, khandas and māhātmyas, which are affirmed in various parts of India to be portions of the Purána, present a much more formidable mass of stanzas than even the immense number (81,100) of which it is said to consist." The more celebrated of these portions are the Káshi-khand, giving a description of Benares, and the Utkala-khand, giving an account of the holy places in Orissa. Besides these there are a Himavat-khand devoted to Nepál, a Rewakhand, a Brahmittara-khand and others. There are also several separate samhitas or collections. The māhātmyas are, however, the most numerous, and even Colonel Vans Kennedy thinks that they "have rather a questionable appearance." Many of the khandas, such as the Káshi-khand, are quite as local as the māhātmyas, "being legendary stories relating to the erection of certain temples or groups of temples and to certain lings; the interested origin of which renders them, very reasonably, objects of suspicion." Professor Wilson adds:—"In the present state of our acquaintance with the reputed portions of the Skánda Purána, my own views of their authenticity are so opposed to those entertained by Colonel Vans Kennedy, that instead of admitting all the samhitas and khandas to be genuine, I doubt if any one of them was ever a part of the Skánda Purána." * * "There are in all parts of India various compilations ascribed to the Puránas which never formed any portion of their contents and which, although offering, sometimes, useful local information and valuable as preserving local

1 Wilson's Works, VI, xviii.
popular traditions, are not, in justice, to be confounded with the Puránas so as to cause them to be charged with even more serious errors and anachronisms than those of which they are guilty.” The Skánda and Brahmánda1 Puránas are those to which the majority of the modern fabrications have been attributed by their authors who have “grafted personages and fictions of their own invention on a few hints from older authorities.” They retain the form of the genuine Purána, the dialogue and many of the stories giving them the local colouring necessary for the particular object in view. “Still,” as I have elsewhere said,2 “imperfect as they are, and disfigured by absurd stories and interpolations of later times, the Puránas with the great epic poems, are the chief amongst the few historical records we possess of any antiquity to assist us in compiling an account of the heroic age.”

We shall now briefly refer to the geography of the Puránas

The fashioning of the earth.

which commences with the chapter on cosmogony and is here closely connected with the geography of northern Kumaon and the adjoining part of Tibet. One account of the creation of the earth relates how Vishnu, in his boar incarnation, supported the earth on his tusks3 as it was about to sink into the waters and then fixed it on the thousand heads of the king Ananta; whilst another likens the earth to a lotus, the stalk of which springs from the navel of Vishnu as he lies asleep at the bottom of the ocean. The world was then in chaos and Brahma arose and formed the seven great island continents:—Jambu, Plaksha, Sálmali, Kusa, Krauncha, Sáka, and Pushkara, separated from each other by the seas.4 Jambu-dwípa is again divided into nine varshas or regions and in the centre of all is the glorious mountain of Meru, of various colours:5 on the east it is white like a Brahman; on the south it is yellow like a Vaisya; on the north it is red like the dawning morn or a Kshattriya, and on the west it is dark

1 Colonel Wilford in exposing the forgeries of his own pandit who had fabricated a khanda for each of these Puránas calls the Skánda, Brahmánda and Pádma Puránas the “Puránas of thieves and impostors.” As. Res., VIII., 252.
2 Gazetteer, II., 61.
3 Compare Ward, I., 3; Wilson, VI., 39. To the present day the local theory regarding earthquakes is that they are due to Vishnu changing his burthen from one tusk to another. 4 It is said that all the islands except Jambu have perished. Between Jambu and Plaksha is the salt sea; between the latter and Sálmali, a sea of sugarcane juice and then a sea of wine, of clarified butter, of curds of milk and of fresh water. 5 Compare the existing Tibetan appellations:—Gya-nak, the great black or China; Gya-gar, the great white or India; and Gya-ser, the great yellow or Russia.
like the dry leaves or a Sudra. Meru is circular in shape and forms the germ of the lotus.\(^1\) It stands on the most elevated portion of the central division of Jambu known as Ilávrita. South of Meru the Nishadha mountains separate Ilávrita from Harivarsha; south of the latter, the Hemakúta divides it from Kimpurusha, and further south the third or Himavat range forms the boundary between Kimpurusha and Bhárata. Similarly three ranges of mountains form the boundaries of countries on the north. First come the Nila range between Ilávrita and Ramyaka on the north; then the Sweta mountains bordering the country of Hiranmaya where there is much gold; and again the Sringin range separating Hiranmaya from the country of the Uttara Kurus. All these names would lead us to believe that the writers had the country to the north of the Kashmir valley in view, though the names subsequently mentioned are clearly connected with upper Garhwal and Kumaon. To the east of Ilávrita lies the country of Bhadrásava and to the west the country of Ketumála. Four mountains form buttresses to Meru: on the east is Mandara; on the south Gandhamádána or Merumandara; on the west Vipula or Kumuda, and on the north Sáparswa. On each of these stands severally a kadam-tree (*Anthocepha* alus cadamba), a jambu-tree (*Eugenia Jambolana*), a pipul-tree (*Ficus religiosa*), and a nyagrodha-tree (*Ficus indica*). There are also four great forests and four great lakes,\(^2\) the waters of which are partaken of by the gods and which are called Arunoda, Mahábhadra, Asítoda, and Mánasa. The last is the Mána-sarovara of the

\(^1\) In the shape like an inverted cone. \(^2\) For a long description of each lake from the Váyu Purána see Wilford in *Ass. Res.,* VIII., 326. According to him the Puránas place a great lake called Bindu-sarovara to the north of Mána-sarovara, and but for its distance it might be identified with the Ráwan Hrad or Rákhas Tál, the Cho Lagan of the Tibetans which adjoins and is connected with Cho Mápán. On the Chinese map of India O-neon-tchi is given as the name of lake Mána and the Gangri range has the same name. In the Ceylonese books it is called Anotatte. The Arunola lake or 'lake of the dawn,' which is said to lie east of Mána, may be the Cho Konkyu or Gungyut-cho, smaller but similar to the others, which lies near the source of the Brahmaputra. To the west of Mána is the Sitoda lake, from which issues the Apara Gandaki or 'western Gandak,' identified by Wilford with the Chakshu or Oxus: so that this lake must be the lake of the Sámír, but is more probably the Cho Moriri, the source of the western Satlaj. The Mahábhadra lake in the north may be identified with one of the lakes of the table-land. There appears to be a mingling of facts true of the country to the north of Kashmir with facts true of the country north of Kumaon in these accounts. In some Meru clearly indicates the group of mountains to the north and west of Kashmir, and in others those in the neighbourhood of lake Mána.
Hindus and Cho Māpān of the Tibetans, of which more hereafter.

Meru in its widest sense embraces the elevated table-land of western Tibet between Kailās on the east and the Muztāgh range on the west and between the Himavat on the south and the Kuen-luen range on the north. "It lies between them like the pericarp of a lotus and the countries of Bhārata, Ketumāla Bhadrāswa, and Uttara Kura lie beyond them like the leaves of a lotus." In the valleys of these mountains are the favourite resorts of the Siddhas and Chāranaś and along their slopes are agreeable forests and pleasant cities peopled by celestial spirits, whilst the Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, Daityas, and Dānavas pursue their pastimes in the vales. "There, in short, are the regions of Swarga (Paradise), the seats of the righteous and where the wicked do not arrive even after a hundred births, * * there is no sorrow, nor weariness, nor anxiety, nor hunger, nor apprehension; the inhabitants are exempt from all infirmity and pain and live in uninterrupted enjoyment for ten or twelve thousand years. Devi never sends rain upon them, for the earth abounds with water. In those places there is no distinction or any succession of ages." This account agrees well with Homer's description1 of Olympus in the Odyssey, vi., 42 :-

"Olympus, where they say the blessed gods
Repose for ever in secure abodes:
No stormy blasts athwart those summits sweep,
No showers or snows bedew the sacred steep;
But cloudless skies serene above are spread
And golden radiance plays around its head."

The accompanying figure2 represents the worldly lotus floating upon the waters of the ocean which is surrounded by the Suvarnabhūmi or land of gold and the mountains of the Lokalokas and is in

1 Quoted by Muir, II., 480. The same idea is familiar to us in the Scotch song, the 'Land o' the Leal':—

"There's nae sorrow there, Jean;
There's neither care nor care, Jean,
The day is aye fair I' the land o' the Leal."

accordance with the theory expressed in the Bhāgavata and Brah-
mánda Purānas:—

On the summit of Meru is the city of Brahma and, like filaments from the root of the lotus, numerous moun-
tains project from its base. Within Meru is adorned "with the self-moving care of the gods, all beautiful: in its petals are the abodes of the gods, like heaven: in its petals, I say, they dwell with their consorts. There reside above Brahma, god of gods, with four faces; the greatest of those who know the Vedas, the greatest of the great gods also of the inferior ones. There is the court of Brahma, consisting of the whole earth, of all those who grant the object of our wishes: thousands of great gods are in this beautiful court: there dwell the Brahmarishis." All round are the cities of the Lokapālas or guardians of the eight regions. To the
east, Indra sitting upon a vimána, resplendent like a thousand suns; in the second interval between east and south is Agni or Jívani, from whom sprang the Vedas. In succession comes Vaivaswata-Yáma called by mankind Su-Sányána, Virupaksha, Varuna also called Subhávati, Váyu called Gandhávati, Mahodaya and Isána. According to the Vishnu Purána, the city of Brahma is enclosed by the Ganges, which, issuing from the foot of Vishnu and washing the lunar orb, falls here from the skies and after encircling the city divides into four mighty rivers flowing in opposite directions. These rivers¹ are the Sita, which passes through the country of Bhadráswa; the Alaknanda, which flows south to Bhárama; the Chakshu, which traverses Ketumála, and the Bhadra, which washes the country of the Uttara Kurus. Other Puránas describe the detention of the Ganges in the tresses of Siva until set free by king Bhágirath and escaping thence formed seven streams:—the Nalini, Hlátini, and Pávani going east; the Chakshu, Sita, and Sindhu going west; and the Bhágirathí going south. The Sita is supposed to flow from an elephant’s head, the Alaknanda from a cow’s head, the Chakshu from a horse’s head, and the Bhadra from a lion’s head, and they are so represented on the Chinese map compiled in the fifteenth century to illustrate the travels of Chinese pilgrims in India which will be found in the pocket to this volume. Wilson² would identify the Bhadra with the Obi, the Sita with the Hoang-ho, the Alaknanda with the Ganges, and the Chakshu with the Oxus, and this may be what is intended, for according to Chinese accounts, the Sita or Yarkand river, which flows into Lob-nor, is supposed to have an underground connection with the swamps near Kokonor, which form the head-waters of the Hoang-ho.³ As a matter of fact the local traditions identify the Bhadra with the Indus or ‘lion-river,’ the Sing-chin-kamba (or khampa) of the Tibetans⁴ on the north; the

1 Here clearly in order the Hoang-ho, Alaknanda, Oxus, and Indus. ² VII. 122, 172. ³ Klaproth, Mém. Zol. Asiat. II., 411. ⁴ Herbert obtained the same Tibetan names in 1819, As. Res., XV. In the great Chinese map prepared by order of Khian-loung, the four corners or gates of the Múna lake are called the lion, elephant, horse and ox gates: Tóni-gochol on the east, Ghiou ourgou on the south, Arabhoo on the west and Dádtza-loung on the north. The Paulist explorers give the names Singh-gi-chu or Singh-gi-khamba or Singh-gi-kha to the Indus: Lam-jaun-khamba to the Satlaj: Támjan-khamba to the Brahmaputra and Málja-khamba to the Karnáí. Moorcroft (I., 417), in 1821, calls the Indus at Le the Sing-kha-báb, and again (ibid, 261) writes —‘The great eastern branch of the Indus or, as termed in the country, the Sing-kha-báb, the river that rises from the lion’s mouth in reference to the Tibetan notion, borrowed perhaps from the Hindus, of the origin of four great rivers from the mouths of as many
Chakshu with the Brahmaputra or 'horse-river,' the Tamjyak-kamba of the Tibetans on the east; the Alaknanda with the Satadru or Satlaj or 'bull-river,' the Lang-chin-kamba of the Tibetans on the west, whilst the fourth river is the Karnâli or Mapcha-kamba or 'peacock-river' on the south. All these rivers take their rise in the Mána and Rákhas lakes or in the mountains near them known as Kailása by the Hindus.

A volume might be written on Meru alone, but we must return to our geographical investigations and first to the sub-divisions of the island-continent Jambu. It was Agnidhra who, according to the Vishnu Purâna, divided Jambu into nine portions amongst his nine sons—Nâbhi, Kimpurusha, Harivarsha, Ilávrita, Ramya, Hiravan, Kuru, Bhadrásva, and Ketumâla. Nâbhi received the country called Himâ south of the Himavat mountains and was blessed with a son named Rishabha, whose eldest son was Bharata, after whom the country was named Blârata. This is the name therefore of the country to the north of the salt sea and south of the snowy mountains which is described as again divided into nine subordinate portions, viz.,—Indra-dwîpa, Kaserumât, Támavarna, Gabhastimât, Nága-dwîpa, Saumya, Gândharva, and Vâruna and the ninth unnamed. It has seven main chains of mountains:—Mahendra (in Orissa); Malaya (southern portion of western ghâts); Sahya (northern portion of the western ghâts); Suktimât; Rîksa (in Gondwâna); Vindhya and Pàrijátâ (northern and western Vindhayas). Amongst the rivers mention is made of the Satadru (Satlaj) and Chandrabhâga (Chínâb) as flowing from the Himavat. The Vâyu

animals: as the Indus from the lion's mouth; the Ganges, Mâb-cha-kha-bab, from that of the peacock; the Satlaj, Lang-chin-kha-bab, from that of the elephant, and the Ster-chuk-khi-bab or river of Tibet from the mouth of the horse.” Gerard (p. 21) calls the Satlaj the Lang-ching-chou or LangHung hampa; the Indus, the Singhchou or Singthingchou or Singtingkamber; and the Brahmaputra, the Tanjoo, Dâmchou or Erchamblo. He identifies the Tanjoo with the Tsango or Tzancire of George and the Dampcho with Turner's river Erichambou at Tashi-Llumpo. Lieutenant J. D. Cunningham (Notes, p. 65) gives the names as follows: the Indus, Singchin khab (or kampa); the Satlaj, Langchin khab; the Gogra (Karnál), Mamech khab: and the Barampoor (Brahmaputra), Tacho or Tarjvâd khab. Captain H. Strachey (1854) gives the Tibetan names most correctly thus:—tTsâkh-Tsarmp or horse-river (Brahmaputra); Ninge-Tsarmp or lion-river (Indus); Langchun-Tsarmp or elephant river (Satlaj) and Mapcha-Tsarmp or peacock-river (Karnál). Sing or sikh is lion: lang is bull (not elephant: elephant in Tibetan is 'great bull'); mâm is peacock; 'tu' is horse; chin is great; 'ku' means 'mouth' and 'bab' means 'issuing from'; so khaba is a corruption of 'kabab' with the affixed 'pa' (khabâp).

1 This unnamed portion is called Kumârika in the Prabhâsa and Rewa Khanda and by Bhâskara Achârya and represents India as the Gange is said to flow through it.
Purána adds a number of inferior mountains and gives the following as the rivers of Himavat:—Ganga, Sindhu, Sarasvati, Satadru (Satlaj), Chandrabhága (Chinál), Yamuna (Jumna), Sarayu (Sarju), Airavati (Ravi), Vitasta (Jhelam), Vipása (Biás), Devika (Ghágra), Kuhu, Gomati (Gumti), Dhuptápa, (old junction of Kaggar and Satlaj), Báhuda, Drishadvati (Ksggw), Kausiki (Kosi), Vritiya, Nirvira, Gandaki (Gandak), Ikshu (affluent of the Brahmaputra), and Lohita (ditto).

In the Brahmiand and Váyu Puránas we have favorable examples of a more local and detailed geographical description and are able to identify many of the places referred to. It will, however, be only necessary to give the text of a portion as an example. The first extract is from Wilford's translation of the Brahmiand Purána, in which the following account of the streams that flow from Meru is given:—

"The water of the ocean coming from heaven upon Meru is like amrila, and from it arises a river which through seven channels encircles Meru for a space of eighty-four yojanas and then divides into four streams springing over the four sacred hills towards the four cardinal points. One stream goes over Mandara in the east and encircles the beautiful grove of Chaitraratthá and falls into the Arunoda lake and goes thence to the mountains of Sitanta, Sumanta, Sumanjasa, Madhyavanta to Vaikanka, Mani, Rishabha, from hill to hill. It then falls to the ground and waters the country of Bhadrásva, a beautiful and extensive island, and then it joins the eastern ocean near the Purva-dwipa or eastern island. The southern branch goes to Gandhamádana² from hill to hill and from stone to stone. It encircles the forest of Gandhamádana, or Deva-nandana, where it is called the Alakánanda. It goes to the northern lake called Mánsa, thence to the king of mountains with three summits, thence to the mountains of Kalinga, Ruchaka, Nishadha, Tamrābha, Swetodara, Kumula, 'another king of hills' Vasudhára, Hemakúta, Devasringa, the great mountain Piśáchaka, the five-peaked Panchakúta, thence to Kallásá and the Himavat, and then this very propitious stream falls into the southern ocean. Mahádeva received it on his own head from which, spreading all over his body, its waters become most efficacions. It falls then on Himáchal, from which it goes over the earth: hence its name Ganga. To the west (apara) is a large river encircling the forests of Vaibhrája. It is most propitious and falls to the lake Sitoda. Thence it goes to the Subaksha mountains and to the Purmola lake, to the mountains called Sikhí, Kanka-vaídúrya, Kapila-Gandhamádana, Pinjara, Kumuda-mudhumánta,

¹ The range near the confluence of the Chandra and the Bhága. ² The Badari group in upper Garhwál. ³ Flows through the Niti valley. ⁴ Copper mines, of which there are many. ⁵ There is a stream and fountain of this name near Badarináth. ⁶ The Panchachuli group: the great mountain with these summits will be Trisúl. I take it that nearly all these allusions refer to the Kumaon Himalaya and are local.
Anjana, Mukūta-krishna, Sweta filled with large snakes, to the thousand-peaked mountain, the Pārijāta mountain, through Ketumāla, a large country, and then falls into the western ocean. North from Meru there falls a branch called Bhadra and Bhadrā-soma upon Suparsva of gold, which it encircles and goes to the lake called Sitodaka in the forest of Bhadrā-soma. Thence to the mountains of Sankha-kūta, Vrīsha-vatasa, Nila, Kapinjala, Indranila, Mahānila, Hemaśringa, Swetaśringa, Sunāga, the mount with a hundred peaks, Pushkarā, Durja-rāja, Varāha, Mayūra and Jātudhī. After eroding a thousand lesser hills it goes to the three-peaked mountain called Vishuddha and then into the northern country to the Gandhamādana. Along the banks of the Apara-Gandika or western Gandik is the country of Ketumāla, renowned for men mighty in deeds, strong and powerful, and for women bright as the lotus, whom to see is to love. There is the great \textit{pavāsa} tree\textsuperscript{1} and there resides Isvarā.\textsuperscript{2} The eastern Gandik is in Bhadrāswa.\textsuperscript{3}

In the Brāhma Purāṇa it is said that Vishnu resides in Bhadrāswa with the countenance and the head of a horse: in Bhārata with the head of a tortoise (\textit{kurma}): in Ketu-māla with the head of a boar (\textit{rarāhu}): and in Kuru with the head of a fish (\textit{matesya}). The Vāyu Purāṇa describes the country to the west of Meru as containing numerous valleys divided by ranges of hills.

About the mountains of Subaksha and Sikkhisaila is a level country about a hundred yojanas in extent and there the ground emits flames.\textsuperscript{4} There is Vībhāvasu or Vasu simply who presides over the fire burning without fuel. Within the mountain is the Mātu-linga, ten yojanas broad, and there is the hermitage of Vrīhasepati. Like these two mountains the Kumuda and Anjana (black) ranges also enclose a valley between them.\textsuperscript{5} Between the great mountains Krishna and Pándura is a level country enclosing a valley abounding with the lotus called Ananta-sada.\textsuperscript{6} Between Sanku-kūta and the Vishabha mountains is the Parushaka country, the abode of Kinnaras, Uragas, Nāgas, and holy men.\textsuperscript{7} Between Kapinjala and Nāga-saila is a tract adorned with many groves. It abounds with fruits and flowers. The Kinnaras and Uragas with tribes of pious and good men live there. There are beautiful groves of drākshā (vīnc), nāgaranga (orange) and badari (stone-fruit) trees. The portion lying between the Pushpaka and Mahāmegha mountains is as flat as the palm of the hand devoid of trees and with very little water which is whitish. The soil is hard and tenacious and even

\textsuperscript{1} As. Res. VIII., 354. The jack-tree, which does not grow in the hills; but neither does the \textit{badari} or jujube grow near Badarānāth, which is said in many descriptions to possess a tree of surpassing size and assigned to various species, \textit{pīpal}, \textit{bargad}, \textit{badari}, and here the \textit{jack}.\textsuperscript{9} Vishnu as Isvarā.\textsuperscript{8} Can only refer to Jwāla-mukhi in the Kangra valley, with its celebrated Saiva shrine.

\textsuperscript{4} Some connect the Kumuda mountains with the Comedii of Ptolemy, and if so with the Kashkāra valley. In the Brahmānda Purāṇa, the country of Kusa is said to contain the Kumuda mountains and is hence also known as the Kumudā-dwipa. It contained the Kumudvati river, probably the Kunar river, and amongst its inhabitants were the Sakas and Pāraseikas and Syāmakas, \textit{i.e.}, the Indo-Skythic rulers of Kiplin, Persians and the Syālās.

\textsuperscript{5} The valley of Kashmir is still locally assigned to a Nágá race.
without grass. There are few animals and the few inhabitants have no fixed habitation. The whole country is called Kânâna or Kânnana. ¹ There are several large lakes, likewise great trees and larger groves called Kânta. There are caves here in the mountains most dreary and dark, inaccessible to the rays of the sun, cold and difficult of access. In this country are Siddhas or prophets with the gift of miracles and learned and famous Brahmins. The next mountains are those of the Sitânta range, many yojanas in extent, abounding with all sorts of metals and gems. It is skirted by a most delightful country, well-watered and enlivened with the harmonious noise of the black bee and frogs. There are towns with gates and the refreshing moisture of this country proceeds from Urupa and reuniting together forms a stream called the Vâha of the moon or Chandravâha.² There amongst immense caves is Kridâvana and the great forest of the Pârijâta tree of the kings of the gods.³ There live the Siddhas and Yakshas in caves. To the east is the Kumanâ peak with the eight towns of the proud Dânava. Again in the many-peaked mountains of Vajrâka live strong and terrible Râkshasas who are also called Nilakas. In Mahanila are fifteen towns of the Hayânânas or Asvamukhas, the horse-faced. They were originally Kinnaras courageous like Kârttikeya. There are fifteen chiefs of the Kinnaras related with pride, and in caves below the ground abide people like snakes who live upon the golden stamens of certain flowers. In the hills above are a thousand abodes of the Daityas; the houses are elegant like high-embattled forts.⁴ In Venumat are three forts belonging to the Romakas, Ulukas and Mahânâtras, three principal tribes of the Vidyâdharas whose mighty deeds equal those of Indra.⁵

On Vaikanka reside the offspring of Garuda, the destroyer of serpents; it abounds with precious metals and precious stones. A strong wind swiftly passes over this mountain, in a human form, called Sugrîva. The offspring of Garuda in the shape of birds fly about this mountain: they are strong, fly quickly and mighty are their achievements.⁶ On Karaja always resides the mighty lord of living beings, riding upon a bull: hence called Vishabhânsa Sankara, the chief of Yogis. The inhabitants like Mahádeva always carry poison about them: they are Pramathas and difficult of access. Mahádeva resides there amongst them. On Vasudhâra in Vasumatî are the sthânas or places of the eight forms of Mahádeva. They are full of splendour and proper places of worship. There are seven places of Siddhas and the place of Brahma of the

¹This can be no other than Bisahr, including Kuni of the Tibetans and still celebrated for its vines, oranges and apricots. The inhabitants were called Kinnaras, hodie Kuneta. ²The Chandra and the Bhâga, which unite to form the Chandrabhâga. ³The noble forests of deodârs which form such a feature of this part of the country. ⁴This may refer to the strikingly tower-like structures in the upper valleys towards Balti and Ladâk. ⁵From the Vishnu Purâna (Hall's Wilson's V. P., II., 195) we learn that Venumat was son of Jyottishmat, king of Kusa, the Hindu-kush country which was bounded by the Saka country. The name Vidyâdhar or = magical-knowledge holder = seems to be a name applied to many of the hill-tribes who were supposed to be possessed of magical powers. It is especially noted as a character of the people of the Swat valley, and the Romakas may possibly be represented by the =Rum= branch of the Kaîta. The Nilakas inhabited Kashmir. ⁶Elsewhere this land is called Deva-kûta peopled by men as well as birds and lies in the Dwipa Sâlman. One tribe of these Gandharvas was called Agneyas, servants of Kuvera, whose principal employment was to explore the bowels of the earth in search of wealth. Can these be the Aguri caste of miners so well known in these hills?
four faces, the mighty lord of created things, on a high peak to which all living creatures bow. The eleven Rudras reside there on the Gaja-saila. Sunegha, the mount of the beautiful cloud, is full of minerals, with caves in its bosom and groves along its skirts. Here dwell the twelve Adityas and the eight forms of Rudra, also Vishnu, the Aswins and the good and perfect who are continually worshipped by the Yakshas, Gandharvas and Kinnaras with their king Kapinjala. On the five-peaked Analas, reside Bâkshasas with Dânava, haughty, foes of the gods, great, strong and of mighty deeds. On Satasringa or the hundred-peaked range reside the benevolent Yakshas and on Tamrâbha is a town inhabited by the children of the snake race; Kádrueyas and Tákshakas. In the beautiful Visákacha are many caves and the famous abode of the god Kárttikeya. A town and settlement of the beneficent Sunábha, son of Garuda, occurs on Swetodara. On the Paisáchaka mountain is a settlement of the Kuveras with a great palace to which the Yakshas and Gandharvas resort. Kinnaras reside on Kumuda; Mahánágas on Anjana; the towns and white houses of the Gandharvas are seen on Krishna and on Sweta or Pândura, the battlemented town of Vidyáharas Daityas and Dânava reside on the range with a thousand peaks. On Sukúta reside the chiefs of the Pannágas; on Pushpaka many tribes of sages; on Supaksha or Subaksha are the mansions of Vaiivasvata, Boma, Váyu and Nágója, and there the Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Yakshas, Nágas and Vidyáharas worship their favourite deity.

From these statements we learn that the hill tribes to the west of Kumaon were Kinnaras, the ancestors of the Kunets of the present day and Yakshas or Khasas, that there were Nágas in Kashmir and Vidyádharas in the Swát valley, as well as Siddhas, Gandharvas, Dânava and Daityas, names applied to various hill tribes, or perhaps more correctly to sections of those tribes following certain avocations. The name Vidyádharas is commonly applied to the people of the Kusadwípa, which is to be identified with the mountainous tract between the Indus and the Hindu-kush and which was bounded externally by Saka-dwípa, which may be assigned to Kipin or the Kábul valley occupied by Sakas in the first century before Christ. Through Sir John Strachey we are enabled to give a paraphrase of a portion of the section of the Skánda-Purána known as the Mánasa-khanda. It occurs in the usual form of a dialogue between Súta, a pupil of Vyása, and Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, the Pándava ruler of Hastinapur, and professes to relate what was formerly communicated by Vyása to Vasishtha. In form and often in verbiage it follows the model of the older Puránas and minutely describes the country from the lake Mánasarowar in Tibet to Nanda Deví and thence along the course of the Pindá river to Karnpráyág.
From this point the narrative touches the Dhanpur range and thence to the Ramganga and Kosi as far as the plains. Then along the foot of the hills to the Káli, which it follows northwards, winding up in the hills a little to the east of the Karnáli. Notes are given explaining all the allusions and identifying most of the places mentioned. The writers have transferred many of the names of rivers celebrated elsewhere to comparatively unimportant streams in the vicinity of celebrated tirthas, and these have in many cases been forgotten or have existed merely as literary fictions known only to the educated few: hence one of the main difficulties in identifying the names given here. The work itself is very popular and is deeply interesting as showing the form in which the actual living belief of the people is exhibited.

MÁNASA-KHANDA.

Introduction.

Janamejaya addresses the Súta and says that he has received an account of all other matters, but desires to hear of the creation of the world and its state subsequent to that event and the mahámyas of the great tirthas. Súta, in reply, relates that when Brahmánayanas of the great tirthas. Súta, in reply, relates that when Brahmá formed the desire that the universe should be created, he instantly assumed the visible form of Vishnu. The whole universe was covered with water on which Vishnu floated sleeping on a bed which rested on the serpent Sashnúga (or Ananta). From his navel sprang a lotus from which issued Brahma; from his ears sprang the two Dáityas, Madhu and Kaitabha, who attacked Brahma. Then Brahma demanded help from Vishnu, and Vishnu fought with the Dáityas for five thousand years. Then the great illusion (Mahámáya), the supreme will or desire of Vishnu, made the Dáityas submit, and they told

1See page 2. 2 Places of pilgrimage. 3 For a more detailed account of the creation according to Hindu writers, see Muir's Works, IV., and Wilson, VI. 4 In the Mahábhárata we read that when Brahma sprang from the lotus produced from the navel of Vishnu, "two horrible Dánavas, Madhu and Kaitabha, were ready to slay him. From the forehead of Hari, who became incensed when he saw their transgression, was produced Sambhu (Mahádeo), wielding the trident and three-eyed." In the Devo-mahámya of the Márkaṇḍeya Puráṇa, Durga is identified with the Mahámáya of the story in the text: Muir, IV., 230, 436. Madhu is said to have given his name to Mathura (Muttra), formerly called Mathurapura, and his son Lavana was conquered there by Sárighuna. The derivation of the name Mathura from 'math,' a convent, is, however, also advocated.
Vishnu that they admired his power and would obey whatever orders he gave them. His order was that they should die by his hand, and he then killed them with the chakra called Sudarshana. From the marrow (meda) of these Daityas was formed the world. Then Vishnu, in the shape of a tortoise, placed himself to support the earth and raised it out of the water. Then Vishnu desired Brahma to create all that the world was to contain.

Brahma first created the three spheres of the earth, the sky, and the heaven; then he divided the earth into nine portions (khandas) and created wind and sound and time, past, present, and future, and work (karma) and desire and anger; then he created seven Rishis, and from anger he created Rudra. Thus were formed the three great deities: the duty of Brahma being to create, of Vishnu to preserve, and of Rudra or Siva to destroy. These are the three gunas or qualities. Kasyapa was the son of Marichi, one of the Rishis, and from his thirteen wives were born the Adityas, Dānavas, Daityas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, Apsaras, etc.

14 Beautiful, the discus of Vishnu or Krishna. 15 In his Kurma or tortoise avatar. 16 The seven great Rishis in the constellation Ursa Major:— Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasishtha. 17 All daughters of Daksha. By (1) Aditi, Kasyapa had the twelve Adityas, a class of gods; (2) by Diti, the Daityas or Daityas; (3) by Danu, the Dānavas; (4) by Avishta, the Gandharvas; (5) by Surasa, a thousand winged serpents or dragons; (6) by Khasa, the Yak-ha-s and Rākshasas; (7) by Surabhi, cows and buffaloes; (8) by Vinata, Garuda or Suparna, king of the birds and enemy of the serpent race and Aruna; (9) by Tamra, six daughters: (10) by Kadru, mighty, many-headed serpents, such as Sesha, Vāsuki, Takshaka, Sankha, Sweta, Nāga, Karkotaka, Dhananjaya, Kapila, Nāhusha, Mani, &c.; (11) by Krūhara, all wild animals (danshitrn or sharp-toothed), Bhūtas or goblins and Pīshchis; (12) by Ira, the vegetable kingdom; and (13) by Muni, the Apsaras. All these names are connected with pre-Aryan tribes.

The Adityas were the assistants of the creator regenerated in the present Manwantara as the twelve Adityas named:—Vishnu, Sakra, Aryaman, Daātri, Twashtri, Pushan, Vivasvat, Savitri, Mitra, Varuna, Anas and Bhaga. The Dānavas or descendants of Danu number amongst them Dwimmurda, Hayagriva, Pulaman, Ekachakra, Taraka, Sankara, Hayamukha, Ketu, Kālanaśa, Ila, the Kalakanjas and Pannonas, all names of note amongst the enemies of the gods. The Daityas were also enemies of the gods and descendants of Diti, whose two sons were Hiranyakasipu and Hiranyaksha. From the former came Anuhlāda, Hāda, Prahlāda and Sanhlāda, and amongst their descendants were Tāraka, Virochana and Bali. A race like the Guliyankas, attendant on Kurvra, the god of mines. Elsewhere (V. P.) said to be produced by Brahma as beings emanate with hunger, of hirsute aspect and with long beards, and that crying out for food, they were called Yakshas (from jaḍh, 'to eat'). By the Buddhists they are sometimes censed with goblins and again, as a merry joyous race. They are called Casiri by the Hindus, and in them we recognize the Kshayyas. A demon race named from jaḍh, 'to injure'. Sometimes said to be descendants of the sage Pulastya, who was father of Vishvavruns, father of Rāwan. Their principal abode was Lanka or Ceylon under their chief Rāvan.

The Apsaras are female deities, the wives of the Gandharvas; they were produced at the churning of the ocean. For a long note about them see Goldstucker's Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 292, reproduced in Wilson, VII., 80. The Padma Purana makes the Kashiya Vāch mother of both the Apsaras and Gandharvas.
Gandharvas, 1 Nágas, 2 Siddhas, 3 Vidyúdharas, 4 birds, beasts and everything contained in the world.

Raja Vena. 5

From the Rishi Atri came the Raja Anga, and from him Vena, who tyrannised over the world so that all mankind rebelled against him and killed him. Then they took his body and rubbed it, and from the right side sprang forth Prithu for their king. During the reign of Vena all plants had perished by reason of his tyranny, and when Prithu saw this, he was wrath and took his bow and arrows to destroy the earth, and she, in the form of a cow, fled from him through the three spheres, but no one dared to shelter her for fear of Vena. Then in despair she stopped and demanded the protection and pardon of the king. He consented on condition that the earth should deliver up the plants that she had hidden. To this she agreed and asked the king to remove the mountains which covered her and which prevented the spread of vegetation. Then Prithu with his bow uprooted the mountains and heaped them up one on the other, and made the earth level and called her after his own name 'Prithwi.' Then, that the earth might again produce food for man, Prithu created the calf Swáyambhuva Manu, and with his own hand milked from the earth all plants and vegetables. Then

1 A celestial race living in the sky and guarding the Soma and governed by Varuna as their wives, the Apsaras, are ruled by Soma. They are learned in medicinal herbs, regulate the course of the asterisms, follow after women and are desirous of intercourse with them. In the later legends they are the choristers of Indra's heaven and are held intermediate between men and gods. See further Wilson's Works, VII., 26-64.

2 The serpent race.

3 From 'sídh,' implying the idea of perfection: in legends, a semi-divine race of great purity and holiness who reside in the ether and are possessed of the eight great supernatural faculties, the power of becoming as small as a mote and the like.

4 Those who are 'the holders of knowledge' which is of four kinds: (1), Yajnavidya, or knowledge of religious ritual; (2), Mahavidya, or great knowledge leading to the Tátruika worship of the female principle; (3), Guhyavidya, or knowledge of spells and necromancy; and (4), Atmavidya, or knowledge of the soul or true wisdom.

5 The story of Vena is narrated in the Vishnu Purána (Wilson, VII., 179). Sunítha, daughter of Mrityu (death), was mother of Vena, the celebrated Ben of Hindu legends. (See Bijnotor Gazetteer, V.) He was inaugurated universal monarch by the Rishis, but immediately proclaimed that no worship should be performed, no oblations offered, and that no gifts should be bestowed on Brahmans that all gods were present in the person of the king, who is made up of all that is divine. The enraged priests slew the king, and to put an end to the anarchy which arose they took his body and rubbed it, and from its left side sprang forth "a being of a complexion like a charred stake, with flattened features and of dwarfish stature. "What am I to do?" said he to the sages. "Sit down" (nishiḍa) said they, and hence the name Nishiḍa given to the aborigines of the plains. From the right arm of Vena sprang forth Prithu, to whom Mahádeva gave his bow Ajágáva and celestial arrows. Prithu prospered and gave his name to the earth and was the first ruler to whom the title of Rája was applied. There is little doubt that he was an Indo-Skýthian prince.
the gods and demons all milked the earth of various virtues, so that the earth fled to Brahma and complained to him of the everlasting milking. He took her with him to Vishnu and Siva, and Vishnu asked her what she desired. She asked that as the only means of saving herself the three gods should come and live with her. Vishnu answered that in the form of the serpent Ananta and the tortoise he had already saved the earth, and would again come to help her when her pain became too great to bear, but that now he would not go to her, and further he said that "at some time the head of Brahma will fall upon thee" (the earth), and Siva will come to sit upon the mountain of Tankara, and the ling of Siva shall be established in many places. Then Vaivasvata Raja shall have a descendant called Bhagirath Raja, who shall bring down Ganga to thee. Then I will myself come in my dwarf incarnation to protect thee from the tyranny of the Raja Bali, and all the world will know that Vishnu has descended on thee. Then thy pains shall all be removed and the mountains shall cease to afflict thee with their load, for I shall be Himālaya, where Nārada and the Munis for ever glorify me. Siva will be Kailāsa, where Ganesh and the other gods glorify him. Vindhyāchal will be Brahma, and thus shall the load of the mountains be removed." Then the earth said—"Why do you come in the form of mountains and not in your own form?" Vishnu answered—"The pleasure that exists in the mountains is greater than that of animate beings, for they feel no heat nor cold, nor pain, nor anger, nor fear, nor pleasure. We three gods as mountains will reside in the earth for the benefit of mankind." Then the three gods vanished and the earth returned to her former place.

Establishment of the Siva Lingas.

Daksha Prajāpati had a daughter who was called Kāli and who was married to Siva. Daksha summoned all the gods to worship them at Kankhala near Hardwār, but he omitted to invite Siva and his wife, for he admired neither the manner nor the appearance of Siva. The goddess Kāli went to see the sight though uninvited, but her father was displeased at her coming and did not do her

1 At Brahm-Kapāl, the great rock in the river above Badrināth.
2 Tangnówa near Jageswar. 3 In the Vismāna acabār. 4 Page . 5 The story of Daksha's sacrifice is very old and is repeated in nearly all the Purānas. For an account of his family see Wilson, VI., 108, and of the sacrifice, ibid., 120, and Gazetteer, II., 269.
honor. Then in rage she jumped into the kund (or excavation in which the sacred fire was placed) and was burned up. Siva, who was seated on Kailás, rushed in wrath to the place and destroyed Daksha and all that he found there, and he took the ashes from the fire where his wife had perished and smeared them over his body and went to Tankara, the mountain of Jageswar, covered with all beautiful plants and deodar trees (Cedrus deodara), and began there to perform great austerities in order to propitiate the eternal Brahm. Vasishtha and many other Munis and their wives lived on this mountain. One day the women were walking through the jungles plucking kusha grass and sticks; and they saw him smeared with ashes, wearing a snake as a necklace round his neck, sitting with closed eyes and speechless, and his heart heaving with sorrow. The women wondering at his beauty collected round him. The Rishis when their wives did not return were greatly alarmed, and when their wives did not come back all night they went to search for them and found Mahádeo seated as before motionless and their wives senseless on the earth all round. The Rishis, believing that they had been brought there by Siva, began to abuse the god and said—"Let the thing with which you have done this injury (i.e., your ling) fall upon the earth." Then Siva said—"You have cursed me without cause; yet shall it not be said that you have beheld me without advantage, though by your curse, which I shall not oppose, my ling shall fall. You shall become the seven stars in the constellation Saptrikhi, under the rule of Vaivaswata Manu, and shall shine in the heavens." Then Siva in obedience to the curse of the sages flung down his ling upon the earth; the whole earth was covered with the ling, and all the gods and the Gandharvas came to glorify Mahádeva, and they called the ling Yagisa or Yagiswar, and the Rishis became the stars of the Saptrikhi.

1 The hill on which the old temple of Jageswar stands in Patti Darun.
2 For their husbands' use in performing sacred rites.
3 Ursa Major or the pole-star, dhruva; see Wilson, VI., 174.
4 Because the women were collecting grass and wood for the yagya or sacrifice. The legend of the amours of Mahádeo with the wives of the Rishis belongs to the Agni form of Siva, and we find in the Mahabharata that Agni is made the hero of the tale. Śr̥iha taking the form of the wives of the Rishis satisfied Agni and from the deity a son was born, called Skanda. From the seed discharged (skanna) and collected in a golden reservoir by Śr̥iha and called Kārttikeya, because he was brought up amongst the Krittikas, who lived on Kailás and who are possibly one with the Kritiyas of Kashmir, where this cult had its origin. He has six heads and other members and but one stomach, in allusion to his birth. Urundhati, the wife of Vasishtha, the seventh Rishi, took no part in the matter: see Muir, IV., 354, 364.
There is no place in the universe where Siva is not; therefore doubt not, O Rishis, that the ling of Siva could overshadow the world. Then Vishnu, Brahma, Indra, the sun and the moon, who were then at Jageswar worshipping Mahádeva, left each a portion of his own self (i.e. power and instructions) at Jageswar. Then the cow Prithivi came to Siva and said—"I am burdened with thy ling and cannot move it; lift me up and deliver me therefrom." The gods then set out to examine how far the ling extended: they reached the serpent Ananta and still there was the ling; then they returned, and Prithivi asked—"How far does the ling extend?" Brahma answered—"I have seen its end: it extends to the end of you (i.e. of the world.)" Then Prithivi said—"You, a great god, have lied: henceforth in the world none shall worship you." Brahma answered—"You too, when the last yug shall come, shall be filled with Mlechchhas." Then she asked the other gods if they had seen the end of Mahádeva's ling; they answered—"Brahma, Vishnu and Kapila do not know; what power have we to know?" She then asked Vishnu; he went to Pátála to search, but still did not find the end. Here the gods said to Vishnu—"We cannot find the end; yet the ling must be removed from the earth or the world will perish." Then Vishnu prayed Siva to grant him a request. Siva agreed, and Vishnu said—"The earth is weary of thy ling; lift it up from her;" and Siva answered—"Cut up the ling with thy chakra into pieces and set up everywhere the fragments for worship, and there too in each place leave a part of yourselves for worship." Then Vishnu cut up the ling into many pieces and throughout the world the fragments were left for worship. Thus was the earth rejoiced with the establishment everywhere of the ling of Mahádeva throughout the nine divisions (khandas) of the earth.

The Pandás of Jageswar have the same story, except that they make the seven wives of the Rishis enamoured with Mahádevo. They met him in the forests whilst nude, performing the celebrated dance which he invented for the gratification of Párval and accompanied by the music of the tabor. In consequence of the curse of the Rishis, the ling fell on the earth, and Vishnu at length consented to become the receptacle of your, and cutting up the ling distributed it over the twelve great linga temples of India, whilst the smaller fragments are preserved at Jageswar. Numerous legends are told to inculcate the value of a pilgrimage to Jageswar, and even Vishnu is brought in and made to describe its extent, rivers, and forests from the marks on the palm of his hand. It is said to be 144 square miles in extent, being bounded on the east by Jageswar; on the north by Ganasáth; on the west by Tréotra, and on the south by Rámswar. The ridge called Iswardhári is supposed to be the scene of the dalliance with the wives of the Rishis.  

1 Spoken by Vyás to the Rishis.  

2 This would point to a post-Musalmán period for this composition.
The nine Khandas.

Four of these khandas are situate in Himáchal. The first is the Himádri-khanda. Káli, who had been burned at Kankhala, was born again as Párvati, the daughter of Himáchal, and was again married to Mahádeva. The second is Mánasa-khanda named after Mána-sarovara, the first created of all tirthas made by Brahma. The third is Kailás-khanda, named from Kailás, where Siva himself with all his servants reside. The fourth is Kedára-khanda around Kedár, on seeing which the five Pándavas were cleared from the guilt of patricide. The fifth is Pátála-khanda, where the Nágas worship the ling. The sixth is Káshi-khanda, where is the great ling called Visveswara, where everything that perishes finds salvation (mukti). The seventh is Rewa-khanda, in which is the Rewa river, and whoever bathes in it finds deliverance and its stones are known as Narmadeswara. In this khanda is the ling called Rámeswara. The eighth is Brahmottara-khanda, where is the Gokarneswara linga. The ninth is the Nagar-khanda, from hearing of which souls are received into the paradise of Siva. In this khanda is Ujjayini.

Birth of Uma or Párvati.

Then Janamejaya addressed the Súta and said—'How did Káli after her cremation become Párvati?' The Súta replied—'Himáchal and his wife Mena performed great austerities and prayed for children. Brahma and the other gods asked—'Why do you mortify yourselves so?' Mena replied—'Give me such a child as will do honour to all of you.' The gods approved and disappeared, and in answer to Mena's prayer Párvati was born. Párvati worshipped Siva and is also known as Uma, Gauri, Durga, Kálika, and Bhadra. At this time the Daityas expelled the gods from paradise. The gods then went to Brahma and represented their case and said—'The Daitya called Táракásura has conquered us: expel him again from Swarga.' Brahma answered—'In return Vol. I. p. 395. 452. The Kürma Puráña relates how Sati, daughter of Daksha and wife of Siva, voluntarily suffered cremation and was afterwards born again as the daughter of Himáchal by Mena, and in that character as the only Káli or Uma again became the wife of Siva as Bhava and is hence called Bhaváni. The story is also given in Kálidásá's Kumára Sambhava; Muir, IV., 385, 452.

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for his devotions, I promised this Daitya that he should not die even by the hand of Vishnu, but I will tell you how to act. Go to Siva, who is seated with his mind intentiy fixed on one object, disturb his contemplation; then he will marry Páravati, and from her a son shall be born who shall destroy the demon Táaraká. Then Indra placing Kámadeva before them went to Siva and began to glorify him; then Mahádeo opening his eyes saw Kámadeva before him, and with rage fire issued from his body and burned up Kámadeva. Then the gods began to glorify Mahádeva, and he asked them what they desired. They told him that they wished that he should beget a son on Páravati to slay the demon Táaraká. Mahádeo agreed and told Brahma to go to Himáchal and ask his daughter in marriage. He went and told Himáchal that Páravati was Káli and asked for her for Mahádeo. Himáchal consented and Brahma returned to tell Siva to make his preparations for the marriage. Siva said—'Call Viswakarma, the workman of the gods.' Viswakarma came and prepared all that was wanted and made a golden image of Ganesha, which he told Siva to adore, for it was from a neglect of Ganesha that Káli had been destroyed. Then Brahma said—'If Kámadeva shall perish, the world will end for want of children;' and Mahádeo said—'Henceforth Kámadeva shall live in the minds of all men; he need not again take a bodily shape.' Then Mahádeva smeared his body with ashes and threw over his shoulders the skin of a deer and adorned himself with snakes instead of jewels, and took the trisula in his hand and wearing a necklace of dead men's skulls and seated on a bull, he went off to the marriage. Stopping on the south bank of the Gomati, he worshipped Ganesha, and thence went to the confluence of the Gomati and Garurí, where he sat down and told Brahma to announce the arrival of the marriage procession to Himáchal. Brahma did as he was ordered and delivered presents to Himáchal, who came out to meet Mahádeva and took him to his dwelling, where he gave to Mahádeva his daughter and all the gods and Gandharvas and Apsaras, and others glorified Mahádeva.

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1 See Muir, IV., 224.
2 Said to have taken place at the confluence of the Sarú and the Ganges. See Wheeler, II., 41, and Muir, IV., 356.
3 The Gomati rises in the Katyár valley and joins the Sarú at Bígswar.
4 Now called Garur-Ganga. This confluence is a little below Baljúth and the place where Siva sat down on the grass was called Baidyánáth from the herbs on which he sat becoming good for medicine. Triyogi-Náráyan is also claimed as the site of the wedding of Siva and Páravati by the Garhwális.
Himáchal, after he had distributed gifts and done due honor to the companions of Siva, received as a gift that he should henceforth be honored like Siva himself throughout the universe. Then Brahma and the other gods went back to their respective dwellings, and Siva and Párvati and their attendants went to Kedára-mandal (or circle of Kedár).

Legend of Himáchal.

Janamejaya then addressed the Súta and said—'You have told me the history of Siva, now tell me the málátmya of Himáchal.' The Súta replied as follows in the words of Vyása:—'Himáchal is the giver of the four gifts, dharm, artha, káma, moksha. Mahádeva always resides in Himáchal and on him attend the gods; and in him are many caves and much ice. The málátmyas of Himáchal were related by Dattátreya Rishi to Káshi rája. Once, this Rishi went from Shesháchal to behold Himáchal. He saw upon him many lakes, and bhojpatra and other trees and mines of gold and other metals, and tigers and deer and every species of birds, and wild men, and medicinal plants. When Himáchal saw Dattátreya approach, he bowed in reverence before him and after doing him all due honor, he asked the sage why he had come to visit him. Dattátreya said—'Thou art the greatest of mountains and the Ganga and the other holy streams flow from thee and Siva resides in thee, and on thee fell the ling of Siva and his wife is your daughter; thou art like a god. Vindhyáchal and the other mountains join their hands before thee, therefore have I came to behold thee; now show to me thy ttrthas and the ling of Mahádeva and thy caves and thy mines of precious metals.' Then Himáchal showed Dattátreya Mánas-sarovara, and in the midst a golden ling and the rája-hansa.

Then Dattátreya went all round the sacred lake and bathed in its waters and in that of its streams; then he saw Siva seated in a cave with Párvati and before him was Brahma and the gods glorifying him and the Gandharvas singing and the Apsaras dancing. Then he saw Ganga which descends from the foot of Vishnu to Kailása, and thence to Mánas-sarovara, in which he bathed. Then he saw the

1 Virtue, wealth, desire, absorption or death. 2 One of the seven human incarnations of Vishnu. 3 Son of Káshi and descendant of Ayus, eldest son of Pururavas. 4 Abu. 5 Bhojpatra. 6 See legend of Agastya, postea. 7 Royal goose with red legs and bill. Great grey goose called Mánasankar or dweller in Mánas: Wilson, XL, 90.
Brahmakapál and the Saptrikhi who dwell there. Then he went to Kailás, where he again found Siva and Párvati, and the gods, and he worshipped Siva, who said—'Ask what you desire.' He asked that the power to go through the world when he pleased without obstruction might be given to him, and Siva granted the prayer. Then he asked of Siva—'Which is the greatest of mountains and where do you live yourself, and in the earth which is the most sacred place?' Then Siva answered—'I dwell everywhere, but Himáchal is my peculiar seat, and on every one of his peaks I dwell for ever and on the mountain of Nanda1 dwells Vishnu, and I and Brahma also. There is no other mountain like Himáchal; look upon him and receive whatever you desire.' Then Dattátreya glorifying Mahádeva departed to the north, where he saw a lake filled with the juice of the jánam8 and other lakes and temples of Siva and Vishnu, where the Gandharvas were singing and the Apsaras dancing. Thence he turned back to Kedár,2 where he saw many holy Rishis in caves, performing austerities and the river Mandákini;3 then he came to the mountains of Nar-Naráyana4 and worshipped at Badrináth, and he saw Lakshmi and Nárada and the other sages and the Alaknanda.6

*Dattátreya and the Rája of Káshi.*

Dattátreya again visited Himáchal and taking leave went to Káshi7 and proclaimed the glories of Himáchal to the Rája Dhanwantari.8 Then the Rája said—'In the earth which is the greatest of tilthas and what tilthas have you beheld?' Dattátreya answered and said—'You are the greatest of rájas and there is no tiltha like Káshi, where you live. He who even without going to Káshi desires to see it and dies with the name of Káshi in his mouth finds release, for there is Ganga and Visveswara. In the three spheres there is no tiltha like this.' The Rája answered and said—'This is true, but tell me also of the other tilthas which bring blessings on mankind. I have heard that formerly rájas went to Swarga with their bodies, by what road did they go?' Then the sage said—'He who thinks on Himáchal, though he should not behold him, is greater

1 Nanda Devi.  2 E. jambolana.  3 Mountain on which the temple is situated.  4 A river in pargana Nagpur in Garhwal which rises in the Kedár glacier.  5 One of the Badrináth peaks; see page 6 The eastern branch of the Ganges which rises in the Niti valley.  7 Benares.  8 Grandson of Káshirája and produced from the churning of the ocean.  9 Wilson, IX. 3.
than he who performs all worship in Kāshi, and he who thinks of Himāchal shall have pardon for all sins and all things that die on Himāchal, and all beings that in dying think of his snows are freed from sin. In a hundred ages of the gods I could not tell thee of the glories of Himāchal. This was the road the rája took to heaven, where he went with his body. That Himāchal where Siva lived and where Ganga falls from the foot of Vishnu like the slender thread of a lotus flower and where the Rishis worship and where the Siva lingas are numerous. I behold Māna-sarovara and there in the form of the rája-hansa dwells Siva. This lake was formed from the mind of Brahma, therefore was it called ‘Mānasa-sarovara.’ There dwell also Mahādeva and the gods, thence flow the Sarju¹ and other (female) rivers and the Satadru² and other (male) rivers. When the earth of Māna-sarovara touches anyone’s body or when anyone bathes therein, he shall go to the paradise of Brahma, and he who drinks its waters shall go to the heaven of Siva and shall be released from the sins of a hundred births, and even the beast who bears the name of Māna-sarovara shall go to the paradise of Brahma. Its waters are like pearls. There is no mountain like Himāchal, for in it are Kailās³ and Māna-sarovara. As the dew is dried up by the morning sun, so are the sins of mankind dried up at the sight of Himāchal. At Māna-sarovara, the king,

¹ The Kumaon Sarju rises at the foot of Nanda Davi, but this may refer to the Karnālī, the longest branch of the Sarju of the plains and which rises close to Māna-sarovara. ² The Satulaj, which rises in the Rākṣas lake, which is itself connected with the Māna lake. ³ The following description of Kailās as seen from the pilgrim route is interesting: ‘On the approach to the lake,’ writes an observant traveller, ‘the Gāngri range continued far to the eastward, rising out of a wide green plain. This extended between the base of the mountains, and the northern shore of both lakes (Rākṣas and Māna) being visible from this as far as the low hills on the north-western corner of Māna-sarovar. The most remarkable object here was Kailās, now revealed in full proportion to its very base, rising opposite (northward) straight out of the plain only two or three miles distant. The south-west front of Kailās is in a line with the adjacent range, but separated on either side by a deep ravine; the base of the mass thus isolated is two or three miles in length perhaps: the general height of it is about 4,250 above the plain, but from the west end the peak rises some 1,500 feet higher, in a cone or dome rather of paraboloidal shape. The peak and upper ridge were well covered with snow. The stratification of the rock is strongly marked in successive ledges that catch the snow falling from above, forming irregular bands of alternate white and purple. One of these bands more marked than the rest encircles the base of the peak, and this, according to Hindu tradition, is the mark of the cable with which the Rākṣashas attempted to drag the throne of Siva from its place’ **

** In picturesque beauty Kailās far surpasses the great Gur-la or any other of the Indian Himalaya that I have seen: it is full of majesty, a king of mountains.’ Through the ravines on either side of the mountains is the passage by which the pilgrims make the circumambulation. The circuit is performed in two days by those who take it easily, but with more exertion it may be done in one day.
Bhagiratha, performed the austerities by which the holy Ganga was produced and Vasishthha obtained the Sarju. The country around this holy lake is called Mánasa-khanda.

The creation of Mánasa-sarovara.

The sons of Brahma, Maríchi and Vasishthha and the rest proceeded to the north of Himáchal and performed austerities on Kailása. There they saw Siva and Párvati, and there they remained for twelve years absorbed in mortification and prayer. There was then very little rain and little water, and in their distress they went to Brahma and worshipped him. Then Brahma asked what their desire might be. The Rishis answered and said—' We are engaged in devotion on Kailása and must always go thence to bathe in the Mandálkini; make a place for us to bathe in.' Then Brahma by a mental effort formed the holy lake of Mánasa. The Rishis returned and rejoicing at the success of their journey again engaged in mortification and prayer on Kailása and worshipped the golden ling which rose from the midst of the waters of the lake.

Story of Mándhátri.

The rája then said—' The journey to Himáchal is a very difficult undertaking for man; who was it prescribed the necessity of making a pilgrimage to him?' Then Dattátreya said—' From Vaivásawata was descended the Rája Mándhátri, and one night the earth, in the shape of a woman, came to the rája and said to him—' In the world I have not seen a man so beautiful as you, therefore I come to you.' Mándhátri said—' Art thou the daughter of a god or a Dánava, or an Apsara, that thou art so beautiful?' She said—' I am the earth who have come to thee seeing thy beauty. I have left all other rágas.' He said—' I have sworn to have only one woman to wife, therefore charm some other of the kings of the earth.' She said—' All the former rágas who were my masters have ascended in old age to Swarga, but I remain still a young maiden. I will have thee for my husband.' He said—' If I die, my wife must burn on my death as Sati; how shall the earth, who does not die or grow old, take me, who am a mortal, for her lord?' She said—' When I too become old, I will burn with you as Sati.' Then Mándhátri married the earth and

1 To propitiate Siva, so that Ganga might descend from heaven and purify the ashes of the sons of Sagara. Muir, IV., 365.
2 Wilson, VIII., 387: another of the human incarnations of Vishnu.
lived in happiness. When he became old he said—"Let me go into the forests and engage in prayer and mortification. Then dying together we will go to Swarga and live together." Then the earth laughed and said—"I am young, how shall I go with you? when I become old then I will die with you." Then Mándhâtari was enraged and drew his sword to kill the earth, and she fled towards Himáchal and the rāja followed her, and she reached Mána-sarovara. Then on the banks of this lake the rāja cut off her head, but the earth could not perish and vanishing in the waters went down to Pátála, where she worshipped the gods who were seated on Kailása.

Route to Mána by Barmdeo.

The rāja next inquired 'Which is the road to the holy lake?' Dattätreya answered and said —The pilgrim must go by the road of Kúrmáchal1; he must first bathe in the Gandaki2 and then in the Loha,3 and let him then worship Mahádeva and the other gods. Then let him worship on the top of Kúrmá-sila4 and bathe in the Hansa-tírtha,5 thence let him go to the Sarju, then to Dárún or Tankara,6 and worship Mahádeva, thence to Pátála Bhubaneswara,7 and then without eating for three days let him worship Siva. Then let him bathe in the Ráganga and worship at Baleswar. Thence to Pában8 mountain and worship Siva, thence to Patáka9 and worship Siva, and he should then bathe at the confluence of the Káli and Gori.10 Thence to Chaturdaunshtra11 mount and worship Siva there. Then to Vyásásrama and worship Vyása12 and then to the source of the Káli, then to Kera13 mount and worship Debi; thence to Puloman14 mount, where there is a lake; thence to the mount of Táraka15 and let him bathe in the Tárani and Sárda (or Káli), where

1 The old name of Kumaon on the Káli, now applied to a hill near Champáwat in Patti Chárál, surmounted by a temple to Ghatku and fabled as the spot where Vishnu descended in his tortoise avatār to save the earth. 2 The Gilhiya river in Káli Kumaon. 3 The Lohaghát river in Káli Kumaon. 4 Kána-deo, a hill in the eastern Gágar range near Chhirapání in Pá. 5 Chárál and surmounted by a temple sacred to Mahádeo. 6 A stream and waterfall on Kána-deo. 7 The hill on which the Jágswar temple is situate in Patti Dárún. 8 A temple and cave in Patti Bariun of parganah Gangoli north of Gangoli Hít Dák Bungalow. 9 The mountain in Patti Málí and parganah Síra above the temple of the Thal Baleswar. 10 The Dhvaj peak in Patti Kharáyat to the north of Pithoragarh. 11 Near Askot. 12 Patti Chaudán. 13 Patti Byáns is sacred to Byáns Rikhi, the Vyása of the Puránas, who is supposed to reside on the Kalirong peak near Chángru in Byáns. 14 A peak in the dividing range between Dárma and Byáns, at the foot of which is a small lake known as Mána talá or Byankshtí between the Jhúling and the Rárub Yankti. 15 The Táraka-dhúra or pass into Tibet.
they join. Then let him behold the caves and worship the gods and let him cut his beard and fast and perform the Śrīdāla ceremonies. Then to Gaurī mount and then descending to Māna-sarovara; let him bathe there and give water to the manes of his ancestors and worship Mahādeva in the name of the rāja-hansa. Then let him make the parikrama (circumambulation) of the holy lake Māna and look on Kailāsa and bathe in all the rivers around.

The return journey.

Then the Rāja asked—'By what way do you return from the lake Māna?'. The sage replied—'Pilgrims must first go to Rāwan-hrada and bathe and worship Siva; then let him worship at the source of the Sarju; then to Kechara-tīrtha; thence to Brahmadkapāl; thence to Chhaya-kshetra and worship Mahādeva; thence to Rāmasera and bathe there; thence to Rinmochana and Brahma-sarovara, thence to Sivakshetra and thence to the mount of Nanda; thence to Baidyanāth, thence to Māllika, where let him worship Devi and bathe in the Brīdhagang. Thence to Jwāla-tīrtha, where he should worship the sacred fire and bathe in the Padmāvati. Thus is the pilgrimage completed.

Māna-sarovara.

On the south of the Māna lake is the mountain Sambhu, from which issues the river Shesti, which flows to the north into Māna, near which are mines of silver and lead: near this the sands are red and the waters white. To the north is the Nāla mountain, whence issues the river Kapila, which flows into Māna-sarovara, while to the south is a cave and a gold mine. From the Nāla mountain, a river,
lived in happiness. When he became old he said—"Let me go into the forests and engage in prayer and mortification. Then dying together we will go to Swarga and live together." Then the earth laughed and said—'I am young, how shall I go with you? when I become old then I will die with you.' Then Mándhátrí was enraged and drew his sword to kill the earth, and she fled towards Himáchal and the raja followed her, and she reached Mána-sarovara. Then on the banks of this lake the raja cut off her head, but the earth could not perish and vanishing in the waters went down to Pátála, where she worshipped the gods who were seated on Kailása.

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2. The Ghidhiya river in Káli Kumaon.
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4. Kána-deo, a hill in the eastern Gágar range near Chhirapáni in Patti Chárál and surmounted by a temple sacred to Máhádevo.
5. A stream and waterfall on Kána-deo.
6. The hill on which the Jageswar temple is situated in Patti Dárún.
8. The mountain in Patti Máli and parganah Sira above the temple of the Thal Baleswar.
9. The Dhvaj peak in Patti Kharáyat to the north of Pithoragarh.
11. Patti Chaudána.
12. Patti Byáns is sacred to Byáns Rikhi, the Vyásá of the Puranas, who is supposed to reside on the Kalirong peak near Chángru in Byáns.
13. Also in Byáns and called Chhechhala.
14. A peak in the dividing range between Dárma and Byáns, at the foot of which is a small lake known as Máns talão or Byankshiti between the Jhúling and the Rárub Yankti.
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1 Rites in honor of ancestors to be performed on occasions of rejoicing: see further Wilson's Works, VIII., 146-198.
2 Probably may be identified with Dolma La a ridge behind Gur La or Māndhātāgiri, the great peak to the south of Māna-sarovara on which is a small pool called by the pilgrims Gaurī-kumbhā.
3 The lake to the west of Māna-sarovara, also called Rākas Tāl.
4 As already noted, this probably refers to the Karnā, a tributary of the Kāli, Sārīa or Ghāgra which rises beyond the snowy range in Hundy. The river known as the Sarju in Kumaon rises to the south of the snowy range and its eastern branch or the Kāli also rises in the southern slopes of the snowy range.
5 Kechara-tīrtha is on the Karnā: it is now known as Kajjar or Khojar-nāth and is the site of a monastery.
6 The great rock in the river above Badrināth is called Brahm-kapūl: this refers to a second one in Tibet as well as the succeeding terms which I have not been able to identify. Rimochana may be Gāringbocha or Gāngri, on a ledge in the base of the Kailās peak, about the middle of the south side. It is called by the pilgrims Darchin and is one of the places which they are bound to visit. Brahma-sarovara is a synonym for Māna-sarovara, which was formed from the mind of Brahma.
7 Near Māla village.
8 Jwālamukhi.
9 This must refer to Gur-La, from which several streams flow into Māna-sarovara.
10 This also must be a peak of the Kailās range, from which two streams flow into Māna-sarovara near Sarnia-Union.
called Pushpabhadra, flows to the east into Mána-sarovara and also the Devabhadra. Here Rámachandra propitiated Mahádeva, and from this went to Swarga, leaving his horses and elephants, which still remain there. Near this flows the Chandrabhága from the head of Siva on Kailása. From the mountain Gauri flows the Sárda into the Mána lake. From Kailása flows the Mandákiní or Bhadra to the south into the lake. West of this river are five lakes, Kaláhrad, Kan-hrad, Padma-hrad, Káli-hrad and Hari-hrad. To the left of Kailása is the Kalápa peak, where are many caves and mines of gold and silver; from it flows the river Sonanda, of which the water is the color of gold; this flows into the Mána lake. Near Kalápa is mount Meru; this mountain is blue and from it falls the Saraswati and Suvarna-dhára, which also flow into Mána-sarovara.

Beyond these is the Mahendra mountain, from which flows the river Mahendri into Mána-sarovara; from it also flows the river Baruni with yellow waters into the lake and the Swati.

**Mountains.**

Now hear me, in reply to your inquiries, detail for your information the names of the mountains and rivers. The first of all is

1 The Mahábhárata records that it was on the Gandhamádana mountain that Ráma propitiated Siva and obtained from him his weapon and among them the axe (parásu), whence his name Parasuráma or "Ráma of the axe." The Gandhamádana peak is above Badrináth.

2 The Chandrabhága is the Chináb or Sandábilíš or Aksines of Ptolemy known, as the Astikí in Vaidik times: it rises however in Lahul and the term in the text properly applies to the Satadru or Satlaj.

3 This is correct if the Karnáli is intended. Besides the two streams at Sarniah-Unah already noticed, the Pándit makes the Son-chu flow into the lake from the Kailás range on the north.

4 East of Mána-sarovara is the Gunkánt-cho; to the north, the Gorgei-cho; to the west, the Cho Lagan or Rawán Hrad, and further west near Gyaníma the Tara-cho.

5 Four streams flow from Kailás into Cho Lagan: the Barka-cho, the Jóng-cho, the Sár-cho or golden stream (or Sonanda), and the Kalápa-cho or Kalápa river. The two latter join the lake near its outlet which forms the source of the Satlaj.

6 Lieutenant Henry Strachey, who visited the lake, writes:—"The permanent affluents of Mápán are three or four. First a stream rising in two branches from the Gángrí mountains and falling into the lake at the eastern quarter of its north side; the second, also from the Gángrí range, a few miles further east, entering the lake at the north-east corner; at the very same point is the mouth of the third stream which rises in Halotol. The fourth affluent is doubtful: a stream possibly comes from the Nepál Himálaya into the south-east corner of the lake. In the summer season there are many temporary streams from rain and melted snow." (J. A. S. Ben)

7 Here follows an account of numerous places of pilgrimage on the lake, chiefly Siva lings and legends connected with them and in honor of the sacred lake. The lake is about 46 miles in circumference and it takes four to six days to perform the journey and worship at the different shrines. There are eight principal stations known locally as (1) Tokar, on the middle of the south side; (2) Gusur, at the southern quarter of the east end; (3) Ju, at the northern quarter of the east end; (4) Jakyab, at the western quarter of the north side; (5) Langíma, at the middle of the north side; (6) Bundi, at the north-east corner; (7) Sárálang, at the middle of the east end; and (8), Nunukur, at the south-east corner.
Nanda, where dwells Nanda Devi. Then comes Drona (Dunagiri near Dwāra); then Dārūkavana (Jageswar) and then Kurmāchal (Kānadeo in Kāli Kumaun), beyond which the Mānasa-khandā ends. Then comes Nāgpara; then Dārūn (in Gangoli); then Pātana (above Baleswar in Sira); then Panchśirā (Panch-chūli); then Ketumāna (a ridge in Goriphāt); then Mallik-Arjun (in Askot); then Gananātha (in Byāns), &c., &c.

**Legend of Nanda Devi.**

On the peak of Nanda is a lake and there is the abode of Vishnu and Vishnu himself. From Nanda flows the Pindaraka from the hair of Mahādeva into the Vishnuganga. In it meet the Kāli and Saraswati, Kāmathi, Vaindhya, and Bodhini. The Brishchiki and Krikalāsi also flow from Nanda. The Pindaraka joins the Vishnuganga at Karnaprayāga, where the king Karna worshipped the sun and received from him whatever he desired, gold and jewels and wealth, and he founded the ling of Karneswara Mahādeva. South of Karnaprayāga is the mount Vaindhya, five peaked, with beautiful trees and many mines. To the west of this the Dāraka-peak, from which flows the river Chandra into the Pindar. Beyond this is the hill of Durhiddhya and the Pānda. Then Benu, a great mountain with great caves and mines and stones of white crystal. On its peak is the Churesa-linga.

**The western Rāmganga.**

The Rathabhāhini possesses the seventh part of the virtues of Ganga; its sands are golden and in it are many fish and tortoises.

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1 Pindar river. 2 The Alakanda, so called from the confluence at Vishnuprayāg. 3 Kaliganga. 4 Sambalihunga. 5 Flows from the Vaindhya hills, which from the subsequent description I would identify with the peaks in the watershed between the Pindar and western Rāmganga above Lohba, where there are mines. There are several rivers flowing from this range into the Pindar, and I would assign the name Vaindhya to the Agar-gar. 6 Karna is one of the characters in the Mahābhārata and the temple at Karnaprayāga dates from Kātyāra times. 7 The peak above Darkot now known as Santholi; the Chundpur river flows by its eastern base and joins the Pindar at Simli. 8 The Durhiddhya and Pānda peaks will be the Dodbri and Paudbri peaks on the Dhanpur boundary and the Benu, the Benu peak above Abbadri and near Benī Tāl. 9 The western Rāmganga: Wilford identifies the Paurānīk Vama or Suvāma, "the beautiful river," with the Rāmganga. It is also called Saravati, "full of reeds," and Bānaganga because Kārttikeya was born in a thicket of reeds on its banks at a place called Sarabān, "reed-forest." The Sacccharum Sira still grows on its banks (Gaz., X., 807). In the Amara-kosha, the Rāmganga is called the Sausami (= Su-samī) in the country of Usināra. The word is introduced on account of its referring to a town called Kanthā known as Su-samī Kantha; but if this be Kāntho-golāh, the old name for Shahjanpur, then the term Sausami will not apply to the Rāmganga.
He who bathes in it shall be cleansed of the sins of a hundred births. In a hundred years the tirthas cannot be told. The Saraswati is the first to join the Rathabâhini and the Gotami and Sakati and Sara1 and the Belâli2 which flow from Drona. On the left of the Rathabâhini is the Nágârjun,3 where the serpent Arjun is worshipped. To the right of this is the mount Asura,4 where Káli is worshipped, and to the right of Nágârjun is the Siva-ling of Bibhandeswar,5 which is the right hand of Mahádeva. After Mahádeva had been married to Pársvati, he demanded from Himáchal a place to sleep in; and he rested his head on the head of Himáchal and his back on Níla and his right hand on Nágârjun and his left hand on Bhubaneswar (in Gangoli) and his two feet on Dárûkávana (i.e., the jungles of Dárûn near Jageswar). This is the most glorious of tirthas. The river of Bibhandeswar is called Surabhi,6 for Kámadhenu, the cow of the gods, by the order of Brahma, took the form of this river. The Nandini and Saraswati join the Surabhi and flow into the Rámganga.7 At this sangam (confluence) is the Senasanavasi Siva-ling.

Dunagiri.

From the great hill of Drona flows the Druni8 into the Rámganga. Above Drona is the mount of Brahma, whence flows the Gárgi,9 at the source of which the Rishi Garga made his devotions. To this mount came Duhsásana the Kaurava and conquered the râja of the mountains and bathed at the junction of the Satradhára and Sukâvati, and there he established the Siva-ling of Duhsásaneswar.10 Dronáchal has two heads and two feet: one head is called Lodhra, the other Brahma, and between them is the source of the Gárgi. Here at the source of the Gárgi is the Gargaswara Sivaling. Into the Gárgi flow the Bilvávati and Bhutravati and Bhadravati and then the Sukávati; then join the Sailávati, and the

1 Streams of the Lohba valley.  
2 Drona is Dunagiri and the Betâli may be either the Kham-gâdh, which flows from near Dwâra to the Râmganga, or the stream issuing from Tarág Tal.  
3 The Nágârjun, or as it is commonly called Nangârjun temple, is in Patti Dora Malla on the ridge between Dwâra and Naithâna at the source of the Baluwa-gâdh; a Saiva temple according to the Khâniyas.  
4 The hill above Pâli in Dora Talâ, where there are temples to Káli and Naithâna Devi.  
5 The temple of the Bibhandeswar Mahâdeva is situated near Rama in Dora Malla.  
6 In Gangoli.  
7 The Surabhi must be the Râkuti or Râikan, which flows past the temple, but it joins the Gâgas near Shâlula; the geography here gets confused and unintelligible. At Saima in Naya they is a temple to Siva. Brihadhkeârâ is mentioned.  
8 The river from Bûirtil beyond Dwâra.  
9 Gâgas, which rises between the Sukhaldevi and Dhû-ra peaks.  
10 Now called Sukeswar near Bînsuli-sra in Patti Dhuguli.
Gārīgi joins the Rāmganga. The confluence is the Siva-ling of Chakreswara. To the left is the mount of Bānīha. The mount of Drona is between the Rathaāliini and Kausiki. There are many caves and many beautiful trees and flowers and tigers and deer and great creepers and the Aukhaḍī, the plant which shines at night like the diamond and laughs at mankind who know not its value, and on the mount lives Drona. Kālīka and Bṛahnimati and Mahishamur-dani are worshipped there. Between the Sālmali and Kausiki is the mount Bidronā and near it is the Siva-ling of Pinākīṣa, a great tīrtha.

**The Kosi.**

There was a Rishi called Kusika who adoring Ganga raised his hands to heaven, and into them fell the river Kausika and thence to earth. Brahma sat on the Lodhra peak and poured forth from a vessel the river Sālmali. Where the Sālmali and Kausiki meet is the tīrtha of Phālguna, and here is the Someswar Mahādeo where to worship is equal to worship in Kāshi and near it dwells the serpent Takshaka. Above is the tīrtha of Chandrasekhara and the confluence of the Godāvari and near it is Mallika Devi. Above, in the Kausiki, are two great rocks, Kausi-sila and Baudri-sila, and above them is Brahūm-kapāla and Kāpila tīrtha and Dharma-sila and above them is Pinākīṣa Mahādeo. To the left of the Kosi is the mount Kāshāya and on the right is the dwelling of Barāditya further on joins in the Rambha. Beyond Barāditya is Katayānī Devi also called Syāma Devi. From Tankara flows the Shāli to the Kosi; afterwards the Kausiki breaking through the mount of Sesha flows into Madhyadesa (the plains). The mount Sesha is on the left of the Kausiki. Gandharvas live in its caves and great trees and deer and tigers; on it dwells Seshnāga and from it flows the Sīta to the Kausiki southwards. Between the Sīta and the Kausiki is Asokabanika, the grove of Asoka trees where the seven Rishis and the

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1 The affluent of the Gagās on the right bank are the Chandās, Baiāru, Bīṣkaṇ, and Būlwa, and on the left bank the Naurar. 2 At Bikiya-ka-Sain: Naulesar temple. 3 Kosi river. 4 River from Lodh, which joins the Kosi at Somesar. 5 Now Bidhon. 6 Pināth. 7 Bhadkot. 8 Same name now, is close to Someswar, where the burning ghāt is situated. 9 Near Someswar is a village called Sarp and the great pool in the Kosi below is called Sarp-hrad. 10 Retains the name. 11 A large rock in the river. 12 Kalmatiya hill near Almora, the peak of which is still called Kashār. 13 The temple of the sun at Katāralī. 14 A small stream which rises below the Mission School at Almora. 15 Siyāhi Devi. 16 Jageswar. 17 Suāl river. 18 There are several Nāg temples here.
Satyavrata Rajas did penance. Here there are Asokas and other trees and many birds. Rámachandra and Sita and Lakshmana came here by the order of the Rishi Visvánítra. Sita was rejoiced at the beautiful forest and said to Ráma: “It is the month Baisákha; let us stay in this wood and let us bathe in the waters of the Kau-
síki.” So they remained there during Baisákha in the forest and two springs burst forth for them. Thence they went back to Ayodhya, and from that time the name was changed to Sítabani. He who beholds Sítabani can have no sorrow. Near is the river Deváki, and to the right of mount Sesa is mount Gágá, in which are many caves and mines of metals and trees and birds and deer and Rishis and gods live there and from all sides flow down rivers.

The Lakes.

In this tract there are sixty-six lakes at which the sage Garga pays his devotions. Gágácháal is at the feet of Himáchal. On his summit is the Gárgeśwar Siva-ling where dwells the sage Garga, and whence flows the Gárígi. On the left of the Gárígi is Bhúma-
sarovara, and west of these Trishi-sarovara which the three Rishis created. The three Rishis Atri, Pulastya, and Pulaha came to the tirthas of Himáchal, and from Chitra-sila ascended to the mount of Gágá. They were thirsty and found no water, then they dug into the mount and thought admiringly of Mána-sarovara and on this Mána-sarovara filled up the place, that they had dug, with his waters, and the place was called Trishi-sarovara. He who bathes in it shall derive the fruits of bathing in Mána-sarovara. Around Chitra-sila is the Bhadravata; here is a great bar tree in a leaf of which Vishnu floated over the ocean. In Chitra-sila, Brahma, Vishnu, Siva and their Sáktis dwell and Indra and the other gods. Below the junction of the Gárígi and the Pushpabhadra stood the bar tree in the shade of which Sutapa Brahma performed austerities for thirty-six years, eating dry leaves and his hands raised to heaven. Seeing him Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, and the other gods came and granted him all that he should desire, and sent for Visva-karma and on the banks of the Gárígi, Visvakarma with gold and

1 In the Kota Dón where there are several groves of Asoka trees.
2 Dahka river.
3 Gágá.
4 Gáula.
5 Bhím Tál.
6 Náini Tál or lake of the three Rishis.
7 Or painted rock near Ránibágh.
8 The stream from Bhím Tál which joins the Náini Tál river at Mayapuri, where a fair takes place on Makar Sáukránt.
other metals and jewels made the Chitra-sila (or variegated rock) and the virtues of all the gods entered into it, and they took away Sutapa to Vaikuntha, the paradise of Vishnu, and he who worships at Chitra-sila and bathes in the Gárigi shall follow him. To the east of Gargácháhl are the seven lakes which are the holiest of all the lakes of Garga. The first is Trishi-sarovara, the second is Bhima-sarovara, the third is Návakona-sarovara; the fourth is Nála-sarovara; the fifth is Damayanti-sarovara; the sixth is Ráma-sarovara and the seventh is Sita-hrada. Bhima-sarovara was made by Bhima Séná, and on the banks of it he established the Bhimeswar Siva-ling, from it flows the river Pushpabhadra.

Bárahmanal-Bágesar.

East of Kálmatiya is the mount of Swayambhú and beyond it is Tankara in which is Dárúkávana (i.e., the forest of Deodárs in Dárú). To the south of Dárúkávana are the hills of Sálmali in which are mines of iron and copper and gold, on Himáchal between Kailás and Manda the gods love to look. At the junction of the Sarju and the Gomati is the Níla mount on which live the gods and Siddhas and Gandharvas, and Apsaras. At the junction is Agni-tátha, and above is the Surya-kund. Between this Báránasi-Kshetra for the dwelling of Siva. Mahádeva and Pársvati when it was ready came to the place, and when they reached it a voice from heaven (akúshabáni) glorified Mahádeva, who sat down at the junction of the rivers and Brahma and the other gods came there and they said, “the akúshabáni first called out the glories of Siva, therefore shall this place be called Bágiswar.” The Rishi Galáya said, ‘Let him who wishes to be cleansed from all his sins bathe in the Sarju’. On the mount of Níla the Rishi Márkandeya performed austerities, and while he was there the Rishi Vasishtha

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1 Naukuchiya, the lake of the nine ‘kunécha’ or corner: if any one see all the nine bays at the same time he meets with some great fortune before the year is out. 2 Nál Tal, one of the lakes comprising the Sát Tál. 3 Káni Damayanti ko Tál, another of the seven lakes. The two last names refer to the hero and heroine of the well-known episode in the Mahábárata, for a popular account of which see Wheeler’s History of India, I. 480. 4 Kúhúriyá Tál, a small pool above Bhim Tál. 5 Close to the Ram Tál, but now dry. 6 Sintola near Almora. 7 Jageswar. 8 Sálam. 9 At Bágeswar, the hill above which is now known as Kokru ka danda. 10 Now called Agni-kund. 11 A pool in the Sarju above Bágeswar. 12 Now called Uttar-Báránasi, the Benares of the north. 13 One of the servants of Siva. 14 i.e., lord of speech’ from Sans: ‘Vák,’ ‘speech’ as in compound Vák-pati, ‘lord of speech,’ cloquent. 15 A celebrated sage, the hero of the stories of the white horses with black ears, Wilson XI., 225.
brought down the Sarju from the north. When the Sarju saw Márkandeya, it stopped before him forming a lake, and when Vasishtha saw that by virtue of the austerities performed by Márkandeya the Sarju could not flow onwards, he went to Siva and prayed him to open the road for the river. Then Siva and Párvati, consulting together, contrived a plan by which Párvati became a cow and went to graze near Márkandeya. Siva became a tiger and sprang upon Párvati, and when Mánkandeya saw this, he ran to save the cow and drive away the tiger. When the sage rose up from his devotions for this purpose the Sarju seeing himself free flowed onward, and when Párvati and Siva heard the waters flowing they resumed their proper forms. When Málkandeya saw them he began to glorify them and said to Siva, "Thy name is Byághreswara, 'the lord of tigers,'" then Siva and Párvati vanished and Márkandeya departed to the paradise of Brahmá.

Dánpur.

In the beginning of the Satya-Yuga Brahma divided the earth into portions giving to each the share to which he was entitled. To the Nágas he gave the country between Jiwara and Dárú and this city was called Nágapura. The chief of the Nágas called Malla Náráyan said to the Rishis, "give us water, there is none here," and the Rishis called down the Bhadra Ganga from the mountains and gave it to the Nágas. The Nágas saw Kámadhenu, the cow of the gods, and asked her to give them cows and she gave them many beautiful cows and the Nágas built sheds (goths) for them and ordered their daughters to tend the cows. These Gopis (cow-tenders) saw Mahádeva and the place was called Gopeswara and the jungle was named Gopivana.

The story of Pátála-bhubaneswara.

Between the Sarju and the (eastern) Rámganga is the shrine of Pátála-bhubaneswara. The Rishis asked Vyása to tell them of

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1 From Sans., 'Vágýkra,' 'a tiger.' 2 The serpent race. 3 Juhár, the country between Milam and the Kái peak. 4 Nákuri now giving its name to a patti or fiscal sub-division in pargana Dánpur. A temple to the Nága still exists on the ridge above the village of Papoli. 5 Mulen, the name of the ridge above Suring, on the route to the Pindari glacier was the residence of this Nága chief who received the affix Náráyan as a title on account of his worship of Vishnu. 6 A Sivá Linga of this name now. 7 Gopain, Vásuki the Nága chief is still worshipped at Gadyára, where a great festival takes place in Baisák and Kártik. 8 The temple is situated in patti Baraun and pargana Gangoli.
Pátála, how does Mahádeva live there in darkness and how large is it, and who are those who worship Mahádeva there and who are the chief of the gods of Pátála, and who first discovered that there was such a place as Pátála, and how can men go there without the sun or moon? Vyása said—' As is the earth above so large is Pátála below, not even Vasishtha and the Munis can tell where is the end of Pátála, but can only penetrate to where Bhubaneswara Mahádeva resides. Below this there are three caves called Smara, Smeru, and Swadhana, into which no sinful man can enter, and in the Káli-yug they will be shut up. I will tell you the story of how Pátála1 was discovered by mankind. Rituparna2 was a Suryavansi Rája of Ayodhya who left his kingdom and travelled north into the mountains with his soldiers and killed many deer and birds. There the Rája saw a great boar lying in a stream of water and attacked the animal with his sword, but the boar fled and the Rája pursued him until fatigued with the sun and thirst he looked about for shade to rest himself. Whilst searching about the Rája reached the entrance of a cave where was a watchman (kshetrapála) sitting and asked the man where he could find a shady place to rest in, the guardian of this cave replied—' Enter here and you will find all that you desire.' So the Rája went into the cave and near the entrance he met Dharma and Narsinha and went on with them, and then he came to the serpent Seshnág with the thousand heads and the daughters of the Nága seized the Rája by the hand and brought him before their father. Seshnág asked him who he was and why he had come. He answered—'I am a Suryavansi Kshatriya, and my name is Rituparna, and I came to Himáchal with my army to hunt; whilst following a great boar I lost my way and wearied with thirst and the sun I came into this cave by permission of its guardian. In a former birth I must have done virtuous acts, that I should behold thee now.'

1 The Vishnu Puráña divides Pátála into seven regions, Atala, Vitala, Nitala, Gábhastimát, Maháta, Sutala and Pátála, inhabited by Dáityas, Dánavas and, Nágas. The joys of Pátála are above the delights of Indrá's heaven. The lovely Nága-kanyás wander about fascinating even the most austere; the rays of the sun diffuse light, not heat, by day, and the rays of the moon give light, not cold, by night. There are lakes, groves and flowers, singing birds and skilled musicians to make life enjoyable. Below the seven Pátálas is Vishnu incarnate as Sesh, and known by the name Ananta to the Siddhas. He has a thousand heads adorned with the mystical nássta and in each hood (phana) a jewel to give light. He is accompanied by Várúni, the goddess of wine; he wears a white necklace and holds, in one hand, a plough and in the other a pestle. Seshá supports the whole world as a diadem on his head and is the great teacher of astronomy. The Puránas make him even one with Balaráma.
Then Seshnâg said,—‘Fear not, tell me what gods do the four classes of men in the earth now worship’. The Râja answered—‘They worship Mahâdeva and demand from him what they desire.’ Then Seshnâg said, “Do you know this cave, and that in it dwells Mahâdeva?” and the king answered—“No, nor do I know who thou art, but I desire to know all these things.” Then Seshnâg answered and said—‘The name of this cave, O Râja, is Bhubaneswarâ and where the end of this cave is not Kapila and the Munis can tell: in it live the three gods, Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahâdeva, under the single form of Bhubaneswar, and Indra and the other gods, and the Daityas, and the Gandharvas, and the Nâgas dwell here and Nârada, and the other Devarshis and Vasishtha and the other Brahmarshis, and the Siddhas and the Vidyâdharas and the Apsaras. No sinful men have yet entered this cave, here are the grottoes where Mahâdeva and Pârvati dwell; behold them; but as with your own eyes you cannot see them, I give to you the eyes of gods.’ Then Seshnâg gave to the king the heavenly eyes and showed to him Pâtâla and the dwelling of the gods and the Gandharvas, and Nâgas, and Daityas, and Dânavas, and Râkshasas, and the king did them due reverence. Then Seshnâg showed him the eight families of serpents, and the Siva-ling of Visveswarâ and Airâvata, the elephant of Indra, and the Sâryâta and Kâlpavriksha, the trees of the gods, and Vrihaspati, the Guru of the gods and the horse of Indra, called Uchchâihraswara and the cave Seshâvati in which dwells the serpent king Ananta, whose breath rushes forth into the earth from

1 The Rishis or sages of the celestial class who lived in Vaidik times in Deva-varsha and are generally recognized as the elder Rishis. The category varies with the different works and some of those called Brahmarshis by the Vishnu Purâna are as old as the oldest hymns of the Rig Veda: see Muir’s Texts, III, 219: Wheeler, II., 425.
2 The Brahmarshis, Brahmans or Prâjapatis, the mind-born sons of Brahman are Bhrgu, Pulâstya, Pulaha, Kru, Angiras, Marichi, Dakha, Atri and Vasishtha according to the Vishnu Purâna, to which some add Nârada Dharma, Adharma, Sanka and Buci. Hence the term Brahmarshi-deesa given to a portion of Central India in the Epic poems. Wilson, II., 143. 3 Airâvata, the elephant of Indra, is one of the artícles produced from the churning of the ocean. The others are the (1) Hidâhla or Kâldâkâta poison which gives his name of Nilâkauṭha to Siva; (2) Vâruni or Sura, goddess of wine; (3) the white-eared horse of Indra, Uchchâihraswara; (4) Kauśâmbha, the jewel of Vishnu; (5), the cool-rayed moon; (6) the sage Dhanwantari, clothed in white, with the amrita in his water-pot; (7) the goddess Sri; (8) the Apsaras; (9) Surabhi, the cow of plenty, the fountain of milk and curds, and (10) the pârijâta tree which is the delight of the nymphs of heaven: perfuming the world with its blossoms. This pârijâta is one of the fine trees of Paradise and is identified with the Erythrina indica or coral-tree. It is frequently mentioned in the Purânas. The Sâryâta are descendants of Vaivaswata.
4 One of the trees of Indra’s heaven.
5 A celebrated sage, son of Angiras and husband of Târa, also the planet Jupiter and like Sarasvati presides over speech.
Bhrigutanga\(^1\) and the Muni Bhrigu\(^2\) and Sanatkumāra\(^3\) and other Devarshis and the Hātakesha\(^4\) Siva-ling.

Then he took the Raja further into the caverns of Pātāla and shewed him the roads to Swarga and Ganesha; and the Siva-ling of Sateswara and the earth resting on the head of the Serpent Ananta and the Siva-ling of Saureswara and Pārvati. Then he shewed him Pātāla-bhubaneswari Devī, and near her the Bāgīśa and the Baidyanātha Siva-ling, and on the left of them hidden by a rock the Gananātha-ling. Below again he shewed him a cavern into which he looked and saw a light shining like an emerald (marakatu) in it were the Munis absorbed in religious exercises and there in the midst sat the Muni Kapila\(^5\) and the Siva-ling of Kapilasa and the dwellings of the Dānavas and Daityas, and by this road he transported him in an instant to Ujjain\(^6\) and shewed him there the river Sarasvati and the Siva-ling of Mahākāla. Then in another instant they were back in the cavern and there Seshnāg shewed the Raja the cave of Sukshma and in it was Ganesha, and the forests of Kadalivana\(^7\) and the Muni Mārkanḍeya.\(^8\) Then they returned to the cave of Pātāla-bhubaneswara; and he showed him another cave through which goes the road to Setubandha-rāmeswara,\(^9\) and in it he showed Chandra-sekhara.\(^10\) This cave was forty kos long and forty kos broad, and its sides were formed of emerald; thence in a moment they returned from Rāmeswara into the cave of Pātālabhubaneswara and entered another cave through which they went to the river Godāvari and bathed in it, and another cave through which they went and bathed in Ganga-ságara and worshipped at the Siva-ling of Chandeswara.\(^11\) In one of the caves Seshnāg showed the Raja the aśrama or hermitage of Mārkanḍeya Rishi and the five Siva-ling of the five Kedāras. In another cave he showed the Raja the road to Bajñāth;

\(^1\) The peak of the Rishi Bhrigu near Pokhri in patti Bherang where there is a cave from which comes a wind.
\(^2\) One of the ten Mahārshis named in Manu and father of Sri or Lakshmi by Khyati in one of her births previous to the churning of the ocean. Called also lord of Lakshmipura on the Nerbudda known as Bhrigu Kachcha.
\(^3\) Always young; one of the sons of Brahma.
\(^4\) Nātha, 'golden'; name of a Siva Ling on the Godāvari.
\(^5\) Name of a sage, the founder of the Sankhya philosophy.
\(^6\) In Māśa, Kakalibn, 'plantain-grove,' a forest in the Dakhin colchra-td for elephant.
\(^7\) The narrator of the Mārkanḍeya Purāṇa.
\(^8\) The Siva Ling at Bāmīeram, at the bridge from the continent to Lanka, set up by Rama; see Wheeler, II, 353.
\(^9\) Moon-created,' an epithet of Siva, also the name of a mountain.
\(^10\) Chandī, another name of Pārvati.
and the Siva-lings of Nilakántha and Bali,¹ the king of the Daityas.

Then in the great cave he showed him the cave of Brahma-dwára² and its Siva-lings and there worshipped Kámadhenu³ from whom falls down the milk on Mahádeva. Here there is a pool called Siva-kunda, the water of which if any one drinks without permission from the deity, he is struck with the trident of Siva. Then the Raja asking permission of Mahádeva, drank at the pool and Mahádeva said to the Raja—'Within this space thirty-three krores of gods remain in attendance on it.' Then Seshnág showed him the moon and stars and the Ganas and Gandharvas and the great Mahádeva-ling, on one side of which sits Brahma and on the other Vishnu. These three gods dwell here in one shape as the Siva-ling of Bhubaneswara. Then in the cave of Smara he saw Mahádeva throwing the dice with Párvati and the other gods standing by adoring. Then he saw another cave, ten thousand yojanas in circumference, at the door of which sat a guardian snake. This cave was lighted with the light of jewels, and in the midst was a house made of precious stones, and in it a bed of the same, and on it, on stuffs as white as milk, sat Briddha-bhubaneswara, Mahádeva and Párvati. Then Seshnág took him through another cave to Kailása and the Raja bathed in Mána-sarovara. Then they came back and they showed him the cave of Smeru where was Siva sleeping with matted hair on his head, and wearing the skin of a tiger and having a snake as a janes⁴ and near him Ugratára Devi,⁵ and he showed him the cave of Swadharma and the Raja asked—'What is the light that flows forth from the midst?' and Seshnág answered—'This is Tejomáya Mahádeva'⁶ tell it not to any one; from this light sprang forth Vishnu, Brahma, and Siva when the universe

¹ Bali was the son of Virochana, son of the great Daitya Prahláda. He conquered Indra and the other gods and was, in turn, vanquished by Vishnu in his Vámana or dwarf incarnation and sent as ruler to Pátála: see page . ² Now called Brahma-kanthi, a small cave branching out from the great cave. ³ The cow belonging to Vasishtha which yields all desires, here represented by a rock somewhat in the form of a cow from which water trickles on to the top of the Lingas. ⁴ The sacrificial thread. ⁵ The ‘terrible goddess’ as Siva is called Ugra-resa, the terrible lord. Rudra or Siva was born half male and half female, but separating himself into two parts by order of Brahma, each sex became multiplied and of two classes dark or fierce and light or agreeable. Hence the eleven Rudras and their wives. Ugratara, Bhava, Kála are among the dark forms of the male and Durga, Káli, Bhuváni, Chandi, Maháritri, Ugratara, amongst the fierce forms of the female. Similarly Siva, Manu, Mahat are the agreeable forms of the male and Lakshmi, Gauri, Uma the mild forms of the female. ⁶ Whose form is light.'
was created, and from this light the whole world is enlightened. Look in the midst of it and you will see a form which is Vishnu the creator of the universe. He who understands the Vedánta and the Śastraś calls this light Brahma. Not even the gods can come before this light: worship it. From this cave goes the road to Kedára.

Then they went to Kedára and worshipped the Siva-ling and drank at the spring of Udaka, and they went to Mahá-pantha and thence returned to Pátála-bhubaneswara. Then the Raja said in his own mind—'Am I mad or am I dreaming; what is this Pátála that I am seeing?'

Then Seshnág said to the Raja—'Take thou a thousand loads of jewels borne for thee by Rákshasas, and this horse, the speed of which is that of the wind and go to thy own home; but tell of Pátála to no one, and you and your family shall flourish. There shall hereafter be a Brahman called Batkalá who shall tell of this cave to mankind, then they shall know of it.' Then the Raja mounting on the horse came forth with the Rákshasas carrying the jewels and thanked Seshnág; then he went to the mount of Dárú and on the banks of the Sarju he found his army who were searching for him, and he returned to Ayodhya and stored up the jewels in his treasury and dismissed the Rákshasas who had carried them. Then the Raja called his Ráni and his sons and told them all that he had seen and divided the jewels among them. While he was telling of the wonders of Pátála the messenger of Mahádeva came and seizing the king carried him off to the dwelling of Siva. He who shall hear this history of Raja Rituparna and this māhātmayá of Pátála-bhubaneswara all his sins shall be forgiven and he shall enter into the paradise of Mahádeva.

**KEDÁRA-KHANDA.**

The Kedára-khaunda section of the Skanda Puráṇa occurs in the same form as the Mánasa-khaunda and opens with the usual philosophical inquiries as to the origin of things of which the following may be taken as a specimen:

"This is related by the Súta Sanaka and other rishis. First the Rishi Sa-naka asked:—"What is Brahma?" he is without the three qualities, i.e., without

1 Now called Udak Nauli.  
2 The peak above Kedár.  
3 Nirguna,  
4 without the three guṇa or qualities, an attribute of the Supreme being."
sattwa or rajas or tamas: he is satya and jnana and ananda: he has neither name, nor class, nor senses, how then shall he be discovered or understood? and how from this Brahma without qualities did the world proceed?" The Sûta answered and said:—"Vaisishtha Muni," the son of Brahma, told this to his wife Arundhati: she asked, "You know all things, the universe proceeded from Brahma, how shall he be discovered? and in the Kâli Yuga when men cease to perform due worship and believe not, how shall they obtain release, and how was the world created, and what are the duties of the four classes, and how many are the manuvatara and Yogas? Vaisishtha answered and said: "This question was asked by Pârvati from Mahâdeo, and he answered thus: "He is without form or senses or colour, nor does he perform any work; he is not created nor does he resemble any created thing; he is joy; he is without master; he is the soul of the universe; he is without colour, neither white nor black nor red nor yellow, nor of all colours mixed together; he has neither body nor form, yet there is nothing in the universe in which he is not. He neither performs any acts nor does he sleep, nor has he any senses. What the Supreme Spirit really is, neither Brahma nor the gods can tell. He is without qualities: without beginning, middle or end; without visible form or any form, separate from all things, yet pervading all things. The followers of the Sankhya call him purusha, the Velantists call him gûn, the Dwaitabadi of the Nyâya call him jiva and brahma. The followers of the Mimânsa call him Karma, whilst those who hold with Patanjali address him as sahasvara. The Saivas say he is one with Siva, the Vaishnavas that he is Vishnu, the Sauras that he is the sun, and the Sâktas that he is the Sakti. I Mahâdeo alone know something of him, but not all; he is without the qualities of stability, activity, or stagnancy; he has neither beginning nor middle nor end; he is not perceptible by the senses; he is without bodily form, yet everything in the universe bears his form: he had no beginning; he is above and beyond all things. The followers of the Sankhya call him purusha; the Dwaitabadi say of him that he cannot be seen with the eyes, yet he pervades all space; he is all-powerful and everything is and has its being in him. The followers of the Nyâya say that he is jiva and brahma, matter and spirit. Those who adopt the Mimânsa system declare he is karma or works, whilst the followers of the Yoga Shâstras declare he is abstracted meditation. The Saivasa say he is Siva; the Vaishnavas that he is Vishnu; the Sauras that he is Surya: the Gâneshas that he is Ganesha, and the Sâktas that he is Sakti. The Supreme Spirit, O Pârvati, whence this universe arose was water, the depth, length and breadth of which no one can tell; in which are millions of Brahmans and Brahmans of various forms. In every Brahmanda are the three gods, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva and Indra and the other gods and each has its separate seas and rivers and mountains. He is eternal, his face is turned to every side and in these Brahmandas there is still the all-pervading spirit. This water of the Supreme

1 Goodness, knowledge, quietude.
2 Activity, passion.
3 Darkness, stagnancy.
4 He who is truth.
5 Or Gâyati, he who knows.
6 Joy.
7 Ujjas or ‘energy’ is the usual name of the wife of this Manasaputra or mind-born sage.
8 Periods of a Manu, each of which comprises seventy-one Yogas or ages and is ruled over by its own Manu and sages. Six manvantaras have passed and we are now in the seventh under Vaivasvata Manu. Seven more have to come before the day of Brahma is completed: see further Wilson’s works, VI., 45.
9 Reference is here made to the schools of philosophy.
10 Followed by Patanjali.
11 The mundane eggs, the embryos of worlds.
12 The active principle of creation.
Spirit which is outside the mundane egg once came into the world and this is Ganga"

Párervati then asks Siva to tell her how this came to pass and how the egg was formed. Mahádev answered and said: "Li-ten, O daughter of Himáchal, to the history of Vishnu. First there was only water in the universe, in which floated Vishnu on a bed borne on the serpent Sashnág. This was when the former world had ended and Vishnu determined that a new world should be created. At the thought, there sprang from his navel a lotus and in the lotus was born the four-faced Brahma.² Then Vishnu said, ‘Create the world.’ When Brahma heard the words, he listened and saw Vishnu and said: ‘Thou art the chief of the gods; thou art unaffected by any thing; thou art without form visible or invisible; thou hast neither beginning nor end. Siva and the other gods cannot tell who thou art, much less can I duly adore thee. I am a child and without knowledge, and my mind is overwhelmed with ignorance, how then can I fitly glorify thee? Where are thy hands and thy feet and thy limbs, where art thou thyself? This much only can I perceive that thou art this ocean with the waters of which thou cherished all things animate and inanimate. Every created thing depends upon thee; thou art the light of the sun and the moon and the stars through which darkness is driven away from the world. Thou art wind and the breath of life and ether above the world; thou art time and its divisions and the senses and mind. The body³ is the chariot, the soul¹ is the master within and the mind⁴ is the charioteer; the bodily faculties are the horses and the senses are veins. The charioteer must be vigilant or the chariot will be upset. Thou art perfect, pure and unchangeable. Until thou hadst formed the thought of creation, until then thou wert the Supreme spirit, neither creator nor created: When thou hadst performed this wish then thou becomest creator and created." I am powerless, how shall I create the world?; Vishnu answered and said "Brahma became the creator (prajápati) of the universe. I give to thee all knowledge; create the universe and live until creation has perished. I am pleased with thy adoration of me, so ask of me whatever boon thou desiriest." Brahma answered and said: "Thou hast created me; I will create all things; I have received from thee all knowledge, what more can I ask for myself? but I will ask one thing and that is that thou wilt be pleased to remain in this world which I shall create." A great part of the above description has been borrowed more or less closely from the older Pauránik writings, and is followed by the usual description of terms of time, the origin of the gods, demons, Dánavas, Daityas, Rákshasas and Yakshas. Then comes the story of the heroes of the lunar and solar races, and the exaltation of the Bhigirathí as the principal source of the Ganges with some account of the various places of pilgrimage along its banks.⁵

¹ Choturmukha. ² Vigroha. ³ Atma. ⁴ Manas. ⁵ I have had two manuscripts of the Kédára-khanda, one lent me by Ganga Datta Uprethi of Srinagar, and the other by Dharamnanand Joshi of Almora. The latter which was copied in 1816 A. D. has been followed throughout. The topographical account of British Garhwal commences at the 41st chapter and 46th page. The entire account is filled with stories illustrating the holiness of particular places like that of Pátála in the Mánasa-khanda. I have omitted nearly all these stories, so that this account is little more than an index to a portion of the Kédára-khanda.
**Kedār.**

The *mahātmya* of Kedār follows the description of the valley of the Bhūgirathī. Pārvati asks what is Kedār and what are the fruits of visiting its sacred places and bathing in its holy waters. Mahādeva answered and said: 'The place that you have spoken of, O goddess, is so peculiarly dear to me that I shall never leave it nor forsake it. When I or Brahma created the universe, Kedār so pleased me that it shall ever remain sacred to me. Brahma and the other gods are there, whoever dies there becomes one with Siva. Such as thou, Vaishnavi, art amongst Satis, Hari amongst the gods, the ocean amongst lakes; the Jalnavi amongst rivers, this peak amongst mountains, Yājnavalkya amongst Jogis, Nārada amongst Bhaktas, the Sālagrām amongst stones, the groves of Badari amongst forests, Kāmadhenu amongst kine, a Brahman amongst men, the Brahman who can impart wisdom amongst other Brahmins, the wife who honours her husband amongst women, the son amongst children, gold amongst metals, Shuka amongst saints, Vyāsa amongst sages, this country amongst other countries, a prince amongst men Bāsab (Vāsudeva) amongst the gods, the giver of good fortune amongst mortals, my city amongst villages, the Ap-saras of heaven amongst dancers, Tunvara amongst Gandharvas, so is Kedār-kshetra when compared with any other sacred place. Mahādeva then relates the old story; how once upon a time a hunter came here to this part of the Himālaya and after killing a large number of deer wandered northwards to Kedār where he found a number of holy men assembled and engaged in devotions. The hunter sat down at a respectful distance to watch their proceedings when suddenly a deer of a beautiful golden hue sprang up near him and walked gently by. The hunter prepared his bow to shoot the deer but before he could draw the string, the deer had disappeared. Disturbed at this he walked onwards and met Siva armed with a trident, with matted hair, wearing a garland of serpents and accompanied by his train. Frightened at the sight, the hunter concealed himself and the procession passed on. The hunter next met the sage Nārada from whom he learned that Kedār was a place of such sanctity that strange occurrences continually took place and portents and omens appeared, and that if any one desired salvation, he should find it there, though his sins were as great as can be
imagined the virtue that accrued from a visit to Kedār was sufficient to cleanse them.

*Mandākini valley.*

Mahādeva then gives a brief account of the places of pilgrimage around Kedār. On the lower course of the Mandākini¹ is the holy Siva-kund² where is the Kāpila Siva-ling, and above this is Bhrigu-tunga, king of rocks. Still higher up at a distance of two yojanas is the babbling fountain of Hiranyakarbhā,³ and to the north of this the great Śphatik-ling. A few paces to the east is the Balmi-tīrtha⁴ near which is a well where Bhūm Sen⁵ worshipped me, Mahādeva. Above this is Mahāpant⁶ four kos in circuit abounding with milk and ghi, where the gods dwell, full of gold and jewels and birds with shining wings. Above Mahāpant is the Swargarohini pahār.⁷ At the junction of the Madhvi⁸ with the Mandākini is the Shiuprad-tīrtha and where the Kshīrganga⁹ joins the same river is the Brūhma-tīrtha. To the south of this is the fountain known as Samudr-jal, which is of such purity that whoever even touches its water receives some benefit. To the left is the Purandar peak, where Indra worshipped Siva and where is the Madhālayaling. About forty cubits thence is the Ḥans-kund where Brahma appeared as a *hansa*, and near it is the Bhūm Sen *śīla* where is the bed of Siva. About six kos thence to the south is the Gaurī-tīrtha where the water is warm and the earth of a yellowish-red colour. Here Gauri bathed whilst her courses were on her and here is the Gaureswar-ling. Whoever sleams the mud of this pool on his body, bathes in its water and makes an offering however small shall receive an eternal reward. To the south is Gorakshāśrama¹⁰ where also there are hot springs and a *ling*, and if any one remains there for seven days, his sins are all forgiven. On the same hill are four pools called Devika, Bhadrada, Shubhra, and Mātangi, bathing in which ensures particular benefits. On the hill

¹ This river flows through Patti Maikhanda from the glacier above the Kedār temple.
² There are several pools of this name, but this is perhaps the one at the confluence of the Madh and Mandākini streams.
³ Gaauri-kund.
⁴Same as the Agni-tīrtha near Gaurī-kund.
⁵Now known as Bhūm Udīyār, there are a number of caves here.
⁶The mountain and glacier above the temple.
⁷The group of peaks above Mahāpant.
⁸To the east of Nālapatan.
⁹Apparently one of the streams which form the head-waters of the Mandākini for hence we descend the valley again to Gaurī-kund.
¹⁰Here is the Shesheswar-ling and in the pool near it are numerous snakes who do no harm to those who bathe in it. "These snakes occur in the pools at Trīyugi and Gaurī-kund."
above Gauri-tīrtha is the Chīrāsā Bhairab who acts as watchman to Mahādeva, and who must have offerings of strips of cloth when his lord is worshipped. Kāli also resides here and about a kos off is Bināyak-dwīra¹ sacred to Ganesha. Within the Kedāra-mandal and to the west of the Tribikram Nadi² is the Nārāyan-tīrtha. About a kos and a half above is the Nārāyan-kshetra where fire always burns. This is the place where the wedding of Gauri Sankara and the daughter of Himāchal took place. Here is the Sarasvati-kund and the Brahma-kund, the water of which is of a yellow colour and harbours snakes. To the south is the Bishnu-tīrtha and the Jaleswar-ling and the holy Harida stream.³

Bhillang valley.

Mahādeo then praises Bhilla-kshetra⁴ saying: ‘Here I played with thee, O goddess, disguised as a Bilh. The hill is lovely and well wooded and watered, and from it you can see Ganga, and here is the Bhilleswar-ling. Here I still engage in sport with the Bhils, clad in a dark-coloured blanket, I wander about the hills at midnight’. Close by is the temple of Kāmeswari Devi and less than a kos above it, the Surasuta stream where Siva smeared his body with ashes. On the south bank of the stream is the Mātalika-sila. The extent of the Bhillāngan-kshetra is five yojanas long by four yojanas broad, and it contains some sixty streams. To the south of Bhillāngan-kshetra is Bagala-kshetra⁵ which extends two yojanas in breadth and four yojanas in length. It contains numerous places of pilgrimage and temples and that sacred to Bagala Devi is well-known. To the south of this temple is the Punya-pramodini stream and on the northern bank of the stream, a figure of the four-armed Vishnu and, about two kos to the south, the temple of Trishīrkha Devi. Next comes Shākambhari-kshetra⁶ sacred to Shākambhari Devi where her temple exists. She protects the sages in their devotions and here is a grove of Shāka trees and the tigers of the forest and the snake with the jewelled head pays her worship. Near it is the Sankara peak where the feast of lamps takes place on the eleventh of the dark half of Kārttik. To the south

¹ The confluence of the river from Triyugi with the Mandākini. ² The stream which flows by Triyugi-Nārāyan; the Sīnl of the maps. The fire has lasted here for three ages, hence the name Triyugi. ³ The Sinigadh of the maps and Jalmal of some travellers. ⁴ The valley of the Bhillang river in Tihri to the west of Triyugi. ⁵ In Tihri. ⁶ In Tihri.
of the peak is the Mārakata-ling surrounded by a hooded snake, and to the left of this is the Nandini river and the temple of Ruru Bhairab adorned with numerous bells, the hermitage of Shukra and mines of copper.

**Madh and Tung.**

Mahádeva then goes on to say that there are five kshetras which every one should visit, Kadár, Madh, Tung, Rudrálaya, and Kalp, all of which are within the Kedá-r-mandal. A Gaur Brahman is next introduced to tell a story in praise of Madmaheswar. Here is the sacred Sarasvati-tirtha regarding which the story of the hunter Shambuka is told to show its surpassing sanctity. The hunter and his dog followed the chase until they came near Madh where they met a joyous band of pilgrims singing the praises of the Sarasvati. The hunter cared naught for this and threw his dog into the pond and the dog on coming out shook off some of the water on to Shambuka, but such was the virtue of even this partial ablution in the sacred stream that on their death both hunter and dog were summoned to Siva's heaven. The Tungeswar-kshetra is next mentioned and is said to be two yojanas square, and its praise is sung in the story of Dhamadatta and his son Karmsharm. Dhamadatta was a good and pious man, but his son Karmsharm was a gambler and bad character and even induced his own sister to become as bad as himself. Dhamadatta died of a broken heart and his son seized the property and sold it, and squandering the proceeds took to highway-robbery as a profession. Meanwhile his sister turned courtesan and in her travels fell in with her brother and became his mistress. The brother was in the end killed in a forest by a tiger, but a crow took merely one of his bones and carried it to Tung-kshetra where it fell within the sacred tract, and such is the power inherent in the soil of these holy places that Karmsharm after some time spent with the Rishis was transported to the heaven of Siva.

This brings us to the Akáshganga¹ which finds its source in three springs on the summit of Tungnáth. To the west of Tungnáth is a Sphátik-ling² and to the south of this the Garur-tirtha

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¹ Argáskánni and Agáskamnee of the maps which takes its rise below the temple to Siva as Tungnáth on the Chandrasila peak. ² A white ling-shaped boulder sacred to Siva.
and about half a mile thence the Mán-sarovara in which the lotus grows. To the north of the Mán pond is the temple dedicated to Siva as Markateswar, and to the south of this near the hermitage of Mrikanda, the temple of Maheswari Devi. The sources of the Akáshganga is the best of all places for performing the funeral rites of ancestors.

**Rudranáth.**

The Rudrálaya or the 'abode of Rudrá' is also called the Mahálaya or 'great abode,' and is introduced by Mahádeo with a long account of his own power and greatness which we omit. Here is the Baitarani stream sacred to the ancestors where one pind equals a kror offered at Gya. Here is Shiumukh, the head of Siva, and the place where the Pándavas came to remove the sin of killing their brethren, but Mahádeo showed them not his face, and going to Kedár they obtained a sight of his hinder parts and so obtained salvation. At a distance of half a kos is the Mána pool, the waters of which are of a yellowish-red colour, and to the east of this is the Sarasvata pond in which lives the fish called Mrikunda and to the east of the pond a great ling in colour and form like a coral bead. On the fourteenth of the dark half of the month, the fish in the pond are fed and oblations are offered for the repose of the manes of ancestors. To the north-east is the pool with yellow waters where Mani Bhadra worshipped Siva. Kalpethal is the place where Durvásá Rishi performed austerities beneath a kalpa tree and thus obtained salvation. To the south of the Kalpeswar-ling is Kápila-ling and below it flows the Hairanvati stream, and to the south of it is Bhringeswar about two kos from Kalpeswar. Here there are also hot springs and some distance near them to the west is Gosthal-kshetra, when Mahádeva is worshipped as Parmeshwar (Pasupati) and an iron trisul or trident stands near his temple and an ever-flowering tree of great beauty. To the east Mahádeva resides as Jhasha-ketana-ha (or destroyer of Kandarpa, the god of love), after which his wrath being appeased by Rati, he became known as Rateswar and a pond near his temple is dedicated to Rati.

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1 In Mako village where the priests of Tungnáth reside during the winter.
2 The Rudrigadh of the map which flows through the valley in which is the Rudranáth temple.
3 Páti Urgam.
4 In Urgam village.
5 Gosthála in Malla Nágpur where is the Gopeshwar temple and the iron trident.
6 In the valley below Gopeshwar.
Badarináth.

The account of Badari is given in a conversation between Vasishtha and his wife Arundhati. The holy circle of Badari includes the entire tract (kshetra) between the hermitage of Kanwa and the peak of Nanda. Such is the efficacy of austerities performed there that oblations offered at Kanwa's shrine frees even thieves and the slayers of kine and Brahmans from the just punishment due to their sins. To him who bathes at Nandprayág and worships Rámapati there, further benefits are promised. The circle of Badari is three yojanas broad by twelve yojanas long, and contains the Gandhamádana, Badari, Nar-Naráyana and Kuvera peaks besides numerous streams and warm springs.

Patti Dasoli.

Nandprayág1 is so named after the virtuous Raja Nanda who here made a great sacrifice which was attended by the gods and many Brahmans. Here is the Vasishtheswar-ling and to the north of it the sin-cleansing Brihika and Birahwati.2 The latter is sometimes called the Kalyáni and received its present name from the austerities performed there by Siva himself. Here is a temple to Siva as Bisheswar, and to the east thereof the sacred pool of Manibhadrá,3 and to the south of this the Mahábhadrá stream, remarkable for the great fig-tree on its bank and the Súrya-túrtha. Two kos to the east is the temple of Gopeswari Devi where Raja Danda of the solar race performed austerities, hence the synonym Dandkáranya.

The valley of the Alaknanda.

On the north bank4 of the Alaknanda is the Bilvesvar temple surrounded with bel (Ægle Marmelos) trees with fruit as large as coconuts and smooth as jujubes. To the south of the river is the Garur-ganga, the stones of which have the power of removing the poison from snake-bites, and its yellow mud when smeared on the body imparts wisdom like Ganesa. To the north of the Alaknanda is the Charmanwati stream where is the hermitage of Raja Anant Sri and a temple dedicated to Chandi Devi and on the Mecha peak

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1 At the confluence of the Nandikini and Alaknanda. 2 The Bireh Ganga. 3 The Mahádeo lake in patti M. Dasoli. 4 In Malli Dasoli flowing from the Bhadra peak. 5 The description now follows the Alaknanda up to Badrináth. 6 Now the Meena stream in Urgam.
66 Himalayan Districts

A ling. To the north-east is the Gauriya hermitage where Devi subsisted on the leaves of the forest trees for a thousand years and gave the tract its present name Parankhandha. On the banks of the Alaknanda near the hermitage are a ling and pool known as Siva-kund. About a mile beyond is the pool Bishnu-kund, and two *kos* farther is Jyotirdhám¹ in which is the temple of Narisingh where Prahlád performed austerities. Here are also the pools known as Brahma, Bishnu, Siva, Ganesh, Bhringi, Rishi, Surya, Durgu, Dhanada, and Prahlád-kund, Náránda worshipped Vishnu at Bishnu-kund. From Jyotirdhám the traveller proceeds to Badari, and the Gandhamádána, peak by the confluence of the Dhaula and the Alaknanda (Ganga) near which are the pools already mentioned. The place is called Bishnuprayág and above it is the site of the hermitage of Ghatotbhava who became the watchman of Vishnu. Here there are hot-springs and the temple dedicated to Siva as Munéswar and one to Ghantakarn. There are numerous hermitages of holy men around and every pool forms the source of a stream and every peak the home of a god. Above Bishnuprayág is Pándusthán² where the Pándavas lived for a time engaged in devotion. Here is Pánvesvar Mahádeva. On the right bank of the river is the Nar peak with its thousand *lings* and places of pilgrimage and the Náráyan-kund. Next comes the Bindumati stream and two *kos* beyond is Bhaikhánas where the saints performed the *hom* sacrifice. Above this on the summit of the peak is the Jageswar Bhairab and the Kuvera rock. Then comes the Pravara stream and the temple of Badari where is the Kúrm-dhára and the five-rocks (*Panch-sila*), viz., Náradiya-sila, Báráhi-sila, Nárasinhi-sila, Márkandeya-sila, and Gáruri-sila, with their respective pools. Within the circle of these rocks is the throne of Vishnu. Here also is the Bahni-tirtha and the rock Brahm-kapál sacred to the *manes* of ancestors. Close to Badrináth and near the sources of the stream is Nrisinh in the form of a rock and the Náráyan-kund. A little less than a *kos* to the west is the Urvasi-kund where dwelt Pururuvas and Urvasi and two *kos* off is the Svarna-dhára, and on the banks of the river the Shesh-tirtha. To the left of Badrináth are the Indra-dhára, Deodhára, and Basu-dhára streams, the Dharm-sila and the Som, Satyapadam, Chakra, Dwádasáditya, Saptarshi, Rudr, Brahma,

¹ Joshimath. ² Pándukeswar, where the temple still exists.
OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

Nar-Naráyan, Byás, Keshava-prayág, and Pándavi-tírthas, the pool of Muchu-kunda and Manibhadra.

Episodes.

Some twenty chapters¹ devoted to stories in praises of the various tírthas now follow which may be dismissed after a very brief notice. Arundhati asks her husband to tell her something more about the great places of pilgrimage than their mere names, and he goes on to relate to her what he professes to have heard from Nárada regarding them. These stories show that whatever may be a man's desire he will obtain it by worship at Badari, and whatever may be his sins they will be forgiven if he supplicates the deity through the priests of Kedár and Badari. The first story tells how “Once upon a time there lived a very learned and pious Brahman named Bishnumana on the banks of the Drishadvati. Though the father was learned and good, the son Bishnurati grew up so ignorant and debauched that Bishnumana was obliged to expel the boy from his house. Bishnuvati joined a band of wandering musicians and came to Badari where he sang the great song in honour of Vishnu, and so pleased the god that he was allowed to live near Nárada-kund, and the sufferings which he had gone through in his travels were held sufficient punishment for the evils that he had wrought.” The next story tells how Sankara Vaisya, a resident of Pratisthán-pura,² longed for issue, and hearing of the virtues of a journey to Badari went there with his wife. There he found a number of Brahmans engaged in devotion, and after feeding them explained his object, and in return received from them a charm which he gave to his wife, who soon became pregnant, and in due time brought forth a son who was named Dharmadatta. When Dharmadatta grew to man's estate, and proceeded with his merchandise into strange lands, he became enamoured of a daughter of the Mlechchhas, who eventually plundered him of all his property. Dharmadatta returned to his father, who ordered him to make the round of Kedár and Badari in order to cleanse him of his sin. Next we have Janamejaya slaying eighteen Brahmans in order to enjoy the society of a beautiful woman that he met out hunting, and cleansed of his sin by a visit to Badari and the intercession of Vyása.

¹ From the 58th to the 78th
² Pratisthúna is probably Paithan on the Godáveri.
Chandragupta Vaisya, a resident of Avanti (Ujjain) had ten sons, and was one day visited by a Badarináth púnda by name Dharmadatta, who was asked to describe all the wonders of Badari. In reply Dharmadatta told the Vaisya the names of all the places of pilgrimages, and the advantages to be had from visiting them; that he should take all his property and go to Kedár and Badari, and give it to the Brahmans there, who would ensure his admission to paradise. Accordingly Chandragupta with his wife and sons sat off on a pilgrimage with Dharmadatta, and afterwards remained with him near Badari. Whilst there Chandragupta's wife lost a precious ivory ornament one day, and inquired from the sages who lived near what was to be done to recover it. They answered that she and her family should go the round of the places of pilgrimage again, and when this had been accomplished, and they had arrived a second time at Badarináth, the elephant from whose tusk the ornament had been made appeared, and with the whole party was at once conveyed to the paradise of Vishnu. Then comes a story of how Nárada standing on one foot sang the praises of Mahádeo for one hundred years at the confluence of the Mandákini and Alaknanda, now known as Rudrprayág, and how he was visited by the great god himself who here invented the musical nodes used in his worship. Then follows a long explanation of the various rágas, their use, value, authority, accompaniments, rules, divisions, &c. In illustration a story is told of Devásraya who had five sons, all of whom were learned and pious except Gopálsharma, who was so ignorant that he was denied the sacrificial thread, and was appointed as cow-herd. Gopál when he became of age reflected on his condition, and sought for those to whom he belonged, and for this purpose travelled to Kailás, and visiting the various holy places arrived hungry and tired at Rudrprayág. Some days afterwards whilst wandering about the sacred place he overheard a Brahman performing his devotions and saying "Om śiváya námah" as the great compelling invocation to the deity. Gopál immediately commenced repeating this simple litany, and when he had continued muttering the name for some hundred-thousand times, Siva took pity on him and revealed to him his origin and restored his faculties. Henceforth Gopál Siddh became known throughout the whole of Kedár as the favorite of Siva. The Brahmans who had
refused to partake of the feast prepared by Parasuráma were still under the curse pronounced by that sage and were known as Brahmarákshasas until restored by Gopál.

*Nilkanth and Pindar.*

Arundhati then asks whether the intercession of any other holy man has ever resulted in the release of such numbers as were saved through Gopál. She was told that the Nilkanth mountain lying between the peaks known as Shumbha and Nishumbha was the site of the great austerities performed by Rája Antideva, by virtue of which both the Rája and some thousands of Rákshasas were received into the heaven of Siva. The place is further marked by a temple to Mahisháni Devi. An account is next given of the Chakrakshetra which lies to the south of Mánasa and is known by the great bel tree and the temples dedicated to Bilweswar and Gáneswari Devi, the Heramb-kund and Bainuwa-tirtha. To the east is a temple to Chandi Devi and east of this a pool of yellow water and above it is Bikata-kshetra, so called from the son of Jambha Asura. Jambha had two sons, Bikat and Tat; the first adored Siva and the second Vishnu, and here is a temple dedicated to Siva as Bikateswar. Here is the Sailodak spring, the waters of which if applied to the eyes enable one to see where treasure is concealed. Here also is the Nandeswar temple. Tat-kshetra lies along the Pindar and is the place where Tat with his Daityas performed austerities, and above the site of his hermitage, in a forest surrounded by bel and other trees, is a temple dedicated to Siva as Brahmaputreswar. A little more than four kós to the north of the Brahmaputrasthán is the Pushkara peak where Pushkar and the Nágás worshipped Siva. Next comes the Muni-siddhini-kshetra, full of deer, trees, flowers, and birds, where Pushkar-nág lives. To the south-east is the temple of Chandika Devi and the Táreswar ling. To the south of this is the Káveri stream, where is the Kávereswar ling, and further south the Nág-dhára and Nigamálaya with the stream Páphára, where Dwipeswar, ‘lord of the Isles,’ died. The Jaleswar ling is

1 The Tat kshetra must occupy the greater portion of Pindarpár. I would place the Brahmaputra sthan in the Wán valley and the Pushkara peak might be identified with one of the spurs of Trisúl. There is still a temple to Sangal-nág at the confluence of the Kailganga and Pindar rivers at Talor and one to Bhékut Nág at Ratgaon and to Bánpa-nág at Margao in Painkhanda. We next have the valley of the Kailganga, and then that of the Pindar, after which the track round Karn-prayág called Siva-kshetra is reached.
within this tract and also a temple to Jaleswari Devi and four kos to the east the Benu-tirtha on the banks of a small stream. To the north-east of this stream is the Dandeswar and Maháganapati temples and also one sacred to Bhairab. To the south-east of the Brahmaputra the Gobind-tirtha at the source of the Pindar river, and the temple dedicated to Bhairab Devi. To the north-east of this temple is Binateswar, and further south is the Bishumiti-kshetra and the Bisheswar temple and pool. North of these is Gana-kund, the Saumyeswar temple, Kambha-kund and Dasamauli, where Rávan repented him of his evil deeds, and here also the Rávaneswári ling is established. Here is the Saudamini stream and on its banks the Sukameswar ling. North of the river is Kapila-tirtha, Kapileswar, Yogeswar, Bágeshwar, Brahmeswar, and a temple to Ganesh. At the confluence of the Pindar and Alaknanda is Siva-kshetra, where Karna performed austerities. Here are temples dedicated to Uma and Umeswar, the Bináyak-sila, Suraj-kund, the Dhananjaya Nág temple and the Ratna-prabha ling with its golden yoni. Close by is the Menukeswar temple, the Hivani stream and Pulaheswar ling, near which is the Brahma-sila of many colours. Above on the hill is the Manibhadra-kshetra and Maniwati stream, the Yáksheswar ling and sacred pool, Bameswar, the Dibeswar-kund where the lotus grows and the Debeshwar ling. To the left of the Dibeswar ling is Svarnákarsthán, the Svarneswar temple, the Indra-tirtha, where Bhairab in a black form seized and bound Indra, the Indreswar and Káleswar temples and also the rocks known as Bhím-sila and Hanumat-sila. The last mentioned is of a white colour and has the power of transmuting the baser metals into gold. Beyond these is Bhímeswar ling and temple.

Káli-kshetra.

Two yojanas to the north of Káli-kshetra¹ we arrive at the temple of Rákeswari Devi which marks the site where Shasila, the moon, was freed from the leprosy caused by the curse of Brihaspati. It was in the Nandan woods that the moon met the wife of Brihaspati and debauched her and was cursed by the sage and became a leper. The moon then prayed to Siva and offered oblations here

¹ Káli-kshetra or Kálikasthán, also known as Kálbangwára, is the tract along the Káli near its confluence with the Mandákini below Kálimath.
and obtained forgiveness. Arundhati then asks where the Rājas paid their devotions, and in reply was told that they visited the Kedār-tirthas and Kāli-kshetra on the banks of the Sarasvati. Siva is worshipped in Kāli-kshetra as Kāleswar and there is a great temple to Kāli herself and to the east about two kos is the temple of Turana Mandana Devi. To the north of the temple of Kāli is the temple of Kot-māyeswari Devi. To the north of the river at the junction of the Barana and Asi streams is Saumya Kāshi now concealed (gupta) and only five kos in extent, but hereafter to be revealed when its sacred precincts will comprise one hundred kos.

Jumna, Tons, and Dehra Dūn.

In the country to the west of the Ganges are numerous places of pilgrimage, the Brahma-dhāra and others.

Jumna and Tons.

The Jumna flows through the north-western portion of this tract and the Hiranyabāku joins it and their confluence is holy. Still further west is the Tamasa, and where it joins the Jumna is the Daksha-tirtha and north of it the Bishnu-tirtha. From the hill above the last-mentioned place of pilgrimage flows the Bimuktida stream, and at its junction with the Tons is a temple dedicated to Siva as Jyoteswar. To the north is the Hem-sringa peak from which flows the Siddha stream, and at its confluence with the Tons is the Siva-ling to which Brahma paid devotion. North-east of this are the Hiranyasaikata and Hemwati streams, and on the eastern bank of the latter stream the Kasyapa-tirtha. Further west is the Brahmaputra stream and on its banks the Brahmeswar-ling and the temple dedicated to Gāneswari Devi. To the north-west is the Satadru river and on its banks the Panchnadewar-ling, and west of this the Jambhu-sail, whence the Jambhu stream takes its rise. On the banks of the Jambhu is a temple dedicated to Bishhāra Devi and beyond it the Kāndhāra stream, an affluent of the Brahmaputra and at their confluence the Kāmakhyātirtha. From the Saundaryyāk peak flows the Sundari river to its

1 One with Maḥisha-mardini, slayer of Maḥish Aṣura. The story of Raktavijā is told at some length, how, accompanied by Shumbha and Nishumbha, he ravaged the country of Kāli and how she slew him after he had conquered Indra and the gods. Kottimāyeswari Devi assisted by spreading delusions amongst the Daityas and also Kālkeswari Devi, whose temple is about two miles above Kālikasthān.

2 Now called Gupt-Kāshi.

3 Includes western Tiṣṭi and Jauñas-Bīwar.

4 The Tons river.

5 Near Kālsī in Jaunār.

6 The Nāga peak of the maps.

7 The Satlaj.
confluence with the Mokshawati stream called Sundar-prayág, where is a temple to Sundari Devi. At Bishnu-prayág is the confluence of the Punyavati with the Bishnu-dhára. Once upon a time the ocean came to the Himálaya and there worshipped Siva for many thousand years: hence the origin of the Samudra-tirtha. When Brahma created the world, the Tamasa was created from the Brahma-kund and its confluence is the Rudra-tirtha and Bishnu-tirtha, where is an image of Vaishnavi Devi and, half a kos beyond, the Sakra or Indra-tirtha. To the south-east of the Barana-tirtha at a distance of twelve kos is the Bálakhilya peak and river and the Bálakhilyeswar-ling. To the north-east is the temple dedicated to Siva as Somesvar and from the hills around five rivers take their rise and afford numerous places of pilgrimage to the devout. One of the streams called Dharm has on its eastern side the Dharmkút peak where Dharm Rája performed austerities. To the south of this is the Siddhıkút peak and to the north Apsaragiri. To the north-east is the Yakshıkút peak and to the south of this the Saileswar-ling. From the peak of Nanda to Káshtgiri the entire tract is known as Kedár-mandal, and within it are innumerable lings, all worthy of the highest honour.

Máya-kshetra and the Ganges valley.

From Ganga-dwára to Ratuástambha and from the peak of Nanda to Káshtgiri is known as Máya-kshetra. To Brahmanasthán is twenty-three yojanas, between the Ganges and Jumna eight yojanas, Tiryak three yojanas, and Máya-kshetra twelve yojanas. Maya is Sati, the daughter of Daksha, who lived near Ganga-dwára, where is the Daksheswar-ling and the places known as Chandikatirtha, Drona-tirtha, Ráma-tirtha. To see Rikhikesh and Brahmatirtha even ensures the fruit of good works. Tapuban also is a place for performing the funeral rites of ancestors and Lakshmanasthán for achieving good fortune. Then whoever bathes at Siva-tirtha attains to the heaven of Siva. Near Ganga-dwára is the Nila peak sacred to Siva as Nileswar. Near the Bilwa-tirtha is the Siva-dhára and a great bel tree and a ling near which Nárada Muni

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1 The Suswa Nadi in the Dón, regarding which the story of the pigmy Brahmanas (bálakhil), is told.
2 Nágidh in the Dón.
3 Hardwár. The description now leads us up the valley of the Ganges.
4 In Dehra Dón, on the right bank of the Ganges.
5 In Dehra Dón near Lachman-jhúla.
6 Here follows some seven chapters describing Daksha's sacrifice. See Gaz., II., 283-290.
always dwells and the great Ashvatara Nāg with a jewel in his head and who sometimes appears as a sage and sometimes as a deer. In a cave to the left lived the Muni Rishīka and here on the fourteenth of the dark half of Shrāwan a light is seen and the voices of people talking are heard. About two gun-shots to the east of the temple of Bilvesvar is an excellent spring of water on the hill and below it a den of wild pigs. About a kos beyond is the temple and stream sacred to Brahmani Devi. About six kos from Bilwa-tirtha is the temple sacred to Siva as Trīmuṛtteswar, near which is the Sunaudi stream and the temple of Sunandeswar and the yellow stone known as Nandi-sila similar to the stone of the same name at Gaya and the ling called Nandeswar. A kos hence is the Bīrbhadra tapasthal and the temple dedicated to Siva as Bīrbhadreswar. About half a kos to the south are other pools and tirthas and līngs. Next comes an account of Kankhal with numerous stories of its various places of pilgrimage, the Kusha-tirtha, Bishnū-tirtha, Samudra-tirtha, Siva-tirtha, Gānesh-tirtha, &c. To the north of Ganga-dvāra the Kaumadvati stream joins the Ganges at Renuka-tirtha and about half a kos above the Bajra-sila stream. A kos to the north flows the Sankarballabha or Chakru stream and joins the Ganges where the temples dedicated to Siva as Sankareswar and Bīrbhadreswar stand. Two kos to the west is the Sālihotreswar temple and, a short distance beyond, the Rambha stream which joins the Ganges at Rambheswar.1

Kubjāmraka-kshetra.

We have next Kubjāmraka-kshetra, where is the Kumud-tirtha, to the south of which is the temple dedicated to Siva as Chandeswar, and near it the Sārshav-tirtha, where every Sunday the Sun comes in the shape of a bee and bathes in its waters. More holy still is the Purnamukh-tirtha, where are springs of warm and cold water and the Someswar-ling, and near it are the Kārbir-tirtha and Agni-tirtha. Next comes the Bāyavya-tirtha, the Aṣwatthā-tirtha with its great pipal (Ficus religiosa) tree, the Bāsawa-tirtha and Chandrika stream and Ganapā Bhairab of terrible form. These are succeeded by the Bārābi-tirtha and the Samudra-tirtha with its variously coloured waters. To the north of Kubjāmraka is the

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1 These appear to be in Tihri.
Rishi peak. Tapuban\(^1\) lies to the west of the Ganges and is the place where Ráma-chandra retired to devote himself to religious austerities. Below it is the Bilama-tirtha where Seshnág of the white body and coal-black eyes loves to dwell. To the north-west of Ganga-dwára is the hermitage of Ráma, and Ráma-kshetra extends for sixteen yojanas from the Dhenu peak to the Betravati stream. Within this tract is the Kelikheti stream, on which are temples to Chandi and Durga and also the Ghantakarn-tapasyasthán. To the west of the latter place is the Bhuteswar-líng and the Kubú stream and a great cave sacred to Márkandeya and other Rishis. There are also pools called after Ráma, Sita, and Hanumán, several lings and temples to Durga and Prabálika Devi. Drona-tirtha is near Deo-dhára where is the Deveswar-líng and the Deojanya stream. To the west is the Navadola stream and six kos north the Dhenu forest and Dhen stream. To the east of these is Kákáchalsthán and west of it the Renuka stream. To the east of this is the Paryenkini stream and at the confluence of the two, a place of pilgrimage. The place where Dasaratha shot the crow in the eye is called Pushpeswar-deosthal and is within the boundaries of Kákáchal. Dronasthal lies to the east of Máiya-kshetra and is held to be eight yojanas long and three yojanas broad.

**Nágáchal and Chandraban.**

To the south-east of Deo-dhára at a distance of about three miles is Nágáchal and to the west of it the Subhanshraba stream. Two kos to the west of the Deo peak is Chandraban, where there is a líng and sacred pool, and to the west of it the Chandaravati stream and on its right bank the Bishn-pár. To the north-east is the Subahan stream and west of it about two kos a temple to Gankunjur Bhairab at the source of the Gan-dhára, whilst a temple to Chandika crowns the summit of the peak. To the north is the Svarneswar-líng and half a kos beyond the Deogarh stream which joins the Sankaraballabha stream. To the west of Deo-dhára and on the other side of the Chandraban at a distance of about eight kos are the sources of the Jumna and Ganges with their numerous places of pilgrimage and sacred pools. The Chandreswar temple and pool and stream are all within the Chandraban.

\(^1\) As already noted this place is on the Tihri boundary in Dehra Dún.
The Jumna and Tikri.

To the west of the Jumna is the temple sacred to Káleswar and Káleswari and the Deojushta stream which joins the Jumna. East of the Jumna is Yavanesbaryya’s throne known also as Yavanesha-pith, four yojanas in extent. Within this tract is the Yoni peak, the Yoneswar ling and the home of Kúliya Nág, and here in former times the Yavan Kál came to pay his devotions and hence the names Yavanesha-pith and Káliya. To the south is the Brahma stream, and to the north the Rudra stream, and to the south of it the Bhas-mamaya Páni with the white coloured rock honoured as a ling. To the east is the Bishnu stream and more easterly still the Ráma stream which unite at Bishnu-tirtha. To the west on the banks of the Jumna is the Shiu-tirtha, the Rishi-kund and Sharabhang-tirtha and the Vasishttha-tirtha on the Brahma stream. From the peaks above Vasishteswar flow seven streams. To the west of the river is the Surakút peak where is the temple to Sureswari Devi and west of it that to Kalika. To the north-west of the Brahma peak is the Sundari-pith and the Brahmaputra stream, the Sundareswar-ling, and the Haimvati stream which joins the Sundari and then forms a tirtha. The Haimvati has its source in the Siva peak, and on its banks is the Bhagvati ling, to the south of which is a pond with yellow water and the Bhuteswar-ling. Next comes Indra-kund and to right of it the Sakra-tirtha and Rudra-tirtha and, on the banks of the river, the Trisul-tirtha. To the west is the Mahatkumári-pith where is the temple dedicated to Siva as Saileswar and the Bálwata stream. To the north is the Kunjurkút peak where are temples dedicated to Bála and Tittirparnaka Devi. The latter is situated at the confluence of the Muni and Parni streams. To the north is the Bedbarana stream and to the west the Dewal rises on the peak of the same name. Here is the temple dedicated to Siva as Dewaleswar and the Dugdh-dhára.

Bhágirathi and affluents.

To the east of the river (Ganga) is the Chandrakút peak where is the temple to Bhubaneshi Devi and on the summit the Jagates-

1 This is the only allusion to the Báktrian Greeks that has been found.
2 Sarkot at the head of the Rám-Sera valley.
3 The name Ganga or ‘the river’ is applied either to the Bhágirathi or to the Alaknanda according to the locality.
war-ling. To the south is the Nágeswar temple and near it the Bhagwati stream; to the north-west is Bágeswar and west of it the Nákshatra Panch-dhāra and Chámra-dolini streams and the temple to Chámreswar. Gardabha Asura was slain by the Rishis on the mountains above Chámreswar now marked by the temple of Gardabhokharnádini Devi. To the west on the banks of the river is the hermitage of Brahma and the Koteswar-ling. In the same tract are several lings and pools and places of pilgrimage. Bhadrsen’s hermitage is also here and to the north-east near Bhillang-sarovara the Sateswar-ling, and at the confluence of the Bhillang and Bhágirathi the temple to Gáneswar and the Dhanush and Shesh-tírtha.

To the north of the river is the Málvatya hermitage, near which is the Ashmurtteswar-ling. To the west near the Kútádri range is the Raudrisila, and to the south of it Yaksharaja’s tapasthal and to the west on the Shekhar peak the Parnaban. Next comes the Gobardhan peak with its ling and temple, and to the south on the west bank of the river the Bháskara-kshetra with its ling, pools and temple. Then comes the Navala stream and to the south Gaumukh. West of Bháskara-kshetra is the Ghantakarn-Bhairab, the temple to Kandumati Devi, the Bráhmi-sila and the Mokshavati stream which joins the river at Moksha-tírtha.

Deprayág.

At the confluence of the Ganga and Alaknanda is the great Deprayága-tírtha¹ and the Brahma-kund where Brahma made his devotions before commencing the creation of the world. To the north of the Bhágirathi is a Siva-ling and between the two rivers the Swayambhúva-ling. Near the confluence we find also the Baitálika-sila, Betál-kund, Siva-tírtha, Suraj-kund, where Medhatithi performed austerities, Vasish-tírtha, Báráhi-tírtha, Báráhi-sila, Paushpamálá-tírtha, where the Kinnari Pushpamálá performed austerities, and Pradyumnasthal. Near the Pradyumnasthal is the Baijpáyan-kshetra, where there is a cave containing an image of Bishnu, and about half a kos beyond near the Gridhráchal peak, the Bilwa-tírtha. Above Suraj-kund is the Rishi-kund, on the right bank of the Ganga is the Saur-kund and east of the confluence and on the right bank is the temple dedicated to Siva as Tundiswar and

¹ Deprayág in Tihri.
about four bow-shots off the Danweswar temple near the Danwati stream. At the confluence of the Danwati are five well-known lings: Bisweswar, Mahá-ling, Tátakeswar, Tundíswar, and Danweswar. The Bisweswar-ling was established by Ráma. To the south of Deoprâyág, where the small Nabálika stream unites with a branch of the Bhágirathi, is the Indraprayág-tirtha and Indra and Dharm-kund. To the south lies the Dhanush-tirtha, the Brahmadhára and Indreswar-ling. To the east of the Nabálaka is the Trisúl-tirtha, pool and stream, and to the south the Urmika stream and to the east again the Vainateya stream whose confluence is marked by the temple to Garureswar. To the south is the Bibhávini stream and at its confluence the temple sacred to Bháveswari Devi. To the left is the Mend stream and to the right the Rájendri stream and at their confluence the Prithi-tirtha, where Prithu performed austerities marked by the site of the Pritheswar-ling. To the south the Kapinjala stream rises on the Kapardak peak which is honoured by a Siva-ling, and to the east the Chandrakút peak has another called Deveswar, near which flows the Chandratoya stream. Next comes the Lángal peak with its Lángaleswar-ling, and to the south-west the Manjukula stream which has at its confluence the Bhim-tirtha. About a kos to the east is the Pingalika rock where is a temple dedicated to Ban Devi. Half a kos to the west is the Dhenu stream and half a kos to the south the temple dedicated to Trisúleswari Devi.

About two kos from the Nabálaka stream is the Diptijávaleswari-pith where, in former times, lived the daughter of Puloma. Hence to the east is the place where Kandu performed austerities and the Kándavi stream and a temple to Uma Devi and the Kaibaleswar-ling. To the south flows the Kápilanírini stream and to the east is the hermitage of Kapila and south-east the Ráshtракúta peak. The Rathabáhini is like the Nabálaka, and about eight kos to the south of it is the Banyasríkeswar-ling and a pool with yellow-coloured waters. Some twelve kos to the south is the temple dedicated to Devaráshtreswari Devi with its pools, streams and lings. To the west is the Punyakút peak where is the pool and temple sacred to Nandeswar, and to the south-west the Sundar peak with

1 The Chandrabadini peak.
the stream and temple sacred to Sundareswar. Some twelve kos to the west by south is the Bhúrideo peak where the prince of that name performed austerities and called the peak and stream after himself. This stream joins the Nabálaka at the Bhavanáshtára, where are temples sacred to Bhaváni Devi and Bhavamochan. To the south is the Síhlo peak where a Bhil of that name performed austerities, and to the left about ten kos off a pond, to the west of which flows the Svettarangíni stream. To the south-west is the Karíndrádri peak, whence flows the Karíni stream, and at its confluence is the Bhairáb-tára and on the summit of the peak the Mandareswar-ling. Below it on the right side flows the Bhadra-tára or Bhrigupatni stream, and at the confluence is the Darídra-nibáran-tára where Lakshmi resides. Eight kos to the south is a temple to Kálika and twelve kos to the east are the Bhiríni and Bharáni streams, and at their confluence the Bhrigu-kund, whilst the Bimáyk-tára lies four kos to the south of Indraprayág. To the north-east of the Kubjánraka-kšetra on the western bank of the river is the temple dedicated to Siva as Yogeswar, the Siva-tára and Suraj-kund. To the east of the Alaknanda is the place where Benu performed austerities and about eight kos to the west is the Bishwa stream and on the Támráchal peak a temple sacred to Guhyesvari Devi and one dedicated to Bhairáb. To the east is the Nándhídreswári temple close to the Mená stream and to the left of it the temple of the Devi known at various times as Gúnahíri or Sátwiki or Rájasimata or Támasí, and here is the Náràyáni stream. To the east of the Chandrákút peak is the Kaleswár Bhairáb.

Sri-kšetra.

From Kolottamáng to Kolkaleswar is known as Sri-kšetra\(^1\) in extent four yojanas long and three yojanas broad. To the south on the Kínás peak is the Yamkashlián. To the north of the river about two kos is the Kolásur peak and the Menúka stream with the Menúkeswar-ling. Half a kos beyond is Deo-tárrha, where Bhu-kund paid reverence to Siva, a place marked by the Bhukundeswar-ling. To the south is the Suraj-dhára and to the left the Chand-dhára and again the Bahní or Agni-dhára. To the north of the

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\(^1\) The tract of which Srinagar is the principal place.
river is the Syámala stream named after the daughter of Kolásura. Close to Indraprayág is the Drishadvatí stream which flows from the peak of the same name and half a kos beyond the Kandika stream. In a cave on the summit is an image of Kandika Devi. To the north of the river is the Saktijeti stream and at its confluence a temple sacred to Siva as Ganesvar. Half a kos onwards is Bhawánisthán, and at the confluence of the Sankhwati with the river is a temple to Siva as Nahusheswar. Above this is Devipíth and on the banks of the river Upendrája-píth, in which are two streams. On the hills above is a temple to Kandukèsvar Bhairab and on the banks of the river the Lásyu-tírtha and a temple to Visvanáth, and above them the Máya Devi and Máyeswar temples. At the junction of the Gori and the river is Gauri-prayág and Bágeswari-dhára with a temple to Lakshmi and above it one to Nágswar. About a kos from where the Indráni meets the Gori is Rishi-prayág and one kos further Bribhwa-prayág. Beyond this is the Indra-punyatam-tírtha. About half a kos from the confluence of the Kumbhika and Gori is Bishunáth and a kos above it Mukti-prayág. One kos above on the mountain is the hermitage of Alarka. Near Gauri-prayág is the Svarneswar-ling and the temple to Bináyakeswar and on the banks of the river the Bináyak-kund. On the right bank of the river is the Manjavati-dhára and a bow-shot off the hermitage of Alarka and above on the hill is the Manjugosh Bhairab. Siva-prayág is situated at the confluence of the Khandava and the river. About half a mile onwards the Kali-ka stream is met with and half a kos onwards on the Kari peak a temple sacred to Kavi Bhairab. Below this is the confluence of the Khandava and Batsaja streams and above them the Siva-kút peak, whence flows the Náráyani and Rágketti streams. To the north of the river is Dundi-prayág and above it the Panyavati stream takes its rise in the Kuvera peak. Near this is the Kani-tírtha, the Dwijhvak-kshetra, Sanpat-dhára, and on the peak above Danditapasthal with its golden-coloured image of Ganesh. To the east is the temple to Siva as Nirmáleswar and the Jambhu stream and the Dandika-tírtha. To the east of Siva-prayág on the right bank of the river is the Siva-kund, a ling five cubits high and the Deo-tírtha. On the north of the river in a cave is Ratirupa Devi and

1 There are names given to very small torrents which join the Ganges.
other deities and several places of pilgrimage, ponds and holy streams.

Close to the Kasi peak is the Bhairavi stream and the Satya-sand tapasthal with Sri-kund and to the east the Bhúsuta stream. To the north of the river above Mundadaitya is the Brahma-kund, and on the right bank about four bow-shots off is Aswi-tirtha, where is the Bhringi-sila and at the confluence of the Sarasuti the Dhanush-tirtha. Next comes the Bhairavi-píthā and to the north of the river Kuver-kund, where is the temple dedicated to Ráj-rajeshwari Devi and the Shravaneswar-ling. Then comes the enumeration of the temples about Srinagar itself, nearly all of which are mentioned with characteristic anecdotes either of the form of the deity worshipped therein or of the persons who established them. On the right bank of the river above Bhairavi-tirtha is the Maheswar-ling, and to the east the red boulders known as Bráhmī-sila and Vaishnavi-sila. Rámachandra offered lotus-flowers to Siva here: hence his form as Kamaleswar,1 and there is also a temple to him as Nágeswar a short distance beyond. The Katakavati flows from the Golaksha peak, and at its confluence with the Alaknanda is the temple to Katakeshwar. To the north of the river is the Nripeswar temple and the Indra-kund and two arrow-flights to the south, the Siva-dhára and Siva-tapasthal.

Above Kamaleswar is the Bahini peak and Bahini stream and numerous springs of very pure water: also the cave and hermitage of Ashtabaktra Muuni. Numerous hermitages, temples, caves, pools and streams on Indrakila and the surrounding peaks within Sri-kshetra are now mentioned, few of which are held in estimation at the present time. Amongst the streams noticed are the Manohari, Deovati, Madhumati, Manonnini near the Kilkileswar temple, and Jiwanti near a great cave and the Sudyumna tapasthal. The temple to Kans-mardini Devi is on the south bank of the river2 where Chapala Apsara performed austerities. Then there is the Mandhar forest and Siva-tirtha where Bharadhvaj worshipped Siva, the Golakshaja-tirtha, Bináyak-tirtha and the Koteswar-ling. Next the Gogal river and tirtha and the image of Ganesh with ears like a sieve and known as Sūrppakarn. On the Mohendra peak is a

1 This temple is in Srinagar itself.  2 In Kotiya village.
great cave communicating with the bank of the river Alaknanda and within it lives Ganapa Bhairab. The Pábani flows from this peak and beyond it is the temple of Mahendreswar. Half a kos from Kateswar on the right bank of the river is the hermitage of Sukra, the Bhárgar-kund and Punya-kund and Sukradhára and Sukreswar temple. In a cave to the north is the Smashánesvar Bhairab and near it the hermitage of Parasuram. Three miles from the river and to the west of the Chaitravati stream is the Gauripith, and above it the Dípeswar temple where Díppál worshipped Siva and near it a temple to Kalika Devi.

Half a kos to the left is a beautiful spring known as Siddhadrava, and near it is the Mauktikhákhya-ling. To the north of the river and south of the Chaitravati stream is the Harshavati stream and at its confluence with the Ganges the Turungareswar temple. Then the Rudra-tírtha and the Gosthavashrama-kshetra with stream, pond, temples and ling. Above the Harshavati some two kos is a temple to Táreswari Devi. The Sri-dhára lies to the north of the river. The Pattavati is about two kos from the Harshavati and next comes the Lohavati, and where the Pattavati joins the stream coming from the Tailasyáma peak there is a tírtha, and at its confluence with the Alaknanda the Jagadeswar-ling. To the east flows the Sunanda from the Koldeh peak and then the Yashovati stream.

**Parnashanáshrama-kshetra.**

The Parnashanáshrama-kshetra extends from the Akol hill to Nággiri. The confluence of the Mandákini with the Alaknanda is known as Surajpráyág¹ and above it is the hermitage of Visvámitra. In the neighbourhood is the Vasisht-kund, Sura-sila, Atri-kund, Gautam-tapasthal, Bháraddhvaj-tapasthal and the Tripureswar-ling. Next comes the Chhinna. Mastakeswari-pith, and to the left the Bhíma-dhára, Bhímeswar temple, Párvati-kshetra and Párvati-kund. To the north-east is the Kamandulabhaya stream and the temple of Punyamati Devi and Jalaesvar. To the east some two kos is the temple of Kúrmásana Devi, and further east the Muni stream, on which is the Sileswar temple and some distance on the **Rudpráyág.**
Himalayan Districts

Some three kos to the west in the Muneshwar-ling and the Siddheswar-ling in Mayabidhasthán on the Mayabini stream, and at its confluence with the Bhadrabela is the Shesheswar temple. Some eight kos to the west of the Lasyutaramani is the Bhatágar, and to the south-east from the banks of the Mandákini, the Gangeswar temple and Sivasri-dhára. Further on Babulingeswar is found on the bank of the Alaknanda and east of it on the same river Parnashanáshrama. To the east of the latter tract is Devi-kund and a Nágasthán containing a pool, ling and temple. The Támra stream flows from the Pushkar peak, and to the east at a distance of two yojanas on the banks of the Sarasvati is the hermitage of Sagara, where a trisul is imbedded in the ground. The place where Siva went to Kailás is called Gosthal, and there is the temple sacred to him as Siddheswar, and to the east is the Digambareswarling.

Mandákini valley.

Six yojanas to the south of Kedár is the tract known as Guptbaránasi some two yojanas broad, and here flow the Ganges and Jumna concealed from sight and here is the temple to Siddheswar. To the west is the place where Nala performed austerities marked by the site of Nal-kund, and again the temple to Ráj-rájeswári Devi. On the banks of the Mandákini, Mandháta, the august son of Yuvanaswa, performed austerities, and to the west of this is the temple to Siva as Báneshwar. On the Phethkárini peak is a temple to Durga and her lord Durgeswar. To the north-east some two kos are temples to Mahádevi and Dwetapati Mahádeo and the Dánwati-dhára. Maheshamardaní has a temple here where she slew the great Asura, and near it is the Patumati stream. To the south is the Kumbhika-dhára and above it is Bishnaneswar. Vyása still lives in a great cave on the Khandákhyá peak, to the south of which flows the Sávitrí stream through the Bedmátri-sthal. To the north-west of Kedár and west of the Alaknanda is

1 Agastiyamuni or Agastmuni on the Mandákini. 2 In Tihri. 3 Lastur river in Tihri. 4 In village Phalast in Tailá Nágpur. 5 Tract around Nágnath in Bichhla Nágpur. 6 Apparently above Pokhrí village in Bichhla Nágpur, where Pushkar Nág is worshipped. 7 Here we get back to Gopeawar. 8 Gupt-Káshi in Mání village. 9 Nálapán. 10 In Rénsi Tarsáli village. 11 Temple in Ukhimath. 12 In Tríyúgi-Jákh village. 13 In Tríyúgi-Jákh village.
the Renuka peak, which also has a temple dedicated to Maheshamardini. To the south is the Bishwa stream which is joined by the Kapila stream, and at their confluence is the Kāpileswar temple. Beyond this is the Jamadagneswar and Bilaleswar temples and the place where Bālyati, son of Vyāsa, fixed his hermitage. Beyond this is the Nāg river and the great black boulder above which is the Ghosheswar temple.¹ To the left some half a kos off is Dharma-sila and the temple to Dharmeswari Devi, then to the east on the river-bank the Shahi-tirtha, also called Deo-tirtha. About a kos to the north-east is Dhenu-tirtha and near it Kāśhtadri or Kāśhtagiri, amid whose forests Siva is worshipped as Kāśhteswar.

West of the Alaknanda.

Some half a yojana to the west of the river is a great peak called Bhalladri, where there is a bar tree (Ficus Indica) whose shade extends over four kos and the Bālakhilya stream. The place where the latter joins the Jahnavi is known as Muni-tirtha and has a temple dedicated to Siva as Bālakhilyeswar. Some half a kos hence is the Kapila river, and above it on the hill the Kapil Bhairab. Some twenty-four kos to the north of 'the river' is the hermitage of the Rishi Lomas, near which is the source of the Lomas river. To the north are the white mountains and at the source of the Ganga the Bhāgirathi tapasthal and to the north of it the source of the Yamuna. To the north of the Yamuna is the Ratnakoti-giri, where is the hermitage of Pulastya and the Brahmajvāla stream. In the latter is the Agni-hrad, and to the north-east, on the summit of the mountain, the pool known as Muni-jvāla and numerous mines. Siva is worshipped here as Nilkantheswar, and to the east is the Siddhakūt peak, to the south of this is Uma-kund and Gauri-kund with their warm springs. The river flowing to the west is called Siddhatarangi and on its banks is the Siddh-tirtha. To the north is the Trikūtādri, from which flows the Sudhatarangi, and at its confluence the place is called Sudha-tirtha. The Brahma and Rudrabhadra stream also take their rise in this tract, and at

¹ Probably the junction of the Māna-rudra with the Jādh above Nilang, known as Nāg encamping-ground.
their confluence is the Brahma-tirtha, where Dikpál performed austerities. To the north flow the Chitravati river and the Bhasmadhára and their confluence is known as the Bhasma-tirtha. The Kámdhára joins the Brahmaputra stream at Dhurva-tirtha, and above it the Sundari flows from the Sundar peak and the Mokshavati and their confluence is called Sundar-prayág. The remainder is taken up chiefly with detailed descriptions of places in Tihri.
CHAPTER II.

HISTORY—(contd.)

CONTENTS.


Before considering the ethnography of the Puránas it will be well to notice here the other early records and traditions that we possess regarding this portion of the Himálaya. Although we can hardly reckon amongst them the edicts of Asoka, yet a copy of these edicts and perhaps the most interesting amongst the many that exist was found at Kálsi or Khálsi in the western part of Dehra Dún. Asoka lived in the latter half of the third century before Christ and the existence of his edicts in the Dehra Dún would perhaps show the limit of his power in this direction and that the Dún, even at that early period, must have been of some importance, for it would manifestly be of little use to place an inscription of the kind in an uninhabited jungle. This record is inscribed on a great quartz boulder lying about a mile and a half above Kálsi near the villages of Byás and Haripur and just above the junction of the Tons and the Jumna. It is known locally as the Chitrasila or 'ornamented stone' and was discovered in 1860 by Mr. Forrest, c.E. General Cunningham considers the Kálsi text to be in a more perfect state than that of any other of

1 Arch. Rep., I, 247. A complete transcript of the whole inscription has been made and published by the same scholar in his Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum; Calcutta, 1878. Táránátha (Ind. Ant. IV., 361) states that Asoka received the town of Pátaliputra in appanage 'as a reward for his victory over the people of Nepál who dwelt in the kingdom of Kasya.'
the similar edicts found elsewhere, especially in the portion of the thirteenth edict which contains the names of the five Greek kings Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander. There are, apparently, no ruins in the neighbourhood which should lead one to suppose that the record marks the site of an ancient city. The Chinese Buddhist traveller Hwen Thsang, who visited Srughna\(^1\) in the middle of the seventh century, a place identified with the ruins of Sugh on the right bank of the Jumna not far below Kálsi, is silent as to the existence of inscriptions or even of the Dún itself. We may, therefore, well accept the local statement that for some centuries after the Christian era the Dún was deserted. Mr. Williams records\(^2\) the tradition that Rája Rásálu once lived at Haripur near Kálsi, where his stronghold lies buried beneath a great mound (tibri). This Rásálu was, according to tradition, the son of the great Sáliváhana, from whom the Saka era takes its name and who possessed a residence also at Khairamúrtti, near Ráwal Pindi.\(^3\) Another tradition makes the stone the boundary mark between the dominions of the Nága ruler of the hills and the Rájas of the plains.

There are a few notices in the early Greek and Roman Geographers that can be assigned to the Himálaya of these provinces, and these have been collected from the accounts given by the companions of Alexander, by Megasthenes and Daimachus and the merchants, who from a very early period held commercial intercourse with the east. The only special treatise on India that has come down to us is the Indica of Arrian, a work of very little value for our present purpose, and the fragments of those that are missing do not lead us to expect that we should gain much by their recovery. Pliny the elder and Ptolemy of Alexandria give us the best accounts of India. Pliny completed

\(^1\) Gaz. II., 245.  
\(^2\) Memoir of Dehra Doon, p. 76.  
\(^3\) The local legends of the country about the Tons and the Jumna are full of allusions to Rásálu. The outline story is common to all that he was son of Sáliváhana, the founder of Sálváhanpur or Syálkot, and was at feud with the seven Rákshánas who lived in Gandgarh and Máukpur. It was their custom to eat a human being every day and Rásálu delivered the people from this hateful tax. Colonel Abbott has given a very interesting summary of the Panjáb traditions: J. A. S. Ben. XXIII., 59, 128, and General Cunningham also refers to them, Arch. Rep. II., 21, 153. Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac has called attention to certain archaic sculpturings on a rock near Dwára Hát in Kumaon similar to the ‘cup-marks,’ found on monoliths and rocks in various parts of Europe. Other markings of a similar nature occur on boulders near Devi Dhúra and elsewhere in eastern Kumaon. J. A. S. Ben. XLVI., 1, p. 1.
his great work in 79 A.D., and had before him the records of Alexander's expedition and Megasthenes' journey in compiling his account of India from the Indus to Palibothra (Patna), the capital of the Prasii. At the close of the chapter on China, Pliny states:—

"After the Attacori we find the nations of the Phruri and Tochari and in the interior the Casiri of Indian race who look towards the Skythians and feed on human flesh. Here nomad tribes of Indians also wander. There are some who state that these nations touch on the Cicones and Brysari." Now 'Conæ' and 'Chiconæ' are also read for 'Cicones,' and 'Conæ' and can only refer to the Kunets of Kunáor, which is known to the Tibetans as Kunu. The Attacori are the Uttara Kurus of the Hindu books, probably as already suggested inhabitants of the hilly country beyond Kashmir. Near them were the Phruri, a sub-division of the Sakas at one time, in Yarkand and to be identified with the Phaunas of Indian writers, and the Tochari or Turushkis, a branch of the Yueh-ti who gave kings to Kashmir. The Casiri are one with the Khasiras, a tribe of the Khasas, who are mentioned in the Mahábhárata thus:—"Abhíras, Daradas, Kasmíras with Pátiis, Khasíras, Antácháras (or borderers)," clearly showing their position in the hills to the west of the Jumna. The nomad tribes may be identified with the Pátiis of sPiti and the Brysari with the people of Basáhr. The statement that the Casiri feed on human flesh is merely an allusion to the name Yaksha by which the Khasas were commonly known in ancient times. We know that they were numerous in the neighbourhood of Kashmir which is named from them and not from the mythical Kasyapa and under the name Yakshas were employed by Asoka not only to build his great chaityas but also as mercenaries. They were found also in Kipin, to which the Kálbul valley belonged and in Gandhára.

In his chapter on India, Pliny gives a general view of the position and size of India and of the sources of his information. He brings us first from the Indus to the Ganges and thence to Patna. He then adds:

"The nations whom it may not be altogether inopportune to mention after passing the Emodian mountains, a cross range of which is called 'Imans,' a word

1 Jam Indorum Casiri, introrsus ad Scythas versi, humanis corporibus vescuntur. 2 Wilson, VI, 83: the people of Kashmir are known to the present day amongst their neighbours as Kashíras, not Kasmíras. 3 Ind. Ant. IV, 101, 141.
which in the language of the natives signifies ‘snowy,’ are the Isari, the Cosyri, the Izi, and upon the chain of mountains, the Chisiotosagi with numerous peoples which have the surname Brachmanes, among whom are the Maccoalingea. There are also the rivers Primas and Cainas, which last flows into the Ganges, both of them being navigable streams. The nation of the Calingae comes nearest to the sea and above them are the Mandel and the Malli. In the territory of the last-named people is a mountain called Mallus; the boundary of this region is the Ganges.*** "The last nation situate on the Ganges is that of the Gangaridas Calingae’***  
In the Ganges there is an island of very considerable size, inhabited by a single nation: it is called Modogalinga.”  

The country of the Darda is the most productive of gold, that of the Sete of silver. ** * * * ** The mountain races between the Indus and the Jumna are the Cesi, the Cetriboni who dwell in the forests (sylvestres), and after them the Megallae, whose king possesses 500 elephants and an army of horse and foot, the numbers of which are unknown; then the Chrysei, the Parasangae and the Asmagi, whose territory is infested by wild tigers: these people keep in arms, 30,000 foot, 300 elephants and 800 horse. They are bounded by the river Indus and encircled by a range of mountains and deserts or a distance of 625 miles. Below these deserts are the Dasi and Suri.”

The arrangement here is somewhat confusing. Pliny mentions the Kalingae, apparently the people of the coast of Coromandel, then the Marundai or Mandai, the people about Benares, and then the Malli or Multáuis. Imaus is derived from the Sanskrit ‘Himavat’ as Emodus is from ‘Himídri,’ both meaning snowy. His Isari and Cosyri here can only be the Brysari and Casiri of the preceding quotation. Next to the east in the hills comes the Izi, who may be identified with a tribe in the Mahábhárata called Ijkas who are named between the Súrasenas or people of Mathura, and the Kanyakágunas, Tilabháras, Sumiráras and Mádhumattás, which last are one with the Kashmíras. These Ijkas lived close to the Chisiotosagi, also called Chirotozagi or Kirátakas along the lower course of the Ganges in Garh ál: the upper portion of the same river being occupied by Brahman colonies and Macca or Maga Kalingas, a name probably connected with the Mriga tribe of Brahmons who are recorded as the Brahman of Sáka-dvípa in the Puránas. We have moreover in the Váriha-smhita the name “Mágadhika-kalinga” occurring between Panchála and Avartta. Now Panchála is clearly the middle Duáb and Avartta is the same as the Heorta of Ptolemy, a town of the Tangani, so that Mágadhika-kalinga must refer to the country on the upper course of the Jamna or of the Ganges, more correctly called Kylindrine by Ptolemy.

1 The Tons below Allahabad near Panása and the Ken.  
2 Mandaširi or Munger.  
3 They include the Kunetas, who to this day are divided into Khasiyas and Bans.
The country of the Dardæ lay along the upper Indus—\textit{sub-fontibus vero Indi Daradæ et horum montana supereminent}—a tract celebrated then as in the time of Hwen Thsang for its gold-washings, and the Setae are the people of Wazírí-rúpi or 'the silver country' of the Wazírs' in British Kulu. Ptolemy places a city called Sæta in his trans-Himalayan tract near Aehasia regio or the country of the Khasas. The Cesí named first amongst the mountaineers are clearly the Khasas; with them are the Cetriboni,\textsuperscript{1} a name of which the first part may be compared with the Chatriaioi of Ptolemy, and who occupied the tract south of Shaikhávati and therefore with the Kshatriyas, a tribe (not a caste) mentioned in the Puránas. The remaining names must be assigned from the context to the lower Indus valley or its neighbourhood. The outcome of this inquiry is that according to Pliny the Khasas occupied the country far to the west of their present location in Kumaon and Nepál, and that the Kirátakas with the Tanganas held the country between the Tous and the Sárda.

It is, however, to Ptolemy that the student of ancient geography owes his greatest debt. He was born about Ptolemy. 87 A.D. and died in 165 A.D., having completed his great work about 151 A.D. He defines cis-Gangetic India as the country to the west of the Ganges as far as its confluence with the Sarju to the south of the Gházipur district. Although he must have known many more names, he gives us only three rivers as affluents of the Ganges—\textit{viz.}, the Jumna, Sarju and Son, under the names Diamuna, Saraboa and Soa. At the sources of the Indus he places the Daradæ; at the sources of the Jhelam, Ravi and Chínáb were the Kasperaioi, and at the sources of the Biás, Satlaj, Jumna and Ganges, the Kulindas, whose country was called Kyliudrine. The first are the people of Astor, Gilgit and the neighbouring countries; the second, the people of Kashmir and of the hill states between it and the Satlaj, and the third will be the people of the hills between the Satlaj and the Ganges. The Kulindas are mentioned in the Mahábhárata as inhabiting the upper valley of the Ganges within the Himálaya and they appear to have been independent of Kashmir. Between the Biás and the Chínáb was the small state of the Pandavas, and on the lower course of the Indus as far as the embouchure of the Narmada below Gujrát lay Indo-

\textsuperscript{1} The two last syllables clearly refer to the Sanskrit 'vana,' 'forest.'
Skythia. The Chatriaioi held the tract south of Shaikhavati and the Gymnosophoi occupied in large numbers the country near the sources of the sacred rivers. To the south in the upper Duab were the Datichæ, who possessed three towns to the west of the Ganges—Konta, Margara and Batankaissara (Batesar), and two to the east—Passala (Bisauni? and Orza. It is strange that Kanauj is not clearly indicated in any of these lists. Ptolemy mentions only two nations on the left bank of the Ganges—the Tanganai and Marundai. The Tanganai were the most northern of all the peoples along the Ganges and they occupied also the upper portion of the Sarabas or Sardha. They are mentioned in the Mahabharata1 thus:—"Kântikas, Tanganas, Paratanganas, northern and other fierce barbarians, Yavanas, Chinas," and are placed by the Vâyu Purâna and Râmâyana amongst the mountain tribes in the north. South of the Tanganai were the Marundai, who occupied a broad belt along the Ganges from Borita2 to its confluence with the Tista. They appear to have been a small and warlike tribe who were able to take and hold possession of the country near the great river, but were not numerous enough to occupy the inner lands lying near the mountains nor to resist the power of Kashmir. Kassida or Kashi belonged to this nation, who are regarded by Wilford as a branch of the Indo-Skythians and in fact the same as the Hûnas. Thirteen kings of this dynasty are said to have reigned in Northern India. In the Pûrânas they are ranked with the Mlechchhas or foreigners and are considered to be the Maryanthes of Oppian, who states that the Ganges ran through their country. To the east of the Tanganai came the Takorai,3 Korankaloi and Parsadai, and to the south of the Marundai were the Gangarides in the delta of the Ganges.

The information given by Ptolemy shows us that in the second century of our era, Eastern India comprised the kingdom of Kashmir, which was bounded on the north by the snowy range; on the south by the kingdom of the Pandavas, and on the east the boundary line extended from Dehli to Mathura and then as far as Bhupal. In the hills the Tanganai, a sub-division of the Kirat-s, held the entire country from the Jumna to the Sardha. In the

1 Wilson, VII., 181. 2 Lassen suggests that Borita may be identified with Râi Bareli. 3 Represented by the Thákurs of Nepál, here the name of a tribe, not a caste.
copper-plate grants preserved at the temple of Pandukeshwar near Badrináth and noticed hereafter, we find that one of them is addressed to the officials of the district of Tanganapura and another to those of the districts of Tanganapura and Antaránga and both bestow lands in Tanganapura on certain Brahmans connected with Badari. Some of these lands were bounded on the south by the Ganges, so that the district lay in or about the upper course of that river. Mention is made in one grant of Buddháchal and Kákásthal, and the latter name will be the same as the Kákáchal-sthán of the Kedára-khanda which lay near the confluence of the Bhágirathi and Alakananda, so that we may safely place the district of Tanganapura1 on the upper course of the Ganges and the Antaránga district in the duáb between the Bhágirathi and the Alakananda. Later on we may trace the gradual eastward movement of these tribes of Kirátas to Nepál, where we find them at the present day, and perhaps the Tanganoi in the name Tanhan,2 whence come the breed of hill-ponies called Tángan; the Thakuraioi amongst the Thákurias in Nepál and the Kirántas or Kirántis further east.

We shall now proceed to examine the ethnographical indications afforded by the later Hindu records.

Pauranik ethnography. According to the Vishnu Purána,3 the Kirátas lived to the east of Bhárata, on the west the Yavanás, whilst in the centre dwelt the four castes occupied in their respective duties. The principal nations of Bhárata4 were the Kurus and Pánchálas, in the middle districts; the people of Kámárápa in the east; the Pundras, Kalingas and Mágadhás in the south and in the extreme west, the Saurúshtras, Surás, Abhíras, Arbudas, Kárúshas and Málavas dwelling along the Páripátra mountains; the Sauvíras, Saindhavas, Húnás, Sálwás, people of Sákala, Madras, Rámás, Ambashthas, Párasíkas and others. From other sources, however, we can add to this very meagre list of countries and tribes. The Mahábhárata gives5 the names of the inhabitants of the different countries in one long list commencing with the Kurus, Pánchálas and

1 At the time of the grants in the eighth or ninth century, Tapu- ban was in the Kárttikeyapura district.  
2 This name continually occurs in the legends regarding the dispersion of the Rájput tribes after the Musalmán invasion.  
3 Hall's Wilson, VII., 129.  
4 By this name India proper is intended, as no description is anywhere given of the other divisions.  
5 Hall's Wilson, VII., 156.
Madreyas; then follow the Jángalas, Surasenas, Kalingas, Bodhas, Málas, Matsyas, ** Kárúshas, Bhojas, ** Bhäuseras, Váta-
dhanas, Abhirás, ** Vakratapas and Sakas, Videhas, Mága-
dhas, ** Bhargas, Kirátas, Sudeshtas and the people on the
Yamuna, Sakas, Nishádas, Nishadhas, ** Kashmiras, Sindrome-
sauvíras, Gándháras, ** Kuruvarnakas, Kirátas, Barbaras,
Siddhas, ** Trigartas, Sálwesení, Sakas, ** Tanganas,
Paratanganas, northern and other fierce barbarians (Mlechchhas),
Yavanas, Chínas, Kámbojas, ferocious and uncivilised races, Sak-
ridgrahas, Kulatthas, Húnas and Párasíkas; also Romanas, Chínas, Dasamálíkas, ** Sudras, Abhirás, Daradas, Kashmir-
as, with Pattis, Khasiras and Antácháras or borderers, **
tribes of Kirátas, Tamasas, Hansámárgas, &c. This list is very
unsatisfactory owing to the repetition of the same name in different
quarters and with different tribes preceding and following, an
arrangement that can only be explained by supposing there were
colonies of the particular tribe scattered over various parts of India.
If this theory be correct there were Saka colonies in Magadha, on
the Jumna and in the Kangra valley. The Varáha-sanhíta gives a
more complete list and places in the north:—Kálása, Himaván,
Vasumán-giri, Dhanushmán, Krauncha-meru, Uttara-kuru, Kekaya
with its capital Girivraja (now Jalálpur on the Jhelam,5) Vasátí, Bhogaprastha (Hardwar), Arjunáyana, Agníдра, Adarsá,7 An-
ráwípi (Duáb), Trigartta,8 (Kotkangra in Jalandhar), Tahora,9
Turagáma or Asvamukha,10 Kesadhora, Chipitánsika, Daseraka,
Vatadhána, Saradhána, Takshasíla (Taxila), Pushkalavata (on the
Swát river), Kainátaka, Kantadhána, Ambara, Madraka,11 Málava,19
Paulava,11 Kachchha,14 Danda,15 Pingalaka, Mánahala, Kohala,

1 Can these be represented by the Roh division of the Sijabdosh in Wámasútán
or Káfrítán as it is more commonly called. 2 Probably to be found in
the Shins of A-tor, Gilgit, and Yassen.
3 There are nearly 250 names, the list
strung together with little attempt at description even by epithets.
4 As.
5 Cunn. Arch. Rep. II. 14; Asvapati, King of Kekaya, St. Martin,
Etude sur la Geographie Grecque, &c., p. 110, 400.
6 Between the Jhelam
and the Indus, St. Martin, l.c., p. 121: Wilson, VIII., 260.
7 This and the two
following are in the Panjáb. In a passage quoted by Muir (II, 400) Aryávarta
is said to include the country east of Adarsá, west of Kálakavana, south of the Himá-
yat and north of Páripátra.
9 Tankur,
Attak, Ibid., II. 7.
10 This and the five following names refer to the locality
as abounding in banyan trees (vásta) or reeds (vara) or prickly busha (kanta) or are
nicknames, horse-face, &c.
11 Madra-lesa, the plain country between
the Jhelam and the Ravi.
12 A division of the Panjáb.
13 The Piru country
14 Wilson, VII. 164.
15 This and the following six names are assignablc to the
minor hill-states of the Panjáb: Kohala is the country of the Kohlis, a Kulu tribe;
Sáta is Waziri Rupi in Kulu, celebrated for its silver, and Mándavya is Mandi.
OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

Sátaka, Mándavya, Bhútapura, Gandhára,1 Yasovati, Hemátála, Rájanya, Kachara, Gavya, Yaudheya,2 Sameya, Syámaka, Kshemadurtta. To the north-east (north-west?) is Meruka, Nashta-rújya,3 Pásupala, Kira, Káshmíra, Abhisára,4 Darada,5 Tangana,6 Kulúta (Kulu), Sauritya, Vanaráshtra, Brahmapura (Bhágirathi valley), Dárvada, Amaravána, Rújya-kiráta, China, Kaulinda,7 Palava, Lola, Jatádhara, Kunáha (Kunaor), Khasa, Ghosha, Kanchika, Ekakarna, Suvarnabhu, Vasudhana, Divishta, Pauvara, Chívara, Nivasina, Trinetra, Munjádri, Sona and Gandharva. Again it is said that the Prasthalas, Málavas, Kákeyas, Dasárnas and Ushínaras drink of the waters of the Ravi, Jhelam and Chínáb. Between the Sindhu and Mathura on the Jumna is Bhárata and the Sauvídás, Sughna, Divya, Satadru, the country of Rámata, Sálava, Traigarta, Paurava, Ambáshta, Dhánya,8 Yaudheya,9 Sarasvata, Arjunáyana, MÁtsya, Arddhagráma, Hastyásapura, Mangalya, Paushtika, Sakta, Kárunya.

These dry lists of names are useful, and if we had more of them accurately recorded without any emendations from authors or editors, we might be able to draw some definite conclusions from an examination of them which would throw light on many a doubtful point. They are necessary here to show the connection between the countries and tribes mentioned in the records and thus afford some little aid to identification. When we find groups of countries or tribes always enumerated together and the same or similar epithets applied to them and sometimes the locality of one or more indicated, we may reasonably assume the position of the remainder to lie in the same direction. We shall therefore take up these names and endeavour to identify as many as we can, omitting those which are already noted as well as those which do not belong to upper India and very briefly noticing the names of places and peoples outside the Himálaya. Taking up the lists of the Vishnu Purána, we have no difficulty in assigning the Kurus to the tract

1 Peshawar valley. 2 The Jód district on the lower course of the Jhelam. 3 Nást or Jagatsukh in the upper valley of the Bišá, the ancient seat of the Pála Rajás of Kulu: we may note that Kulu is still called Kulanta by the people and hence the Khislú-to of Hwen Thsang and Kulatthas of the Puránás. 4 Known to the Greeks as the country of Abisaress; Wilson's Ariana, p. 180: occurs with Dárva as Dárváhisára and lies between Marri and the Margala pass; Cunn. Arch. Rep. II., 33. 5 Dárdistán. 6 In Garhwal, p. 334. 7 The Kyjindrine of Ptolemy. 8 Dhání in the eastern half of the highlands between the Jhelam and the Indus. 9 South of Dhání.
about Thanesar west of the Jumna, known to the present day as Kurukshetra.\(^1\) The Pândhás\(^2\) were the people of the middle Duáb extending across the Jumna to the Chambal. Kámarúpa\(^3\) is the north-eastern portion of Bengal and the adjoining part of Asám. The Pundras\(^4\) lived in Bengal proper and the southern part of Behúr, the Jungle Maháls and adjacent tracts. Kalinga\(^5\) is the sea-coast westwards from the Ganges to some distance along the coast of Coromandel. Magadha is Behúr. The Sauráshtras\(^6\) held the peninsula of Guját. The Surás and Abhíras\(^7\) are associated together in the Mahábhárata and Harivánasa and appear to have been a pastoral people in the upper portion of the north-western Panjáb represented by the Abhíras and Gwálás of the present day. They are none other than the Sús and Abars of the classical writers, and the first name is one with the subdivision of the Sakas. Ptolemy places the Abhíras on the upper Indus as a powerful tribe. These Abhíras spoke a dialect of Prákrit, for we may refer to them the rustic speech called Abhíraka, which is classed by Chandídeva with the Sákári, Sáhari and Utkáli or language of Oríssa. The commentator on the Kávyáchándrika, a work on poetry, expressly cites the language of the Abhíras as an example of the rustic dialects of Prákrit. Wilson connects the Arbudas\(^8\) with Mount Abu in Rájputána, a celebrated place of pilgrimage amongst the Jainas. The Kárúshas\(^9\) and Málavas occupied portions of the Panjáb, for the latter are enumerated by the author of the Váruśha-sáñkhyá amongst the tribes who drank of the waters of the Rávi, Jhelam and Chínáb. A colony of them may, at a subsequent date, have emigrated to Malwa and given to it their name. Next come the Sauvíras\(^10\) between the Indus and the Jhelam, usually called Sindu-Sauvíras and the Sanádhus in Sindh. The double title occurs in the Mahábhárata as the name of one of the chief tribes engaged in the great war who are placed by the Rámáyána in the west and by the Puránas in the north. The Húnas are identified by some with the Húniyas of the present day in Tibet, but here there can be no

\(^1\) Muir, II., 405.  
\(^2\) Wilson, VII., 134 : Gaz., II., 63.  
\(^3\) Wilson, I. c.  
\(^4\) Muir, II., 40 : Wilson, VII., 170.  
\(^5\) Wilson VII., 166 : J. A. S. Bc., 1851, 233.  
\(^6\) Thomas’ Prinsep, I., 334 : Arch. Rep. West India, 1874-75.  
\(^7\) Goldstücker, Sánsc. Dict., 299 : Muir, II., 46.  
\(^8\) Wilson, I. c. VII., 132.  
\(^9\) So called from Karúsha, a son of Máná Vaivasváta : they occupied the back of the Vindhyan range at one time and may possibly be identified with the Chrysaí of Pliny. ibid., 158. They are frequently mentioned in the older records.  
doubt but that the name refers to a Panjáb tribe. The Sálwas1 held Rájasthán and Sákala is the Sangalá2 of Alexander and the capital of Madra or the Panjáb between the Jhelam and the Indus, elsewhere known partly as Hárhaura. The Rámas3 belong to the country of Rámata, which as we have seen lay close to the Satlaj, and the Ambashtahas are the Ambastai of Ptolemy and are placed by Goldstücker4 in the middle Panjáb, and all agree that the Párasikas5 are the people to the west, of and adjoining the Indus. Thus ends the list given by the authors of the Vishnu Purána and which in Wilson’s opinion applies to the political and geographical divisions existing about the era of Christianity. It is also mentioned that the Yávanas lived to the west and there can be little doubt that by this name the Baktrian Greeks are intended. To the east lived the Kirátas, who may undoubtedly be identified with the race of the same which governed the Nepál valley, and of whom we shall have more to say hereafter.

We shall now turn to the lists given in the Mahábhárata, omitting those names which have already been identified as well as those regarding which no indications that can be relied upon exist. The Surasenás6 were the people of Mathúra, the Suraseni of Arrian, and are placed in the Mahábhárata in one place before the Kalingas and again between the Tiragrahas and Ijikas or Itikas and Kanyakágunas (Kanauj) and once more in the north. The Bodhas or Bahyas are supposed to be a tribe of Central India and the Málas7 to have been in Chhatísgarh. There appear to have been two Matsyas, one comprising Dinájpur and Kuch-Bihár called southern Matsya, and a tribe of the same name in the north with a capital at Bairát on the Banganga some forty-six miles north of Jaipur.8 The Bhojas9 belonged to the Yádava race and had their settlements on the Vindhyán range. The Bahikas10 were a people of the Panjáb and the Váthadhanas were a northern nation, though Nakula places them in the west. Videha is Tirhút and the Bhargas are an eastern people subdued by Bhíma. ‘The people on the Yámuná’ would appear to bear the translation, ‘the people on or about mount Yámuná,’ an eastern mountain according to the Rámáyana. Nishádhas are mountaineers or foresters

in general and may here stand for the Paropanisades and the Gândháras are the people about Pesháwar. The Tanganas are the Tanganoi already noticed and are here called Mlechchhas.

The Daradas are the oft-noticed people of Gilgit and Astor and the Pattis are probably the people of Piti or Spiti. The Khashiras are the Casiri of Pliny, a sub-division of the Khasas like the Kunus. Passing on to the names in the Vardha-sanhita we find after Tangana comes Kulu and Sauritya on the upper Tons, then the country of forests, a name applicable to the country about the Jumna to the present day. Then we have Hwen Thsang’s Brahmapura in the Bhágirathi valley. Next comes Dárvada or the Dáru country near Almora, near which is Amaravana or the sacred groves of the ancient Jagesar, and then the country of the Rájya-Kirátas, of whom and the Khasas we reserve the notice. Wilford gives the name Sumaphala as that of the country at the source of the Ganges, considering it to be one with Cho-mapán, the Tibetan name for lake Mánasarovara, but this identification is not clear. In one place Sumaphala is preceded by Madhura and Rasaka and is followed by Salila-maní, Lavana, Sankha, Mankтика, Abja, Mandákini and Uttara Pandya or northern Pandya, which is traditionally situate in the northern hills. The Mandákini river flows from Kedárnáth, connected with which there are so many Pándava traditions. Brahmapura is also mentioned in the Márka and the river close to Vanaráshtra on the one side and Ekapada, Khasa and Suvarna-bhúmi on the other. Khasa is here clearly Kumaon and Suvarna-bhúmi the Suvarna-gotra of Hwen Thsang identified hereafter with the Nári-khórsu district of Tibet lying to the north of Kumaon and Garhwál. Out of all these names, the only ones that we are justified by tradition and fact in connecting with these hills are the Khasas, Kirátas, Rájyakirátas, Sakas, Nágas and Húngas, and these we reserve for a more minute and searching investigation.

In the preceding review of the literature bearing on the early history of the Himálaya we have endeavoured to show that whilst living between

1 The Ekas are a hill-tribe akin to the Kirátas and are now only found in Nepal.
2 The Húngas of the inscriptions are clearly a powerful tribe of the plains defeated by Dámóla Gupta at the battle of Maushari. For the speculations regarding the connection between the Húngas and the Magyars see Hyde Clarke on the Himálaya origin and connection of the Magyar and Ugrian in J. Anth. Inst., VII, 44.
the Indus and the Sarasvati, the Aryans had but little knowledge of the Kumaon Himalaya. As they approached the Ganges their information becomes more complete, and though we have no topographical details until we reach the period of the later Purānas, yet we may gather from the older writings that the sources of the great rivers were at a very early period held sacred. We also learn that the hills and forests of northern India were occupied by tribes regarded more as degraded members of the Aryan stock than as aliens in race. That they had attained to a certain degree of civilisation in some respects superior to that reached by the Aryans of the Vedas; they lived in forts and walled towns and were versed in the uses of drugs and knew how to smelt ores. In the later lists we infer from the recognized position of some the probable locality to be assigned to others, and that in the northern Himalaya were found the Dāradas, Kashmiras, Kāmbajas, Gandhāras, Chūnas, Sakas, Yavanas, Hūnas, Nāgas, Khasas and Kirātas. The first four have been already identified as north-western tribes and the Chūnas as representing the people of Gilgit, Astor and Yassan. We next come to the Sakas, to whom local tradition points as one of the earliest ruling races in the Kumaon hills. In one of the many curious legends handed down to us by the early writers it is said that the Yavanas, Sakas and similar tribes were created from the tail of the wonder-working cow Kāmadhenu, and that the Kirātas and similar tribes were formed from her sweat, excrement and urine, a subtle distinction implying grades in degradation, and further that the Sakas and Yavanas belonged to the superior class. It may also teach us that this difference was intended to distinguish between the degraded Aryan and the autochthonous tribes, or rather those of the early immigrations.

There is every reason to suppose that the Nāgas, Kirātas and Kirātas, Khasas entered India by the same route as the Aryas, and that the Kirātas were the first to arrive, then the Nāgas and then the Khasas. The earliest notices regarding the Kirātas bring them as far westward as the Jumna in the first century. Local tradition in Nepal gives them an eastern extension to Bhutān and at a very early date they held the Nepal valley. Twenty-nine names of kings of this race are

1 In the Bāmāyana. 2 Wright’s Nepal, pp 89, 106, 39.
given in the local history of Nepal. We have collected the names of fourteen rulers attributed to the Khasa race in Káli Kumaon which are so similar in character that there can be little doubt of a close connection between them. Indeed, the community in manners and religion between the different divisions of the snake-worshipping tribes would alone show a common origin and will also explain how they all insensibly blend one with the other. In the lists of peoples given in the Vishnu Purána,¹ we have already seen that the Kirátas or Kirátis are said to have occupied the country to the east of Bhárata as the Yavanas dwelt the west. In the Mahábhárata we find them to occur with the Jánagas (or ‘dwellers in thickets’), Kuruvarnakas (or ‘dwellers in the Kuru jungles’) and Barbaras in one place, and again we have ‘Kirátas, Tamasas’ and ‘Kirátas Sudeshtas and people near the mount called Yamuna’. All these indications² agree with the position already arrived at on the upper Jumna and Ganges. The Tamasas are the people of the Tons of ‘dark river’, so called from the effect of the forests on its banks and itself an affluent of the Yamuna or Jumna. The Kirátas are also joined with the Sakas and Savaras as Dasyus,³ and in the Rámáyana they are described as “with sharp-pointed hair-knots, gold-coloured and pleasant to behold.” It was as a Kiráta that Rudra appeared to Arjuna in the valley of the Ganges. The local annals of Nepal ascribe to the Kirátas a dynasty that ruled in the valley for ten thousand years in the Dwápara Yug, where also there was a celebrated settlement of the Nágas, and after expelling an Ahir family they continued in the valley and were rulers of Nepal when Asoka visited it in the third century before Christ. We are further told that they previously lived to the east, but that they removed to Suprabha (Thánkot) to the west of the valley before establishing themselves in Nepal.⁴ The Kirátas are now a short, flat-faced people, powerfully built and are Buddhists in religion. From Dr. Campbell we learn that on the frontier between Sikkim and Nepal they are regarded as generically one with the Limbús. According to him, the sub-divisions of the tracts inhabited by the Limbús are two in number:—Kiránt-des, extending from the Dúd-kosi to the Arun river east and the Limbú-des from the Arun to the Konki. Using

¹ Wilson, VII., 130. ² lád., 171, 176, 187. ³ Muir, II., 365, 491. ⁴ Wright’s Nepal, p. 89, 106, 110, 312: see also J. A. S. Ben., 1849, p. 733, 766; 1858, 446.
the tribal name 'Limbu' in its extended sense, we have the Hung and Rai divisions, the first of which carries us back to the Hûnas and the Hing of the Márkaṇđeya-Purâna. This identification is strengthened by the marked Mongolian features of the people who owing to their isolated position have had little intercourse with Aryans or Aryanised tribes and preserve the original type intact. We cannot be wrong in assigning these Kirántis¹ to the Kiráṭas of whom we have recorded so much, but they have no connection in appearance, language or religion with any important section of the people now inhabitants of the tract between the Tons and the Sárda.

We have, however, in the name 'Rájya-Kiráta' possibly a living link between the Kiráṭas of somewhat Tibetan physique and the Khasas of equally pronounced Aryan form and habits, if we can connect them with the Rájis of Askot in Kumaon. The Varáha-sanhita places the Rájya-Kiráṭas between Amaravana and Chîna or between Jagesar and Tibet, and the title will either mean the princely Kiráṭas or the Kiráṭas of 'Rájya.' It has been observed that Kumaon and Karðikeyapura are called 'Rájya' in the Pandukseswar inscriptions, meaning literally the kingdom; but this, however, is merely a coincidence and, as we shall see, no weight can be attached to it, as it belongs to a formula common to many inscriptions in the hills and plains. The important fact is their position in the list and the knowledge that Kiráṭas once lived to the west and east of the present settlement of the Rájis in Askot on the Káli. The Rájis have often been noticed by ethnographers whose speculations have been based on a few lines in a report of Mr. Traill.⁸ It is there said that the Rájis "represent themselves as descendants of one of the aboriginal princes of Kumaon who with his family fled to the jungles to escape the destruction

¹ It has been attempted to connect them with the Katyrâ, but the argument is not worth stating here. According to Hodgson, the alpine basin of the Sapt Kausika or country of the seven Kosia was the original seat of the Kirántia, who are identified by him with "the classical Čirrhat̄e, a once dominant and powerful race, though they have long since succumbed to the political supremacy of other races—first the Mâkánia and then the Gorkhâla." The Kirántia are now numbered amongst the Limbû tribes of the central region of the Eastern Híímálaya. Campbell considers the word 'Limbû' a corruption of 'Ekthómâ,' the correct denomination of the people and generally used by foreigners to designate the whole population of the country between the Dûd-kosâ and the Mechi, except such as belong to the well marked tribes of the Mûrînâ, Lepchas and Bhotiyas, who are Buddhists, and the Parbatiyas, who are Brahmanical in religion.

⁸ First Commissioner of Kumaon, in his Statistical account of Kumaon; Report on Kumaon, pp. 19, 57: As. Res., XVI., 150.
threatened by an usurper. Under the pretension of royal origin, the Ráwats or Rájis abstain from offering to any individual, whatever his rank, the usual eastern salutation." He also states that there is "a total dissimilitude of language" between the Rájis and Kumáonis and that the Doms may have been descended from these Rájis, "the former being, for the most part, extremely dark, almost black, with crisp curly hair inclining to wool." This is the only account that has ever been given on any authority regarding the Rájis, yet Professor Ritter found in it confirmation of the opinion that a negro race may have been among the aboriginal inhabitants of the Himálaya and Kuen-lun.¹ There is no foundation for the statement that the Doms have curly hair inclining to wool. Out of hundreds that have come under notice not a single one can be said to have any negroid characteristic, though many are of an extremely dark complexion like the other similar servile castes in the plains. Dr. Pritchard² conjectured that the Rájis would be found to resemble the other numerous aboriginal tribes found along the Himálayan border, all possessing "the physical character of the Bhotiyas in general and very unlike the Doms." Dr. Latham,³ too, expresses his conviction that the Rájis are the equivalents to "the Chepang of Nepal."

The only information that can here be added regarding the Rájis has been furnished by intelligent natives of Kumaon who have fallen in with the tribe during their visits to the Askot forests and the following short extract from Captain H. Strachey's journal at Garjija ghat:—"The Rajbári Karinda (agent) caught two of the Banmanus, the wild men of Chipula, for my inspection. I saw nothing very remarkable about them except an expression of alarm and stupidity in their faces and they are perhaps darker and otherwise more like lowland Hindustanis than the average Kumaon Pahárís." They manufacture wooden bowls for sale and "live under temporary huts, frequently moving from place to place amidst the jungles of Chipula; their principal subsistence being certain edible sorts of wild plants and what game they can catch, and they occasionally get presents of cooked food from the villagers. They have a dialect of their own, but some of them can communicate with their civilised neighbours in Pahári Hindi." The scanty

vocabulary of the Ráji language that has been collected supports the connection with the tribes of Nepál suggested by Dr. Latham. It is a mistake to suppose that the Rájis are confined to the few families representing them in Kumaon, for there exists information which may be considered trustworthy that Rájis are numerous along the foot of the hills below the province of Doti, the most westerly district of Nepál, and this brings them to the locality assigned by Mr. Hodgson to the Chepáng, viz., the forests of Nepál west of the great valley, and therefore between the Kirántis and the Khasiyas. From their language it would appear that they are of ordinary aboriginal stock like the Kirántis, a still further reason for identifying them with the Rájya-Kirátas of the Puránas.

The Rájis themselves say that they are of Hindu origin. That when the world began there were two Rájpút brothers, of whom the elder was a hunter and lived in the jungles, whilst the younger cultivated the ground and had a fixed abode. The younger brother received the government of the world and said to his elder brother, "there cannot be two Rájas in one country," and accordingly the elder brother retired to the forests and his descendants are now called Rájis, who neither cultivate the ground nor live in permanent dwellings. The Rájis are said to have their own peculiar gods, but they also worship those of the Hindús and, like the people of Kumaon, and indeed of the entire Himálaya, attribute great power to the local deities, sprites, goblins and deified men. They bury their dead and their only funeral ceremony is said to be this, that for ten days after death they every night place out in the open air vessels of rice and water for the dead. The Bodo and Dhimáls to the east also bury their dead, but the Limbús first burn their dead and then bury the ashes. The former are allied to the Kasiyas of Asám, and amongst the latter are included the Kirántis of Nepál. Honesty and chastity they hold in great honor. They hide their women from all strangers, declaring that they are of royal race and must not be seen. They seem to be almost omnivorous and are said to approve especially of the flesh of the great langur monkey. They support themselves chiefly by

1 Traill mentioned (1825) only twenty families and Captain H. Strachey states that he was informed that there were only five or six families (1846).
2 In this peculiarity was recognised one of the marks distinguishing the Dasyus of the Vedas.
3 For many of these facts regarding the Ráji I am indebted to a note by Sir J. Strachey.
hunting and fishing and they get what grain they require from the Khasiys, giving in return wooden implements of husbandry and vessels which they manufacture with some skill. There seems no reason for supposing with Mr. Traill that there is a connection between the Rájis and the Doms. The former are certainly very far from holding such an opinion and profess the greatest contempt for the Doms: so that if one of that class enters the dwelling of a Ráji, the place must be purified with water brought from twenty-two different places. There are twenty or thirty families of Rájis in the eastern parts of Kumaon, chiefly in pargana Askot, and a few families live near Jageswar in Chaugarkha, the ancient Amarakvana. The latter seem to be gradually becoming extinct, and they say themselves that they have never prospered since, forsaking the customs of their race, they began to cultivate the soil. The Ráwats mentioned by Mr. Traill are said to be Rájis who have settled themselves in villages and to whom are attributed the various petty dynasties of eastern Kumaon who preceded the Chands. We shall see hereafter that these Ráwats are mentioned in inscriptions as well as in tradition, and that their country is called Rájya. A class\(^1\) called Lúl inhabiting the same tract has similar traditions, and both still occupy several villages in Káli Kumaon. As they seem to be distinct from the Khasiya population, it is not improbable that the tradition may be true which declares that they were formerly Rájis and that both represent the ancient Rájya-Kirátas of the Puránas, one class preserving many of its old customs, whilst the others has almost merged in the Khasiya population. We shall now continue our notice of the other tribes in Kumaon before proceeding to the Khasiys, who will take up considerable time and space.

We have already stated that when we pass to the north of the great snowy peaks, we get among a different people, the Bhotiyas. Bod, the native name for Tibet, corrupted by the people of India into Bhot, has given rise to the name Bhotiya for the border tribes between the two countries. Bhot has not altogether lost its proper meaning, for it is still applied generally to the tract north of the great peaks, without reference to physical or political boundaries, though in Kumaon it is now more

\(^1\) Query, people of Lola; see p. 303.
commonly used to signify the country within the snowy range south of the Tibetan frontier. It is rather an ethnographical than a geographical expression, intending the country inhabited by Bhotiyas, rather than one of which any precise boundaries can be named. It will be convenient here to use the word Bhot and Bhotiya in this restricted sense. The adjacent province of Tibet is here called Hündes, and its inhabitants Húniyas. This name was supposed by Moorcroft to be Un-des or wool-country, and by Wilson to be Hündes or snow-country, but the real name is Hündes or country of the Húnas. This name is clearly connected with the Hiong-nn of the Chinese records and the Húnas of the inscriptions. There is no reason, however, to believe that the name Húna in the Puránas or the inscriptions is intended to apply to the trans-Kumaon Húniyas, but only that they belonged to the same Tibetan race, for the Húnas of those records appear to have been a powerful tribe in the plains, and the allusions to them are too numerous and too important for us to assign them to the predecessors of the comparatively unimportant Húniyas of g-Nári in Tibet. That the Bhotiyas themselves are of Tibetan origin is sufficiently shown by the language that they speak, by their Mongolian caste of countenance, and those unmistakable peculiarities that belong to the Tibetan race, and which are as well marked in them as in the Húniyas themselves. The Bhotivas are, however, little inclined to admit this origin in their intercourse with Hindús. In the traditional account of the colonisation of the Bhotiya valley in which Milam is situate, and which is given hereafter, they declare themselves the offspring of a Rájput immigration from beyond the snows that succeeded a Sokpa colony, but they are usually called Sokpas themselves. Tibetan annals undoubtedly mention the existence of a trans-Himalayan Kshatriya kingdom, but it was the rulers that were of Hindú origin, not the people. On the boundary line between the Khasiyas and the Bhotiyas we find a mixed population, but no particular account of them need be given here, nor of the Hindu immigrants from the plains who have for so long a time monopolised all important offices in the country and who, at the present day, constitute what we may call the upper grades of hill society.

1 Travels, I., p. 4.
Much has been written regarding the Doms, the servile race of the hills and correctly enough supposed to be remnants of the original inhabitants. As we have noted they are of exceedingly dark complexion, as a rule, but not more so than the tribe of the same name in the plains and many Chamârs. They have for ages been the slaves of the Khasiyas and been thought less of than the cattle and with them changed hands from master to master. It was death for a Dom to infringe the distinctions of caste laid down by the Hindu laws, such as knowingly making use of a hukka or any other utensil belonging to a Râjput or Brahman. Even the wild Râji, as we have seen, considered the presence of a Dom a source of defilement. The Doms are divided into a number of classes, chiefly according to occupation, like the Chamârs of the plains, and which will be noticed hereafter. In the extreme west we find them on the right bank of the Indus, living in villages apart from the people and filling the same servile avocations. In Yasan, Nagar and Chilás they are very numerous and are "of very dark complexion, coarse features and inferior physique." They are found again in the same position amongst the Aryans of Kashmir and amongst the Dogras of Jammu. Here again they are noticed for their dark complexion, which unmistakeably marks them out from the light-complexioned Aryans. They are smaller in limb, stout, square built, and less bearded and altogether exhibit a much lower type of face which centuries of servitude and oppression have not tended to modify. The Dhiyârs or ore-smelters of Jammu, corresponding to the Aguris of these hills and the Bâtals of the Kashmir valley, who are curriers and musicians and correspond to the Hankiyas of Kumaun, should be assigned to the same class. The Bems of Ladâk occupy a similar position and are blacksmiths and musicians. In Kunâor and Kulu we have them again following the same trades classed with a tribe of similar occupation called Kohlis by the people of the lower hills, Chamârs about Rampur on the Satlaj and by themselves and the Kunâoris, Chamangs. The same remark is made about them here also that they are usually darker than the Kunets around them. The smiths are called Domang in Kunâor and the carpenters

1 Rep. 6, T. S., 1876, p. 27.  
2 Drew's Northern Barrier, p. 29 170.  
3 Billulph's Tribe of the Hindu Kosh, p. 39  
4 J. D. Cunningham's notes on Kunawâr, p. 11.
are termed Oras and both are equally with the Kohlis considered of impure caste. In Nepal these helot craftsmen are represented by the Newârs. Sufficient has been said to show that these Doms in the hills are not a local race peculiar to Kumaon, but the remains of an aboriginal tribe conquered and enslaved by the immigrants Khasas. In the plains we have them in the Gorakhpur district and with Khasas in Kattak and indeed over all the eastern districts of these Provinces. Oudh and Tirhût, but with these localities we have no concern here.\(^1\)

In the country lying along the foot of the Kumaon hills from the Kosi eastwards we have a tribe known as Thárus which may be traced further east to the Bâgmati river. They are dwellers in swamps and great rice cultivators and are proof against malaria. They even dread visiting the plains, where they say that they suffer severely from fever. To the east they are neighbours of the Meûhs, a tribe of similar character living in the thickest part of the Tarâí forest lying below eastern Nepal, Sikkim and Bhután.

The Bhuksâs, a tribe somewhat similar to the Thárus, are found in the Tarâí and Bhûbar from the Pilibhit district on the east to Chándpur on the Ganges on the west, and a few scattered colonies also occur in the Dehra Dún. "They claim," according to Elliot, "to be Panwâr Râjpûts and assert that their chief, Udiyajît, was driven from house and home in a quarrel that he had with his brother Jagatdeo, the Râja of Dhâranagar and came to dwell with a few dependants at Banbasa on the Sârdá. Udiyajít had not been there long before his aid was solicited by the Râja of Kumaon, whose territories

\(^1\) See, however, Wilson, L., 60, 181: Beames' Elliot, II., 64: Notice of Gorakhpur district, Gaz. VI.

\(^2\) Stewart describes the Bhûksâs of Bîmôr thus: —

"The members of the tribe are of short stature and very sparse in habit. In both respects somewhat exceeding the ordinary Hindu peasant of the district. From whom, however, they do not differ much in general build or in complexion. The eyes are small: the opening of the eyelids being narrow, linear and horizontal (the inner angle not inclining downwards so far as observed); the face is very broad across the cheekbones and the nose is depressed, thus increasing the apparent flatness of the face; the jaw is prognathous and the lower lip thick and the moustache and beard are very scanty." Some of these peculiarities are more marked in some individuals than in others, but the Bhûksâs will always recognize another, though a Kumaoni says he only recognizes them when they speak. The features of the women are similar to those of the men. J. A. S. Ben., XXXIV., ii., 150. Beames' Elliot, I., 20. Stewart shows that the tradition communicated to Elliot is certainly unknown to one great section of the tribe.
required defence against some of the neighbouring powers. Success attended the efforts of the Panwär, and the gratitude of the Raja induced him to offer his defenders an asylum in his territories. Upon this they are represented to have left Banbasa and to have taken up their residence in their present abodes." We cannot accept this tradition, no more than that of the Khâgi Chaubâns, who assert a descent from the true Chaubâns. The Bhuksas are nothing more than an outlying Hinduised branch of the great non-Aryan family. In physique and habits they are allied to the Thárus and have nothing in common with the immigrant plains' tribes in Kumaon. There is no doubt that their settlement in the Tarái is of ancient date, for in the Ain-i-Akbari the name Bhuksár was given to the tract occupied by them up to a recent date. They are now in every respect in their habits and customs Hindus of the ordinary low caste type and employ Gaur Brahman purohits in their marriage and funeral ceremonies. Some are Sikhs and the wife follows the religion or path of her husband and the children that of their father. One of the Tarái parganahs is called Nánakmatha after the great Sikh guru, and there is a Sikh shrine there as well as in Dehra and Srinagar. The Bhuksas bear an excellent moral character; they are inoffensive and peaceable as well as intensely indolent and ignorant. They have no arts or manufactures and live on the chase and a scanty cultivation. They are particularly fond of wild pig, and this may be one of the reasons why they change the site of their villages every couple of years. In some places they collect the wild forest produce, but in no systematic way. They also engage in gold-washing, extracting gold-dust to the value of a few hundred rupees a year from the auriferous sands of the Sona Nadi. They are slowly but surely dying out and now number only a few thousands. We shall now proceed with our examination of the remaining tribes in the records which we have quoted.

In the lists of the Mahábhárata¹ we find the Sakas in one place between the Vakrátapas and Videchas or people of Tirhút; again between the people of Mount Jamuna and the Nishádas or foresters of the Paropanisades, who lived west of the Indus; again between the Sálwasenis, a

¹ Wilson, VII., 165, 171, 179, 186.
people of the north-west Panjáb and the Kokarakas and once more in the Váyu Purána at Tusháras between the Patti or people of Piti and the Antacháras or borderers. We may gather from these statements that there were several colonies of this tribe in existence in the Puráník times. They are the Sace of classical writers and the Indo-Skythians of Ptolemy. The language which they spoke was known as Sákári and in one enumeration follows the language of Berar and precedes that of Váhlíka. Again it is called a vihásha or dialect of Prákrit with the synonym Chandáhka and ranks with the Sábari, Abhírika, Drávira and Útkali or the language of the people of Orissa. The Váhlíka elsewhere is said to be a language fit for celestial personages in the drama, the Sákári for Sákáras, Sakas and the like, the Sábari and Abhírika for wood-cutters and leaf-gatherers, and the Paisáchi for charcoal-burners and by others for barbarous hill tribes. The grammarian Lakshmídhara enumerates the following as Pisácha countries where the two dialects of Paisáchi are spoken:—Pandya, Kekaya, Váhlíka, Sahya, Nepála, Kuntala, Sudhésa, Bhoța, Gándhára, Haiva and Kanojana. Of these Pandya may refer either to the hill kingdom of the Pándavas or that in the Panjáb and the remaining names to the Himálaya and adjacent countries. A later writer gives as a generic epithet for the provincial dialects the term "according to the manner of those who speak like Nágas." This designation appears to have been derived from the writers on rhetoric who assign Sanskrit to the gods, Prákrit to men, and for the wild barbarous tribes scarcely deserving the name of men, such as the Chandálas, Abhirás, &c., the tongue of Nágas or serpents.

Though the use of the term 'Nága' in the extract quoted in the preceding paragraph may be strictly conventional, there can be no doubt that a race called Nágas existed to whom the hooded-snake was sacred. The Nágas were found in the plains and the hills, and in addition to the account of the Nága city already quoted we may mention their assembling with their king Takshak under the auspices of Indra to oppose the building of Indraprastha. The Nágas appear to have been a race of trans-Himálayan origin who adopted the snake as sacred.

1 Muir, ii., 44, 50.  
2 Lassen in ibid., 52.
their national emblem and hence gave their name to the cobra. Mr. Wheeler\(^1\) writes of them:

"The seats of these Nágas were not confined to India, for they have left traces of their belief in almost every religious system, as well as in almost every country in the ancient world. They appear to have entered India at some remote period, and to have pushed their way towards the east and south; but whether they preceded the Aryans or whether they followed the Aryans is a point which has not yet been decided. In process of time these Nágas became identified with serpents, and the result has been a strange confusion in the ancient myths between serpents and human beings; between the deity emblem of the Nágas and the Nágas themselves.

The great historic fact in connection with the Nágas, which stands prominently forward in Hindu myths, is the fierce persecution which they suffered at the hands of the Brahmans: the destruction of serpents at the burning of the forest of Khandava, the terrible sacrifice of serpents which forms one of the opening scenes in the Mahábhárata, and the supernatural exploits of the youthful Krishna against the serpents sent to destroy him, are all expressions of Brahmanical hatred towards the Nágas. Ultimately this antagonism merged into that deadly conflict between the Brahman and the Buddhist which after a lengthened period of religious warfare terminated in the triumph of the Brahman. From these data it would appear that the Nágas were originally a race distinct from the Aryans and wholly without the pale of Brahmanism; that those who became Buddhists were either crushed or driven out of India during the age of Brahmanical revival; and that the remainder have become converts to Brahmanism and appear to be regarded as an inferior order of Kshatriyas. But there is a vitality in certain religious ideas which seems to render them immortal; and whilst the Nágas as a people have almost disappeared from the Indian continent, the worship of serpents, or a reverential fear of serpents as divine beings, is still to be found deeply rooted in the mind of the Hindu. The general question perhaps properly belongs to the history of the Hindu religion;\(^2\) but it should be distinctly borne in mind while considering every legend which seems to point to the Nágas."

The earliest tradition regarding Nepál gives the name Nág Hrad or 'tank of the serpent' to the valley in which Kathmándu. The Nágas in Nepál is situate and makes it the residence of Karkotak, Raja of the Nágas, whose memory is still kept alive by an annual meeting for bathing and worship at the Táu-dah tank.\(^3\) Takshak also is said to have taken up his abode in the valley for a time, and here it was that he became reconciled to Vishnu through the good offices of the Bodhisatwa Aryávalokiteswara. This legend apparently implies a compromise

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\(^1\) History of India, I., 147, 411; II., 630.
\(^2\) See Ferguson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* London, 1873. General Cunningham makes the ophiotatrous Takkas of the Panjáb a branch of the Nágä race. See also J. B. B. R. A. S., No. 25, p. 169, IX. 256 Ind. Ant. IV, 5.
\(^3\) Wright's Nepál, pp. 77, 85, 95. There are similar legends about Kashmir.
between the followers of Buddha, the Brahmins and the snake-worshipers which curiously enough exists to the present day. In Garhwal we have traces of the Nāgas in the names of pattis Nāgpur and Urgam and the universal tradition of their residence in the valley of the Alaknanda. At the present day Seshnāg is honored at Pandukeshwar, Bhekal Nāg at Ratgaon, Sangal Nāg at Talor, Bānpā Nāg at Margaoon, Lohand-eu Nāg at Jelam in the Niti valley and Pushikara Nāg at Nāgnāth in Nāgpur. In the Dūn, also, the Nāgsiddh or Nāgāchāl hill is sacred to Bāman Nāg and in Kumaon we have the great Nāg at Bastir in Mahar; Kedār Kāli-nāg in Pungaraun; Bīni Nāg in Baraun; Karkotak Nāg at Pande-gaun in Chhakhāta; Vāsuki Nāg in Dānpur; Nāg-leo Padamgir in Sālam and numerous temples to Nāgrāja. The rock bearing the Asoka inscription at Kalī in the Dūn is popularly reported to mark the boundary laid down of old between the Nāga Skythians of the hills and Hindustan. The Sakas are named in the list with the Nāgas and were, as we shall see, also of Skythian origin, but belonged to a very much later immigration of that race in historical times. It may, therefore, be safely assumed that a branch of the Nāga race was once the ruling power in these hills. Were these lists compiled at one time and did they represent the facts of one period, there would be much difficulty in attempting any solution of the inconsistencies which they apparently present; but when the main portion of the work can be shown to be the result of various hands at different times, we may fairly assume that the lists themselves suffered at the hands of successive editors.

The name 'Khasa' like the name 'Nāga' is of far too wide significance to be that of a single tribe and its use at the present day to distinguish the cis-Himalayan people of Khas-des from the Bhotiyas is more generic than particular. In the Vishnu-Purāna, Khasa is the daughter of Daksha, wife of Kasyapa and mother of the Yakshas and Rākshasas. It is under the former name that the Khasas were known in the first century, for we find a translation of it applied to them as an epithet by Pliny. The name Khasa does not occur as the name of a people in the Vishnu Purāna, but we have instead the

1 It is not to be understood that Buddhism existed in Nepāl at the time of the scenes represented in the Mahābhārata if they took place in the fourteenth century before Christ: Gazetteer, II., 60.
2 Wilson, VII., 75.
names of the Yakshas,\(^1\) who are attendants on the Adityas with the Rákshasas and Nágás, and are here relegated to the domain of fiction. The Yakshas were present with the Rákshasas and Nágás at the milking of the earth. Vaisravana or Kuvera,\(^2\) the god of mineral wealth, is said to be lord of the Yakshas and to dwell on Ku[\(\text{a}l\)]ás, and the Yakshas are also known as Grámanis. In the Mahábhárata the Khasas do not occur in the great list, but they are mentioned\(^3\) in the Karna-parvan as living in the Panjáb, between the Arattas and Vasútis. The Arattas and the people of the country of the five rivers are pronounced contemptible, and ‘there a Báhiika\(^4\) born a Brahman becomes afterwards a Kshatriya, a Vaisya or a Sudra and eventually a barber.’ This statement would imply the existence of a well-known settlement of Yakshas or Khasas at an early period in the Panjáb. It was to Yaksha (Yaksha) artists that Asoka entrusted the building of his numerous Chaityas, and they were also employed by him as mercenaries in his army.\(^5\) In the time of Nágárjuna, Nága artists were employed. In the Dipavansa,\(^6\) the names of the Theros are given who converted ‘the multitude of Yakkhas in the Himavat.’

In the Váyu-Purána the Khasas are one of the tribes that Ságara would have destroyed were he not restrained by Vasishtha,\(^7\) and in Mauu they are, as we have seen,\(^8\) reckoned only as degraded Aryans of the warrior caste. In the Varāha-samhitā, the Khasas occur after the Kunáhas or people of Kunáor, the Conae of Pliny. In the Márkandeya-Purána, the name Khas is found between Ekapada and Suvarna-bhúmi, the Eka country and the golden land which we shall see hereafter is probably the g-Nári-Khorsum district of Tibet immediately to the north of Garhwal. There is a curious confirmation of this location in the story\(^9\) of the gold-digging ants first mentioned by Herodotus, who tells us that:

‘Besides these, there are Indians of another tribe who border on the city of Kaspatyrus and the country of Paktyika; these people dwell northward of all the rest of the Indians and from them the men are sent forth who go to procure gold.’ Then he describes

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5. *Ind. Ant.*, IV., 162.  
how this gold was thrown up by ants from their burrows. Now in a passage of the Mahábhárata, the Khasas are expressly mentioned amongst the northern tribes who brought presents to Yudhishthira and amongst them were presents of paipilika gold so called because it was collected by ants (pipliktē). This can only refer to the trade in gold dust with the miners of Thok Jalung in Tibet and indicates that at that early time the Khasiyas were the chief carriers or distributors. There is evidence to show the wide diffusion through an immense breadth of Asia of names having the apparently common root 'khas' or 'kho.' We find it in the names Khophene, Khoa, Khoaspers, given to rivers of the Kábul valley by classical writers and in the Hindu-kush and Kashkára of the country to the north. Colonel Wilford⁰ in his curious paper on 'Mount Caucasus' attempts to trace the Khasas from Kashgár through Kashmir and Kumaon to the Khasiya hills in Asám, and without accepting his conclusion we may assume that the facts recorded by him bear out the general result of a very wide extension of a Khasa race in pre-historic times. We may connect with them Kissia mentioned by Herodotus as an old name of Susa, and Strabo¹ also calls the people of Susa, Kissii, whilst Diodorus³ and Quintus Curtius⁴ mention the Kossæi amongst the principal troops of Darius at Arbela. We may also connect with their name the Caucasus of Pliny and the Kasian mountains of Ptolemy as well as his Kasia regio. The Caucasus includes the mountainous country to the west of Kashmîr and south of the Oxus and the Kasian range runs thence eastwards to Nepál. As noted⁵ by St. Martin:—"le nom des Khaça a été de temps immémorial une des appellations les plus repandues dans tout le massif Himálaïen." In the Ceylon archives, the name Khasa occurs⁶ amongst the tribes who submitted to Aśoka in the third century before Christ, and from Táránátha we have the Tibetan version of Aśoka's conquests in the following story⁷:—"In the Champarna kingdom which belonged to the Kuru race there was a king called Némita who was descended from the Solar race. He had six sons born of lawful wives and besides them he had a son by the daughter of a merchant to whom he gave in appanage

⁰ As. Res., VI., 455.
¹ Book V., ch. 3.
² Bk. XVII., ch. 14.
³ IV., 46.
⁴ Etude, &c., l. c. p., 417
⁵ Burnouf, Introd. à l'Hist. du Buddhisme, p. 362.
⁶ La Comme's Vassilief, p 46.
the town of Pataliputra, as a reward for his victory over the people of Nepál who dwelt in the kingdom of Kasya and over other mountaineers.” Here Nepál is mentioned as the Indo-Himalayan country best known to the writer who at the same time distinctly connects the name with the Khasas. In the ‘Chronicles of Kashmir’ we find1 Khasa tribes occupying the deserted city of Narapura at a time ‘when the country was full of Dáradas, Bhotiyas and Mlechchhas’ in the reign of Mihrakula, the great anti-Buddhist ruler, who reigned about 500 A.D. In the reign of Kshemagupta the Raja of the Khasas compelled the king of Kashmir to give up to him thirty-six villages. A Khasa was the favoured lover of the notorious Kasmiri queen Didda in the eleventh century and was probably of her own clan, for she was aunt of her successor, the son of Udaya, Raja of Sáhi or Lohara, a small State near Abhisára. These Sáhi Rajas claimed descent from Sáliváhana, who is synonymous with the Saka Raja who founded the Saka era. St. Martin states:—“On les (Khasas) trouve cités en plus de quarante endroits de la Chronique Kachmirienne, parmi les principales tribus montagnardes qui confinent au Kashmir.” The natives of Kashmir are called Kashirus by their neighbours in the surrounding hill-states and the name Kashmir has undoubtedly connection with the tribe of Kashirus and not with the mythic Brahmin-made Kasya. Wilford records2 that “when Parasuráma undertook to destroy the Kshatriyas, the Khasas who then lived in the plains fled to the mountains in confusion. Many went to Jalpasa and then ascended the passes.” From the above it is clear that at a very early period the Khasas were the principal inhabitants of the regions to the west of Kashmir, of Kashmir itself and of the hill country as far as Nepál and of a considerable part of the plains. They formed an important section of the Indian population found in those tracts by successive invaders, and though now possessing a national existence in Kumaon alone can still be traced from the sources of the Kábul river to the Tista. The Khasas of the plains were driven to the hills, the Vindhyas on the south and the Himalaya on the

1 As. Res., XV, 29, 76, 79: T. B B R. A. S., No. 34, p. 39. In the introduction regarding the creation of Kashmir, Jalolibhava is represented as “devastating the neighbouring countries Dáravábisára, Johnudára, Gándhára, and the territories occupied by the Sakas, Khasas, Tunganas and Mádhavas.”
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north, and it is precisely in these places that we find them at the present day. We now find Khasas in the Kashkára country at the head of the Kunar valley and in the tracts adjacent to Kashmír. The Kunets of Kulu are still divided into two classes called Khasiyas and Raos, and we have the Khasiyas again in Garhól, Kumaon and Népál. Away from the Himálaya, we probably have them along the Vindhyán range and in the Bikaner desert as nomadic tribes under the name Khosa, most of whom are now Muhammadans. Tod¹ makes these Khasas a branch of the Sehráes. They occur again as Musalmáns in the desert around Táhr and Párkar in Sind and in Bihúchistán under the same name Khosas,² and are particularly numerous between Bákhar and Shikárpur. The local tradition is that they entered Sind with the Káhíorás and after the fall of that dynasty they settled about the desert between Márwár and the valley of the Indus. That these' Khasas belong to the same race as the Khasiyas of Kumaon is not a mere suggestion, but is corroborated by the fact that the dialect of Hindi now current in Kumaon has its closest affinity with the dialect spoken in Márwár and the adjoining parts of western Rájputána³ and not with that spoken in the Gangetic plains and Rohilkhand. We have also sporadic colonies of Khasas and Doms in Oríssa and Chutiya Nágpur.

We need not give evidence of the kind that we have collected more importance than it deserves, but there seems no reason for doubting that the Khasas were a very powerful race like the Nágás who came at a very early period from that officina gentium Central Asia and have left their name in Kashgár, Kashkára, the Hindu-kush, Kashmír and recognizable colonies at the present day in the hills from Kashmír to Népál and in various parts of the plains and that the Khasiyas of Kumaon are of the same race. The account that the Khasiyas of Kumaon give of themselves tallies in all respects with the indications from other sources. They always profess to be Rájpútás who have fallen from their once honorable position by the necessity of living in a country and in a climate where the strict observance of the ceremonial usages of their religion is

¹ Tod's Rajasthan, Reprint, II., 190, 280, 293.
impossible, and undoubtedly this statement is supported by all the facts, so far as we are acquainted with them, which have any bearing on the question. It has been sometimes but hastily assumed, apparently from analogous circumstances in Nepál, that the Kumaon Khasiyas are a people of mixed Tibetan and Indian race. The Khasiyas¹ of Nepál may have been less exposed to Aryan influences throughout their successive wanderings or may have been modified by admixture with Tibetan tribes. For as we proceed eastwards from the Káli we find, as has already been noticed, conditions of climate which however unlike those of Tibet must still be less antagonistic than those of the western Himálaya to the diffusion of a Mongolian race. But this admission does not affect the Khasiyas of Kumaon, who in physiognomy and form are as purely an Aryan race as any in the plains of northern India. The language of the Khasiyas, as will be shown hereafter, is a purely Hindi dialect both in its vocables and in its grammatical structure, and no signs of foreign admixture have hitherto been discovered in it. Supposed resemblances in feature between the Khasiyas and the neighbouring Tibetan tribes have helped to lead some to a conclusion different from that now given, but this resemblance has no real foundation in fact. The people of the plains no doubt differ greatly in appearance from those of the hills, but not more so than might be expected when we consider the great difference in the physical conditions of the countries that they respectively inhabit: nor more than the Aryan races of the plains owing to similar causes differ amongst themselves. The moist climate of lower Bengal, the comparatively dry climate of the North-Western Provinces and the still drier climate of the Panjáb with its great extremes of heat and cold cause those physical changes in the inhabitants that are so remarkable and clearly recognisable by the most casual observer.

If to the effects of climate we add the influence of the various races who have from time to time invaded India we shall have reason to believe that much of the variation observed in the plains is due to circumstances which have been wanting in the hills. However this may be, this much at least is certain that, at the present time, the Khasiyas of Kumaon and Garhwl are in all respects Hindus. They are so in language, religion and customs

¹ Mr. Beames' derivation of the name from the Arabic 'khds' is entirely untenable, J. R. A. S., IV., 178.
and all their feelings and prejudices are so strongly imbued with 
the peculiar spirit of Hinduism that although their social habits 
and religious belief are often repugnant to the orthodox of that 
faith, it is impossible for any one who knows them to consider them 
other than Hindu. Year by year with increasing communication 
with the plains, the hill Hindu is more and more assimilating his 
practice with that of his co-religionists in the plains, whilst to 
the north, the Tibetan Bhotiyas are becoming more observant of 
Hindu customs.

Kashkára occurs amongst the countries to which the ancient 
\textit{Khasa} race has given a name. It is pro-

Katars.

\textit{properly} the name given to the States in the upper 
\textit{Kunar} valley known now as Chitrál, Yassan and Mastúj from their 
principal towns. The ruling princes of these States still belong to 
the Kator family, the Kushwaktiya branch in upper Chitral in-
cluding Yassan and Mastúj and the \textit{Sháh} Kator branch in Chitrál 
proper. The people there now speak a dialect in which there are 
many Persian vocables, but we have not sufficient evidence before 
as to show what the real nature of their language may be. If, as 
is probable, it be one with Dárd spoken by the adjoining races in 
Gilgit and Astor it is an Aryan language. From the inscriptions 
noticed hereafter we find a dynasty known by tradition as Katyúri 
in the Katyúr valley of Kumaon, certainly from the eighth to the 
sixteenth century and forming the stock of numerous petty 
principalities in these hills, and possibly we may look to the \textit{Khasiya} 
Katuras of the trans-Indus highlands for the origin of these 
Kumaon \textit{Khasiya} Katýúris. Mr. Thomás\textsuperscript{1} and Sir H. Elliot\textsuperscript{2} have 
suggested a connection between the Katars of the mountainous 
region beyond the Indus and the \textit{Kumaon} Katýúris. There is 
certainly a striking similarity in sound between the two names, but, 
as we have often had occasion to remark, a coincidence of this kind is 
frequently merely accidental and more commonly delusive. There 
is a marked difference observed in the Pauránik records between 
the Sakas and the \textit{Yavanas} and the tribes classed as Nágás, \textit{Khasas} 
and Kirátas, still they are all reckoned as \textit{Vrishalas}, beyond the 
pale of Aryan concern, though some are recognised as of Aryan 
race. We have also shown that a race once occupied Garhwál

\textsuperscript{1} J. R. A. S., IX., 177. \hspace{1em} \textsuperscript{2} Dowson's Elliot, II., 408.
who were connected in religion and perhaps in race with the Nágás, and we may also notice the name Nacra Somtou, in d'Anville's reproduction of the native map of China, for the tract between the Karnálí and the Ganges and Sanke Somtou for that lying to the west of the bend of the Satlaj. Tradition certainly assigns the Katyúris to the solar division of the Kshatriya race, but we know the assimilating influences of Hinduism as they work before us, frequently manufacture the four castes out of the existing material found in such wild countries as Kumaon and assign to sun-worshipping tribes the attributes of the Kshatriyas of the solar race. Even at the present day the proselytising of the non-Brahmanical tribes is going on and the wealthier amongst the converts are received into and intermarry with the so-called Rajpút tribes of the hills. There is therefore no insuperable obstacle to the reception of the suggestion of Mr. Thomas and Sir H. M. Elliot, and proceeding from such distinguished scholars it certainly merits some investigation at our hands.

The passage referred to in Elliot is as follows:—"The identity of the name and the period of the establishment of the Kators (sic) in Kumaon appears to render it possible that we have in them the descendants of those Kators who fought under the banners of the first Muslim conquerors." Kanak or Kank was the last of the Katorman kings of Kábul according to the Musalmán historians, and the same name heads the list of local kings in Garhwál according to several authorities. Elliot cites the following passage from a copy of the Jami'át-Tawáríkh:—"After Básdeo from among their rulers (i.e. of the Indians) one was Kanak, and he was the last of the Kayormán kings," and Básdeo is also the eponymous founder of the Katyúri house of Joshiúth in Garhwál. Kanak of Kábul had a Brahman minister named Kalar who slew his master and founded a new dynasty of which the names of many members survive. Abn Ribán Al Birúni makes the Kábul dynasty to be of Turkish extraction and states that before the death of the last of the line some sixty generations had sat on the throne of Kábul.

We may assume, with Elliot, that the statement does not imply that the supreme power during this period remains in the same
family, but rather that the dynasty belonged to the same stock, whether Baktrian, Saka, Yueh-ti or Parthian. If we allow fifteen years for each of the sixty reigns preceding the murder of Kank we arrive at the middle of the first century before Christ for the establishment of the dynasty, or about the time of the rise to power of the Yueh-ti branch of the great Skythian race. We have to show that besides the Skythian immigrants to whom the princely power belonged there was an indigenous Indian population in the Kábul highlands, and that this people can be reasonably connected with the people inhabiting the upper valley of the Kumar river at the present day, and that there are grounds for considering that both the subject Indians and the ruling Skythians moved eastwards, and that the former may be one with the Khasiyas and the latter one with the Katyúris of Kumaon. With regard to the Khasiyas we have nothing to add to the arguments already adduced to show that they belong to the great Khasa race.

The name 'Saka' is given to a race of Skythian origin, for whom more accurate information is obtainable from Greek, Roman and Chinese writers and the researches of numismatists. Still in the Indian records there are so many allusions to them that we cannot pass them over in silence. So much had they influenced Hindu writers that in the Pauránik cosmogony they are given a 'dvápa' or island to themselves,¹ situate between Kraunchea and Pushkara in the Vishnu Puráña, and by other records placed in a somewhat different relation which it is unnecessary to discuss here. Bhavya became king of Saka-dvápa and its divisions were named after his sons Jalada, Kumára, Sukumára, Manívaka, Kusumoda, Mandáki and Mahádruma. The mountains and rivers 'that wash away all sin' are mentioned and the castes of the different classes, the Mriga of the Brahman,² the Mágadha of the Kshatriya, the Mánasa of the Vaisya and the Mandaga of the Sudra and 'by these Vishnu is devoutly worshipped as the sun.' Is it only a coincidence that the name 'Kumára' (Komaro) occurs on the coins of the Indo-Skythian rulers of Kashmir, and in other early Indo-Skythian inscriptions and that the sun-god was the favourite deity of many of them? We have

¹ Wilson, VII. 199. "Cf. the great emigration of Maga Brahman from the trans-Indus, region to India and the Macca Kalinga Brahman of Ptolemy in the valley of the upper Ganges."
shown how the name 'Saka' occurs in the Paurānik records, the Mahābhārata and Manu, and add the following texts not before cited. The Brahma-Purāna and Hari-vansa make the descendants of Narishyanta, son of the Manu of the present period, Sakas.

In the Bhavishya chapter of the Vāyu-Purāna the Sakas are mentioned as among the royal races, and in the Vishnu-Purāna it is recorded that "after these (Andhrabhṛitya kings) various races will reign; as seven Abhiras, ten Gandhabhillas, sixteen Sakas, eight Yavanas, fourteen Tushāras, thirteen Mundas, eleven Maunas, who will be sovereigns of the earth 1,399 years and then eleven Pauras will be kings for 300 years. When they are destroyed the Kailakila Yavanas will be kings, the chief of whom will be Vindhyasakti; his son will be Puranjaya; his son will be Rāmcandra; his son will be Dharma, from whom will be Varānga and others (five) who will rule for 106 years. From them will proceed thirteen sons: then three Bāhlikas and Pushpamitra and others to the number of thirteen will rule over Mekala." This remarkable passage shows us the Abhiras and Gardhabhillas as predecessors of the Sakas. The Abhiras, as we have seen, lived near the Indus associated with the Baktrian Greeks and Indo-Skythian inhabitants of the same quarter. The Matsya-Purāna reads 'Hūnas' for 'Maunas' and Wilford considers the Maunas or Mundas to be the same as the Mandei of Pliny and Marundai of Ptolemy and to be also reckoned with the Hūnas. In a Jaina legend referred to hereafter Gardhabhilla is made sovereign of Ujjain and was deposed by a Sāhi or Saka noble and the Kailakila Yavanas are identified with a Grecian dynasty that ruled in Vākātaka, to the south of Haidarabad. These statements are so comprehensive that there is no necessity for further extending them by collecting the numerous similar references in other works, and we shall now proceed to examine some of the notices regarding the Baktrian Greeks and Indo-Skythians, recorded by Greek, Roman and Chinese writers.

We have now to examine more closely the history of the region of Kābul.

Greco-Baktrian kingdom to the west of the Indus and show the links in the chain of evidence that connects it with

1 Antea, p. 247.  
2 Antea, p. 337.  
3 Antea, p. 273.  
4 Wil- 

son, VIII., 14, 336.  
6 Ibid., IX., 184.  
7 Antea, p. 337.  
9 J. B. B.
the history of Kumaon. The Greek and Roman geographers\(^1\) give us the materials from which we can judge of the condition of the Indus region in the time of Alexander, and the coins of Alexander's successors afford us means by which we may fill up many details\(^2\) for which other records are wanting. On the death of Alexander in Babylon in B.C. 323, India comprised the three satrapies of the Paropamisadæ, the Panjáb and Sind. The first lay to the west of the Indus and extended to the highlands in the neighbourhood of the Kábul valley.\(^3\) Its name recalls to our memory the Nishadha mountains of the Pauránik geographers, and refers not only to the Hindu-kush, but also to the western prolongation in the Koh-i-Bába and Paghmán ranges.\(^4\) The inhabitants of the valleys of the Kábul, Panjshír, Nijrao, Tagao, Alingar Kunar and Swát streams to the confluence of the Kábul river with the Indus were all known as Paropamisades or Paropanisades. Commenting on the statements of the geographers in this respect Lassen remarks that:

"We meet between the Paropamisades and the Indus a series of independent, warlike mountaineers, under their chieftains, separated into many smaller tribes, rich in flocks and herds; they are always called Indians, though no mention is made of either institutions characteristic of India or of Brahmans. This is doubtless correct, for they are the inhabitants of the Indian frontier, not exactly regulated by Indian customs, outcasts of the soldier caste, as the Indians might term them." Ptolemy makes the Koas or Kunar stream the principal river of the Kábul valley and does not mention the Kábul or Kophen river at all. The Koas joins the Indus and the Swát river or Suastus, from which the adjoining

\(^1\) See Further points in the history of the Greek and Indo-Skæthian Kings in Bactria, Cabul and India, by Professor Lassen; ed. Roër, Calcutta, 1840. Cunningham Arch. Rep., II, 61. References in Dowson's Elliott, II., 403. Gazetteer, N.W. P., II., 185, s. v. 'Sabaranpur district.' 


\(^3\) The chief cities were (1) Orto-spana or Kabura or Kábul, the people of which were called Kábolitae by Ptolemy: (2) Alexandria ad Caucasum or Alexandria Opiana identified with Opián, 36 miles to the north of Kábul; (3) Carthana or Karsana also known as Tetragonis and identified with Bérgam, 27 miles to the north of Kábul; (4) Nagara or Dionysopolis the Bérgam near Jalalabad; (5) Peukelaotis or Penkela (Pushtkala), Hasianagor on the lower Swát river; (6) Embolima or Ohind on the Indus at its junction with the Kábul river, the Utashhands of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims; and (7) Aornos, the ruined hill-fort of Ránigat above Nográm.

\(^4\) For a good map see Proc. R. G. S. I., 110; also Cunn. Anc. Geog., 17.
district was called Suastene, joins the Koas. Under the sources at the Koas lived the Lambagae (Lampatae), the people of modern Lamghán. As we shall see, the Káfirs, to the present day, extend from Lamghán through Káfirstán to the Kashkára mountains. A recent traveller who saw the Musalmán Kashkáras and the pagan Káfirs together in Chitrál could observe no such marked distinction between them as to justify us in believing that they belonged to different races. The Káfirs, however, speak a language based on Sanskrit, whilst their Musalmán neighbours, of necessity, have admitted a number of Persian vocables. For the latter, Persian is the language of civilisation and commerce, and in the same manner as a similar influence in India has added to the Hindi vocabulary there, Persian has materially influenced the original speech of Kashkára. According to Ptolemy, the Kunar was the most westerly river of India proper, but he does not make it the western boundary, for the Lambagæ who occupied the country for a whole degree to the west of that river are still reckoned as Indians. The district of Gandhára lay between the Swát river and the Indus and below the Lambagæ and Suastene lay Goruaia, which may be identified with the tract known as Gugiana on the lower course of the Kunar river and Bajaur, including Jandúl and Talásh at the junction of the Landái and Swát rivers. From the above summary we may fairly assume that the country now known as Kash-kára and inhabited by a distinct race was in the time of Alexander regarded as a part of India and was then inhabited by Aryan races however heterodox they may have been.

It is unnecessary for our purpose to notice the Indian satrapies of the Panjáb (Pentapotamia) and Sind. The other provinces of the eastern empire were Ariana and Baktriana. The former comprised Aria and Drangiana under one satrap and Gedrosia and Arachosia under a second satrap. Baktria was divided into Sogdiana and Margiana were included in Baktriana under one satrap. On the death of Alexander, his officers distributed the older territories and the new conquests amongst the most powerful of their number. Alexander’s half-brother Arrhidæus and his expected son by Roxana were declared joint sovereigns. It is worthy of remark that amongst the kings of Baktria whose coins have been discovered some twenty-eight
names occur that are also found amongst the names of the companions of Alexander and the Diadochi that have been handed down to us by the Greek historians, so that we may regard the Baktrian kings as descendants of the chiefs who accompanied Alexander in his eastern campaign. At the conference of the chiefs, Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, was appointed satrap of the Paropamisadae. Eudemus was already military governor of the Panjâb and the civil rule was left in the hands of the native chiefs. Pithon, the son of Agenor, became satrap of the delta of the Indus: Stasanor and Siburtius held Ariana and Baktriana was committed to Philip. An empire not yet consolidated and now broken up into so many petty satrapies soon fell into disorder. In B. C. 317 we find Eudemus, Oxyartes and Stasander, who had succeeded Stasanor in Aria, assisting Eumenes in his war with the Syrian king Antigonus, whilst Siburtius and Pithon espoused the opposite side. Antigonus was successful and from B. C. 316 to the defeat of his son Demetrius by Seleukus Nikator in B. C. 312 his sway was acknowledged through Ariana and Baktriana. In India, Chandragupta of Patna had taken advantage of the departure of Eudemus to make himself master of the Panjâb and perhaps also of the Kabul valley. After Seleukus had firmly established himself at Babylon, he took the first opportunity that presented itself to reconquer Ariana and Baktriana and was preparing to wrest the Indian province from Chandragupta when disturbances elsewhere led him to believe that it would be more prudent to secure the Indian prince as an ally. Accordingly Seleukus surrendered the province of India to the Palibothran prince and appointed Megasthenes to reside at Patna as his ambassador. These friendly relations continued under the sons of both kings Amritajata (Amitrochates) and Antiochus Soter, who also sent Daimachus as his representative to the court of Patna. Antiochus Soter succeeded his father in B. C. 280 and died in B. C. 261. Antiochus II. surnamed Theos succeeded and died by poison in B. C. 246, when his son Seleukus Kallinikos became titular ruler of the east. Two years previously the Parthians had revolted and established a kingdom and an era of their own, and at the same time Diodotus proclaimed his independence in Baktria. Diodotus I. was succeeded by his son

1 Whence the era of the Seleukidae.
Diodotus II., who reduced Agathokles, satrap of Arachosia, and Antimachus, satrap of the Paropamisadæ, to subjection and they acknowledged fealty to him by placing his name on their coins. These changes must all have taken place subsequent to the death of Asoka, whose edicts contain the names of Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas (of Cyrene), and Alexander (of Epirus), but make no allusion to the rebel leaders. The faction of Diodotus did not long enjoy their accession to power, for in a short time a Magnesian leader by name Euthydæmus succeeded in expelling Diodotus from Baktria. We know nothing more of Baktria until we come to the eastern campaign of Antiochus III. (B.C. 212-205).

After reconquering Media, Parthia and Hyrcania, Antiochus made peace with the Parthian Arsakes and proceeded to the invasion of Baktria. Euthydæmus, however, was able to place himself in a position which obliged his antagonist to come to terms. He then urged that Antiochus had no reason for attempting to deprive him of his kingdom since he had never rebelled against Antiochus, but had only obtained possession of Baktriana by destroying the descendants of those who had before revolted. His son Demetrius carried further messages, and the result was that Antiochus accepted the peace that was offered and cemented the friendly relations with Baktria by betrothing his daughter to the son of Euthydæmus. Antiochus then left Euthydæmus in possession of Baktria (B.C. 208) and proceeded in person southwards to India. There he concluded a treaty with Sophagasenus, the king of India, and in return for a number of elephants confirmed the Indian in the possession of the Paropamisadæ and the other Indian satrapies. Antiochus had hardly reached his headquarters when Euthydæmus, deeming it to be a favourable opportunity, marched southwards and annexed the cis-Himalayan districts to Baktria. This conquest was consolidated by his son Demetrius, who is styled "king of the Indians" by Justin, and whose authority extended from the sources of the Oxus to the delta of the Indus and from the Caspian Sea to the Satlajand along the coast from the Indus as far as Gujrat. This statement is corroborated by the number and find-spots of the coins of his father and of himself. The variations in the portrait of Euthydæmus on his coins show that he must have had a long reign, not less than thirty years,
according to General Cunningham.\textsuperscript{1} Up to the time of Euthydemus, the Greek princes used Greek legends only on their coins, but from the accession of his son Demetrius all the Greek princes of India and Ariana, over thirty in number, used the Indian language and a character, happily termed Arian, on the reverse of their coins. This character is, according to Mr. Thomas, akin to the Phenician and is written from right to left, like all other alphabets of Semitic origin.\textsuperscript{2} If Mr. Thomas' suggestion\textsuperscript{3} be correct that in certain letters on a coin of Eukratides he has discovered the Seleukidian year 173, or B. C. 138, and on one of Plato Sel. 147 or B. C. 165, and on one of Heliodorus Sel. 183 or B. C. 128, we shall have much to alter in the present arrangement of the Graeco-Baktrian princes known from their coins alone.

We know that Demetrius was old enough in B. C. 208-7 to have been employed as his father's agent in the negotiations with Antiochus, and allowing him forty years, we have the year B. C. 167 for his death and the accession of Eukratides, who according to Mr. Thomas' discovery minted coins in B. C. 138. There is no doubt that Eukratides succeeded Demetrius in Baktria, but may have left his rival in possession for a time of the Indian provinces. Justin tells us that:—"\textit{eodem tempore sicuti in Parthis Mithridates ita in Bactris Euctrades magni uterque viri regnum ineunt}," referring to the rise at the same time of Arsaces VI., better known as Mithridates I., king of Parthia and Eukratides. Mithridates reigned\textsuperscript{4} from 173 to 136 B.C. and is represented as the avenger of the murder of Eukratides. Even granting that the coin of Eukratides bearing the supposed date B. C. 138 was the last issued in his reign, for which numismatic evidence based on a comparison of the portraiture and devices is wanting, the remaining events of Mithridates' reign, including the expedition to India and his war with the Syrian king Demetrius, can hardly be brought into two years. According to Clinton,\textsuperscript{5} Demetrius made his preparations in B.C. 140 and entered Parthia in July, 139, and was captured at the beginning of 138, or according to General Cunningham\textsuperscript{6} in B.C. 139. In either case the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Num-Chron., n. s., IX., 129.\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., III., 239.\textsuperscript{3} J. R. A. S., IX., 1; see also Dr. Harnle's paper in Ind. Ant., VIII., 196.\textsuperscript{4} Lassen, Bactrian coins, &c, p. 155, and 'A view of the history and coinage of the Parthians by J. Lindsay, p. 7: Cork, 1852.\textsuperscript{5} Fast. Hell., III., 331.\textsuperscript{6} Num-Chron., X., 333.
\end{itemize}
death of Eukratides took place at least two years previously, for we must allow that time to have elapsed in preparation for the Indian expedition, the stay in India and return of Mithridates to Parthia. We must place, therefore, the death of Eukratides in B.C. 141-40, and consequently either the date on the coin is wrongly read or the mints went on coining after the death of Eukratides in his name, or the dates given as those of Demetrius' war with Mithridates are incorrect or the initial year of the Seleukidan era is wrongly placed. These are points that cannot be discussed here. During his expedition to India Mithridates is said to have subdued the country between the Indus and the Hypanis and was stopped in his onward march by news of the preparations made by the Syrian king. He returned to Parthia, annexing the old Baktrian satrapies west of Arachosia on his way, and probably left the Baktrian satrapies in the Indian region to those in whose hands he found them. Both Mithridates and Eukratides in the earlier years of their reigns were much harassed by the incursions of the Skythians and Sogdians, and it was only when he had rest from them that Eukratides was able to turn his attention to India. Whilst returning from an expedition in which he penetrated India as far as the Satlaj he was murdered by his son, 'who had been associated with him in the sovereignty.'

The name of the parricide is nowhere given, but General Cunningham considers that he must be one with Apollodotus, who is named in several passages of importance in connection with Menander in terms that would imply that they had much to do with the extension of Greek influence in India. Indeed the coins which from numismatic evidence alone are assigned to a date following close on or contemporay with the coins of Eukratides indicate a marked departure from those that preceded them. The coins of the predecessors of Eukratides and even of Eukratides himself were minted by Baktrian kings, though in many cases giving bi-lingual inscriptions; but we now come to a series of kings of whom there is evidence to show that their home was in India and that any extension of their power was made westwards from India up the Kábul valley and who were more Indian than Greek in their habits. General Cunningham would include in this category the names of Antimachus
Nikephoros, Philoxenus Aniketos, Nikias Soter, Lysias Aniketos, Antialkidas Nikephoros, Theophilus Dikaios, and Epander Nikephoros, who are known to us solely from their medals. Undoubtedly the death of Eukratides was the signal for disorder and his lieutenants everywhere hastened to carve out kingdoms for themselves. Those in Baktria were overcome by the Sakas, but for some time the cis-Himalayan satrapies remained in the hands of the Greeks. We must place the great expeditions of Apollodotus and Menander after the death of Eukratides (i.e., after B.C. 140)\(^1\), the former through Gujrát and Ajmere perhaps as far as Ujain and the latter through the Panjáb to the Jumna and thence through Oudh to the city of Patna. The number of the coins of Eukratides and the variety in their find-spots shows that he must have been one of the most powerful of the Baktrian kings; and the coins of Apollodotus and Menander, his successors, on numismatic evidence are comparatively as common. Strabo states that Menander crossed the Hypanis and penetrated eastwards as far as the Isamus,\(^2\) and the author of the 'Periplus of the Erythraean Sea' notes that "even in his time\(^3\) ancient drachmas were current at Barygaza (Broach) bearing in Greek characters the stamp of the kings Apollodotus and Menander who reigned after Alexander." In the epitome of Trojus Pompeius, also, the exploits of the Indian kings Apollodotus and Menander are referred to, so that it is probably to their expeditions that much of the local knowledge of the Yavanas proper is due.

The coins bearing Greek inscriptions belonging to this time illustrate the state of the country. Most are of such a character as to indicate their common origin in time and type. The number of names show that there were several petty states and that after the death of Eukratides there was no single ruling family to whom all acknowledged allegiance. There are few indications to show the relation of these princes towards each other or the order of succession. We may perhaps, however, assign the Apollo series to Apollodotus, as we find the standing Apollo with a tripod on the reverse on his coins, which are closely imitated by Straton, Dionysius, Hippostratus and Zoilus.

\(^1\) Apollodotus is supposed to be Bhagadatta, sovereign of Márwár. Weber, Hist. Ind. Lit., p. 181. \(^2\) Not identified: Lassen agrees that Jumna (Jumna) may have to be read: Wilford suggests the Hamganga under the name Suvéma. \(^3\) 290 A.D. according to Reinaud.
who may either be successors or lieutenants of Apollodotus: all bore the title 'Soter.' We now come to a class of coins consisting of degraded imitations of the pure Bactrian type with barbarous names of Indian and Parthian origin, of which those of Maues may be taken as the type. We have seen that the Parthians had occupied the country to the west of Arachosia, and they now seem to have advanced eastwards to India, for several of the earlier of these barbarian names may legitimately be referred to them. The type of the legends and figures on the coins of Maues at first approaches that of the coins of Demetrius, then we have imitations of the Apollo series and again the purely barbarian style. On some there are imitations of the horse and bow and quiver of the Parthian coinage. Connected with the medals of Maues are those of Azes, which closely imitate the former, and from their number and the localities in which they are found show that he must have attained to considerable influence. We have coins of Azes with the names of his generals Aspapati and Asvavarma: a Vonones with Spalahara and with Spalagdama, also a Pakores and Abdagases, all of which indicate a Parthian origin.

It is difficult to decide when the use of the Greek language ceased in upper India, for we learn that the Indian embassy² to Augustus (B.C. 22-20) brought with them a document in Greek, written on parchment and purporting to be a communication from Porus or

¹ General Cunningham suggests that Maues was a leader of a tribe of Dahae Skythians called Meds and represented by the Mers of the present day: Arch. Rep., II., 59. The Meds are mentioned by Ibn Khurdadbe as robbers at the end of ninth century: Dowson's Elliot, I., 15. There is much to be said in favour of an early Parthian settlement in the Indus delta. Tārānātha in a curious passage (La Comme's Vasiliuc. p 51) tells us that in the time of the Magna King Darmachandra, the Turushka King was ruling in Kashmir and at Multān and Lahore the Persian (Parthian) King Hunimanta, who attacked Darmachandra and subdued Magadha and demolished its temples. The priests fled and Darmachandra died and was succeeded by his son Kanakachandra: who found himself a tributary of the Turushka. His cousin Buddhapanakha, who reigned in Benares, slew Hunimanta in battle and restored the law of Baddha, and under this king the Nalanda temple was destroyed and with it the records of the Mahāyāna school. Although there is no evidence to show that Naḥapana of Gujrat was a Parthian as supposed by some (J.B B.R.A.S., VIII., 224; IX., 1, 139). Gotamiputra takes credit for his victories over Sakas, Yavanas and Palhavas or Parthianos (Parthavas), and amongst them the successor of Naḥapana. The author of the 'Periplus of the Erythraean Sea' distinctly remarks of the Indus delta that the Indus had seven mouths, on the principal of which was Barbarkhan, a trading seaport. ² Before this town lies a small island and behind it in the interior is Minnagar, the metropolis of Skythia, which is governed however by Parthian princes who are perpetually at strife among themselves, expelling each the other' (Ind. Ant., VIII., 139). Arrian (160 A.D.) places the Aṣṭakheni and Aṣṭaknī to the west of the Indus as far up as the Kābūl river, and these were formerly subject to Assyria and then after a period of Median rule submitted to the Persians (Ibid., IV., 85). ³ J. R. A. S., XVII., 809.
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Phor as he is called in the local records. We know that writing on parchment was not an Indian custom, though it is reported of the people of An-sik (Parthia) as early as B.C. 120 by a Chinese author,1 and therefore we may reasonably identify Porus with one of these barbarian Parthian kings. Again, according to Apollonius of Tyana, Greek was spoken in the Panjáb even by villagers2 up to the middle of the first century after Christ. Our estimate of the state of the country west of the Indus is further confirmed by the statement of the Chinese author regarding Sarangia that the inhabitants were very numerous and were continually electing petty sovereigns, and that therefore Parthia took the country under its protection. There is nothing to show that at this time (first century before Christ) there was one paramount power in upper India, but that on the other hand there were numerous petty principalities of Bactrian or Parthian origin is abundantly proved from the coins. These gradually show less and less of Greek influence until we come to the Kadphises series, but here we may conclude our researches into the history of the Yavanas pure and simple, for we can identify the author of the Kadphises group with the immigrant Skythians and Turks. We shall, however, add the references to the Yavanas in the local records to complete the subject.

In the Vishnu Purána the Yavanás are said to be sprung from Turvasu and, as we have seen,3 are placed to the west of Bhárata. They occur between the Mlechchhas and Chinas in the list of the Mahábhárata,4 and are also one of the nations that Sagara was about to destroy when prevented by Vasishtha. In the chapter on the future kings of India in the Vishnu Purána, eight kings of the Yavanas are placed between the Sakas and Tushárás5 and the Váyu gives them a reign of 82 years, and there was also a dynasty of Kilakila Yavanás.6 Some records call them Yavanás in religion, manners and polity, and the Bhágavata mentions the names of five of their princes Bhútananda, Vangiri, Sisunandi, Yasonandi and Pravíraka. The Váyu makes Pravíraka, a son of Vidhyásákti, who reigned in

1 Ibid., X., N. S., 298. 2 Ibid., XVII., 78. 3 Antea, page 357. 4 Antea, page 358. 5 Antea, p. 384. 6 Identified by Mr. Bhu Dáj from the Ajanta inscriptions with a dynasty ruling in Vákáta, a province between the Bay of Bengal and the Sri Sála hills south of Haidarabad, and who ruled in eastern India shortly after the Sáhs. J. B. B. R. A. S., VII., 53 : VIII., 248.
Kánchanapuri. The founder of the Sunga dynasty in Magadha is said to have engaged in conflict with the Yavanas on the Indus.¹ In a passage of the Mahábhárata translated by Wilson² it is stated that “all countries have their laws and their gods; the Yavanas are wise and pre-eminently brave.” They are mentioned in the edicts of Asoka and in the Allahabad inscription of the Guptas. Panini refers to ‘the writing of the Yavanas’ in illustration of one of his grammatical rules, but we are not in a position to fix his date.³ But it is from their influence on the writings of the Hindus, and especially on the works devoted to astronomy, that the extent of their relations with India may be gathered. The Indian astronomers write of the Yavanas as their teachers.⁴ Varāha-mihira, who lived in 504 A. D., gives not only the entire list of the Greek names of the zodiacal signs and planets, but he also directly employs several of the latter side by side with the Indian names as well as translations from the Greek of technical terms. It is unnecessary to continue our search after the allusions to the Yavanas in the Hindu records, and we shall merely add the following references collected by General Cunningham.⁵ In the *Milinda-prasna*, or ‘Questions of Milinda,’ there⁶ is a long disputation between Nágárjuna and the Yavana Milinda, raja of Ságal. The time and place lead us to identify this prince with the Greek Menander, raja of Sákala or Sangala⁷ in the Panjáb between the Chánáb and the Ravi. Dr. Kern quotes a fragment of the *Gárgi-sahihita* of the astronomer Garga written about B.C. 50, in which after mentioning Sálisuka, one of the Maurya princes who died in B. C. 200, Garga says:—“Then the viciously valiant Yavanas, after reducing Sáketā, Panchála, Mathura, will reach (or take) Kusumadhwaja (Pali-bothra), * * Pushpapura (Palibothra) being reached (or taken), all provinces will be in disorder assuredly.” Sáketā is Oudh, Panchála we have already explained,⁸ Muthra was the chief city of the Sarasenas and Palibothra is Patna, the city of Chandragupta, Asoka and Sophagasenus, with whom the Baktrian kings had held friendly relations. Another passage, referring to the Greeks in India, is taken from Patanjali’s commentary on Panini by Dr.

Goldstücker, where he says:—"The Yavana besieged Ayodhya; the Yavana besieged the Mádhyanikas." Here Ayodhya is the sacred Ajudhya in Oudh and the Mádhyanikas are the people of the middle-country (Madhyadesa) including the Gangetic districts south of Panchála and north of the delta. Patanjali gives the word 'besieged' in the imperfect tense as an illustration of the rule that this tense should be used "when the fact related is out of sight, notorious, but could be seen by the person who uses the verb;" so that, as observed by Dr. Goldstücker, it may be considered Patanjali was contemporary with the event. Now Patanjali lived towards the middle of the second century before Christ, a date which will correspond very well with that to be assigned to Menander on other grounds. In the lists of the kings of Magadha we have the name Pushpamitra, who lived between B. C. 178 and 142. In the Mālaviākāññimitra of Bhavabhūti, Pushpamitra, prince of Vidisa, a kingdom lying north of the Vindhyas (Bhilsa), before performing the great Asvamedha rite, is said to have let loose a horse that it might wander free over the earth for twelve months. The horse was attended by a guard under the command of his grandson Vasumitra and the party was attacked by some Yavana horsemen on the south side of the Sindhu river, which is identified by General Cunningham with the Sindhu river in Narwar. Tāránāth, the Tibetan Buddhist historian, also states that the first invasion of India by foreigners took place during the reign of Pushpamitra and five years before his death, so that the great expedition of Menander in which he overran Oudh and the Gangetic valley as far as Patna cannot have been earlier than B.C. 147. From all these indications we cannot assign to the Yavanas any direct connection with the Kumaun Himalaya, notwithstanding the statements of respectable authorities to the contrary.

We have now to return once more to Baktria and to the accounts that have survived of the tribes inhabiting the countries in its neighbourhood.

1 Pāṇini, p. 230. 2 Wilson's Works 3 See further Dr Rajendralal Mitra's essay. 4 On the supposed identity of the Greeks with the Yavanas of the Sanskrit writers in J. A. S. Ben., XII., i., 246, in which he considers the term 'Yavana' was the name of a country and of its people to the west of Kandahār which may have been Arabia, Persia, Media or Assyria, probably the last; subsequently it became the name of all those places and again of all trans-Indus castless races, including the Baktrian Greeks of Kabul, but at no time referred exclusively to the Greeks of Ionia; and with it read Weber's article in Ind. Ant., IV., 244.
Euthydemus in his negotiations with the Syrian king Antiochus III. (B.C. 208) urged amongst other matters that "those wandering tribes who were spread in great numbers along the borders of the province were alike dangerous to them both, and that if ever they should gain admittance into it, the whole country must inevitably fall into barbarism." Sixty years previously the Parthians had won their independence and were steadily preparing for the encroachments which Mithridates afterwards made on the southern provinces of Baktria, though they too had to contend with barbarous foes from the east. We fortunately have several allusions to the inroads of the Skythians in the classical authors. Pliny writes:

"Beyond this river (the Oxus) are the peoples of Scythia. The Persians have called them by the general name of Sace, which properly belongs to only the nearest nation of them. The more ancient writers give them the name of Aramii. * * The multitude of these Scythian nations is quite innumerable: in their life and habits they much resemble the people of Parthia. The tribes amongst them that are better known are the Sace, the Massagetae, Daha, &c. (19 names). Indeed upon no subject that I know of are there greater discrepancies among writers from the circumstances, I suppose, of these nations being so extremely numerous and of such migratory habits."

In the epitome of Trogus Pompeius it is stated that the Sarancæ and the Asiani, Skythian tribes, took possession of Sogdiana and Baktria, and as this statement comes immediately before the allusion to the Indian exploits of Apollodotus and Menander, we may consider it as occurring immediately before their time. He further informs us that the Tochari received their kings from the Asiani, so that the two names must refer to one tribe. Curtius states that the Skythians and Daha were the first to invade India. Strabo writes that:

"The Macedonians gave the name of Caucasus to all the mountains which follow after Ariana, but among the barbarians, the heights and the northern parts of the Paropamisus were called Emoda and mount Imans: and other names of this kind were assigned to each portion of this range. On the left hand opposite to these parts are situate the Skythian and nomadic nations occupying the whole of the northern side. Most of the Skythians, beginning from the Caspian Sea, are called Dahæ Skythæ, and those situated more to the east Massagææ and Sakæ: the rest have the common appellation Skythians, but each separate tribe has its peculiar name. All or the greatest part of them are nomads. The best known tribes are those who deprived the Greeks of Baktria, the Asii, Pādinī (Asiani?), Tochari and Sakarauli, who came from the country on the

other side of the Jaxartes opposite the Sakæ and Sogdiani, and which country was also occupied by Sakæ: some tribes of the Dahæ are surnamed Aparni,¹ some Xanthii, others Pissuri.²

Arrian³ identifies the Skythians to the north of the Jaxartes with the Sakas. Amongst these names we may refer the Asii and Pasiani to the same tribe as the Asiani of Trogus, and as this tribe belonged to the Tochari, there remains only the Saranææ of Trogus, Sagarkaææ of Ptolemy, and Sakarauli of Strabo—all synonymous with the Sakas or Sús. The Chinese annals clearly show that the Yueh-ti or Tochari and the Sús were the only two barbarian tribes in this neighbourhood at this time.

During the reigns of Mithridates I. of Parthia and Demetrius of Baktria, the Skythians were continually making incursions from the east and were with difficulty repelled. Phrahatres, the successor of Mithridates, called in their aid against the Syrians, but the Skythians arrived too late to take part in the war and the Parthian king refused to pay them or lead them against some other foe. They accordingly commenced to ravage Parthia itself and Phrahatres fell in battle against them (in B.C. 126), in which his Greek mercenaries joined the enemy.⁴ These Skythians can be none other than the Sakarauli branch of the Sús and the last of them to leave Ta-hia for the south, for we find that Artabanus II., uncle and successor of Phrahatres, died a few years afterwards in a fight⁵ with the Tochari, who must have been a branch of the Yueh-ti, the successors of the Sús in Baktria. The Sakas are further mentioned as giving the name Sakastene to the Paraitakene district in Drangia (or the valley of the Helmand), and their capital city was Sigal, now identified with Sekula, one of the principal towns of Seistan.⁶ From the above we learn that the Sakas were the principal tribe in the earlier immigrations of the Skythians and that to many Scytheæ and Sakæ were synonymous terms; at the same time they were divided into a number of clans, each having its own name, sometimes allied and sometimes at war with each

¹ See Cunningham, Arch. Rep., II., 47, for his speculation as to the modern representatives of these tribes. He connects the Aparni with the Ahars (p. 29-49); the Xanthii with the Jats (p. 64); and the Pissuri with the Paralates (p. 80).
² Bk. IV., 1, 4. ³ Lindsay's Parthia, p. 13; Rawlinson's Sixth Monarchy, p. 109.
⁴ 'Scythe' depopulata Parthia, in patriam revertuntur. Sed Artabanes bello Thogariti illato, &c.' Here the Skythians are distinguished from the Tochari, who are the Tushares or Tukhars of the Paranaes.
⁵ J.R. A.S., IX., 19.
other, and that wave after wave of these clans poured across the Altai, pushing forward those that had preceded them. Our further illustrations are from Chinese sources.

In the Chinese works *T'sien Han-shu*, and *Shih-ki* or 'Historical record,' we possess most valuable information on the state of the countries adjoining Baktria from the third century before Christ.\(^1\) Mr. Kingsmill informs us that according to the unanimous tradition of the Chinese, the tribes of the founders of the Chinese power under the name Chows were driven from their original seats in the land of Ban by barbarous tribes known as Diks, later on called Hinyuk or Hündjuk. Allied with these were the Himwans, the Hien-yun of modern Chinese. Both of these tribes are by the earlier writers of the Han dynasty connected with the Jung of the Chow authors, a name which by the time of the Hans\(^2\) had become changed to Nü in the title of the Hiung-nú. From other sources we learn that a race called Yueh-ti occupied the provinces of Kansuh and the Tangut country to the east of the desert of Gobi in the third century before Christ, and that they were harassed by the Hiung-nú and fled before them westwards. The *T'sien Han-shu* records that in B. C. 221, 'the Tung-nú had become a formidable power and the Yueh-ti were in a flourishing condition. The Shen-yu of the Hiung-nú was named Tow-man. The latter meeting with a reverse in his contest with T'sin moved northward.' Here mention is made of only three nations the Tung-nú, Hiung-nú and Yueh-ti. In B. C. 206, Maoulun,\(^3\) the Shen-yu of the Hiung-nú, engaged in hostilities with the Yueh-ti, whom he defeated. In B. C. 176, in consequence of reprisals on the part of the Chinese, the Hiung-nú invaded and occupied the country of the Yueh-ti, while Laulan,\(^4\) Wàsun, Húki and twenty-six neighbouring states submitted to them. The king of the Yueh-ti was taken prisoner and his barbarous conquerors made a drinking-cup from his skull.

From the *Shi-ki* of Szema Tsien\(^5\) we learn that in B. C. 138 Djang-kien, Marquis of Po-wang, was sent as an envoy from China

to the Yueh-ti, to induce them to make cause against the common enemy, the Hiung-nú. Being compelled to pass through the Hiung-nú settlements along the northern face of the Kuen-lun, Kien was recognized and taken prisoner and detained there for ten years. When he succeeded in making his escape he travelled westwards for ten days and arrived at Da-wan, then occupied by the Yueh-ti, but not progressing in his negotiations, was sent on by the high road to Gang-gu. This latter country adjoined the territory occupied by the greater Yueh-ti, whose king Sze had been killed by the Hiung-nú and they had set up his heirs in his stead. The Yueh-ti had overcome Ta-hia and taken up their residence in that country, which was rich and fertile, and it is recorded that “they would rather be exterminated than submit to the Hiung-nú.” From the Yueh-ti, Kien went on to Ta-hia and remained a year at Bingnan-shan. He was desirous of returning by Tibet, but was again captured by the Hiung-nú and detained until the death of their Shen-yu in B.C. 126, when he escaped to China and in B.C. 122 gave this interesting account of his travels.¹ From this record we know that in B.C. 128 the greater Yueh-ti had already occupied Ta-hia or Baktria. From other sources we learn that the Yueh-ti had found another named tribe named Su already settled in those countries and drove them to occupy the country to the north-east of Ferghana and the Jaxartes.

In these Sús we recognise the Sahas of the Puránas and the Sakarauli, Sagaranuká,² Saruncæ and Sace of classical authors. From the Marquis Pu-wang we learn that they had been driven out of Kashgár as early as B.C. 138 and out of Tahia before B.C. 128. The Sus pushed onwards and occupied Kipin, a country which is often named in the Chinese annals and is also incidentally noticed by the traveller Fuh-Hian. From a comparison of all the accounts, Kipin lay along the upper part of the sources of the

¹ Wylie, J. Anth. Inst., IX., 59. ² Cunningham derives this name from the Sinjar, or iron-headed mace, which was their national weapon. Arch. Rep., II., 33, 43. We read that Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, who certainly lived in the first half of the second century before Christ, carried his arms into the country of the Suras (Seræ) and Phrurū (Phaunii, Phuruni). Some refer the Phuruni to the Græci Skythians of Ptolemy, who held Yarkand, and identify the Suras with the people of Su-le, an old name of Kashgár. According to Ptolemy the Sace lived to the south of the Græci Skythians, and this allocation of the tribes agrees well with the Chinese accounts. These Seræ and Phuruni are mentioned elsewhere with the Tochari and V. de St. Martin connects the Phuruni with the Phaunus of the Indian records: see Num. Chron., IX., 143.
Kâbul river and is the Hu-phi-na of Hwen Thsang (Yuen-chwang). It appears to have varied so much in its extent as to represent an ethnographical rather than a geographical term. The Yueh-ti were in turn pressed by the Ausuns or Ousuns, probably the people of Wu-sun to the north-east of Da-wan described hereafter, and who following in the wake of Sûs, occupied Tahia.

That the Yueh-ti were of the same race (not the same tribe) as the Sûs may be considered probable from the fact that we have no record of there being other than three well-known nations of Skythians in this neighbourhood at this time: that the Yueh-ti tribes occur with the Sakarauli, a presumably distinct Saka name in the enumeration of Strabo, and that they are included with the Sûs under the name Sacæ by most classical authors. Tahia, on its conquest by the Yueh-ti, was distributed into five governments or provinces, viz., Hieou-mi, Chouang-mo, Kouei-chonang, Hy-tun and Tou-mi. So soon as the Yueh-ti had settled down in Baktria, one branch crossed into Kipin or Ariana and drove the Sûs from the Kâbul valley into the valley of the Helmand. The portion of Kipin annexed by the Yueh-ti was called Kao-fu (Kâbul) and its people are described as like the Indians in their habits and character. They were more merchants than soldiers, and before the conquest of the Yueh-ti, one part belonged to Parthia, one to the kings of India and one to the kings of Kipin. The conquest of Kipin was effected by Khiu-tsi-hi, the chief of the Kouei-chouang or Gu-shan tribe, a name of which we have traces in the city of Gu-sze near the great salt marsh to the west of Tangut. Khiu-tsi-hi reduced the leaders of the other four tribes to submission, declared himself king and imposed the name of his own tribe on the entire nation. The conquest of Kipin took place about B. C. 38, for we

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1 Kang-keu was the Chinese name for Shighnán or Sogdiana, which appears to have been by Sakas (here Yueh-ti) as late as B. C. 40, and who were then at feud with the Wu-sun: Jour. Anth. Inst., V., 48.
2 Matwan-lin notes:—
"The kingdom of Kao-fu was known in the time of the Huns. It is situated to the south east of the great Yen-che. It is likewise a considerable state. Their manners resemble those of the inhabitants of India and they are gentle and humane. They carry on much commerce with India. India, Kophene (Kâbul) and the country of the Ase are three kingdoms which are conquered by force and lost by weakness." Ind. Ant., IX., 15.
3 De Guignes has the names Hieou-mi, Choom-mi, Koei-choom, Hie-tun and Kao-fu, which last was established on the conquest of Kipin. Klaproth gives the names in the text.
4 Klaproth's Tableaux historiques de l'Aisie, p. 133: Paris, 1826: Lessen's Baktorian Coins, p. 168. Other names for the Gu-shan tribe are Koei-choom, Kwái-chang, Gau-chang. The earlier coins of Kozoulo-Kalphiases bear the name of the Greek king Hermus on the obverse which would lead us to suppose that he supplanted a Greek ruler in Kâbul at least.
read that it occurred a century after the deputation of Djang-kien to the Yueh-ti, who were then in Kashgár. Khiu-tsi-hi died at the age of eighty and was succeeded by his son Yen-kao-chang, who may be identified with the Hima-kadphises of the coins. Before examining these coins we shall give the geographical notices of the Chinese annals, which in every respect confirm the results arrived at independently from our examination of western records.

Szema Tsien, the Chinese author to whom we are indebted for the account of the embassy of Kien, furnishes us in his Shi-ki with further geographical indications which shed much light on the political relations of this period. According to him Da-wan¹ lay to the south-west of the Hiung-nú territory and due west from China some 10,000 li. It had seventy subordinate towns and a population of about 100,000. The soldiers use the bow and spear and shoot from horse-back. To the north lies Gang-gu; west, the country of the Yueh-ti; south-west, that of the Tochari²; north-east, Wú-sun; east, Han-mow and Yu-tien.³ Wú-sun lies north-east of Da-wan about 2,000 li. Its people are herdsmen and of similar manners to the Hiung-nú. Its bowmen are 10,000 in number and they are daring and quarrelsome. Formerly they were subject to the Hiung-nú, but now they are in a prosperous condition. They marry their near relations and refuse to pay homage at court. Gang-gu⁴ lies to the north-west of Da-wan. It is not so large as Da-wan, but is as large as the country of the Yueh-ti and the manners and customs of the people are similar. It can muster 80,000 to 90,000 bowmen. On the south it has relations with the Yueh-ti and on the east with the Hiung-nú. Im-tsaï⁶ (or Im-tsaï ar-gan) lies to the north-west of Gang-gu some 2,000 li; it is as large and its customs are alike. It can muster 100,000 bowmen; it overlooks the great shoreless marsh reaching to the northern sea. Da-yue-ti⁶ (or the country of the great Yueh-ti) lies west of Da-wan 2,000 or 3,000 li. The Yueh-ti dwell north of the Gwai-shui.⁷ To their south is Dahia⁸; west, An-sih; north, Gang-gu. They are herdsmen and nomads with customs similar to those of the Hiung-nú. They can muster 100,000 to 200,000 bowmen. In former times

¹ Yärkand ² On the upper affluents of the Oxus. ³ Khoten. ⁴ Part of Ferghana ⁵ On the Syr-darya. ⁶ The Dāhm north of the Oxus? ⁷ Oxus. ⁸ Lalikh.
they were rash and under-rated the power of the Hiung-nú and rejected all accommodation. The Hiung-nú attacked and routed them; Shen-yu the Lao-shang killed their king and made a drinking cup out of his skull. Formerly the Yueh-ti dwelt between Dun-hwang and Ki-lin, when they were invaded by the Hiung-nú, they were compelled to emigrate to a distance. They passed Da-wan, invaded Da-hia on the west and overcame it. Following the course of the Dú-gwai-shui they fixed their royal residence on its north bank. A smaller portion of the tribe which was unable to accompany them sought the protection of the Giangs of Nau-shan: this branch is known as the smaller Yueh-ti."

"An-sik" lies west of the Yueh-ti about 1,000 li. The country is open, the land tilled. It produces both rice and wheat. Distilled liquors are used. Its cities are like those of Da-wan; those dependent on it, large and small, are about one hundred in number. The extent of the country is about 1,000 li square. It is a very powerful state. It overlooks the Gwai. There are marts where the people and merchants meet to buy and sell. Carriages and ships are used for the transport of merchandise to neighbouring countries perhaps 1,000 li off. Silver is used in coins and the coins bear the likeness of their kings. When the king dies, the image is immediately changed for that of the new ruler. They write on skins of parchment and make books of it. To the west of An-sik is Tiaou-chi: north, Ln-tsai-ar-gan. Tiaou-chi lies about 1,000 li to the west of An-sik. It overlooks the western sea and is an agricultural country producing rice. There are great birds there producing eggs like water-jars. The inhabitants are very numerous. They are continually electing petty sovereigns. In consequence An-sik has taken it under its protection, but treats it as a foreign country. The country is good but disorderly. Da-hia lies upwards of 2,000 li south-west of Da-wan, to the south of the Gwai-shu. Generally speaking the country is open. It has cities and dwellings similar to Da-wan. It has no supreme sovereign; each city and town elects its own petty ruler. Its soldiers are weak and cowards in fight. The people are good as merchants. The Yueh-ti attacked it from the west and completely

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1 Now Sha chau in Kansuh. 2 Tibetans. 3 Parthia. 4 Sarangia. 5 The luc's egg. 6 Oxus.
OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

The population is numerous, probably over a million. Its capital is called Lam-shi-ching. There are marts for the purchase and sale of merchandise. To its east lies Shin-duh. Djang-kien said that when he was in Da-hia he saw keang bamboo staves and shuh (Sze-chuen) clothes. He asked whence they were obtained. The people of Da-hia said their traders went to the Indian markets. India is distant from Da-hia to the south-east about (several) 1,000 li. Generally speaking the country is settled and resembles Da-hia. Its climate is damp and hot. Its people use elephants in war.” Thus ends this valuable succinct record.

Returning to the coins we find amongst those imitating apparently Arsacidan models an unique one bearing on the reverse the legend—

\[ \text{tugarravvutog } \text{Egaov } \text{Saka } \text{koggarov} \]—‘of the Saka king Heraus.’

The last word ‘koggarov’ is by some translated ‘ruler’ and is connected by them with the Homeric Greek koigavog, but besides the great improbability of a Homeric title being revived for the first time by a barbarian king, we have evidence to show that the word is to be connected with the tribal name of the king. On the coins of Kadaphes and Kadphises, we have the forms ‘choransu,’ ‘korsu,’ and ‘korsea’ in Greek, instead of ‘korrannon’ and ‘kushan,’ ‘khushan’ and ‘gushan’ in Arian; and on those of Kanerki, Oorcki and Basdeo it occurs as ‘korano’ on coins and as ‘gushan’ in inscriptions. In the Manikyâla inscription of Kanishka so often quoted in these discussions, Kanishka or Kanerki is styled “The increaser of the dominion of the Gushans” (Mahârâja Kaneshka Gushanarasã saumardhaka), and in the Panjtar inscription we have a second reference to a Gushan prince (Maharayasa Gushanasa). It is also worthy of remark that the word ‘korano’ occurs only on those coins where the Greek ‘basileus basileon’ or ‘king of kings’ of the

1 Parapa’a, Zariaspa. 2 Shin-tuh in the Han annals: Ti’en-chuh in Ma Towalin. 3 Also called Chane Koen, the Tchung-kiao-f de Guignes. 4 The name of a hill in Sze-chuen producing bambus with long joints and solid hearts known as male bambus in India. 5 Thomas in J. R. A. S., IX., 20. 6 Some connect the ‘Su’ in ‘Su-Hermes’ and in ‘Choran-su’ with the Sus or Sakas and the name Hermes with Heraus. 7 Thomas’ Prinsep, I., 146. 8 J. R. A. S., XX., 223. 9 Arch., Rep., V., 61. 10 The legend on the coin of Heraus may appear to be an exception, but his coin does not bear a title equivalent to ‘king of kings, but merely that of satrap or baranos.”
Greek legends is rendered by the Skythic equivalent 'rao nano rao.' We have traces of the latter still in the old Indo-Skythic province of Gujrat in the title 'Ra of Junagarh'; in Gilgit, where the old rulers had the title 'Ra' and the old name of which is 'Sargin'; throughout Rajputana and the Dakhin in the title 'Rao,' in most Rajput clans in the titles 'Rao' and 'Ráwat,' whilst the head man of Spiti is still called 'Nono,' and the honorific title 'Nana' is common amongst the Maráthas. It is not clear whether we are to regard the word 'korano' as purely the name of a tribe or a ruling family and the equivalent of 'Gushan' in the inscriptions or the name current in the tribe for a king or ruler and added on in the same way as 'Soter,' 'Dikaios,' 'Theos' and the like. In any case it was a title characteristic of the Yueh-ti tribe and may possibly be still found in the name 'Rono' applied to the most honoured clan in the Hindu-kush. If the conjecture that Hima (Ooemo) Kadphises is one with Yen-kiao-chang be accepted we may assign to his father and the founder of the dynasty, Khin-tsi-hi, the coins bearing the legend kozola-kadaphes choransu zathou,' and on the reverse the legend—'kushanga yathusa kujula-kaphasa sacheha dharmapidusa,' the coin of the Kushang king Kujula-kaphsa, the crown of the true dharma.' Have we here the Kushang clan of the Yatha or Ye-tha, a name by which the Yueh-ti were known later on? On a coin of Ooemo Kadphises we have the Baktro Páli legend—Maharajasa Rajadhivyasa sarva-loga-iswarasa Muhiswarasa Kothpisasu—'Of the Maháraja, supreme king, lord over all people, the great lord, Kathpisa.' In Kujula-kaphsa or Kozola-kadaphés we have the representative of the Kushang tribe; and if 'korano' be taken to have the same meaning as 'kushang' we have further members of the same family in the Turushikas of Kashmir—'Rao nano rao Kanerki korano,' 'Rao nano rao Oerki korano,' and 'Rao nano rao Bazodeo korano.' Heians the Saka also bears the title 'korano' and he was certainly not of the Gushan clan of the

1 Ind. Ant., III., 193. 2 Jésalmer, Bund; Kachhi, &c. 3 Bid-dulph's 'Tribes of the Hindoo-koosh,' p. 24. 4 Thomas' Prinsep, II., 265 and J. A. S. Ben. 5 M. Klaproth in his 'Tableaux historiques' writes (p. 135):—'Un auteur Chinois nous a abreint que Ye-ta était originairement le nom de la famille de leurs rois et qu'il est devenu plus tard ce qui nous la nation; on le prononce aussi Yë-ta. Leur empire s'étendait dans le septième siècle et les Ye-ta devinent tributaires des Turcs.' 6 We have also a Kozola-kadaphes who may be identified with this Kozola-kadaphes, but both names are read distinctly.
Yueh-ti. We may therefore suggest that the tribal name gradually became the title of the ruler, whether the family belonged to the Gushan clan of the Tochari or not, and that it was conferred on the governors of provinces and on such of the conquered race as had submitted, but were allowed to retain their possessions.

Hima Kadphises or Yen-kiao-chang enlarged and consolidated the conquests of his father and extended his influence as far as the valley of the Ganges to a distance of 3,000 li from the Indus and there reduced the country of Tim-li and its capital Chao-ki-tching, neither of which has as yet been identified. The coins which according to numismatic evidence follow those of Kadphises and which are known as the Kanerki-group\(^1\) bring us to a series of kings who are known to us by their coins and inscriptions and are also mentioned in contemporary records. Their names occur in a number of inscriptions in the Indian-Pali alphabet and dated in an unknown era which were discovered at Mathura (Muthra):

- **Kanishka—Mahārāja Kanishka**, S. 9, 28.
- **Huvishka—Mahārāja Rājatirāja devaputra Huvishka**, S. 33, 39, 47, 48.
- **Vāsudeva—Mahārāja Rājatirāja devaputra Vāsu**, S. 44; and **Mahārāja Rājatirāja Suhī Vāsudeva**, S. 87, also with dates 44 and 98.

Many others with varying dates, but without mentioning the name of any king, were found in the same locality. We have named inscriptions in the Baktrian-Pāli character of Kanishka (Bahawalpur) dated in S. 11, and again as 'Mahārāja Kanishka Gushanavasa samvardhaka,' dated in S. 18, at Mániyála, and one of Huvishka as 'Mahārāja Rājatirāja Huvishka,' dated in S. 51, on the Wardak vase: in the first and third the Greek names of the months are used. Besides these we have the inscriptions\(^2\) found by Mr. Löwenthal at Zeda in the Yusufzai district in which occurs the words 'Kanishkasa Rāja Gandharya' of Kanishka Rāja of Gandhāra. There is also a Taxila record\(^3\) in

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which the Satrap Liako-Kusuluko speaks of the "78th year of the great king, the great Moga, on the fifth day of the month Panæmus." The Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the Parthian king Gondophares is translated\(^1\) by General Cunningham:—"In the 26th year of the great king Guduphara in the samvat year three and one hundred (160 + 3), in the month Vaisākh, on the 4th day." Mr. Thomas would apply the Seleukidan era to the dates given in the Mathura inscriptions of Kanishka and Huvishka.\(^2\) This era commenced in the year B.C. 312, and the difference is provided for by assuming the use of a cycle of 100 years, or as appears to be the custom in the north-west Himalaya, the suppression of hundreds in the dates in common use. Thus in Kashmir,\(^3\) the year 24 is given as the date of the composition of the Rāja Turangini by Kalhana, but this really stands for 4,224 of the Kashmir era which began in B.C. 3,076. According to this scheme San. 9 of Kanishka's Mathura inscription represents B.C. 2-3. General Cunningham\(^4\) and Professor Dowson\(^5\) apply the Vikramāditya era to these dates, which brings out B.C. 48 for the same date, and Mr. Ferguson\(^6\) assigns these dates to the Saka era, which would give us 87 A.D., and for reasons given hereafter we accept this as most in accordance with facts. The Huvishka of the inscriptions has been identified with the Ooverki of coins and the Kanishka of the inscriptions with the Kanerki of the coins; and in place of the Gushka or Jushka of the Kashmir chronicles we have Bazodeo or Devaputra Väsudeva, the Śāhi Väsudeva, a title reproduced in the Sahānu-Sāhi of the Kālaka legend noticed hereafter and in the Sahānu-Sāhi of the Gupta inscription on the Allahabad pillar. The legend on the obverse of the coins of these Turushkas is the same throughout, "Rāva nano rao —— korano," merely differing in the name and the legend on the reverse. The indications derived from a study of the coins further show us that Buddhism was the favoured religion under Kanishka. The coins of Huvishka exhibit traces of the popularity of the Saiva forms, the worship of the sun-god and Iranian beliefs; but Basdeo's coins are almost

\(1\) Arch., Rep., I., 59; V., 59; Ind. Ant., IX. 258.  
\(2\) Bactrian coins and Indian dates, J. A. S. IX., 1.  
\(3\) Dr. Bühler on Kashmir era, J. B. B. R. A. S., XII., (1873).  
\(4\) Arch., Rep., III., 29; V., 60.  
\(5\) J. R. A. 8. V.  
\(6\) J. R. A. S. IV., 81: XII., 269, which contains a valuable summary of the facts regarding the Saka and Vikrama eras: see also his Hist. Ind. Architecture, App. A.
entirely confined to the Okro (ugra) or terrible form of Siva clothed in Indian fashion with trident and noose (pasu) and attended by the bull Nandi. As Pasupati, Siva is still supreme in the hills from Garhwal to Nepal. The general result shows that, contrary to tradition, these princes were not synchronous. Huvishka's date overlaps the earliest date of Vásudeva by a few years, if the latter has been correctly read; but we cannot reconcile Kanishka's dates with those of Vásudeva if they were brothers and contemporaries. We may reasonably hold that all that this legend intends is that they all belonged to the same race or family.

The 'Chronicles of Kashmir' give us the names of Asoka, Jaloka and Damodara and, proceeds with the narrative thus:—

"Ensuite régnerent trois rois nommés Hushka, Jushka et Kanishka qui bâtirent trois villes designées par le nom de chacun d'eux. Jushka, roi vertueux construisit un vihāra et les villes de Jushkapura et de Jayaswāmi. Ces rois issus de la race des Turushkas étaient cependant protecteurs de la vertu. Ils bâtirent dans Sushka kshetra et dans d'autres contrées, des collèges des temples de Buddha et d'autres édifices. Pendant le long règne de ces rois le pays de Kashmir fut, la plupart de temps, entre les mains des Bāndhibas dont la force s'accroît par la vie errante. Après cent cinquante ans s'étaient écoulés depuis l'émancipation du bienheureux Sākyasinba dans le fond de ce monde périssable. Ensuite l'heureux Nāgārjuna fut souverain de ce pays."

And again in the time of Lalitāditya we read:—

"Pour montrer manifestement l'empreinte de leurs chaînes, les Turushkas tiennent par ses ordres les bras en arrière et ont la moitié de leur tête rasée."

There is no doubt that the 'Chronicles' are in error in assigning only 150 years to the interval between the death of Buddha and the accession of the Turushka princes. Hwen Thsang makes the interval 400 years, but in this he commits the same mistake that he made in the case of Asoka, who is placed by him only 100 years after the death of Buddha. Though the initial point of Hwen Thsang's chronology is wrong as might be expected from the history of the early Buddhist church in China, his relative

1 Mr. Rhys Davids (Buddhism, p 238) gives the order Huvishka, Hushka, Kanishka, but for this arrangement evidence is wanting.
chronology may be generally accepted and according to this Kanishka will have lived three hundred years after Asoka. Now we know that Asoka reigned about B.C. 252-217, and therefore Kanishka may, according to Hwen Thsang, be placed about 53-89 A.D. If we refer Kanishka’s dates to the Saka era his sāykra 9 in the Mathura inscription will fall in 87 A.D. Both the Chinese and Tibetan annals contain a full account of the great Buddhist council held by Kanishka under the presidency of Vasubandhu and at the instigation of the sage Pārvsika at which five hundred monks were present and certain commentaries were composed which are mentioned by both Fah Hian and Hwen Thsang. The latter furnishes us with still further indications of Kanishka’s power in the following statement. When Kanishka ascended the throne:—

“Faisait sentir sa force redoutable aux royaumes voisins, et l’influence de ses armes se répandait dans les pays lointains. Il organisait son armée et étendait ses domaines jusqu’à l’est des monts Tsong-ling (near the Pamir plateau). Les princes dépendants qui habitait à l’ou est du fleuve craignant la puissance de ses armes lui envoyaient des otages.” At this time:—“Il ne croyait ni au châtiment du crime ni à la récompense de la vertu; il méprisait et calomniasait la loi du Buddha.” Whilst hunting one day Kanishka heard of the prophecy of Sākyamuni that a king by name Kanishka would arise and build a stupa over his relics: “se flattant d’être désigné par l’ancienne prédiction du grand saint il ouvrit son cœur à la foi et montra un profond respect pour la loi de Buddha.”

On the spot he erected a great stupa, and this can be no other than the great stupa or tope at Mānikiyāla already referred to. The latest Roman coins found with those of Kanishka in this tope bear the date B.C. 43 and these were worn and old. In a second tope opened during the Afghan war near Jalālabad coins of Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and the Empress Sabina, the wife of Hadrian, were found, and the last could not have been minted before 120 A.D. In many of the earlier Buddhist works Nāgārjuna is made a contemporary of Kanishka though he was apparently

1 This question is, however, by no means settled; Kern makes Asoka to reign 270-264 B.C. ind. Ant ill. 79. The date of Buddha’s Nirvana is also still unsettled; the southern Buddhists place it in B.C. 543; the Chinese in B.C. 1000; others in B.C. 1087 and again others in B.C. 880.
4 Astra p. 403 and Thomas’ Princep. L., 90, 183.
5 Ibid., p. 148.
earlier, and it is said that it was through his labours that the Buddhist religion spread through Kashmir and thence throughout the Himālaya. He is the Nāgasena of the Ceylonese books and it was with him that the Yona king Milinda held his celebrated disputation.\(^1\)

The *Dharmasūtra*,\(^2\) written in the fourth century, however, has the statement:—"The Thera who originated from the Kassapa tribe, Majjhima Durabhisāra, Sahadeva, Mālakadeva, converted the multitude of Yakkhas (Yakshas, Khasas) in the Himavat and the Thera Mahārakkhita converted the Yavana region." It is probable, however, that by the last name Nāgasena is intended as he was born of a Brahman family and received his initiation at the hands of the Buddhist fraternity of the rock Rakkhita and converted "Milinda king of Sāgal, in the country called Yon." In the vernacular Tibetan\(^3\) Nāgasena is called Lugrub and according to Westergaard's calculations lived in the first century A.D. He was the founder of the great Mādhyamika school of the *Mūlāyana* or 'Great-vehicle' which has exercised such influence in northern countries. In the *Chaturvinsati-prabandha* of Raja Sekhara,\(^4\) Nāgarjuna is stated to have been a contemporary of Sātavāhana, a synonym for the founder of the Saka era. In Buddhist records the name of Kanishka is placed with that of Asoka as one of the great protectors of Buddhism, and on his death, or rather the fall of his dynasty, Brahmanising influences became supreme in Kashmir: so that when Hwen Thsang visited that country, he found there a king who was attached to Brahmanical views and who is identified by some with Pravarasena II. The summary\(^5\) of Ma-twanlin informs us that Shin-tu extended from the south west of the Yueh-ti and the kingdom of Kābul (Kaofu) to the western sea and on the east to Pan-khi, and that the Yueh-ti slew the kings of those kingdoms and filled their places with generals to whom they gave the governorship. Having become rich and powerful by these conquests, they remained in power till the time of the later Hans who began to reign 222 A.D. Above we have seen that about this time they were ousted from Kashmir by the Kṛitiyas and in the plains they were supplanted by the Guptas.

\(^{1}\) *Ariaea*, p. 394.  
\(^{2}\) Oldenberg's translation, p. 159.  
\(^{3}\) Hardy's *Manual of Buddhist*, p. 554.  
\(^{4}\) Schiwentweil, Buddhism in Tibet, p. 80.  
\(^{5}\) J. B. B., *A. S*, No 21, p 223.  
\(^{6}\) *Mem. II.*, 197.
Connected closely with the debased form of the coins of Basdeo and his imitators come those of the Kshatrapasa or satrap dynasty of Gujarát, amongst whom the name of Raja Kshaharata Maháksha-
trapa Nahapána is the first. The Násik inscriptions¹ show that his son-in-law Ushavadáta Dínikaputra was a Saka, and the coins, whilst giving clear legends in the Deva-nágari alphabet, imitate in their devices the forms of the Indo-Skythian coins and also bear rude imitations of Greek letters. These letters appear to be an attempt to copy the corrupt form of the legend 'Rao nano rao' as seen on the later Turushka coins. Following and closely imitating the better class of 'Sinha' or so-called 'Sah' coins come those of the Guptas and then those of the Vallabhis, each of which on numismatic evidence alone is shown to have followed the other, and all that we know from inscriptions confirms this fact. Dr. Bhau Dájí would make this Nahapána a Parthian monarch and descendant of Phrahates and founder of the Saka era. But there is nothing to lead us to suppose that his influence was other than local, and the evidence inclines to show that he was not an ardent Buddhist. He was a Saka it may be presumed like his son-in-law and obeyed the same paramount authority that then held India, and that this was the Turushka ruler of Kashmir cannot be doubted.

We may therefore fairly conclude that the Saka era originated with Kanishka and that its initial date is to be referred to his consecration on the 4th March, 78 A.D. We cannot, however, ignore the current traditions on the subject that it was dated from the destruction of the Sakas by Sáliváhan. The Saka era is, however, so closely connected with that known as the Vikrama era commencing with

1 Ind. Ant., IX., 16. ² J. B. B. R. A. S., VIII., 238. ³ Ibid. p. 239: the name Satakarna occurs in an inscription in the Kanheri caves: see also Oldenberg Ind. Ant., X., 272, for an interesting note on the Kshatriya series of coins. There is evidence both from the coins and the inscriptions to show that Nahapána was the head of one line of Kshatrapas and Chushtana was the head of another. As observed (J. B. B. R. A. S., IX., i: XIII, 361) the coins of Nahapána are formed on an Indo-Skythian model showing the national weapons whilst the head has a Greek origin: the coins of Chushtana introduce the 'chauka' symbol instead like those of other South- Indian dynasties. On the connection between the Sákas and Parthians, see Cunn. Arch. Rep., II., 47. A coin of Zedonis has the legend 'Manigalasa Chhatrapasa patron, Chhatrapasa Jihonasa'—of Jihonia the sat ap, son of the satrap Manigal, and Cunningham makes him an officer of Kujula kara Kadphises. Arch. Rep., II., 168.
the new moon of March, B. C. 57, that the two must be considered together. We shall first take the local traditions. Both these eras are current in Kumaon; the first occurs in the earlier historical documents and is used by the Khasia population and the second appears in the later literary and religious compositions. According to the received Kumaon version of the Rājāvali twenty-nine princes ruled in Indraprastha, beginning with Parikshit and ending with Lachhmi Chand. The last prince of this line was murdered by Mantri Mitrasena, who was succeeded by nine members of his family, ending with Mathimal Sena. He in turn was slain by his minister Birbahu (or Dhirbahu), whose descendants ruled in Indraprastha for fifteen generations ending with Udai Sena. The names of the fourth dynasty are taken from my copy, Tod, Ward and Cunningham:

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<tr>
<th>My copy</th>
<th>Reigned.</th>
<th>Ward 1, 24</th>
<th>Tod L, 46</th>
<th>Cunningham, J. A. S. B., VII, 24</th>
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<tr>
<td>Saimdhana</td>
<td>35 10 12</td>
<td>Senodhasta.</td>
<td>Sendhwaja.</td>
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<td>Saina</td>
<td>41 10 8</td>
<td>Mahakattaka.</td>
<td>Mahangunga.</td>
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<td>Rākshapāla</td>
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<td>Raja-pala.</td>
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My copy of the Rājāvali states that Rakshapāla (Rajapāla) was slain by Sakadatta, who after a reign of 95 years was expelled by Bir Vikramāditya, that the latter reigned for 93 years and was slain by his successor Samantapāla. Ward¹ writes:—“This last monarch (Rajapāla) giving himself up to effeminate amusements, his country was invaded by Shakāditya, a king from the Kumaon mountains, who proved victorious and ascended the throne after Rajapāla had reigned twenty-five years. The famous Vikramāditya in the fourteenth year of the reign of Shakāditya, pretending to espouse the cause of Rajapāla, attacked and destroyed Shakāditya and ascended the throne of Dehli, but afterwards lost his life in a war with Shālivāhana, king of Pratisthāna, a country to

¹ Ward’s authority is a Brahman named Mṛtyunjaya, whose work was published in 1808 A.D. Cool [we have trusted these statements our work would have been much lightened but in seeking for corroborative evidence, we have discovered their worthlessness and have by a series of negative conclusions arrived at some positive inductions as to the origin of the Khasa of Kumaon.
the south of the river Narmada. Vikramasena, the infant son of Vikramáditya, was raised to the throne, but was supplanted by Samudrapála, a yogi. Vikramáditya and his son reigned ninety-three years." Tod writes of Rájpála that "he carried his arms into Kumaon, but was killed by Sukwanti, the prince of that region under the Himálaya, who seized on Indraprastha or Dehli, whence he was expelled by Sakáditya or Vikramáditya." Tod again quotes from his authority: "Sukwanta, a prince from the northern mountains of Kumaon, ruled fourteen years, when he was slain by Vikramáditya, and from the Bharat to this period 2,915 years have elapsed." General Cunningham writes that Indraprastha was taken by Sakáditya or Sukwanti in B.C. 57, and was retaken by Vikramáditya Sakári. According to all modern tradition the author of the Vikrama era bears the title 'Sakári' from having destroyed the Sakas, whilst Sáliváhana, who established the Saka era 135 years later, is held to be one with a second Vikramáditya who also triumphed over the Sakas. Mrityunjaya makes Sáliváhan the conqueror of the Vikramáditya, who slew Sukwanta; so that we are in this dilemma that some Hindu legends refer to only one defeat of the Sakas, whilst in others the two eras are explained as commemorating two defeats. For the numerous references to Vikramádityas in the later Indian records from the inscriptions of Chandragupta onwards we must refer the reader to Wilford's celebrated essay in which he identifies some nine Vikramas and almost as many Sáliváhanas and endeavours to deduce order from chaos with the result that one feels more bewildered than enlightened at the end of the argument.

We shall now examine the evidence as to the age of Vikramáditya which may be reduced to three heads: (a) legends; (b) express statements in authorities and (c) actual use in inscriptions. It would be unprofitable to state the legends at greater length than we have done, but one deserves some further notice as much conjecture has been built on it by many writers. It is found in the oft-quoted memorial verses containing the names of the nine gems of Vikramáditya's court. They appear to occur for the first time in a work called the

1 Cunningham, Arch. Report, I., 139. 2 As. Res., IX., 117.
Jyotirvidábhárana, which Hall\(^1\) believes to be not only pseudonymous, but also of recent composition. The passage runs:—“Now this treatise been composed by me in the reign of the august Vikramárka, Lord of Málava and most eminent king of kings; in the assembly of which same king Vikrama are, as assessors, Sanku, the eloquent Vararuchi, Mani, Ansudatta, Jishnu, Trilochana, Hari, and Ghatakapara, and also other literary men, amongst whom Amara Sinha is first and these also belong to King Vikramárka’s court: Satya, Varáha-mihira, Sruta Sena, Bádaráyana, Manitha, Kumára Sinha, and other astronomers, such as myself. Dhanwantari, Kshapanaka, Amara Sinha, Sanku, Vetála Bhatta, Ghatakapara, Kálidásá, the celebrated Varáha Mihira and Vararuchi are the nine gems in the court of King Vikrama.” A description of the government is then given and the number of the soldiers of Vikrama, and that after destroying 555 millions of Sakas, he established the Saka era. Mention is next made of his conquest of “the Lord of the country of Rúm, the king of the Sakas,” whom he brought to Ujjayini to adorn his triumphal entry. The author dates his work in Káli-yuga 3068 or B.C. 33, but the style and language is comparatively modern, and though he calls himself Kálidásá and one with the author of the Raghuvarṣa, there are reasons for doubting the statement and Weber places him as late as the sixteenth century.\(^2\) No argument for or against the existence of the Vikramáditya can therefore be derived from the occurrence of this tradition beyond this, that the writers named are known not to be earlier than the sixth century, and therefore cannot be referred to the first century B.C.

We shall now quote the Musalmán writer\(^3\) Al Birúni, who is after all the principal authority on Indian eras. He wrote in the early part of the eleventh century and gathered his information at first hand in India, and is trustworthy, careful and accurate in his remarks. After describing the eras in use amongst the Indians Al Birúni tells us that they ordinarily employed the eras of Sri Harsha, Vikramáditya, Saka, Ballabha and Gupta. The

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\(^1\) Benares Magazine, VII., 275 (1859); see also Wilson, VI., viii., and Bhán Déjji, J. B. B. R. A. S. 1862, 26.

\(^2\) Hist. Ind. Lit., p. 201.

first was dated 400 years before that of Vikramaditya, but he adds:

"J'ai vu dans l'almanach de Cachemire cette ère reculée après celle de Vikramaditya de 664 ans. Il m'est donc venu des doutes que j'ai pas trouvé moyen de répondre." This would give the year 607 A.D. for the initial year of the era of Sri Harsha. The era of Vikramaditya himself was calculated by taking 342, which was multiplied by 3 and made 1026, to which was added the years of the Jovian cycle of 69 years that had passed. This might lead us to suppose that the era was not known until after 1026 and indeed Reinaud in a note on this passage states that it commenced in 959 A.D., but we have an inscription of this century expressly dating from the Vikramaditya era. Al Biruni then proceeds to discuss the Saka era:—"L'ère de Saca, nommée par les Indiens Sacakâla, est postérieure à celle de Vikramaditya de 135 ans. Saca est le nom d'un prince qui a régné sur les contrées situées entre l'Indus et la mer. Sa résidence était placée au centre de l'empire dans la contrée nommée Aryavartha. Les Indiens le fond naître dans une classe autre que celle des Sakya: quelques uns prétendent qu'il était un Soutra et originaire de la ville de Mansoura. Il y en a même qui disent qu'il n'était pas de race indienne et qu'il tirait son origine des régions occidentales. Les peuples eurent beaucoup à souffrir de son despotisme, jusqu'à ce qu'il leur vint le secours de l'orient. Vikramaditya marcha contre lui, mit son armée en déroute et le tua sur le territoire de Korour, situé entre Moultan e la château de Louny. Cette époque devint célèbre, à cause de la joie que les peuples ressentirent de la mort de Saca, et on la choisit pour être, principalement chez les astronomes."

Here the Saka era is clearly assigned to the destruction of the Sakas by Vikramaditya. Al Biruni however adds:—

D'un autre côté, Vikramaditya reçut le titre de 'Sri' à cause de l'honneur qu'il s'était acquis. Da reste l'intervalle qui s'est écoulé entre l'ère de Vikramaditya et la mort de Saca prouve que le vainqueur n'était pas le célèbre Vikramaditya mais un autre prince du même nom." It is somewhat satisfactory to see that the difficulties regarding the assignment of this era are as old as the eleventh century.

Al Biruni then explains the Ballabha and Gupta eras:—

"Ballaba, qui a donné aussi son nom à un ère était prince de la ville de Ballabha, au midi de Anhalwara, à environ trente yojanas de distance. L'ère de Ballabha est postérieure à celle de Saca de 241 ans. Pour s'en servir, on pose l'ère de Saca et l'on en ôte à la fois le cube de 6 (216) et le carré de 5 (25). Ce qui reste est l'ère de Ballaba. Quant au Gupta Kâla (l'ère des Guptas) on entend par le mot gupta des gens qui, dit-on, étaient méchants et puissants et l'ère qui porte leur nom est l'époque de leur extermination. Apparemment, Ballaba suivit immédiatement les Guptas; car l'ère des Guptas commence aussi l'an 242 de l'ère de Saca L'ère des astronomes commence l'an 587 de l'ère de Saca. C'est à cette ère qu'ont été rapportées les tables Kanda Khâraka de Brahmagupta. D'après cela en s'en tenant à l'an 400 de l'ère de Yezderdied, on se trouve sous l'année 1488 de l'ère de Sri Harsha, l'an 1088 de l'ère de Vikramaditya, l'an
953 de l'ère de Saka, l'an 712 de l'ère de Ballaba et de celle des Guptas. D'un autre côté, les tables Kanda-Khâtaka comptent 306 ans, le Pancha Sidhântaka de Varâha Mihira 526 ans, la Karâna Sára 132 ans et la Karâna Tilaka, 19 ans. Les années que j'assigne aux tables astronomiques sont les années adoptées par les indigènes eux-mêmes afin de donner plus d'exactitude à leurs calculs.

* * *
Déjà je me suis excusé sur l'imperfection de ce qui est dit ici et j'ai averti que les résultats que je présente offraient quelque incertitude, vu les nombres qui excédaient celui de cent. Je ferai remarquer de plus que j'ai vu les Indiens, lorsqu'ils veulent marquer l'année de la prise de Somnath (par Mahmud) événement qui eut lieu l'an 416 de l'hégire et l'an 947 de l'ère de Saka je les ai vus écrire 242 puis au-dessous 606 puis encore au-dessous 99 enfin additionner le tout ensemble ; le qui donne l'ère de Saka. On peut induire de là que le nombre 242 indique les années qui précédaient l'époque où les Indiens commencerent à se servir d'un cycle de cent et que cet usage commença avec l'ère des Guptas. D'après cela, le nombre 606 indiquerait les samvatsaras de cent complets, ce qui porterait chaque samvatsara à 101. Quant au nombre 99, ce seraient les années qui se sont écoulées du samvatsara non encore révolu, c'est ce qui est en effet : j'ai trouvé la confirmation et l'éclaircissement de cela dans les tables astronomiques de Durlab, le Moultanien : on y lit :—" cris 848 et ajoute le Loka-kâla, c'est-à-dire, le compt du vulgaire : le produit marquera l'année de l'ère de Saka." En effet, si nous écrivons l'année de l'ère de Saka qui correspond à l'année actuelle et qui est l'année 953 et que nous retranchions de ce nombre la quantité 848 il restera 105 pour la Loka-kâla et l'année de la ruine de Somnath tombera sur la nombre 98." This Loka kâla was in use in Kashmir, but the cycle varied according to the place. "Les personnes qui se servent de l'ère de Saka et ceux les astronome, commencent l'année au mois de Chaitra. On dit que les habitants de plusieurs des contrées qui sont voisines de Cachemire font commencer l'année au mois de Bhâdrapada et qu'ils comptent en ce moment 84 ans. Ceux qui habitent entre (Baradari) et Mâri la font tous commencer au mois de Kârtika, et ils comptent maintenant 110 années. On pretend que les peuples du Cachemire se trouvent à présent dans la sixième année de leur cycle. Les habitants de Nairhar au delà de Mâri jusqu'aux limites de Tâkeshar et de Lohâr commencent tous leurs années au mois de Mankher et sont maintenant arrivés à leur 188e année ; ils sont imités en cela par les habitants de Lanaik, je veux dire Langhan. J'ai entendu dire aux habitants du Multan que tel était aussi l'usage des habitants du Sind et de Kauwaj et que dans ces pays, on avait coutume de commencer l'année à la conjonction du mois de Mankher ; pour les peuples du Multan, ils ont renoncé, il y a un petit nombre d'années à cet usage, et ils ont adopté la méthode suivie en Cachemire, c'est-à-dire qu'à l'exemple des Cachemiriens ils commencent l'année à la conjonction du mois de Chaitra."

This extract gives us the only notice from Arabian sources that can be relied upon regarding the chronology of the Hindus at this early period. There

1 This shows that this chapter was written by Al Birûnî in 1031 A.D.
2 Chait, March-April.
3 Bhâdron, August-September.
4 Kârtika, October-November.
5 Mangair, November-December.
can be no doubt but that Al Birúni correctly represents the opinions current in his time, and he shows conclusively that even then contradictions were rife that could not be explained. His description of the mode in which he saw the people calculate the Saka era is interesting. The person using the era first put down the number 242 and then added to it the cycles of 101 years that had elapsed and then the number of years in the current cycle. Thus the year 947 Saka was obtained by putting together $242 + 606 + 99$; and Al Birúni gives as his opinion that 242 Saka was the year of that era in which it was introduced into use in the country in which he then was. This would give us 319-20 A. D., or the initial date of the local era adopted by the Brahmanising Vallabhis as distinguished from that of the foreign Indo-Skythian Buddhists. This date marks the decline of the Turushka dynasty in Kashmir, and all indications lead us to suppose that early in the fourth century there was a great Indian revival in the countries to the south-east of the Indus. For some reason unknown to us the Arabian writer styles the Guptas 'a wicked and powerful race,' but this may simply mean that they were opposed to the people of the country in which Al Birúni was at the time and from whom he received his information and cannot be considered as an expression of critical opinion on his part regarding their conduct. There is no doubt that Al Birúni is wrong in assigning, in accordance with the popular tradition when he wrote, the initial date of the Saka era to the destruction of the Sakas, for as we have seen that race was a power in India long subsequent to the year 78 A. D. It is not our intention to discuss here the initial date of the Gupta era or to explain the second error of Al Birúni in assigning the initial date of the Gupta era to that of their extermination. The Vallabhi inscriptions are dated from 311 to 348 in an era beginning in 319 A.D., but it does not follow that the Gupta dates can be referred to the same initial date. Indeed General Cunningham gives good grounds for believing that the initial date of the Guptas is 107 A. D., and this we shall consider hereafter. However, Al Birúni’s errors are clearly those of his informants, and had he stated anything else, we should

1 On the Guptas, see Mr. Fergusson, J. R. A. S., IV., 81; XII., 259; Mr. Thomas’ Gupta Dynasty, London, 1876; Dr. Oldenburg, In. Ant. X., 213; and General Cunningham, Arch Rep., IX., 16, and X., 112, where the subject is fully discussed in detail.
have good grounds for doubting his veracity, for as we have seen the popular legend regarding the origin of the Vikrama era was current in his time.

Before proceeding further we shall quote the passages in the 'Chronicles of Kashmir' bearing on the question of Vikrama and his date and for this purpose will quote from Troyer's translation:

"Dans le même temps (the death of Hiranya) l'heureux Vikramâditya appelé d'un autre nom Harsha, réunit comme empereur à Ujayini l'empire de l'Inde sous un seul parasol. La décese Sri servit ce roi qui était comblé d'un honneur merveilleux, en s'attachant à lui avec plaisir, ayant abandonnée pour lui les bras de Hari et les quatre océans. Employant la fortune comme moyen d'utilité, il fit fleurir des talents c'est ainsi qu'aujourd'hui les hommes des talents se trouvent la tête haute au milieu des riches. Ayant d'abord détruit les Sakas il rendit léger le fardeau de l'œuvre de Hari, qui doit descendre sur la terre pour exterminer les Mlechchhas."

Vikramâditya placed the poet Matrîgupta on the throne of Kashmir. In an earlier passage it is stated:

"Ayant fait venir ensuite, d'un autre pays, Pratápâlîtra, parent du roi Vikramâditya, ils le sacrèrent souverain de l'empire. D'autres indiscrets en erreur, ont écrit que ce Vikramâditya fut le même qui combattit les Sakas, mais cette version est rejetée."

Here we have distinct mention of two Vikramâdityas belonging to Kashmir, the earlier one at a distance of twenty-two reigns after the Turushkas and the later one after Toramâna and Hiranya and clearly to be identified with the great Chakravartti Raja Vikramâditya. Toramâna and Hiranya were brothers and the name of the former is known to us from inscriptions and coins. The inscriptions occur at Erán and Gwalior and the Erán inscription appears to be connected with that of Budhangupta dated in 165 of the Gupta era. Mr. Thomas reads 180 on a coin of Toramâna and Dr. Mitra read 180 plus some other figure on the Erán inscription.

We have evidence of the very early use of the Saka era not only in India but in other Buddhist countries.

Early use of the Saka era.

"the era most familiar to the Ceylonese is the 'Saka Warasa,' which is the year of some king of the continent of Asia whose name is Saka and who

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1 The authorities are Wilson's essay on the Hindu history of Kashmir in As. Res., XV., 1. which is only an abstract translation, and Troyer's text and translation, Paris, 1840.
2 Troyer, II., 75.
3 Ibid., p. 43.
was said to be the head of the royal house of Yavana.” According to Sir S. Raffles, the Javan era is called that of Aji-Saka, on whose arrival in Java it is supposed to have commenced; it begins in 75 A.D. In Bāli, the Saka era (Saka Warsa Chandra) is also in use and starts from 78 A.D., and the difference between the initial era in Java and Bāli is supposed to be due to the use of the lunar year by the Javans on their conversion to Islām and of the solar year by the people of Bāli. One of the earliest Javan traditions makes Tristresta, the husband of Bramāni Kāli of Kāmboja, the first Indian immigrant in Java, and he was slain by another Indian adventurer, Watu Gūnungh of Desa Sangala (Panjāb). In Siam, the word for era is ‘Sa-ka-rat,’ but there the sacred era commences with the Nirvāna of Buddha and the popular era with the introduction of Buddhism in 638 A.D. In both Tibet, China and Siam, the cycles of 60 years and of 12 years are also in use and, as we have seen, the cycle of 60 years was in common use in India at an early period.

In the Bādāmi inscription4 of the Chalukya Mangalīswara occurs the following statement:—“Sri Mangaliswara who victorious in battle—in the twelfth year of his reign—five hundred years having elapsed since the coronation (or anointment, abhisheka) of the king of the Sakas.” Here we have a very clear and distinct statement that, as might naturally be supposed, the era takes its name from its founder. The ordinary expression in the grants of the Chalukyas in recording a date is, in the same terms as the preceding; thus in the Aihole grant,5 ‘five hundred and six years of the Saka king having elapsed,’ ‘six hundred and sixteen years of the Saka6 king having elapsed’ and in an old Coorg document7 when the eight hundred and ninth year of the time past since the Saka king was current.’ None of these inscriptions give out an uncertain sound and in some hundreds of grants of the first eight centuries the Saka era is called the Saka vīpa kāla, Saka kāla, Sakendra kāla, Saka bhūpa kāla, and the like, without any allusion

1 History of Java, II., 66: Crawford's Hist Ind. Arch., I., 300. Buddhism appears to have been introduced into Ceylon in the third century before Christ; into Burma in the fifth century after Christ; into Siam in the seventh century, and into Java, Bāli and Sumatra in the sixth century.
2 Schlagenthart, Buddhism in Tibet, p. 275.
3 Schlagenthart, Buddhism in Tibet, p. 275.
4 Ind. Ant., III., 306; VI., 363; X., 57; Arch. Sur. West India, II., 287; III., 149.
5 Ind. Ant., V., 68; J. B. B. R. A. S., IX., 315.
6 Ind. Ant., VI., 91.
7 Ibid., p. 103.
to the destruction of the Sakas and clearly showing that the era was named from the accession of a Saka king. In a Jaina legend published\(^1\) by the late Dr. Bhau Dāji, a story is brought in to explain the origin of the Saka era which is in many ways very instructive for our purpose. Gardhabhilla, Rāja of Ujain, is there said to have offended the sister of the sage Kālaka and paid no heed to the saint’s remonstrances. Kālaka on this proceeded to the west bank of the Indus, where the kings were called Sāhi and the supreme king had the title Sāhānu-Sāhi. He induced a Sāhi and a number of nobles to return with him to Hindukadesa (India) and proceeding by Gujrāt they reached Ujain and dethroned Gardhabhilla. The Sāhi became Rāja of Ujain and the nobles who accompanied him became feudal chiefs. Because they came from Saka-kūla, they were called Sakas and thus originated the ‘Sakavansa.’ Vikramáditya, son of Gardhabhilla, overthrew this Sāhi, but one hundred and thirty-five years afterwards a Saka again became king and introduced his era. Whilst corroborating the inscriptions as to the origin of the Saka era this legend introduces the modern explanation of the origin of the Vikrama era, which apparently first appears in the writings of the astronomers. Aryabhata, the oldest of the Indian astronomers, does not mention either the Vikrama or Saka era.\(^2\) Varāha Mihira, who is supposed to have written towards the close of the sixth century, informs us that the Sakendra-kūla commenced in the year 3179 of the Kāli-yuga and again calls it as usual Saka-bhūpara-kūla. Brahmagupta, who wrote in the seventh century, speaks of so many years having elapsed at the ‘end of Saka.’ Bhattotpāla, writing in the middle of the tenth century, explains the phrase ‘Sakendra-kūla’ thus:—“Saka means king of the Mlechchha tribe and the time when they were destroyed by Vikramáditya deva is properly known as Saka.” Again Bhaskarāchārya, writing in the twelfth century, gives the years of the Kāli-yuga “to the end of the Saka king,” ‘Saka nripañña.’ Even amongst the astronomers it was not until the seventh century that we find the slightest hint of the Saka era.

\(^1\) J. B. B. R. A. S., IX., 159, 164, and Wilford in As. Res., IX., 159, 810. In an old Jaina work it is stated that 185 years after Vikrama having passed again the Sakas expelled Vikramaputra and conquered the kingdom. J. B. B. R. A. S., IX., 141. 

being considered as commemorating the destruction of the Sakas, and not even then was the Vikrama era in use.

Dr. Bhaù Daji states that we do not meet with 'the assertion that the Saka era commenced with the destruction of the Sakas until the eighth century, and again that not a single inscription or copper-plate grant is dated in the Vikramáditya Sanvat before the eleventh century, and this era was introduced on the revival of Jainism in Gujrrát.1 Even then there is much confusion in its use, for the Svetambaras make their great teacher Mahávíra live 470 years before Vikramáditya, whilst the Digambaras make him live 605 years before Vikramáditya, the difference of 135 years being the exact time between the Vikrama and Saka eras. General Cunningham in one of his reports2 writes:—"My impression is that Kanishka was the real founder of the era which is now known by the name of Vikramáditya. The Vikramáditya to whom tradition assigns the establishment of the era is now known to have lived in the first half of the sixth century A.D. I think it probable, therefore, that he only adopted the old era of the Indo-Skythians by giving it his own name. The earliest inscription that I am aware of dated in the Vikrama era is San. 811 or 754 A.D." Subsequently3 he refers to an inscription at Jhalra Patan dated in San. 748 and alters Tod's assignment of it to the Vikrama era on the grounds that:—"As the Sanvat of Vikramáditya does not appear to have been in use at this early period the true date of the inscription, referred to the Saka era, will be 135 years later or 826 A.D." No better authority could be quoted for the inscriptions in the Bengal Presidency. Dr. Burnell states that the Vikrama-Sanvat is all but unknown in southern India except in the Dakhin.4 Mr. Fleet shows that the date of Dantidurga (eighth century) is erroneously5 supposed to have been recorded in both the Saka and Vikrama eras, and he adds6:—"As far as my experience goes it

1 J. B. B. R. A. S., 1X., 145, 242.  2 Arch. Rep., II., 68.  3 Ibid., p. 266.  4 Elements South Indian Palæography, p. 73.  5 Ind. Ant., VIII., 151.  6 Ibid., p. 187. This Vikramáditya is reported in his inscription to have said:—"Why should the glory of the kings Vikramáditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer? He, with a loudly-uttered command, abolished that (era) which has the name Saka and made that (era) which has the Cháukya figures," alluding to the foundation of the Cháukya Vikrama era which Mr. Fleet has shown to start from February 16, 1076. The mention of Vikramáditya here undoubtedly shows that the Vikrama era was known, but was not in use.
(the Vikrama era) was never used either before or after the
time of Vikramāditya VI. (1075 A.D.) by the western Cha-
lukyas and Chālukyas nor by the Rāshtrakūtas, who tempo-
rarily supplanted them in western India; nor by the feudatories
of those dynasties; nor by the eastern Chalukyas of Vengi."
Dr. Bühler, however, quotes two early inscriptions assumed to
be dated in the Vikrama era: (1) the Gūjrāra grant1 of Jayab-
hata of “the year 486, which seems to be dated in the Vikrama
era”; and (2) the Pāthan inscription2 of Sanvat 802 recording
the accession of Vanarāja which “can be referred to no other
era.” But in both these instances there is room for very
much doubt. From all that we have gathered concerning the use
of this era these apparent exceptions will, hereafter, be explained.
With regard to the latter we have a note of the editor to say:
“Having examined this latter (Vanarāja’s inscription at Pāthan) I
am in doubt of its genuineness; possibly, however, it may be a
copy of an older one; but if a copy may the mode of dating not
possibly be an interpolation?” With regard to Jayabhata’s grant
the argument rests on certain assumptions that he must have been
the son of Dadda I. and father of Dadda II. and that as his date is
San. 486 and the records of Dadda II. are dated in Saka 380-417,
the former date must refer to some other era and presumably to
that of Vikramāditya. Now the genealogical portion of this date
of Jayabhata has been lost and all the arguments advanced are so
open to correction that we must decline to accept this solitary
instance as evidence of the use of the Vikramāditya era at this
early period. There is nothing to show why Jayabhata should
depart from the practices of his predecessors and successors
without expressly naming the new era. The third instance quoted
by Dr. Bühler has been shown to be due to an error of the
translator.3 The name Sālivāhana so often connected in modern
times with the Saka era does not occur in this relation in any
ancient records or manuscript.4 A Sātavāhana family reigned at
Paithan on the Godāvari when the Sinha dynasty ruled in Gujrat,
and Gotamiputra or Sātakarni of this race is styled in an inscrip-
tion as the ‘establisher of the glory of the family of Sātavāhana’

1 Ind. Ant., V., 110
2 Ibid., p. 112.
3 Ind. Ant., VIII., 151.
4 J. B. B. A. S., VIII., 237: Hemachandra makes Sātavāhana have the
synonyms Hāla, Sālavāhana, Sālāhana.
by reason of his conquests over the Sakas, Yavanas, Palhavas and his being the destroyer of the descendants of Kshaharāta. This power was of short duration, for Rudra Dāna in an inscription records his success against Sātakarni or Gotamiputra and the submission to him of the same countries that Gotamiputra, lord of Dakshinapatha, gives in his list of conquests. In the country where this Sātavāhana dynasty lived and ruled there is no attempt to assign to it any connection with the Saka era. We have now shown—

(a) that the Saka era was instituted by the Buddhist king Kanishka; that it spread though his influence to all Buddhist countries:

(b) that there is no early mention of its being intended to mark other than the anointment or consecration of the Saka king until the seventh or eighth century:

(c) that the Vikrama era was not used until at least the eighth century, and consequently that the popular traditions assigning both eras to victories over the Sakas are incorrect, and that there is no real connection between the name of the founder of either era and Kumāon.

We shall now inquire how these traditions arose.

There are three different reasons given for the founding of the Vikramāditya era:—

(a) that it was an invention of the astronomers:

(b) that it was to commemorate the freeing of the people from debt:

(c) that it was to commemorate a great victory over the Sakas.

In the Jaina Rājāvali-kathe, a work written in ancient Kana-
rese, it is recorded that:—“Then was born in Ujjayini, Vikramā-
ditya, and he by his knowledge of astronomy having made an almanac established his own era from the year Rūdirodgāri, the 605th year after the death of Vardhamāna.” Now Vardhamāna is the Jaina teacher Mahāvīra, who died in B.C. 661, and consequently the Vikramāditya referred to lived in B.C. 56 and is one with

1 Ind. Ant., III., 167.
the author of the Vikrama era. The accurate Al Birúni notes that in his time the Vikrama era was used principally by astronomers and that the same class had another era used solely by them and which commenced in 665 A. D.

The Nepál annals tell us that:—“At this time1 Vikramájit, a very powerful monarch of Hindustán, became famous by giving a new Sambatásara, or era, to the world, which he effected by liquidating every debt existing at that time in his country. He came to Nepál to introduce his era here * * and after clearing off the debts of this country introduced his Sambat.” Hwen Thsang mentions2 a Vikramáditya of Sravasti or eastern Oudh in whose reign lived a learned Buddhist named Manoratha, ‘au milieu des mille ans qui ont suivi le Nirvána du Bouddha’ or ‘dans l’une des mille années qui ont suivi le Nirvána du Bouddha,’ neither of which expressions is unfortunately intelligible. This Vikramáditya is said to have paid off the debts of his subjects and also to have oppressed the Buddhists and favoured the Brahmans and shortly afterwards lost his kingdom. Manoratha was evidently put to death by the Brahmans and Vasubandhu avenged him during the reign of Vikramáditya’s successor. Táránátha states that Vasubandhu lived 900 years after Buddha and he was a pupil of Manoratha according to Hwen Thsang: so that the two authorities differ about the date. In Mertunga’s Théraváda it is stated3 that:—“Gardhabilla’s son Vikramáditya having regained the kingdom of Ujjayini and having relieved the debt of the world by means of gold, commenced the Vikrama Sambat era.” And accounts are not wanting of petty rulers desirous of imitating Vikramáditya and starting an era of their own by paying off the debts of their people. We have two notable instances in the annals of Nepál and Kumaon. Of the third reason given for the establishment of the Vikrama era we have given sufficient examples. That there was a great Vikramáditya in the sixth century there can be no doubt, but that he had anything to do with the era which bears his name requires further proof. This Vikramáditya reigned shortly after Toramána, Raja of Kashmir, and in the Kashmir chronicles is specially praised for his liberality.

1 Wright’s Nepál, p. 131: the time will be discussed hereafter: it was about the end of the sixth century
2 Mem., 1, 114.
3 J. B. B. R. A. S., IX., 147, 148.
From Tārānātha\(^1\) we learn that on the death of the Buddhist king Gambhirapāksha, Sri Harsha, born in Maru, abolished the teaching of the Mlechchhas by massacring them at Multān (but a weaver of Khorasān spread it anew) and laid the foundations of great Buddhist temples in the kingdoms of Maru, Mālava, Mewāra, &c. This Sri Harsha was succeeded by his son Sila, who reigned about 100 years. The contemporary of Sila in the west was Vyākula, King of Ma-mha, who raised himself by force over Sila and reigned thirty-six years. This account calls to mind Hwen Thsang’s description of Silāditya of Kālanj. From him we learn\(^2\) that Silāditya ascended the throne in 610 A.D. His father was Prabhākara-Vardhana and his eldest brother Rāja Varddhana preceded him on the throne, but being slain by Sāsāṅka, Raja of Karna-Suvarna, the minister Bāni and the people placed the younger brother Harsha-Vardhana on the throne with the title Silāditya. He suffered reverses at the hands of Satyāsrāya or Pulakesi II., the western Chalukya Raja of Badāmi, as recorded by Hwen Thsang,\(^3\) Ma-twan-\(\text{lin}^4\) and in several inscriptions\(^5\) of Pulakesi himself and his successors. We know that Silāditya was a zealous Buddhist himself, but was very tolerant towards Brahmins: of his father we know but little. His grandfather appears to have been a Silāditya of Mālwa and to have succeeded the great Vikramāditya there. Tārānātha tells us that the Sri Harsha Vikramāditya, the exterminator of the Mlechchhas, was succeeded by a Sila, and Hwen Thsang shows that the successor of Vikramāditya was a favourer of the Buddhists. Sri Harsha lost his kingdom probably through the enemies that he gained by his victory at Multān. Over a hundred years later the Buddhists lost everything with Silāditya of Kanonj. It is his death that marks the true era of Brahmanical ascendency. With it came the preponderance of Hindu revivalistic ideas in religion and missionaries poured forth from southern and western India, and gave the last touches to the complete restoration of Brahmanism. In Magadha, Nepāl and Kumaon, the rulers for some time remained faithful to Buddhism, but the advocates of Sivaism and especially the apostles of Tantric beliefs were numerous and powerful, and it would appear that the great mass of the people followed them.

\(^1\) La Commes’ *Vassilief*, p. 52: *Ind. Ant.*, IV., 364.  
\(^2\) Mém., I., 247.  
\(^3\) *Ibid.*  
\(^4\) *Ind. Ant.*, IX., 19.  
\(^5\) *Ind. Ant.*, V., 72; VI., 78, 87, amongst others.
Al Birūnī has, as we have seen, mentioned the great battle at Kohrūr between the city of Multān and the fort of Lūnī, which can be no other than that noticed by Tārānāth. The Apsar inscription referring to Dāmodara Gupta states that:—“While gloriously dispersing at the battle of Maushari the roaring line of elephants of the fierce army of the western Hunas, he fainted and selected the nymphs of heaven.” In other words Dāmodara perished in the battle of Maushari. Thus we have confirmation of the statement that the Guptas on one side and Vikramāditya on the other were determined opponents of the Sakas. Mr. Fergusson has arrived at the same opinion and states:—“What appears to have happened is this: about or before the year 1000 A.D., the struggle with the Buddhists was over and a new era was opening for the Hindu religion and a revival among the Hindu dynasties, and it was then determined to reform the calendar in a sense favourable to the new state of affairs. ** In consequence of this, in looking back through their history for some name worthy to dignify the era and some event of sufficient importance to mark its commencement, they hit on the name of Vikramāditya as the most illustrious known and the battle of Kohrūr as the most important in his reign.” They then established the era by adding ten cycles of 60 years each to the date 544 A.D., and thus arrived at B.C. 56. This is a possible explanation, but there is no absolute necessity for connecting the great Vikramāditya’s victory at Kohrūr with the era that bears his name. It is more probable that it was introduced for astronomical purposes like another similar era quoted by Al Birūnī and that this was done when Ujain was made the meridian of India. It did not come into general use even amongst astronomers before 1000 A.D. On this question Holtzmann pertinently remarks that:—“To assign him (Vikramāditya) to the first year of his era might be quite as great a mistake as we should commit in placing Pope Gregory XIII. in the year one of the Gregorian calendar, or even Julius Caesar in the first year of the Julian period to which his name has been given, that is in the year B.C. 4713.” There is absolutely nothing on record regarding the first century before Christ, not even excepting the

Yueh-ti conquest of the Sakas in Kipin, that would indicate a victory in Brahmanical interests, and this Yueh-ti success is not likely to have been the cause of the Brahmans fixing on 57 B.C. as the initial year of the era. The great Vikramāditya may have displaced a Buddhist family in Malwa and he himself was succeeded by the philo-Buddhist Silādityas, and Silāditya's namesake and descendant was again followed by Brahmanical rulers, and the facts concerning the troubles of this period were moved back to adorn the legendary but obligatory explanation of the origin of the two eras. Another suggestion is derived from a passage in Strabo, in which he states:—"The Sakae occupied Baktriana and got possession of the most fertile tract in Armenia which was called after their own name Sakasene." This colony was exterminated by the Persians, who in remembrance of their victory instituted an unusual festival called Sakæa. Many of the Indian legends concerning the great Vikramāditya contain facts connected with the history of the Kings of Persia, such as the surrender of the Roman Emperor and his being brought in chains to Ujain, which can only allude to the capture of Valerian by Shāpur in 260 A.D. The institution of the Sakæa is attributed to Cyrus by some, but in any case must be referred to a period not later than the second century before Christ.

Returning from this long digression we take up again the Yueh-ti. Further history of the Yueh-ti.

History after the Yuezhi princes of Kashmîr. The title 'Sháh' found on the coins of Basdeo is none other than the 'Sháhan-Sháhi' of the Gupta inscription on the Allahabad pillar and the 'Sáhan-Sáhi' of the Jaina legend already quoted. It is also the 'Sháh' of the Katur kings of Kábul and the 'Shah-Katur' of the present chiefs of Kashkára. Basdeo is the last of the rulers whose name is found preserved in Greek letters. Returning to the Chinese writers,² we find that about 98 A.D., the chief of the Yueh-ti had so far established his power as to aspire to the hand of the daughter of the emperor of China in marriage. Ambassadors were sent to China on his behalf, but were stopped by the Chinese governor of Kashgar, who refused to allow them to proceed. The Yueh-ti king then sent a force of

1 Borders on Albania.
70,000 men to compel the passage of his envoys, but these returned
discomfited and ever afterwards he remained tributary to them.
There is little doubt that the vigorous proselytising set on foot by
Kanishka and his successors led to much division and dissension
amongst his followers and subjects, and their treatment of the local
princes and distribution of the government amongst military officials
did not tend to make their rule more acceptable. Taking advantage
of these disorders the Kritiyas expelled the Turushkas from Kashmir
and were in turn driven out by the Tukhara king of Himatala about
260 A.D., but again succeeded in recovering the throne of Kashmir.
Up to the early part of the fifth century the Indo-Skythian tribes
were known as Skuthæ to the Greeks and Romans and as Turks
to the Persians and Arabians, but about 420 A.D., these names
give place to the term Haïatelites or Haiateleh amongst the Arabs,
Hepthalites amongst the Byzantine historians and Hepthal
amongst the Armenians. Other variations are Euthalites, Ephthal-
lites, Nephthalites, Atelites, Abtelites, who are one with the Cida-
rite of Priscus or the 'White Huns.' They were, according to
DeGuignes, a race of Huns called Teje and first came into notice
in their wars with the Sassanides, and eventually were conquered
and absorbed by the Tu-khiiu chief Tu-men, the founder of the
eastern Turks, in the middle of the sixth century. The Chinese
annals also record that at the end of the second century after
Christ, the eastern capital of the Yueh-ti lay to the west of the
sandy desert of Foe-ty at Lou-kiang-chi, which Klaproth places
near Khiva. To the north, the Yueh-ti country was bounded by
the territory of the Ju-ju, who appear to be one with the branch of
the White Huns, who were subsequently conquered by the Tu-khiiu,
once their servants and iron-workers. The Yueh-ti had brought a
large tract of country under their sway and Po-lo (Bolor or Chitrl) some two hundred and ten leagues from the sands of Foe-ty became their western capital. Some time after their king called
Kitolo (Katur) crossed the Hindu Kush (420 A.D.) and invaded
Sind and subdued five kingdoms to the north of Kan-to-lo (Gan-
dhára). At this time the Yueh-ti used chariots drawn by two or

1 Reinaud, J. A. S Paris, 6th Ser., I., 430: DeGuignes, Hist. des Huns, II,
IV., 325.
Huns blancs, ou Ephthalites, Paris, 1849: Rawlinson's Seventh great Oriental
Mouarchy, p. 294.
four pair of oxen. During the time of the Goei dynasty (424-451 A. D.) a merchant came from the country of the great Yueh-ti to China and taught the Chinese the art of making coloured glass. The Yueh-ti or Yue-tchi were now called Ye-tha or Yi-ta, and their power extended from Khoten to the Oxus and their principal town was Bamian. Their country was called Ta-kone or the ‘great kingdom’ by the Chinese. Kitolo left his son at Peshawar, who established there a separate kingdom of the little Yueh-ti, whilst the great Yueh-ti still occupied Kábul. Still there are not wanting traces of the presence of the Huns in this part of the world. Cosmas in 525 A. D. gives the name Hunnie to the country lying between China and the borders of Persia and the Roman Empire. He calls the king of this country Gollas,1 who had at his disposal two thousand elephants and a numerous cavalry, which show that Gollas must have had possession in some flat country and connections with India. Damodara2 Gupta records his victory over the fierce army of western Huns at Maushari in the previously quoted Aphsar inscription, and from DeGuignes we learn that Soupharai or Sukha Rai, the Soucran (Sukha Ram) of Tillemont and Sukhra of the Arabs, who was governor of Zabolistán, Ghazni and Bost under the Sassanidan princes Balas and Kobad, defeated the White Huns at Bikand about 490 A. D. Still we cannot accept the conclusion of Reinaud and others that the Ephthalites were one with the Yueh-ti. We acknowledge the proximity of the Ephthalites in the countries west of the Kábul valley, where, according to Procopius, they had been settled for a long time and some of them sought service as mercenaries in the Persian army, and their chief may have become suzerain of the countries as far as the Indus. But as remarked by Reinaud:—

"On ne mieux compare les vastes contrées de la Tartarie à cette époque qu'à une mer presque constamment en furie, et où les vagues ne font que changer de place suivant le vent qui souffle."

The Huns had no long lease of power, for by the middle of the sixth century, or twenty-five years after Cosmas' relation, the White Huns fell before the Tukhiu or eastern Turks.

1 J. A. S. Paris, 6th Ser., I., 431: Gollas must be the same as Anowai, who ascended the throne in 520 A D and perished at the hands of Tuman. 2 Anten, p. 425: this battle will fall in 580-600 A. D. if we take 319 A. D. as the initial date of the era, and in 420-450 A. D. if we take 107 A. D. as the initial date, and all indications show that the latter is the more probable date.
The Chinese pilgrims of whom accounts have come down to us in some detail afford us valuable aid in ascertaining who were the occupants of the trans-Indus country at this time. There are, however, certain difficulties connected with the topography of the region traversed by them which throw some doubt on the conclusions arrived at. Fortunately all of them—Fah Hian,¹ Sung Yun,² and Hwen Thsang³—visited the kingdom of Kbie-pan-to bordering on Yārkan. Fah Hian calls it Kie-cha and Sung Yun calls it Han-pan-to. Hwen Thsang on his return journey to China after crossing a mountain range to the south of the valley of Po-mi-lo (Pāmīr) entered the kingdom of Po-lo-lo celebrated for its gold washings, and after a difficult journey of 500 li arrived at Kbie-pan-to on the Sita river, where lived a king of the China Suryadeva gotra, descended from an ancestor born of the sun-god and a Chinese princess: hence the family name. M. de St. Martin identifies the chief city of Kbie-pan-to with Kartchu on the Yārkan river. Fah Hian left Kartchu, 'in the midst of the Tsung-ling mountains,' on his journey from China, and proceeding westwards for a month crossed those mountains into northern India. He adhered to the incline of the same mountains for fifteen days in a south-westerly direction and reached the Indus (Sin-to), which he crossed and entered the country of Ou-chang or Swát. Here the river of Gilgit is clearly intended by the name 'Sinto,' for otherwise his statement is unintelligible. Sung Yun left Han-pan-to also on his outward journey from China and going west six days entered on the Tsung-ling mountains and after three days reached the city of Kiueh-yu and after three days more the Puh-ho-i mountains and then the kingdom of Poh-ho, to the south of which lay the great snowy mountains. Thence in the first decade of the 10th month (or two months after leaving Han-pan-to) he arrived in the country of the Ye-tha in 519 A.D. "They receive tribute from all surrounding nations on the south as far as Tieth-lo (To-li of Fah Hian and Tha-li-lo of Hwen Thsang, the modern Dārel); on the north, the entire country of Lae-leh (La-la, or it may be read Chīh-leh): eastward to Khoten and west to Persia, more than forty countries in all." He then alludes to the curious custom of the females wearing horns on their heads from

which drapery descended, and adds "these people are of all the four tribes of barbarians the most powerful. The majority of them are unbelievers. Most of them worship false gods." Of the country of Gandhāra (Peshawar) he writes:

"It was formerly called Ye-po-lo. This is the country which the Ye-thas destroyed and afterwards set up Lan-lih to be king over the country: since which events two generations have passed. The disposition of this king was cruel and vindictive and he practised the most barbarous atrocities. He did not believe the law of Buddha, but loved to worship demons. The people of the country belonged entirely to the Brahman caste; they had a great respect for the law of Buddha and loved to read the sacred books, when suddenly this king came into power who was strongly opposed to anything of the sort and entirely self-reliant. Trusting to his own strength he had entered on a war with the country of Ki-pin respecting the boundaries of their kingdom and his troops had already been engaged in it for three years."

Sung-yun attended the royal camp to present his credentials and was very roughly received and when remonstrating with the king said:—"The sovereign of the Ye-tha and also of Ou-chiang when they received our credentials did so respectfully." This would clearly show that the king of Gandhāra did not belong to the long established section of the Ye-tha, and the Chinese traveller also styles the subjects of the Gandhāra king Si-khiang or 'western foreigners.' According to Sung-Yun their conquest of Gandhāra took place only two generations previously, or say 470 A.D., and they were in 520 A.D. at war with Kābul. Fah Hian\(^1\) refers to the Yueh-ti conquest of Gandhāra as having occurred 'in former times,' and he wrote in 402 A.D., so that this clearly was a different conquest from that mentioned by Sung Yun. Again, the conquest by Kitolo must be considered a third, and the reigning prince of Gandhāra in Sung-Yun's time probably belonged to some other division of the little Yueh-ti, who were then at war with the great Yueh-ti at Kābul.\(^2\) Chitrāl is moreover said to have belonged to Akeon-khiang in the time of the Goei dynasty (424-451 A.D.), so that we may consider the kingdom of Gandhāra

\(^1\) General Cunningham suggests that the Gūjas in Yaghistan and the plains are the representatives of the Kushan or Great Yueh-ti. Yaghistan is the name given to the country inhabited by tribes having independent institutions on our north-west frontier. Captain Trotter notes of these Gūjas that they are said to be of Jāt descent, thugh now Musalmans. They are termed by the Pathānas Hinoki, and are frequently met with in the pastoral districts where they tend the flocks of the Pathānas, who are lords of the soil. "They are said to be descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country." Rep. G. T. S., 1873-75, p. 26. Cann. Arch. Rep., II., 72.

\(^2\) Meanwhile, the country of the Alans was in a state of turmoil. It was inhabited by the Avars and the Gokhs, who were the descendants of those tribes which had been driven out of the country and pressed on the west by the Turks.
in 520 A.D., as an independent offshoot of the little Yueh-ti, whose principal seat was in Chitrál. The name Si-khiang is usually given to the Tibetans, and we know that the little Yueh-ti fled to Tibet in the first century before Christ.

Hwen Thsang on his journey from China visited Tukhara and then Bamiyan, where the people were zealous Buddhists. Further east in Kapisa in the Kábul valley there was a Kshatriya king (630 A.D.). Lamghán and Nagarabhára were subject to Kapisa as well as Purushapera (Peshawar), the capital of Gandhára. This dynasty, however, could not have lasted long, for Al Birúni, as we have seen, distinctly states that the dynasty which preceded the Hindu rulers of Kábul was a Turkish one, and this can be no other than the ruling family of the great Yueh-ti. Buddhism prevailed throughout the whole valley of the Kábul river and in Swát, where the spoken language, though somewhat different, resembled that of India. The remains of numerous buildings existed which had been destroyed by Mihirakula, Raja of Kashmir, about 500 A.D., were seen by the Chinese traveller. Hwen Thsang then advanced as far as the sources of the Swát river and afterwards passed along the Indus into the country of Tha-li-lo (Darel), the former capital of Udýána or Swát. Thence he visited Pol-u-lo, the modern Iskardo, where the people spoke a different language. All these indications corroborate the result of our previous investigations and show that an Indian people speaking an Indian language formed during the first seven centuries of the Christian era the main part of the population along the whole length of the Kábul valley and along the Indus up to Gilgit, where they were bounded by the Baltis on the east. We shall now examine the few notices that occur in Arabian and Persian writers.

The writings of the earliest Musalmán geographers2 show that Kábul was divided between the dominant Turks and subject Hindus. Istakhi in

1 There is some difficulty about this name and there are apparently two places that can answer to the name Bolor. According to Kliproth (Mag. As., I, 96), Chitrál was known as Bolor to the Chinese, and he notes that under the Hans it belonged to Ou-tehha (Udíyána or Swát) and under the Goél (144-451 A.D.), it was the kingdom of Aksu-khiang, clearly a Tibetan dynasty and perhaps connected with the little Yueh-ti: Cunn. Anc Geog., 83, and Progs. R. G. S., III. The Pó-lo of Snag Yun (Beal, p. 183) would more nearly approach Chitrál, and this will also be the Pó-lo of Kliproth's authorities quoted at p. 417.

2 This paragraph is based upon Elliot, II., 42: 427.
915 A.D. writes:—"Kábul has a castle celebrated for its strength, accessible only by one road. In it there are Musalmáns and it has a town in which are infidels from Hind." In this statement he is followed by Ibn Haukul (942 A.D.), and his successors. Ibn Khallikán states that in the time of Yakúb-bin-Láis Kábul was inhabited by a Turkish tribe called Durán, on which Elliot remarks:—"It is possible that the term Durán may have a connection with 'dára' a hill-pass (valley), and that allusion may be made to the country north of Kábul, just in the same way as in modern times, the inhabitants of these same tracts are styled in Kábul, 'Kohistínis' or hill-men." The first invasion recorded was in the time of Abdullah, Governor of Irák, on the part of the Khalif Usmán (644 A.D.) He invaded Zaranj and Kish then considered part of Indian territory and the tract between Ar-rukhaj (Arachósia) and Dáwar and in the latter country attacked the idolaters in the mountain Zúr. Abdurrahmán subsequently advanced to Kábul about the year 661 A.D. and took prisoner Kábul Sháh, the ruler, who became a convert to Islám; but we learn that the king of Kábul made an appeal to the warriors of India and the Musalmáns were driven out of Kábul. He recovered all the other conquered countries and advanced as far as Bust, but on the approach of another Musalmán army, he submitted and engaged to pay an annual tribute." In 683-4 the Kábulis refused to pay the annual tribute and their king was taken and killed. The war was continued by the king's successor, who was again compelled to yield submission to the Musalmáns, but "whenever opportunity offered, renewed efforts were made by the Kábulís to recover their lost independence." In 697-8 Ranbil1 was chief of Kábul and reduced the leader of a Musalmán army who had invaded his territory to such straits that he was compelled to purchase his release. In 700-01 A.D., an avenging expedition under Abdurrahmán was sent by the celebrated Hajjáj against Kábul and was completely successful. The victor on his return was, however, coldly received by his master because he did not remain and take permanent occupation of the country. Exasperated at this, Abdurrahmán made a treaty with the infidels and promised them freedom from tribute should he succeed in overthrowing his master, and on

1 This name is very variously given by different writers, Zémil, Zenbil, Rathyl, Ratpil, and Wilson makes the name Katnapála.
the other hand the Kábul king agreed to afford him a refuge in the event of failure. Hajjáj was victorious and Abdurrahmán committed suicide when his host was about to deliver him up to the conqueror. Masúdí and other writers make the name Ranbal a dynastic royal title for the prince of Kábul and the territories between Hirát and Kábul. When Al Mamún was made governor of Khurásán he captured Kábul and obliged the king to become a Muhammadan. In 869-70 A.D., Yakúb-bin-Lais took Kábul and made its prince a prisoner. The king of Ar-Rukhaj was put to death and its inhabitants were forced to embrace Islám. This conquest appears to have been more durable than any of the preceding ones, for we find the coins of Kábul struck at Panjshir, to the north-east of Kábul in the years 874-75 A.D.

All the authorities quoted by Elliot, except Al Birúni, makes Kanak the last of the Katormán kings.

Al Birúni writes: 1 —

"Le Kaboul était autrefois gouverné par des princes de race turque; on dit qu'ils étaient originaires du Tibet. Le premier d'entre eux, qui se nommait Barhtigin.* * le trône resta au pouvoir de ses enfants pendant à peu près soixante générations. ** l'ordre de ces règles était écrit sur une étoffe de soie qui fut trouvée dans la forteresse de Nagarkot: j'aurais vivement désiré pouvoir lire cet écrit: mais différentes circonstances m'en empêchèrent. Au nombre de ces rois fut KanK; c'est celui qui a fondé le vihāra de Peychaver et dont le vihāra porte le nom. * * le dernier roi de cette dynastie fut Laktouze-man. Le prince avait pour vizir un brahmane nommé Kalar.** Il s'empara donc du trône et eut pour successeur le brahme Sámanda. Celui-ci fut remplacé par Kamalavá; puis vinrent successivement Bhima, Jayapála, Anaadapála et Nardajaopála. Celui-ci monta, dit-on, sur la trône l'an 412 de l'hégire (1021 A.D.) Son fils Bhimapála lui succéda au bout de cinq ans." 2

Kank can be no other than the Kanishka of the Turushka dynasty of Kashmir. Elliot identifies Kalar with the Syálapati of the bull-and-horseman type of coins found in the Kábul valley and which bear Brahmanical emblems as those of their predecessors, bore the elephant and lion, considered Buddhistic signs. The latter in turn differed from the earlier Indo-Skythian coins. We cannot further allude to the interesting results derivable from a study of these coins beyond that they show that the Turkish dynasty had

1 Fragments Arabes, p. 117; Dowson's Elliot, II., 10.
2 See Thomas' Prinsep, I., 330, and references.
become thoroughly Indianised. In 961 A.D. Alptegin established the Musalmán dynasty of Ghazni and henceforth the Hindus were the objects of bitter persecution, so that many became Musalmáns and others fled to the hills or to India. In the histories mention is made of the services rendered to Mahmúd of Ghazni by the Hindu renegade Tilak, who is also said to have brought "all the Hindu Kators and many outsiders" under the rule of Sultán Masúd (1032 A.D.) At the time of Timúr's expedition against these Kators (1408 A.D.) their country extended from the frontiers of Kashmir to the mountains of Kábul and they possessed many towns and villages. One of their large cities was called Shékal and another Jorkal, which latter was the residence of the ruler. Timúr approached the Kator country by the Kháwak pass from Indaráb; to his right lay the Kators and to the left the pagan Siyáh-Poshes. He describes the former as a people who drink wine and eat swine's flesh and who speak a language distinct from Turki, Persian, Hindi and Kashmiri, and their chiefs were called Uda and Udáshu or Adálshu. Timúr further adds that most of the inhabitants were idolaters; they were men of a powerful frame and light complexion and were armed with arrows, swords and slings. In the time of Baber the country of Kábul was occupied by many and various tribes. He writes:

"Its valleys and plains are inhabited by Turks, Aimáks and Arabs. In the city, and the greater part of the villages, the population consists of Tajiks. Many others of the villages and districts are occupied by Pasháis, Paráchis, Tajiks, Bereks and Afgháns. In the hill-country to the west reside the Hazáras and Nukderis. Among the Hazára and Nukderi tribes are some who speak the Mughal language. In the hills to the north-east lies Káfíristán and such countries as Kator and Gebrek. To the south is Afghánistán. There are eleven or twelve different languages spoken in Kábul; Arabic, Persian, Turki, Mughali, Hindi, Afgháni, Pashái, Paráchi, Geberi, Bereki and Langháni."

The Parácha Musalmáns of the Indus valley appear to represent the Baniyas of the plains and have a dialect of their own. Pashú is spoken in the valley of the Kunar river and Hindi will probably represent the language of the Káfírs and people of Kashkára. In the reign of Jahángír (1619) the Sarkár of Paklí is described as bounded on the north by the Kator country, on the south by the Ghakkar country, on the east by the Kashmir mountains.

1 Dowson's Elliot, II., 129, 130. 2 Ibid., III., 400. 3 Erskine's Baber, I., 221.
and on the west by Attak-Banáras. Pakli was traversed by Jahángir on his way to Kashmir and lay between the Indus and the Kishanganga. At this time, the country to the north was known as Kator comprising Gilgit, Darel and Chitrál.

From the preceding extracts we gather that Katúra or Kator was the name given to the reigning family in Kábul for many generations, and that they were so Indianised as to be regarded as Hindus. They, moreover, ruled over an Indian race inhabiting the country throughout the highlands from Lamghán to Baltí. We shall now turn to the people inhabiting this region at the present day. We find three great groups of tribes in this tract, the Kho division between the Indus and the Hindu-kush, the Shins on the upper Indus and surrounding all, Muhammadans of different races speaking Pashto or Persian or Türkí. The Khos comprise the mass of the Chitrál population, the Siyáh-Posh of Káfiristán and the people of Lamghán and represent the Khasas or Khasas of whom we have heard so much. The upper part of the Kashkára valley is called Túri-kho, the middle is known as Múl-kho and the lower as Lúd-kho and the language spoken is called Khawár, the Arniya of Dr. Leitner. These Khos are the oldest inhabitants and are styled ‘Fukr-mushkin’ by the ruling class. The latter are descended from the common ancestor of the governing family and are generally spoken of as Sáh Sangallie, next to whom come the Zundre or Ronos and then the Ashimadek or food-givers. As already mentioned the Khushwaktiya branch of the Katúres reigns in Yassan and the Sáh or Sháh Katúre branch in Chitrál. It would appear that the native rulers of Gilgit, Iskardo and Kashmir were supplanted by Musalmán adventurers in the fourteenth century and those of Kashkára by others in the sixteenth century. The local tradition in Chitrál is that it was governed by ‘a Rais who is said to have been of the same family as the rulers of Gilgit before the introduction of Muhammadanism.’ The last local ruler of Gilgit was the Ra Sri Buddhadatta of the Sáh-rais family and the old name of that valley was Sárgin. There is little doubt that in the name Sáhrais we have the Sáh or Sháh of Sáh Katúre and a continuation to our own day of the ‘Sháh’ in the inscriptions of Vásudeva and the Sáhánu-Sáh of inscriptions and legends. The members of the present ruling family
are intruders and it is to the Ronos we must look for the representative of the old princes. Major Biddulph\(^1\) tells us that:

"The Ronos rank next to the ruling family in every country in which they are found. The Wazirs are generally though not always chosen from amongst the Rono families. They exist in small numbers in Nagar, Gilgit and Punyal, gradually increasing in numbers as one travels westwards through Yassan, Mastuj and Chitrál, in which places there are said to be altogether over 300 families. In Nagar and Yassan they call themselves Hara and Haraiyo and in Chitrál, Zundra, but they all claim to be of the same stock. Some exist in Wakhán and Sirikol, where they are called Khaibar-khatar, and in Shighnan, where they are called Gaibalik-khatar."

The Sáh Sangallie class in Chitrál give their daughters to the Ronos, 'who being descended from a former dynasty of rulers of the country are regarded as of royal blood.' Surely in these we have the representatives of the Yueh-ti rulers of Kashmir who called themselves 'Korano' on their coins, and of the Kator kings of Kábul, the last of whom was displaced by his Brahman minister; whilst the actual de-facto ruler of Kash-kára retains the ancient title of 'Sáh Katüre.'

From Major Biddulph\(^2\) we learn that "the name 'Dárd' is not acknowledged by any section of the tribes to whom it has been so sweepingly applied. In a single instance the term is applied by one tribe to some of their neighbour." The correct name for the principal tribe inhabiting Gilgit, Astor and the Indus valley is Shin or Shing, possibly the Chinas of the Puránas. They have pleasing features, hair usually black, but sometimes brown, complexion moderately fair: the shade being sometimes light enough, but not always, to allow the red to shine through; eyes brown or hazel and voice rough and harsh. Mr. Drew gives the divisions which exist at the present day and which he says 'may be called castes, since they are kept up by rules more or less stringent against the intermarriage of those who belong to different divisions.' With both Kho and Shin are found Gujars, Kremins and Doms. The last is a servile caste corresponding to the Khasiya Doms in Kumaon and performing similar duties. The habits and customs of both Khos and Shin and the language spoken by them all show their Indian origin, though they have been

\(^1\) 'Tribes of the Hindu-koosh,' p. 54, 68.  
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 8, 156.
for some centuries converts to Islam. There is still one other considerable section of the inhabitants of this region to be mentioned. Their language betrays a Turanian origin and they call themselves Búrisho or Wúrshik and are known to their neighbours as Yesh-kun. They form the entire population of Hanza, Nagar and Pun-yál, and nearly all the population of Yassan besides being numerically superior in Gilgit, Sai, Darel and Astor, and their language is called by themselves Búrishki and by others Khajúna. Major Biddulph⁠¹ rightly, we think, connects the name ‘Búrisha’ with ‘Purusha-pura,’ the name of the capital of the Little Yuel-ti in the fifth century of our era.²

The Moollah who visited Chitrád in 1874 saw three several pagan Káfirs from various parts of Káfristan and describes their appearance as so like the Chitrális both in features and dress and in the way of arranging the hair of their faces that it would be impossible to distinguish them apart were it not for the fact that the Káfirs all wear a tuft of hair on the crown of the head like the Hindús, and this, too, is only visible when they remove their headdress.³ In 1841, Dr. Griffiths saw some of the Káfiir inhabitants of Kattar and describes them as a fine-bodied people and very active and not very fair. The chiefs were much fairer than their followers and in the expression of face and eyes, Aryan. According to Major Biddulph, the Siyáh-Po-sh are separable into three tribes conformable to the natural divisions of the country, the Rum, Wai and Bush. The Rum-galis or Lúm-galis border on Laghmán and Kábul and may probably be referred to the Rotnakas of the Puránas. The Wai-galis inhabit the valleys extending south-east to the Kunar river at Chaghán Sarái, and the Bush-galis occupy the valleys to the north. They speak a language having an Indian basis; their principal deities are Imbra (Indra) and Mani (Manu), and the men shave their heads in Indian fashion, merely leaving the ordinary top-knot. The women of the Bash-galis wear a curious head-dress consisting of a sort of black cap with lappets and two horns about a foot long made of wood wrapped round with cloth and fixed to the cap. This custom is noticed by Hwui Seng⁴ when writing of the Ye-tha country which was met

with on leaving Poh-ho: there the royal ladies wore a horn in length eight feet and more, three feet of its length being red coral. As for the rest of the great ladies they all, in like manner, cover their heads, using horns, from which hang down veils all round like precious canopies. * * The majority of them are unbelievers and most of them worship false gods.' Hwen Thsang has a similar notice regarding the Tukhára country of Himatála, the ruler of which was so friendly to the Yueh-ti Turushkas of Kashmir as to avenge their downfall.

Taking into consideration the very different influences to which the Khos of Kashkára and the Khasiyas of Kumaon have been subjected for many centuries, it is not curious that their habits and customs at the present day should widely differ. The fortunes, too, of their rulers have varied. Syálkot in the Panjab is supposed to have been founded by Sáliváhan, whose son Rásálu was succeeded by Raja Hudi, chief of the Syálas. The chiefs of Nagarkot or Kangra were also closely connected with the Yueh-tis and Al Biráni mentions that they possessed a genealogical tree of the Turkish rulers of Kábul written on silk. The chiefs of Lohara or Sáhi, a petty hill

1 Mém. II., 197. 2 Antea, p. 427. The following references will furnish all the information known about these so-called 'Káfír' :-


Masson, C.—Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab, I., 1842.


Mohan Lal.—Siah-posh tribe. J. A. S. Ben., II., 305.


Trumpp, Jr.—Language of so-called Káfírs, J. R. A. S., XIX, 1.


Biddulph, Major.—Tribes of the Hindu Koosh, p. 126: Calcutta, 1881.

Pomme, J., 1, 214, Thomas' edition

Erstein, W.—History of Baber, I., 221.


Rémusat, A.—Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques, I., 223.

Out of all these writers only Elphinstone, Masson, Burnes, Trumpp and Biddulph have seen Káfírs and no European has as yet entered their country.

state of the Gilgit or Sárgin valley, who succeeded Didda on the throne of Kashmir in the eleventh century, also claimed descent from Śaliváhana, but were none the less Sáhis of the Turushka stock. In A.D. 700, both the king of the Turks and the king of Kábul are said to have borne the same name, which was also common to the kings of Kashmir. Unfortunately this name comes to us in many guises, but if we accept the form Raubil as standing for Ratnapála we have another link in the chain. Again the existence of a Surya-deva Raja, sprung from the sun-god, and therefore of the solar-race, in the hill state of Khiepan-to (Sirikol) in the seventh century, shows the influence of Indian ideas far beyond the limits assigned ordinarily to the Indians themselves. We may now conclude that we have carefully and fairly made out a connection between the dynasty ruling west of the Indus known as Kátúres and the Kumaon Katyúras and between the people of Kunaon and the Kunets of Kunaor and the Khos of Kashkára. We find, wherever the Khasas occur, the Doms live with them as their servitors and recognize in these Doms the descendants of the Dasas of the Védas, inhabitants of Upper India even before either Nágas or Khasas appeared. The time has passed for attributing to the small immigration of the Aryans that has given us the Védas, the origin of all the races who are to-day assumed to be of Aryan blood and even for holding that all so-called Rajpúts are of Aryan descent. Many of our Rajpút clans can be traced back to Baktrians, Parthians and Skythians when the facts now fast accumulating are closely examined. We have seen already how the Aryan writers themselves acknowledge that in many cases all the castes have a common origin. Many of the purer race did not accept the advanced ideas of their priest-led brethren and are accordingly contemptuously classed amongst the outcasts because ‘they knew no Brahmins.’ The Aryan immigrants themselves found on their arrival in India that other members of their race had preceded them. These from admixture with the so-called aborigines had degenerated from the primitive type in customs and perhaps also in features. Their religion also was affected by this union for, as we shall see hereafter, the Pasupati cult had its origin amongst the non-Brahmanical tribes, and from this sprang the

1 Troyer's R. T., VI., 367; VII., 1283.  
3 Mém. I.
terrible forms of Siva which have taken such hold in comparatively modern times of the popular religious thought of India. The influence of the Vaidik Aryans is better shown in the language and literature of modern India and the modifications of the physical characteristics of the various tribes with which they have come in contact. Professor Huxley, as quoted by a recent writer, says, "the Indo-Aryans have been in the main absorbed into the pre-existing population, leaving as evidence of their immigration an extensive modification of the physical characters of the population, a language and a literature."

We may, therefore, assume for the Khasiyas an Aryan descent in the widest sense of that term much modified by local influences, but whether they are to be attributed to the Vaidik immigration itself or to an earlier or later movement of tribes having a similar origin, there is little to show. It is probable, however, that they belong to a nation which has left its name in various parts of the Himalaya, and that they are one in origin with the tribes of the western Himalaya whom we have noticed. This nation in course of time and chiefly from political causes and the intrusion of other tribes was broken up into a number of separate peoples, some of whom have become Muhammadans, others Buddhists and others again, as in these hills where the facility of communication with the plains and the existence of the sacred shrines in their midst rendered the people peculiarly open to Brahmanical influence, became Hindús in religion, customs and speech. As we approach the Aryan ethnical frontier in the Himalaya to the west, Turks, Táatars, Iranians, and Aryans professing the three great religions meet and as we near the ethnical frontier in the east, Tibetans and Hindús are found together in the debateable ground, as we may call Nepal. Further east Tibetans alone prevail until we get to the shading off between them and the monosyllable-tongued Indo-Chinese tribes in farthest Assám. Whatever may have been their origin, the Khasiyas have forgotten it and influenced by modern fashion have sought to identify themselves with the dominant Hindu races as the Hindu converted to Islám and called Shaikh seeks to be known as a Sayyid when he becomes well-to-do in the world. In this respect the Khasiyas do not differ from any other hill tribe brought
under Brahmanical influence. All see that honour, wealth and power are the hereditary dues of the castes officially established by the authors of the Māṇḍya Dharmāṇa-sāstras and seek to connect themselves with some higher than their own. Even at the present day, the close observer may see the working of those laws which have in the course of centuries transmuted a so-called aboriginal hill-race into good Hindūs. A prosperous Kumāon Dom stone-mason can command a wife from the lower Rajpút Khasiyyas, and a successful Khasiya can buy a wife from a descendant of a family of pure plains' pedigree. Year by year the people are becoming more orthodox in their religious observances and the fanes of the divī minores are becoming somewhat neglected. What little historical records exist show us great waves of invasion and conquest over all Upper India from the earliest times and bitter dynastic and religious struggles. The many different tribes who joined in these wars have not been superimposed without disturbance one on the other like deposits of inorganic matter, so as to enable us like the geologist at once to declare the order of their coming from their ascertained position, but rather they are in the position of a range of mountains full of faults, inversions and folds. Following out this simile the earliest inhabitants had to receive conqueror after conqueror, and accommodate themselves to the deposit left behind, by being crumpled up so as to occupy less space or by being cracked across so as to allow some parts to be pushed above others. We find that this is what must have taken place. In some cases the intruding power was strong enough to absorb or to enslave the conquered race, in other cases these have been pushed onwards from their original seats, and again in other cases they have been divided into two. From Tibet on the north and the plains on the south intruders have wedged themselves in or been superimposed on the Khasiya race, chemically assimilating as it were the subject race in places by intermarriage and in others showing a purely mechanical admixture. For these reasons it is impossible to trace any unbroken direct connection between the Kātūres and Khos of Kashkāra and the Katyūras and Khasas of Kumaon, but the affinity is none the less established on as good grounds as any other question connected with early Indian history and may be accepted until other and better evidence comes to light.
CHAPTER III.

History—(contd.).

CONTENTS.


In the tract stretching along the foot of the hills from the Sārda to the Ganges and thence through the Dūn to the Jumna we have traces of an ancient civilisation all record of which has vanished. In the Tarāi in the depth of what appears to be primeval forest are found solidly-built temples containing stones richly carved and ornamented and surrounded by ancient plantations of mango and other fruit trees. The modern town of Rāmnagar has been built from materials derived from the ruins at Dhikuli, a little higher up on the right bank of the Kosi river and which once, it is said, under the name of Vairāt-pātan or Virātnagar, was the capital of a Pāndava kingdom subordinate to that of Indraprastha long before the name Katyūri was heard of. The numerous remains of tanks and scattered buildings are also attributed in popular tradition to the ‘Pandav log.’ Further west at Pānduwāla near the Lālīdhāṅg chauki are the remains of an ancient town and temples of which many of the finer carvings have been taken away to Gwalior and Jaipur. At Lūni Sot also we have some fine stone-work and eight miles to the west near the ruined village of Mandhal in the Chāndi Pahār some six miles east of Hardwār are the remains of an old temple containing some

1 This must not be confounded with the Bairāt in which the Pāndavas resided during their exile, although the Kumāonis have transferred the whole epic to their own hills, making the Lohughāt valley the site of Kurukshetra: for the true Bairāt, see Arch. Rep., II., 246, and VI., 91.
good carvings in a high state of preservation. They represent both Buddhist and Brahmanical subjects: amongst the former the tree and deer found on the coins of Krananda that have been discovered at Bahat in the Saharanpur district and amongst the latter the bull of Siva and the image of Ganesha. There is also a representation of the Trimūrtti or triune combination of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva which seems to be common amongst these monuments and which doubtless belongs to the later development of Hinduism. Numerous mango groves and the remains of tanks are also found amid the forest along the foot of the inner range in the Dün, similar in all respects to those found in the Tarāi. If to these material evidences of an early civilisation we add the testimony of local tradition and those scraps of general tradition floating amidst the stories recorded by the early historians, we may safely assert that at a very early period the country along the foot of the hills supported a considerable population living in towns, the remains of which show a fair advance in the arts of civilisation. Amongst the general traditions regarding these hills we have seen that the legend connecting the Saka king and founder of the Saka era with Kumaon has no support from established facts. The local collections of legends regarding the places of pilgrimage in Kumaon and Garhwāl afford us no aid for their political history. All the information before us would lead us to conclude that the name 'Kumaon' cannot have attained to any significance before the fifteenth century. Indeed it was not until the reign of Rudra Chand, in the time of Akbar, that much was known to the Musalmān historians concerning these hills, and it is in the writings of the Musalmān historians of that period that we find the name first applied to the hill country now known as Kumaon and Garhwāl and that the stories regarding its early importance first find currency. Whatever historical truth these stories contain must be connected with western Kumaon and Garhwāl, both of which can boast of a fairly ascertained history far exceeding in antiquity anything that can be assigned to the tract which apparently originally received the name Kumaon.

1 See General Cunningham's notes on the ruins of Moradwaja's fort six miles north-east of Najibabad, containing Buddhist remains, and on those called Chatarbhāj in the very heart of the Tarāi midway between Rampur and Nani Tal and about six miles to the east of the high road. The ruins lie to the east of the villages of Maholi and Dalpur and between the Janār Nādi and the Kākrola Nādi and extend over several miles. The remains of a fort, tank and wells are visible. Arch, Rep., II., 238. See also J. A. S. Ben., XXXVI., i., 154.
Our first step, therefore, is to ascertain what is known concerning the early history of Garhwal and western Kumaon, and for this purpose, however dry the task may be, we must collate and compare the lists of the rulers of Garhwal, for beyond these bare lists we have no written records whatsoever relating to its history. One of the earliest of these lists is that obtained by Captain Hardwicke in 1796 through Pradhuman Sah, then reigning at Srinagar and published by him in his 'Narrative of a Journey to Srinagar,' in the first volume of the Asiatie Researches:

1. Hardwicke's list of Garhwal Rajs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Number reigned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bogh-Dhurt, the first Raja, between whose reign and Adya Paal 900 years passed, of which no records exist.</td>
<td>1,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Adye Paal</td>
<td>50</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. His son Bejey Paal</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Laak Paal</td>
<td>55</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Dehrm</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kerrem</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Narain Deo</td>
<td>72</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Hurr</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Govin</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ram</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Runjeet</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Inder Sain</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Chunder</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Mungul</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Choora Mun</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Chinta</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Pooren</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Birk-e-Baan</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Bir</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Soorey</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Kerreg Singh</td>
<td>60</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Number reigned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22. Sooret Singh</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Mahah</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Anoop</td>
<td>59</td>
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<tr>
<td>25. Pertaub</td>
<td>59</td>
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<tr>
<td>26. Huree</td>
<td>39</td>
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<tr>
<td>27. Jaggen Naat</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Byjee</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Goopoo</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Ram</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Goopoo</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Lechme</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Precim</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Samba Nand</td>
<td>65</td>
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<tr>
<td>35. Maha</td>
<td>63</td>
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<tr>
<td>36. Maha</td>
<td>63</td>
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<tr>
<td>37. Sooka</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Subu Chand</td>
<td>59</td>
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<tr>
<td>39. Tarra</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>40. Maha</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Goolab</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Ram Narain</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Gobind</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Lechman</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>45. Jegget</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. Masaub</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>47. Sheetaub</td>
<td>37</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Number reigned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48. Amund Narain</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Herry</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Mahah</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Renjeet</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Raamroo</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Chirt-suroo</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Jeggeroo</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Herrroo</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Futtach Sah</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Dooble</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. Purteet</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. Lalite</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. Jakert Sah, and was succeeded by his brother the present Raja.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61. Purdoon Maan Sah.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second list is taken from an official report of the year 1849 and is the same as that accepted by Mr. Beckett, the settlement officer.
The compiler of this list makes Kanak Pál come from Gujrat and the seventeenth had his head-quarters at Maluwa-kot, the twenty-first at Ambuwa-kot and the twenty-fourth in the Bhilang valley. Numerous Khasiya rajas owed allegiance to Son Pál, who held sovereign sway over all western Garhwal and commanded the pilgrim route to Gangotri. A cadet of the Panwár house of Dháranagar came on a pilgrimage to the holy places in the hills and visited Son Pál on his way. The latter had no son and was so pleased with the young prince that he gave him his daughter in marriage and part of parganah Chandpur as dowry. The Dháranagar prince appears to be the Kádil Pál of this list (25), and it was his descendant Ajai Pál who first attempted the conquest of Garhwal and, according to this list, founded Srinagar. The story of the Panwár prince
resembles in many respects the tradition regarding Som Chand in Kumaon, mentioned hereafter. A third list is given by Mr. Williams and differs in some respect from Mr. Beckett's list:—

3.—Williams' list of Garhwal Rajas.¹

| 12. Vibhog Pál.  | 28. Sulukshun Deo.  | 44. Mahipati Sáh.  |

The fourth list was obtained by me through an Almora Pandit and may be called the Almora list:—

4.—Almora list of Garhwal Rajas.

| 7. Suratha „  | 30. Sulákshana „  | 54. Dúlaram Sáh, 1580 A.D.  |
| 10. Ayyakta „  | 33. Ananda „  | 56. Prithi or Prítivi „  |
| 13. Mangita „  | 36. Ajaya „  | 58. Fatch or Fatch „  |
| 20. Madana „ „ II.  | 43. Ana „  | 64. Bhawáni „  |
| 21. Aíbúlilíha Pál.  | 45. Dipánta „  |  |  |  |  |
| 22. Vibhogita „  | 46. Priyaníhára „  |  |  |  |  |
| 23. Subádhán Kót.  | 47. Sundara „  |  |  |  |  |

The sixty-fifth in descent was Pratáp Sáh, whose son now rules in Tihri or native Garhwal. The dates given are those that have been gathered from grants now existing in the local

¹Memoir of Dehra Dún, 81. He notes:—"It should be borne in mind that the writer's list does not profess like Hardwicke's to give a linear succession of kings; each name is only supposed to represent the power paramount in the country for the time being." The grounds for this statement are not given.

²Dínáip reigned during a part of the year 1717. ³Jayakrit Sáh reigned from 1760 to 1795.
official records. All accounts concur in stating that Ajaya Pála was the first who attempted to reduce the independent Khasiya rajas under his sway, and, as we shall show hereafter, he cannot be placed earlier than 1258-70 A.D. The above are the very few dates that we have been able to establish by corroborative evidence, and though every possible source has been carefully examined no better result has been obtained. Taking the twenty-six reigns before Sona Pála and allowing them the long average of fifteen years to each reign, we cannot place the Bhagwán Pála of the fourth list earlier than the first quarter of the ninth century. But then it can be urged that these lists as they stand do not give the entire succession, but only such members of the dynasty as made themselves remarkable, a not unusual feature in Indian genealogical lists. Al-Birúní, writing in the eleventh century, remarks:—“Les Indiens attachent peu d’importance à l’ordre des faits; ils négligent de rédiger la chronique des règnes de leurs rois. Quand ils sont embarrassés, ils parlent au hasard.” The earlier names, too, differ so considerably in these and other lists which have been consulted that no other theory is possible to account for such contradictions as the existence of Kauak Pála at the head of one and Bhagwán Pála at the head of another. By adopting this explanation there is no necessity for placing the reign of Bhagwán Pála in the ninth century. Setting aside Hardwicke’s list, an examination of the remainder shows a remarkable agreement in certain noteworthy names. No. 2 has fifth in descent Sigal Pála, who is the Shakti Pála of No. 3 and apparently the Surattha Pála of No. 4. The Sáli Pála of No. 2 is the same as the Sáliváhan Pála of No. 3 and No. 4. If we turn to the pedigrees of the Doti and Askot families given hereafter and which are of undoubted local origin, we find a remarkable coincidence amongst the earlier names. The first two of the Doti list are Sáliváhana-deva and Shaktiváhana-deva, and the first on the Askot list is Sáliváhana-deva followed by a Saka-deva as sixth and afterwards by a Vikramáditya and a Bhoja. All that we may suggest regarding the occurrence of the latter names in the lists is that the lists correctly give the sequence of these celebrated names, first a Saka Sáliváhan, then a Vikramáditya and then a Bhoja. These names have apparently been interpolated by the later editors of the lists, the bards of the houses of Garhwal, Doti
and Askot to lend lustre to the ancestry of their patrons, and certainly need not be accepted as members of the family in the regular succession. Even granting that these names are interpolations, there is much deserving of notice in the minor names of the list. The word ‘Sigal’ in Sigal Pála recalls the name of Sigal, the chief city of the Saka-Skythian district of Sakašte. Sáliváhan an is a synonym of the Saka prince who founded the Saka era, called also Sakúditya, Sáli Pála, Shaktiváhana in these lists. Kank, the eponymous founder in the second list, is none other than Kanishka and is also said to have come from Gujrat, where we have recorded evidence of an Indo-Skythian rule in the Kshatrapa and the so-called ‘Sáh’ dynasty, and where we have a Khosa race to the present day. In the Suratha Pál of the fourth list we have also a reference to Surášhtra, the old name of the peninsula of Gujrat. Now we cannot imagine that all these coincidences are accidental and would point out that a true historical connection with the old Indo-Skythian dynasty underlies the occurrence of these names in the lists, and we believe that very many of the so-called Rajput houses have a similar origin, notably the hill dynasties and the Baisa in the plains.

Having fairly established a connection between the Indo-Skythians and the local dynasties and bearing in mind that Joshimath in Garhwál was the first acknowledged seat of the Katyúri dynasty of Kumaon, we shall apply this knowledge to the local traditions. Legendary tales in the south of India state that Sáliváhana came from Ayodhya; the Askot chronicles give the same origin, but Mrityunjaya assigns him to Pratishthana on the Godávari. The accord between the Askot and south Indian traditions betrays the influence of the Mysore preachers and teachers whose representatives to the present day hold all the chief officers at Kedánáth and Badrináth, and it is doubtless to their influence is due the remodelling of the local lists. Locally Sáliváhana was the avenger of the defeat of his tribesman Sakadatta or Sakwanti, the first conqueror of Dehli, and, as he was the greatest name in the national lists, he has been introduced into all the local lists, being in fact suzerain as well. Neither then nor now could any powerful monarch have his seat of government in the Garhwál or Kumaon hills, though the lord paramount of those districts, like the British of to-day, may have
held considerable possessions in the plains. The successors of Sālivāhan, whether of his family or not we have no means for deciding, are reported to have occupied Indraprastha and the hill-country to its north for several generations, for the Rāja-tarangani states that Indraprastha after the conquest ceased to be the abode of royalty for nearly eight centuries. “Princes from the Siwālik or northern hills held it during this time and it long continued desolate until the Tuārs.” General Cunningham looks on the date 736 A.D. for the rebuilding of Delhi by Anang Pāl Tomār “as being established on grounds that are more than usually firm for Indian history.” He also accepts the statement that Indraprastha remained desolate for many centuries after the Saka invasion, and it seems better to retain the indigenous tradition here than to start theories for which we have no foundation in fact. But even for this ‘dark age’ there are a few statements which throw some light on its history. Finishta¹ tells us that Jaichand left an infant son who succeeded him and who would have ruled in his stead had not his uncle Dihlu deposed him and with the aid of the nobles ascended the throne. “This prince as famous for his justice as for his valour devoted his time to the good of his subjects and built the city of Delhi. After having reigned only four years, Phūr (Porus), a Raja of Kumaon, collecting a considerable force, attacked Dihlu, took him prisoner and sent him in confinement to Rohtas, himself occupying the empire. Raja Phūr pushed on his conquest through Bang as far as the western ocean, and having collected a great army refused to pay tribute to the kings of Persia. The Brahmanical and other historians are agreed that Phūr marched his army to the frontier of India in order to oppose Alexander, on which occasion Phūr lost his life in battle after having reigned seventy-three years.” The Greeks found Porus between the Hydaspes and the Akesines and a nephew of Porus in the next dūdb. We may accept the suggestion that they were both Paurava or descendants of Puru, for Plutarch makes Gegasius the progenitor of Phūr, and he may be identified with Yayāti.² We have another Porus, however, in the king already referred to, who sent an embassy to Augustus in B.C. 22—20, and this date would agree better with the time given in the local legend of Raja Phūr. We have

already suggested on other grounds that this Porus may have been an Indo-Skythian or Parthian, and here he is connected with Kumaon, of which he may have been suzerain. In another passage Firishta tells us that Rámdeo Rathor between the years 440 and 470 A.D. was opposed in his conquests by the Raja of "Kumaon, who inherited his country and his crown from a long line of ancestors that had ruled upwards of 2,000 years. A sanguinary battle took place which lasted during the whole of one day, from sunrise to sunset, wherein many thousands were slain on both sides, till, at length, the Raja of Kumaon was defeated with the loss of all his elephants and treasure and fled to the hills." The Raja of Kumaon was compelled to give his daughter in marriage to the conqueror. There is nothing to add to this statement but that it corroborates the other tradition that princes from the Siwálík hills held some authority in the upper Duáb between the Saka conquest and the arrival of the Tomars. That Indraprastha was not entirely desolate during the period is shown by the inscription of Raja Dháva on the iron pillar at Dehli which Prinsep from the form of the letters would assign to the third or fourth century, A.D.

Between the date of the Saka conquest of Indraprastha and the advent of the Chinese traveller Hwen Thsang, all that we can say regarding the history of these hills is that the country appears to have been divided amongst a number of petty princes, of whom sometimes one and sometimes another claimed paramount sway over the remainder. The chief of the Bhilang valley at one time enjoyed the greatest prestige and again a dynasty whose principal seat was in the Alaknanda valley near Joshimath. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrims Fah Hian, Hwui Seng and Sang Yun, whose travels have been translated by Mr. Beal, did not visit Kumaon, and we have to refer to the works of Hwen Thsang for our only information from this source on this period. In 634 A. D. Hwen Thsang proceeded from Thanesar to Srughna in the Saháranpur district, and thence across the Ganges to

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2 J. A. S., Ben., 1839, p. 629: Thomas' Prinsep, I., 310.  
3 For this purpose we have the Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales par Hionen-Thsang, translated by M. Stanislas Julien, 2 vols., Paris, 1857; and Histoire de la vie de Hionen-Thsang par Houéi, translated by the same, Paris, 1853. Also Cunningham's valuable commentary in his Ancient Geography of India, London, 1871.  
4 Gaz., II., 245.
Madáwar in the Bijnor district. He then describes Mayúra or Mayá-pura close to Hardwárá and his journey to Po-lo-ki-mo-pou-lo or Brahmapura, which lay 300 li or 50 miles to the north of Madáwar. General Cunnigham writes:—“The northern direction is certainly erroneous, as it would have carried the pilgrim across the Ganges and back again into Srughna. We must therefore read north-east, in which direction lie the districts of Garhwál and Kumaon that once formed the famous kingdom of the Katyári dynasty. That this is the country intended by the pilgrim is proved by the fact that it produced copper, which must refer to the well-known copper mines of Dhanpur and Pokhri in Garhwál, which have been worked from an early date.” The Mémoires describe the kingdom of Brahmapura as 4,000 li or 666 miles in circuit surrounded on all sides by mountains. The capital is small, but the inhabitants are numerous and prosperous. The soil is fertile and seed-time and harvest occur at regular seasons. Copper and rock-crystal are produced here. The climate is slightly cold and the people are rough in their manners; a few devote themselves to literature, but the greater number prefer the pursuit of commerce. The inhabitants are naturally uncultivated, and there are followers of both the Buddhist and Brahmanical faiths. There are five monasteries within which reside a few monks and there are some dozen temples of the gods. The followers of the different Brahmanical sects dwell together without distinction. To the north of this kingdom in the midst of the great snowy mountains is the kingdom of Sou-fa-la-na-ku-ta-lo or Suvarnagotra where gold of a superior quality is procured and hence its name. From east to west this kingdom has its greatest extension, but from north to south it is narrow. For many centuries the ruler has been a woman, and hence it is called the ‘Kingdom of the queens.’ The husband of the reigning sovereign has the title of king, but does not meddle in affairs of state. The men occupy themselves with war and husbandry. The soil is fertile and is favourable to the growth of a poor kind of barley, and the people rear large numbers of sheep and ponies. The climate is icy-cold and the inhabitants are abrupt and turbulent in their manners. This country touches on the east the country of the Tibetans, on the north is the country of Khoten and on the west is San-po-ho or Sampaha (?)”

1 Gaz., V. 1 I., 221: Voy. des Pél., II., 231., Vie, p. 119.
General Cunningham writes:—"The ancient capital of the Brahmmapura, Katyúri Rajas was at Lakhánpur or Vairát-pattan on the Rámganga river about 80 miles in a direct line from Madáwar. If we might take the measurement from Kot-dwára, at the foot of the hills on the north-eastern frontier of Madáwar, the distance would agree with the 50 miles recorded by Hwen Thsang. It occurs to me, however, as a much more probable explanation of the discrepancy in the recorded bearing and distance that they most probably refer to Govisana, the next place visited by Hwen Thsang, from which Bairát lies exactly 50 miles due north." General Cunningham also refers to the position of Lakhanpur, in a valley only 3,339 feet above the level of the sea and to the fact that the country around is still fertile and allows of two crops being collected during the year as further corroborating his identification of Lakhanpur with Brahmmapura. M. Vivieu de St. Martin assigns Brahmmapura to Srinagar in Garhwal, which however was of no importance until the present town was built in the early part of the seventeenth century. Others have suggested that the extensive ruins near Barhepura, about twelve miles to the north-east of Najíbabad in the Bijnor district, mark the site of Brahmmapura; but this conjecture, apparently based on the similarity in sound of the two names, would conflict too much with the precise assignment of Hwen Thsang. The Chinese traveller has shown himself so accurate in the great majority of his statements that it would be contrary to all correct principles of interpretation to reject his distinct assertions before it is shown that they are incapable of any reasonable explanation. Such is very far from being the case in this instance, for in Bárahát in the valley of the Bhágirathi in independent Garhwal we have an ancient and well-known site almost exactly fifty miles due north of Hardwár, and which in climate, products and position both with regard to Madáwar and Suvarnagotra agrees with the description of Hwen Thsang. Bárahát was the seat of an old dynasty and contains numerous remains of temples and other buildings. The inscription on the trisúl of Aneka Malla written in the twelfth century and which still stands near the temple of Sukha shows that at that time it was a place of some importance.
The remains now existing are chiefly found to the north-west of the river at the foot of a high hill where there is a level piece of ground. Temples, places of pilgrimage, holy pools and sacred streams abound, for this place was on the direct route to Gangotri. In support of this identification we may remark that the distance to Govisana, the next place visited, is measured from Madúwar, to which place Hwen Thsang must have returned in order to reach Govisana from Bárähát, whilst if he proceeded from Lakhanpur his road would have lain across the watershed into the Kosi valley.

It has been suggested, as we have seen, that the ancient name of Lakhanpur was Bairát, but the weight of local testimony connects this name with the ruins near Dhikuli on the Kosi. That Lakhanpur was an ancient residence of the Katyúris cannot be disputed, but the statement that it was their home in the seventh century is open to grave objections. An old verse embodies the popular tradition regarding its origin:

\[ \text{Asan wā hā bāson wā hā sīnāson wā hā} \]
\[ \text{Wā hā Bṛihma wā hā Lakhanpur.} \]

Now the pedigrees of the Doti, Askot and Páli Katyúris all mention the names of Asanti Deva and Básanti Deva, and in the last these names head the list. In the Doti list, six names intervene between Básanti and Gauranga, the second name of the Páli list, and in the Askot list seven names intervene, but whether we are to assign these names to different persons of the same family, as is more probable, or to the same persons, the Páli list in this case retaining only the more remarkable names, there is nothing to show. Assuming that the names belong to different persons, then the Páli family must have branched off immediately after Básanti Deva. In the genealogical table of this branch from Asanti downwards given hereafter we have one Sáranga Deo, tenth in descent, and again one Sáranga Gosáin, fifteenth in descent, who settled at Támádhauin in Chaukot. On the image of the household deity in the family temple at Támádhauin we have

1 Bárähát suffered much by the great earthquake of 1803, in which all the buildings were materially injured and many were completely buried in the ground. It is said that two to three hundred people perished, and since then few of the houses or temples have been restored: As. Res., XI., 476.
an inscription recording the name Sáranga Deo, and the date 1420 A.D. which if referred to the first Sáranga Deo will place the Asanti Deva in 1290 A.D. by following an average of thirteen years to each reign, and if referred to the second Sáranga Gosáin will place Asanti Deva in 1225 A.D. Taking the Doti list there are eighteen reigns between Asanti Deva and the contemporary of Ratan Chand, Rainka Arjuna Sáhi, who lived in 1462 A.D. If we strike out some twenty years on account of the disturbance in the succession which must have shortened the length of the reigns as well as for the unexpired portion of Arjuna Sáhi's reign, an application of the same calculation gives us 1228 A.D. for Asanti Deva. We may, therefore, fairly conclude that according to local tradition Lakhanpur was founded as late as the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The kingdom of Suvarna-kutula, or Suvarna-gotra as rendered by M. Julien, must have lain to the north from Ganai in the valley of the Gauri (Gori) if we adhere to Lakhanpur as the site to be identified with Brahmapura or across the passes in Tibet if we make Bárabát the Brahmapura of our traveller, and that the latter is the correct interpretation will be shown conclusively hereafter. There is no doubt that the valley of the Gori in Juhár in which Milam is situate has at the present day a considerable population and commands a large trade with Tibet; but in former times the valley of the Alknanda was the more populous of the two, for Joshimath claims to have been the earliest seat of the Katyúris, an honour to which Juhár cannot aspire. The Juhár tradition, however, is interesting in itself, despite the fabulous details with which it is embellished and doubtless contains a residuum of fact. In any case it is all that the people have to say about themselves, and on this account alone is worth preserving; and as it is supposed to relate to this very period, we may introduce it here and as nearly as possible in the words of the narrator:—

"Jibar or Jiwar is the old name of Juhár, and long before the present race of men came into the world there were two princes (principalities?) in Juhár called Halduwa and Pingaluwa. The former extended from the snows to Mápa and the latter from Mápa to Laspa. The people of those countries are said to have been covered with hair even to their tongues. There was no pass open at
that time to Hundes. High up on the cliffs near the source of the Gori glacier lived a huge bird (pāru), whose wings when extended were able to cover the valley at Mápa and who lived on human beings. The bird fed on the hapless inhabitants of Halduwa and Pingaluwa until but a few families remained. Sākya Láma lived at this time in a great cave near Laphkhel. Every morning the Láma used to leave his cave and come to Laphkhel, where he used to sit all day at his devotions, flying back at night to his cave. There was at that time in the service of the Láma a man to whom the Láma wished to do service and he called the man to him and said:—'Go across the snowy mountains to the south and you will find a place called Juhar, where the pāru has eaten up Halduwa and Pingaluwa, who lived there. I will give thee a bow and arrow with which thou shalt fight the pāru and kill it; go, take possession of and colonise Juhar.' The man answered and said:—'Thy servant will obey the voice of his master, but he knoweth not the way and who shall guide him.' The Láma said:—'Fear not, I will provide thee a guide, but take care that thou leave him not. Whatever shape he may assume, follow on and fear not; remember that he is thy guide.' The man and the guide set out together, and after a short time the guide took the form of a dog and the place was called after him Kingri. The man followed the dog and it became a stag, hence the name Dol-dūnga; then the stag became a bear and the place was called Topi-dūnga; and again a camel, hence the name Unta-dhúra: then a tiger, hence the name Dúng-udiyár, and finally a hare, which lost itself in Pingaluwa's country at Samgaon.

On looking about him the man saw nothing but the bones of the people who had been eaten by the pāru, and becoming alarmed fled and took refuge in a house which he found near. Here he found a very old woman covered with hair, and he inquired of her who she was and how the country had become desolate. She told him that she was the last surviving inhabitant of Pingaluwa and Halduwa's country and added:—'I have remained for the pāru's food to-day and you have come to give him his dinner for to-morrow: well done of you.' The man then told her the story of his master the Láma and showed her his bow and arrows and asked her what were the capabilities of the country. She told him that it produced ra (Hordeum cæleste) and phāphar (Fagopyrum tataricum), that there were plenty of houses but no salt, and that they could not get to Húndes, where salt was to be had for the asking for it. Whilst thus engaged in conversation he suddenly heard a great whirr of wings and the bird appeared and seized the old woman and carried her up. Nothing daunted the man seized his bow and shot his arrows until he killed the bird. Then he lighted a fire and said to himself:—'I shall go back to the Láma and get some salt. I am pleased with this place, and this shall be a sign to me that if the valley is intended for me this fire shall not go out until I return, and if the valley is not to be mine then the fire shall die out.' So saying he returned to the Láma by the way which he had come and told the Láma all that had befallen him. He found his old guide at Laphkhel in his

1 At the foot of the Balchha-dhúra pass.
2 The power of flying was one of the six essential attributes of the sacred Lámas.
3 A peak to the east of the Chilam or Kyunger encamping-ground is still called Kgirbingiri (kiung = a dog). Dol-dūnga at the confluence of the Dol and Lanka (Dol = jarav = Rusa aristidis). Topi-dūnga on the left bank of the Lanka (topi = a bear). Una or Uta-dhúra is the pass above Milam. Dúng is at the foot of the pass and Samgaon is Shamgang on the way to Milam.
proper shape and then asked the Láma for salt. 'The Láma said:—'There is plenty of salt in Hundes, but I will procure it for you here.' The Láma then took salt and sowed it over the land like grain and promised that the supply should be sufficient for the entire wants of the new settlement. Having thus spoken the Láma flew away to his cave and was never seen again, and to the present day the heritage here is so saturated with salt that there is sufficient for the Bhotiya flocks. The people still say that this salt is one of Sákya's gifts, and when Buddhist priests visit the valley they ask for alms in the name of Sákya who gave the people salt.

When Sákya Láma flew away his servant returned to Juhár and there he found his fire still alight and accepting the omen resolved to remain in the valley. He collected a number of people called Sokas and established them near Milam and built a temple in honour of Sákya. In the time of Sonpati Soka, who lived at Madkot, the route to Hundes by the Madkwa river which was used by the people of Athási, was opened and much gold was acquired by him. This route has since fallen into disuse owing to the accumulation of snow and the débris of avalanches. These events occurred before the time of the Katyúrí Rájas and in course of time the Sokas also disappeared. They were followed by the ancestors of the present Milamwáls, who came from Tibet into the valley in this manner. They say that they are of Rajpút origin and that their fathers served one of the Garhwáli Rájas who gave them Jula in Badhín in jâyá, and hence they were called Ráwats. One of these went through Malári of Niti into Hundes and entered the service of the Surajbansi Rája of Hundes. Here he remained for a time, and being fond of the chase wandered over the hills towards the south in pursuit of game. One day he followed a wild cow from early morn to evening and saw it disappear at the confluence of the Gunka and the Gori, and accepting this as a good omen the Ráwat much fatigued with the chase called the place Mi-dúngá and built there the village of Milam, the inhabitants of which are known to the present day as Ráwats or Sokas.

Such is the only tradition that exists regarding the early settlements in Juhár. As to the Niti valley, the tradition is that the branch of the Katyúrí dynasty who subsequently occupied the Katyúr valley was originally established in Jyotirdhám3 or Joshi-math on the Dhauli, the river of Niti. There are no indications or traditions of any Amazonian kingdom in the valley, and we must search for it across the passes in Tibet.

The Chinese name of the Amazonian kingdom was Kinchi, and M. Julien makes Sampaha which lay to the west of it the same as Mo-lo-so or Malasa, which was some 2,000 li or 333 miles to the north of Lo-kou-lo, the modern Lahul. Wen Tsang describes the journey from Lahul to Malasa as difficult and attended by an icy piercing wind so often described by

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1 From mi, man and dāna, encamping-ground or resting-place. 2 The place where the great Jyotir ling, emblem of Mahádeo, was established.
travellers in the Himalaya and snow-storms. This clearly brings us across the snowy range to the trans-Himalayan valley of the Satlaj. In D’Anville’s reproduction of the Jesuits’ map of Tibet this tract is marked as Sanke Sontou and lies to the west of Tchoumourti or Chamurti, a district and town of the modern gNári. The country lying between the Ganges and the Matchou or Karphá is called Nára Sontou in the same map. gNári is celebrated for its mines of gold and is bounded on the north by Khoten and on the east by Tibet proper. The Vishnu-Purána in its prophetic chapters declares that the Kanakas or Kánas will possess the Amazon country (Stri-rájya) and that called Múshika. The Váyu Purána reads Bhokshyaka or Bhokhyaka for Múshika and others read Búshika. Wilson writes:—“Stri-rájya is usually placed in Bhot. It may, perhaps, here designate Malabar, where polyandry equally prevails. Múshika or the country of thieves was the pirate coast of the Konkan.” In the Rája Tarangani, Lalitaditya (730 A.D.) is said to have erected a statute of Nrihari in the Stri Rájya, showing that it was near Kashmir; but in the Chinese annals we have a record which corroborates the statement of Hwen Thsang and proves that the Amazonian kingdom lay in Tibet and was a reality. From it we learn that there was a tribe in Eastern Tibet known as the Nu-wang from the fact of their being ruled by a woman. In the Tung history they are called Tung-Nu or Eastern-Nu, to distinguish them from a tribe possessing similar institutions to the west. They are first mentioned in the Northern history, and in the Sui history an account is given of an embassy from the Eastern-Nu in 586 A.D., in which it is stated that:—

“The people in each successive reign make a woman their prince. The surname of the sovereign is Supí. They build cities in the mountains with houses of many stories, the sovereign’s house having nine, in which there are several hundreds of female attendants and a court is held every five days. The men, having nothing to do with the government, only fight and cultivate the land. Both men and women paint their faces of many colours. They live principally by hunting and the weather is very cold. The natural products are copper and gold ore, cinnabar,

1 Wilson, IX., 222. 2 As. Res. XV., 49. The highlands of Tibet have always been notorious for the wandering bands of thieves that infest them. In the Mahabhárata the Kankas and Kushas are mentioned as bringing presents to the Pandavas of purítika gold which was so called because it was collected by ants, purítika, in allusion to the burrows of the miners in the Tibetan gold-fields. Dr. Bushe’s J. R. A. S., XII., 531. It is possible that in Suvarna-gotra we have the origin of the Suvarna-bhami and Hiranya-máya of the Puránas. Most of the gold imported from Tibet comes by this route to the present day.”
OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

Musk, yaks and two breeds of horses, in addition to salt in abundance, which they carry to India and gain much by the traffic. They have had frequent wars with Tanghsiang and with India. When the queen dies they collect a large sum of gold money and select from her family two clever women, of which one is made the queen and the other the lesser sovereign. * * * The title of the queen is Pinchiu and of the female ministers of state is Kaopali. * * * The sons take the surname of the mother. The written characters are the same as those of India and the eleventh Chinese month is the beginning of their year. * * * At the burial of their sovereign several tens of the great ministers and relatives are buried at the same time. In the period Wu-te (618-626 A.D.) the queen named Tang pang first sent envoys with tribute. Since the year 742 A.D. they elected a man as ruler and a few years afterwards the state was absorbed by Lhásá."

There is therefore no need to doubt the statements of Hwen Thsang or the traditions of the Indians regarding this Amazonian kingdom, since it was not until some time after the visit of Hwen Thsang to Brahmapura that the western Chiang submitted to Lhásá, as will be seen from the following short sketch of Tibetan history at this time.

The country to which the name Tibet is now applied appears in the Chinese annals of the Yang dynasty (from 618 A.D.) as T'ufan, which should be read Tu-po; hence in an inscription at Lhásá dated in 822 A.D. we find the native Tibetan name for the country 'Bod' rendered in Chinese by 'Fan.' In the records of the Tátar Liaos who reigned in northern China in the latter part of the eleventh century Tibet is called T'u-pot'ê, in which the latter syllable represents Bod. During the Ming dynasty the name was changed to Wussûtsang from the two principal provinces dbus and gtsang, hence the modern name Weitsang. The word hsi or 'western' is also applied to the country; hence hsi-tsang and hsi-fan, and the people are called Tupote and Tangkute. The European name is derived from the Arabic through the Mongol in the form Tibet which occurs in the travels of the merchant Sulaiman as early as 851 A.D. During the Han dynasty Tibet was occupied by a number of tribes called Khiang or Chiang, and towards the close of the fourth century a number of these were united together under Huti-pusuyeh, chief of the Fa-chiang, and

1 Bushell, J. R. A. S., Xil., 435: he shows, as Rémusat had remarked, that the character for 'fan' is a phonetic which has the two sounds 'fan' and 'pa.

2 The name Chiang is composed of the characters for 'man' and 'sheep,' indicating their pastoral character.

3 His descendants were called Tu-fan, their surname being Ínusuyeh.
formed the nucleus of the kingdom of Tibet. Under the Tang dynasty who ruled until the end of the ninth century the new kingdom was called Tu-fan, pronounced Tu-po and equivalent to Tu-bod. The first direct communication of the Tibetans with China was in 634 A.D., when Chitsunlungstan, the Tsanpu of Lhása, sent an embassy to China and in 641 A.D. received a daughter of the Emperor in marriage and introduced Chinese customs at his court. On the death of Siláditya king of Magadha one of his ministers usurped the throne and plundered the Chinese envoy Wang Yuantse, who was returning with presents for his master. Wang applied for assistance to the Tibetans, who led 1,200 chosen warriors and 7,000 Nepálese horsemen to India and captured the offender and brought him prisoner to the imperial capital in 648 A.D. Lungstan died in 650 A.D. and was succeeded by his grandson, under whom the Tibetan kingdom was firmly established. The Chiang tribes who had hitherto stood aloof were glad to connect themselves with the rising power at Lhása and the hostile Tukuhun1 were driven out of the country (666 A.D.). The Tibetans now more than held their own against China and defeated successive armies sent against them. On the east their authority extended to Ssuchuen; on the west to Kashgár; on the north to the Tuchuho or Turkish country, and on the south to Polomen or Magadha, apparently used as a generic name for India. All these successes were gained by a family of hereditary ministers or mayors of the palace, the last of whom was executed by the Tsanpu Chiunhsilung in 699 A.D. Chiunhsilung himself died during an expedition against Nepál and India2 in 703 A.D.

Csoma deKörösi gives from Tibetan sources a list of kings of Tibet commencing with the Tsanpu Nyú-khri, an Indian refugee prince of the family of the Lichchhavis of Vaisáli3 and the reputed founder or at least the great restorer of the Pon religion. The Lichchhavis were determined opponents of Sákya and were Surajbansi Kshatriyas by birth, and thus the Juhár tradition of a Rajpút race in Tibet is confirmed. The emigration to Tibet took place according to M. Csoma in B.C. 250, and this dynasty of Indian origin ruled there.

1 An eastern Tátar race settled near Kokonor (I. c., p. 527.) 2 The same record gives an interesting account of the wars between China and Tibet up to 650 A.D., but we have nothing to do with this here. 3 Near Patna, Cann. Arch. Rep. 1, 63: Ladák, 386: Lassen, III, 774. In the temple of Jageswar, beyond Amora there is a brass image of a Pon Rája.
Strong b Tsan sGampo, who ascended the throne in 629-30 A.D., is represented as a great conqueror, a religious reformer and a pioneer of civilisation in Tibet, and can be no other than the Chitsunlungstan of the Chinese records, who removed the seat of government from the Yarlung valley to Lhasa and married a daughter of the Emperor of China. The following list of kings occur in the Chinese annals:

Hutipusnyeh, chief of the Fa-chiang, to whose family belonged Fanni or Supuyeh who was a boy in 414 A.D., and succeeded in establishing the nucleus of a state in 425 A.D. After him reigned a sovereign named Hsihsitungmo. Tutu begat Chiel,lishihibjo; Chielhi begat Pumunjio; Chusjo: Chusu begat Luntsansu: Lantsan begat Chitsunlungtsan, also called Chisamung and styled Fuyehshih. He was a minor when he ascended the throne in 630 and died 650 A.D. Chitsung was succeeded by his grandson Chilipapu, a minor who deceased in 679 A.D., and was followed by his son only eight years of age, Chiinuh Ilung, who died in 703 A.D. The next Tsanpu was Chilisulunglieshtsan Chilisotstan, aged seven, who died in 755 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Subsilungliehtsan, who took Ch'angan, the then capital of China, in 763 A.D. We find Chiltsan surnamed Huluti reigning in 780 and succeeded by his eldest son Tsuchihchien in 797. He died in 798 and was succeeded by his unnamed brother who died in 804 and by another who died in 816, when Kolikotsu succeeded with the title Yitai. The last named died in 838 and was succeeded by his brother Tamo, who died in 842, when the infant Chilih of the house of Lin and nephew of the consort of Tamo was set up by one party and civil war ensued. Shangkunje declared himself Tsanpu in 849 and perished in battle with the Uigurs in 866 A.D. These names may be compared with those given from Tibetan sources by M. Csoma, M. Klaproth and Sarat Chander Das.

The kingdom of Kiu-pi-chhong-na, which M. Julien renders byGovisana, lay 400 li or 67 miles to the south-east of Madawar.1 It was about 2,000

1 Lassen I. c.: A Lichechhavi prince ruled at this time in Nepal (Mem. I., 407); the early date given to the first Lichechhavi prince between whom and Strongisam Gampo there were only thirty-one reigns (879 ÷ 32 = 274) is very doubtful.


20

HIMALAYAN DISTRICTS

there were two monasteries occupied by one hundred monks who studied the Hinayana-sutras and one temple of the gods. The larger of the two monasteries was close to the city and possessed a stupa about two hundred feet high built by Asoka to mark the place where for the space of a month Buddha expounded the law. Close by was a place where the four past Buddhas had been accustomed to take exercise, and near it were two stupas erected to cover the nails and hair of Buddha. Four hundred li or 67 miles to the south-east lay the kingdom of O-hi-tehi-ta-lo or Abichhatra. General Cunningham identifies Govisana with the old fort near the village of Ujain one mile to the east of Kashipur in the Taraí district. The true bearing of Kashipur from Madawar is east south-east, and by the road he travelled General Cunningham makes the distance 68 miles. He also states the position of Kashipur will agree with its bearing from Abichhatra, the next place visited by Hwen Thsang and of which the site is well established. Kashipur itself was founded by Kashinath Adhikari as late as 1718 A.D., and the old fort is called after the name of the nearest village. The circuit of the fort and the ruins in its immediate neighbourhood is very nearly the same as that given by Hwen Thsang, and there are numerous groves, tanks and fish-ponds around the place. One of these known as the Drona-sagar is still a favourite place of resort for pilgrims going to visit the sacred shrines in the snowy range. We would, however, identify Govisana with the ruins near Dhikuli some 22 miles to the north of Kashipur on the river Ramganga, and which subsequently formed the site of the winter residence of both Katýris and Chand. The elevated position of this site and the presence of remains sufficient to account for the existence of a stupa and other buildings as well as its identification in popular tradition with the ancient city of Vairut-patan lend great weight to this view, but until these ruins are more closely
examined this point cannot be decided, and in the meantime General Cunningham's identification may be allowed to stand. We have now to leave the pleasant pages of Hwen Thsang and for many centuries be content to grope our way amidst the traditions half fact and half fable that have survived.

Buddhism, as we have seen, was fairly established in Kumaon in the seventh century, but between the date of Hwen Thsang's visit towards the middle of the seventh century and the period in which Sankara Achárya flourished such changes occurred that after his time hardly a single Buddhist temple remained in the Kumaon Himalaya. The local tradition is distinct on this point, and it follows that if the institutions established by Sankara survive to the present day, the Buddhists must have succumbed either before his time or through his influence. In another chapter we shall give some account of his life and writings, and here we shall review the evidence as to the age in which he lived, which is so intimately connected with that strange upheaval of the old religion and the dispersion of its opponents. Wilson, in the preface to the first edition of his Sanskrit Dictionary, notices many of the statements made regarding the age of Sankara.

Sankara Achárya.

From him¹ we learn that the Kadáli Brahmanas who follow the teaching of Saukara declare that he lived some two thousand years ago; others place him about the beginning of the Christian era, or in the third or fourth century after Christ, or as contemporary with Tíru Vikramadeva, sovereign of Skandapura in the Dakhin in 178 A.D. The people of the Sringagiri or Sringeri math on the edge of the western gháts in the Mysore territory, of which Sankara himself was the second mahánt, assign him an antiquity of 1,600 years. Wilson gives a list of the mahánts of this institution showing twenty-seven descents from Sankara, and allowing a quarter of a century to each mahánt, a period of 675 years should elapse from the founder, but as Wilson could not determine the date when the list closed he did not attach any importance to the result. Dr. Burnell in writing of the time of Hwen Thsang (640 A.D.) incidentally states, 'as the Brahmanical system of Sankara sprung up in the next half century,'

¹ For details and references, see Wilson's Works, I., 200: V., 188: XII., 5.
thus making the great reformer live in the end of the seventh century. Williams in his dictionary gives the dates 650-740 A.D. The Vaishnava Brahmans in Malabar place Sankara in the tenth century. Dr. Taylor in his translation of the Prabodha Chandrodaya thinks that if we place him about 900 A.D., we shall not be far from the truth, and both Colebrooke and Rammohun Roy refer him to 1000 A.D. The latter writer, who was a diligent student of Sankara’s works, elsewhere infers that “from a calculation of the spiritual generations of the followers of Sankara Swámi from his time up to this date, he seems to have lived between the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era.” The Kerala Utpatt, devoted to the history of Malabar, makes Sankara contemporary with Cheruman Perumal, a prince who granted many privileges to Christians and founded Calicut. According to Scaliger, Calicut was founded in 1007 or following another authority in 825 A.D. Wilson in one place assigns Sankara to the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century A.D., and in another place writes that subsequent inquiry has failed to add any reasons to those assigned by him for his proposed inference, but it has offered nothing to invalidate or weaken the conclusion arrived at. Weber places Sankara “in about the eighth century.”

In the local history of Nepal we have an interesting record of the traditions that have survived regarding Sankara Achárya’s visit to that country which may throw some light on the local traditions respecting him in Kumaon. On the death of Brikhadeva Barma, his brother Báláchchana Deva was regent of Nepal, and at this time Sankara Achárya visited the valley in pursuit of the Buddhists. Here he found that all the four castes were of that religion: some lived in Vibáras as Bhikshus; some were Srávakas, also living in Vibáras; some were Tántrikas called Acháryas and some were Grihasthas, also following the Buddhist religion. There were no learned men and when some of the Grihastha Acháryas endeavoured to meet him in argument, they were soon defeated.

1 In the preface to the Dáyabhága.  
2 Hist. Ind. Lit., p. 51, which presumably gives the latest results on this subject. Weber writes: “Sankara’s date has not, unfortunately, been more accurately determined as yet. He passes at the same time for a zealous adversary of the Buddhists, and is therefore called a Saíva or follower of Siva. In his works, however, he appears as a worshipper of Vásudeva, whom he puts forward as the real incarnation or representative of Brahma.”  
3 As. Res. V., 5.  
4 Hist. Wright’s Nepal, 1:8.
"Some of them fled and some were put to death. Some who would not allow that they were defeated were also killed. Therefore many confessed that they were vanquished, though in reality not convinced that they were in error. These he ordered to do *hima* (i.e., to sacrifice animals), which is in direct opposition to the tenets of the Buddhist religion. He likewise compelled the Bhikshunis or nuns to marry, and forced the Grihasthas to shave the knot of hair on the crown of their heads when performing the *chāra-karma*, or first shaving of the head. Thus he placed the Banaprasahas (ascetics) and Grihasthas on the same footing. He also put a stop to many of their religious ceremonies and cut their Brahmanical threads. There were at that time 84,000 works on the Buddhist religion, which he searched for and destroyed. He then went to the Manichāra mountain, to destroy the Buddhists there. Six times the goddess Mani Jogini raised storms and prevented his ascending the mountains, but the seventh time he succeeded. He then decided that Mahākāla, who was a Buddha and abhorred *hima*, should have animals sacrificed to him. Mani Jogini or Ugra-tārini was named by him Bajra Jogini. Having thus overcome the Buddhists, he introduced the Sāiva religion in the place of that of Buddha. Sankara thus destroyed the Buddhist religion and allowed none to follow it; but he was obliged to leave Baudhāyamārgis in some places as priest of temples, when he found that no other persons would be able to propitiate the gods placed in them by great Baudhāyamārgis."

When the children of some of these Baudhāyamārgi priests were desirous of performing the *chāra-karma*, or ceremony of shaving the head, they are reported to have said:—"Sankara has destroyed the Baudhāyamārgis. He has turned out the Baudhāyamārgi-grihasth Brahmans who hitherto worshipped Pasupati and has appointed in their stead Brahmans from the Dakhin and those Baudhāyamārgis who have accepted Sankara's doctrines have been made priests of Guhjīsware and other places." Our fathers obeyed not, but worshipped the old deities as before. Are we to abandon the gods of our forefathers and follow Sankara's direction to perform the *chāra-karma*, without which we cannot undertake the duties of an Acharya? In this dilemma, they consulted the Bhikshus who had married the Bhikshunis at Sankara's command, and were told that the people of that place remained silent through fear of Sankara, but had kept the truth in their hearts. They had, however, been visited with goitre as a punishment for their faintheartedness, and it was the duty of all who could do so to leave at once a place where the worship of their old deities was not permitted them. Accordingly they emigrated to Pingala Bahál and, appointing Bhikshus to follow the Tantra Shāstras, made a rule that each in turn should take charge of the image of Sākya (Buddha).
The researches of Wilson and Hodgson show us that this is a fair representation of what actually took place in Nepal, and there is no reason to believe that the expulsion of the Buddhist priests from Kumaon took place either at a different time or at other hands. The universal tradition is that Sankara came into Kumaon and drove out the Buddhists and unbelievers and restored the ancient religion. Kumārila Bhatta, the predecessor of Sankara, was equally with him a rigid maintainer of the orthodox faith and is credited with being the principal leader in the exterminating crusade waged against the Buddhists and heretics of all classes. Sankara was ably aided by Udāyana Achārya and the Saiva and Vaishnavā princes, who from political motives were only too glad to assist in and profit by the destruction of those who had usurped the fairest provinces of Hindustān. As we shall see hereafter, the worship of Vāsudeva or Bāṣdeo as the representative on earth of the great god was re-established by Sankara. In Kumaon, as in Nepal, Sankara displaced the Baudhāmārgī priests of Pasupati at Kedār and of Nārāyana at Badrināth and in their place introduced priests from the Dakhin, whose successors still manage the affairs of those temples. To keep up the prestige of his new arrangements, Sankara through his followers preached everywhere the efficacy of pilgrimage to the holy shrines and doubtless the facility of communication and the influx of orthodox pilgrims to Badari and Kedār prevented a relapse into Buddhism in Kumaon, whilst the absence of communication with the plains led to a revival of the friendly feeling between the followers of the two religions in Nepal which has continued to exist to the present day. So far therefore as we can see, the dispersion or absorption of the Buddhists in Kumaon was due to the efforts of Sankara towards the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century of our era, and that this must have been accompanied by considerable political disturbances may be inferred from the history of all other similar revolutions.

The Katyūrīs, regarding whom we have already had something to record, were, according to local tradition, the ruling family in

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1 The belt of exclusive Brahmanism lies between the Kāli on the east (or perhaps the Karnāli) and the Tons on the west, which contain the great pilgrim routes. Orthodoxy is here rampant and very profitable.
Kumaon both before and after the great religious cataclysm of the eighth century. After the time of Sankara we find them in the valley of the Alaknanda at Joshimath in Garhwal. There is nothing to show how they settled there, but from what we have recorded we may consider them as one of the many petty dynasties at this time ruling in Garhwal. The Katyūris of the Katyūr valley traced back their origin to Joshimath and every existing branch of the family traces back its origin to Katyūr. The ancient temple of Bāsdeo at Joshimath is said to be the oldest of all and also to bear the name of the first of the Katyūri kings. If in connection with the fact that Vāsudeva was the name given by Sankara to the form of the Supreme being whose worship he principally inculcated we remember that the Katyūris in the few inscriptions that have come down to us are recorded as devoted followers of the Brahmanical religion, we may safely assume that they belonged to the ruling power that came forward and aided Sankara in his reforms, and therefore enjoyed the political advantages which accrued from the suppression of the monasteries and the spoiling of the Baudhā families. In fact, the earliest traditions record that the possessions of these Joshimath Katyūris extended from the Satlaj as far as the Gandaki and from the snow to the plains including the whole of Rohilkhand.

The cause of the emigration from Joshimath to the Katyūr valley is told in the following legend:

"A descendant of Bāsdeo went to hunt in the jungles one day, and during his absence Vishnu, in his man-lion incarnation as Nar-Sinha, taking the shape of a man, visited the palace and asked the wife of the absent prince for food. The Rāni gave the man enough to eat and after eating he lay down on the Raja's bed. When the Raja returned from the chase and found a stranger asleep on his bed, he drew his sword and struck him on the arm, but blood instead of milk flowed forth from the wound. The Raja was terrified at the omen and called his Rāni to counsel and she said:—"No doubt this is a dēbra: why did you strike him?" The Raja then addressed Nar-Sinha and asked that his crime might be punished. On this the deity disclosed himself and said:—"I am Nar-Sinha. I was pleased with thee and therefore came to thy darbār: now thy fault shall be punished in this wise: thou shalt leave this pleasant place Jyotirdhām and go into Katyūr and there establish thy home. Remember that this wound

1 In this connection we may recall to mind the Devaputra Vāsudeva, the third of the Turushka kings of Kashmir. The Katyūri Raja was styled Sāi Bāsdeo Giriraj Chahra Chārawani.
which thou hast given me shall also be seen on the image in my temple, and when that image shall fall to pieces and the hand shall no more remain, thy house shall fall to ruin and thy dynasty shall disappear from amongst the princes of the world."

So saying Nar-Sinha departed and was no more seen by the Raja. Another story makes Sankarāchārya the unwelcome visitor to the Rāni whilst her husband Bāsdeo was engaged in his ablutions at Vīshnauprayāg. Stripped of its embellishments the story would seem to show that the descendants of Bāsdeo were obliged to abandon Jōshimath owing to religious quarrels. The preferential worship of Siva and Vishnu began to be taught even by the immediate followers of Sankara and soon led to dissensions, the history of which will be related elsewhere.

The immediate result of the interview with Nar-Sinha was that the Raja set out for the valley of the Gomati\(^1\) and near the present village of Bāijnāth founded a city which he called after the war-like son of Mahādeo by the name Kārttīkeyapura. He found there the ruins of an old town named Karbīrpur and used the materials for rebuilding the temple to Kārttīkeya and also for constructing wells, reservoirs and bazars. The question whether the dynasty gave its name to the valley which ever afterwards was known as Kātyūr or the valley gave its name to the family who ruled in it is of some importance in our researches. The name Kātyūr may be derived from that of the capital city, the Pāli form of which would be Kattikeypura, easily shortened into Kattīkyūra and Kātyūra, but it appears equally probable that the resemblance between the name Kātyūra and that of their capital city is purely accidental. The dynasty must have had a tribal name long before Kārttīkeyapura was occupied, and it would be contrary to all precedent that this should be exchanged for a corrupted form of the name of their new capital city. It is therefore much more likely that the dynasty gave their tribal name to the valley and that this name was Kator or Kātyūr. Some have endeavoured to connect this name with the Surajbansi tribe of Katehiriya Rajpūts, who gave their name to the tract subsequently known as Rohilkhand, but this suggestion is opposed to all that we know regarding that clan of Rajpūts and is entirely unsupported.

\(^1\) Joins the Sarju at Bāgeswar.
by any received tradition either in the hills or in the plains. Most probably as we have seen, we have to look in a very different direction for the origin of the name Katylri and that it is derived from the royal race of Katüre, and in this connection it may be remarked that Kárttikeya was a favourite deity of the Turushka princes of Kashmir and occurs in the form Skanda on their coins.

The only actual records of the Katyúris that have come down to us consist of six inscriptions, five of which are grants engraved on copper and one is a similar record inscribed on stone. The last belongs to the temple of Siva as Vyaghreswar (the tiger-lord) or Vákeswar (the lord of eloquence) situated at the junction of the Gomati and Sarju in Patti Katýûr of Kumaon. The slab on which the writing is inscribed is, unfortunately, much injured, especially in the right lower corner, where the date has been obliterated. It records the grant by Sri Bhúdeva Deva of a village and land to the temple of Vyaghreswar and gives the names of seven Rajas, the ancestors of the donor,' as follows:—


The following is a tentative translation of this inscription made from copies furnished by Mr. Traill:—

Bageswar Inscription.

Blessing and salutation. On the southern part of this beautiful temple, the royal lineage is inscribed by learned persons.

Bow down at the foot of Paracdeva placed at the gate called Ninúnanuti at Favupidalata in the village of Rámya which destroys the nets of animals. There was a raja named Masantana Deva who was a king of kings most venerable and wealthy. In his wife, the queen named Sajyanárauvaha, who knew no one but her husband, was conceived a raja who was also a king of kings, the richest, the most respected of his time, worthy to be trusted and pro-perous; who set apart successively provisions for the worship of Parameeswara and caused several public roads to be constructed leading to Jayakulabhukti and who provided fragrant substances, flowers, incense, lamps and ointments for Baghreswara

1 J. A. S. Ben., VII., 1,056. The names in the text differ from those given in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, but as they were taken on the spot by Radrدادatta Pant, a competent Sanskrit scholar, they are retained here in preference to those taken from the copy. 2 By Saroda Prasáda Chakravartii.
Devā in Ambalipalika and who was the protector in battle; who, moreover, gave fragrant substances, flowers, &c., and the village named Sarneswara Grama which his father had granted to the Vaiśnavaus for worship of the abovementioned god. Who erected buildings on the side of the public roads. As long as the sun and moon exists so long shall there his virtuous deeds exist.

His son was Kharpara Deva, the king of kings, respectable and wealthy; in his wife, * * * who was much devoted to him, was born Adhidhaja, who was most wealthy, respectable and learned. Of his queen Ladhiddha Devi, who loved her husband dearly, was born Tribhuvana Rāja Deva, who was active, rich, honorable and intelligent. He gave two dromas of a fruitful field named Nāya in the village Jayakūlabhūtika to the above god and also ordered the fragrant substances, &c., produced in it, to be employed in the worship of the same god. It is also worthy to be known that he was the intimate friend of the son of the Kirāta who gave two and a half dromas land to the above-mentioned god and to the god Gambiyapiunda. Another son of Adhidhaja gave one droma of land to the god Bahārake and moreover caused a grant of two bighas of land to be engraved on a stone in the Sambat year 11. He also gave one droma of land to the god Baghreswara and fourteen parcels of land to Chandañūnda Debi and he established a prapa (baoli or well) in honour of the former. All these tracts of land have been consecrated to the god Baghreswara for his worship.

There was another Rāja named Nunvarata who was possessed of compassion, sincerity, truth, strength, good dispositions, heroism, magnanimity, intellect, politeness and good character, of a charming person, adorned with morals and with several eminent qualities, active in conquering by the force of his bow held in hand, and born for worshipping the lily feet of the owner of Nandana and Amarāvati, who acquired fame by the force of his arms through the favour of Durjadhi, who wears matted hairs on his head, tied up with the pearls of his crown resembling a crescent and illuminated with the purest water of Ganga, which confers ten million beauties which head of matted hair robs other radiant substances of their lustre by its many large clear and beautiful jewels and bright kevara flowers on which play the black snakes. He subdued all his enemies and his colour was like gold, his fair body was always bent down with respect for the worship of all gods, Daityasts, men and learned persons, and his fame is sung everywhere as derived from the performance of Yaggas.

His son Istovana Deva born from the chief of his queens, Dasu Devi, who loved him dearly, was a king of kings, rich, respectable and learned. His son Lalita Sura Deva was born of his wife Dhara Devi, who was much devoted to him, who was also a king of kings, wealthy, respected, intelligent and in all respects a hero. His son Bhūdeva Deva was born of his wife Lāya Devi, who loved much her husband. He also was king of kings, a zealous worshipper of Brahma, an enemy of Budha Sravana, a lover of truth, rich, beautiful, learned, continually engaged in religious observances and a person near whom Kāli could not approach: whose eyes were beautiful as blue lilies and quick, the palm of whose hands resembled young twigs whose ears were frequently troubled by the sound of jewels of the crowns of Rājas who bowed before him and whose great weapon destroyed darkness, whose feet resembled the colour of gold, who granted pensions to his favourite attendants. He * * * * * *
Four of the copper-plate grants are preserved in the temple of Pandukeshwar near Badrinath, and of these two contain the fifth, sixth and seventh names of the Bageswar inscription. The first of these two records the grant in the 21st year of the Vijaya-råjya, or ‘realm of victory,’ of certain villages in Gorunna Sāri to Narāyana Bhattāraka by Lalitesvara Deva at the instigation of his queen Sāma Devi. The civil minister was Vijaka and the minister of war was Aravyata and the writer Ganga Bhadra. The second of the two plates is dated in the 22nd year of the same era and records a similar grant to the same personage, Narāyana Bhattāraka, ‘who is revered by the scholarly men of Garuda-asrama.’ The officials subscribing the grant are the same and the place intended is the village of Tapuban on the left bank of the Alaknanda above Joshimath, where there are still the remains of numerous temples and one of the places of pilgrimage connected with Badrinath. There are but three names mentioned in these two plates and these are:

Nimbarka and his queen Nāthā Devi.
Ishtaganā Deva and his queen Desa (Vega) Devi.
Lalitasūra Deva and his queen Sāma Devi.

Both these grants are dated from Kārtilkeyapura.

Two other plates from Pandukeshwar introduce us to a separate series of names intimately connected with the last which are further confirmed by a similar grant made by the same princes to the temple of Bāleswar in eastern Kumaon. The first of the plates of this new list is dated from Kārtilkeyapura in the 5th year of the pravardhamāna Vijaya-rājya, Samvat 5. It is addressed to the officials of the Esūla district by Desata Deva and records the grant to Vijayesvara of the village of Yamuna in that district. This plate gives the names of Salounāditya and his queen Sindhavali Devi followed by their son Ichchata Deva and his queen Sindhu Devi, whose son was Desata Deva. The record was subscribed by the chief civil officer, Bhatta Hari Sarmma; by the chief military officer, Nandāditya, and by the scribe Bhadra, and is now deposited in the Bāleswar temple. The next plate is from Pandukeshwar and is

1 The reading may be Lalitasūra Deva.  2 This name may be read Sindhabali.
also dated from Kártttikeyapura in the 25th year of a similar era. It is addressed to the officials in the district of Tanganapura and records the grant to the temple of Badari by Padmata Deva, son of the Desata Deva of the Báleswar plate of four villages situated in Drumati in the district of Tanganapura. The names of the three princes of the previous plate are given with the addition of the name Padmallā Devi as the name of the queen of Desata Deva. The officials concerned were in the civil department, Bhatta Dhana; in the military department, Náráyana Datta; and the writer was Nanda Bhadra. The plate is now deposited in the temple of Pandukeswar near Badrináth.

The third record of this dynasty is dated from the city of Subbikshapura in the fourth year of the Vijaya-rájya. The donor in this case is Subbiksharája Deva, son of Padmata Deva, who addresses the officials in the districts of Tanganapura and Antaránga to note the grant of the village of Vidimalaka and other parcels of land to Náráyana Bhattáraka and the village of Ratnapalli on the north of the Ganges to Brahmeswara Bhattáraka. The subscribers to the deed were Kamalá the civil justiciary, Iswaridatta in command of the army, and Nanda Bhadra the writer. The names from the three plates are as follows:—

1. Salonádiya and his queen Sinhaveli Devi.
2. Ichchhata Deva and his queen Subhiksharája Deva.
3. Desata Deva and his queen Padmallā Devi.
4. Padmata Deva and his queen Isála Devi.
5. Subbiksharája Deva.

There is little doubt that the year used by each of these princes is the year of his own reign, for we have the inscription of Desata Deva in the year 5, that of his son Padmata Deva in the year 25, and that of his grandson Subbiksharája Deva in the year 4 of the rising realm of victory; we have therefore to look elsewhere for some clue to the date of these princes.

Through the kindness of Sir Henry Ramsay one of the Pandukeswar plates was sent to me by the Rawal of Badrináth, and a facsimile obtained by photozincography from the original is given here as well as a transliteration made under the supervision of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra.
C.I.E. A rough translation\(^1\) of the entire five plates was also made through the latter gentleman, so that so far as these records are concerned we have full materials for the discussion of their date. The diction, style and form of all five is the same, showing that they all belong to the same period, the variations other than those in the description of the lands given away being of little importance. We have, moreover, in the records of the Pāla rajas of Bengal a grant of similar diction and import which will aid us in arriving at a conclusion in regard to the date of our Kumaon rajas and which, if not completely decisive of the question, will at least be the nearest approach to the truth that we can hope for. We shall now give a facsimile, transliteration and translation of one of the Kumaon plates.

Transcript of an inscription from Pāndukēśvar near Badarindāth.

(१) स्वर्ण श्रीमत्कालिकाकेरियुरात्सकलामरदितितनुजमनुजविभु-भलिमावभरभारानमितालिनामाकुड़िविकुटकिरिति-विट्ठलकेरियुकटियोलानाति—

(२) नानातातायक्रमप्रदीपप्रदीपिन्सिपानखमदसरकरणकमलामत-विपुलबहुनिर्षारासारिताश्रिप्रियोप्रियधनतमस्व-जस्वन्न्येनोधितवटाजु—

(६) तस्य भक्ताता पूज्यवतः प्रसादप्रनिभण्डपानिचिनिताचिनित्यन-चिरितप्रमिनिन्द्रयोदयप्रकाशदयादियसत्यसत्यबशोल-श्रीचंद्रश्रीदार्यगामोभोभोधर्मार्यार्यवृत्तचर्य—

(७) कायविन्दुग्रहुशास्त्रकंतकरारः महासुक्तकृतस्वाभावुजाकाव-लारः कृतयुगमथपालनलितकिनीः नन्दाभक्तविद्वरग्राम-लकमलामनायूमिति: श्रीमिन्द्रस्वास्तस्य—

(८) नयत्स्तपादानुभूताता राजीमहादेवीश्रीनाधूदेवीतस्तमुख्यमः-परम महेश्वरः परमबर्ष्यः शितकुपास्थारात्कमलेभकु-म्माकृष्टकृष्टमुखळायशः पताः का—

\(^1\) The translation has been kindly revised through Dr. Mitra, but I am alone responsible for the translation and collation of the names of the officials and the comparison with other inscriptions.
(8) च्छाय चन्द्रिका पहिसिततारागणः परमभटरकरकमहाराजाधिराजा जपर्मेश्वरश्रीमद्भिषुष्णगदेवस्तुस्य पुनःत्वादानुभयतेऽराजी महादेवीश्रीवागदेवीत्यासुत्वशः परमम्—

(9) हेश्वरः परमभट्यम् कलिकालकुष्ठातुकम्ब्रगद्युग्दारधारि तद्धैर्यवरवराहरतिः सहजमतिर्भिमविभिमष्विभृत्थितिभिगुत्तारातिचक्र प्रतापदहः। अतिविभव संहारारम्भः—

(5) भूतमिमभुतकुटकुटि तत्केवरिष्टाभि भूतमीति। राजीम कलमघरः असुष्काहरशुकपाकवासलुष्क्याग्रास्ने हटाकुटकुटिकुष्ठकलोलजयलम् व्योप्रथममस्मालिकनाथे।

(6) कनबलत्वसखेतमुनुरुमनडीविभूतकरस्वललयकुमुमक्रकारप्रकी शाकवंतमस्मभुदुर्दकातित्वोजः पुष्यरिव दश्दाबधितथानुमये शंलबलावणमवशः—

(10) वशोकुलतमोरालनानिश्चलीकृतधर्मयरेन्द्रः परमभटरकमहाराजाधिराजपर्मेश्वरश्रीमलितार्देवकुश्ली अभिज्ञे व श्रोमत्तत्कारित्यपुरथिपये सभु—

(11) पंडितन व्ययानविनियोगस्थानराजराजतकराजपुच्छारप्रामात्य शामनलमहायाममक्तकुमचमानुभयमहाकटुक्तिकमहाप्रति हार्महादर्शनायकमहाराजप्रमातारस्य—

(12) रमभुकुमारामात्यापरिकुटकदस्सायासाधनिकदस्साध्याधिकृत्चेतो दुर्लिपीस्थानात्मितदयुक्तकाबिनियुक्त शुष्कगापचारिः काशेशभुताधिकृतहर्त्यश्योऽप्रृत्—

(13) बलयापृतकमुनिप्रेयश्चित्कठाणठक्ष्याविकमागमिशाज्ञे काशभित्तरसबारकराजस्यानी यस्यप्रयति भस्गपतिनरपत्यश्वपति एवरच्छारस्यादिः—
(१४) कस्मानाधिकृतवर्तमानपालकौटपालघटपालचेत्त पालप्रान्तपाल-
किशोरवर्धागे। महियाधिकृतवर्तमानपालमहतमामीरविशिष्टिष्ठुपरो-
गात्राधिकारप्रकृति

(१५) त्यौद्धमानवर्णनुविराकरतुपालविकालिकुशश्रीैशर्धुः। उमेदार्वाच-
श्वालपर्यंतार्जगसंप्रदानसामस्तान्तर्जनपदानुभंतरक्षेत्रवकादोन
न्याश्व कीर्तितानकीर्तितान्वन

(१६) त्याधिक्षरोत्पन्नमेत: प्रतिवासिनाष्ट ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्। यथाहै
मलयाविकृतोप्यथयति समाचारपयत्यस्तू तेमाधिविदितसुपरिनिर्दिष्टं
प्रविष्टं गैरहर्षसायम प्रतिवद्वधिपियायां

(१७) परिशुन्यमानपालिका तथा परिस्थीति कारणं प्रतिवद्वमुगलपरिम-
भुज्यमानपालिकानें यतं महामातापिंचारात्मनवच पुष्यय-
शोभित्रमुगलपवनविघटितां

(१८) स्वत्त्वपचवचूलतरु जीवलेखकमवलेकय जलवुद्वादामसारं
वायुरुप्रागसंकलमक्षीपिथपलताश्चालत्य त्वापरलेखनिः प्रिय-
सार्वसंसाराणिवेदराष्ठेष्व

(१९) पुष्येहवनसंहरायशस्वल्लान्त। गन्धपुष्यधुपदोपसन्नवेदकर-
वलष्टूर्वयन्त्यसत्यवयवायस त्वादिप्रत्वतेनाय खेडस्फुटितसंस्कर-
गाम अभिनवकम्पकरण

(२०) य च मृत्युपदमूलमर्षाय च गैरहर्षसायं महादेवोद्गर्मां-
देयास्यमकारित्वभगवते। श्रीनारायणसर्वार्यकरय शासनरा-
नेन प्रतिपादितां प्रकृतिपरिहारपुका

(२१) प्राचार्यविवेकः उक्तिज्ञापायः। अनाच्छेदं आचन्द्राण्नी-
प्रकृतिशिल्पसंकालिक: विपयादुलुतपिएक्षासोमभागाले सर-
पर्यंतस्य वृबारामो हृदप्रभाणिये
(२५) पत्तेवश्रिवृक्षमुद्रमुत्तमाननाशिता: प्रतमस्वलं पारंपर्यः परिश्रृंखलशास्त्रोपरारणानिदिनगृहस्तितः परंश्रृंखलसारंपरिशिल्पिन्योऽजनादिकापद्धति मनागिपि न कर्म—

(२६) बहु नान्यथा .... महादत्तेऽस्याविधिप्रविधुमानविधियराज्यसम्वन्दनकविशिष्टमेष्मभूतृ माघवदिः ३ ....... महादत्ता—तयंपदलाख्युक्तशारीरिकः । लि—

(२७) वितमिद महासन्धिविभाषावपत्नाधिकृतलोकमदातावर्णां—टन्नित्तवीणि श्रीगुद्धभूतृ । श्रुतिविषयमुखा मुक्ता राजयभिः सगदानिधिभः । यथा यथा यदा भूमिन्त—

(२८) स्य तस्य तदा फलं । सच्चानेतानु भाविन्म: पारिवेन्द्रानुभूयो भूया याचते रामवतः । सामान्योऽय थममवेतनुपाकां—कलिकाल पालनीयांबद्धः । स्वदत्तं परदत्तं वा या ह—

(२९) रेत वसुन्धरां । परिभ्रम्यविभाषां श्विस्वविषम् जायते कृमि: । भुमेदात याति लेखे सुधाण असेहुः तत्तं यानमहाद् दिप्ध-लैहे कुमेतेल्पुष्टेतु सुत्तये । भूमेह—

(३०) सा पत्र्येता कालदुः: । प्रियवर्ग सहस्राणि स्तरम तिरिशति भूमिदः । आचेशीतानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकेव वशेत् । गमिकाश्च मुत्तमकाश्च भुमेरिणकामिलं । हृद्या नरकमयाति प्रांदाहृतिमन्त्यं । यानेह दत्तनिपुरा नरेद्रात्तानिः परमार्थियशस्त्राणि । निमालयविन्त्रन्तिमाति ताति को नाम वर्षुः पुनराददि त। —— —

(३१) श्रमिदं समुदाहत्यायन्य्येव दानभिमसनविमात्तानीं नामसार्थविशेषीलविनुदं श्रद्धावृत्त। । दानं फलं परयशः परि-पालनस्य श्वित कमलदल—

(३२) विन्दुलेलिपिमदमनुविन्त्य मनुवजीवितस्य । सकलमिदमुदाहृतसुबुद्धा न छि पश्चैः परकोल्पे विलोणाः: ।
**Legend on the Seal.**

Be it auspicious: from the prosperous city of Kārttikeya. By the grace of the divine Siva, whose matted hairs are washed by the celestial stream of Ganga, whose lotus feet profusely shed an abundant shower of pure and resplendent pollen, the brightness of which dispels the endless varieties of the thick gloom (of ignorance), and which flushes with a vinous rubescence by imbiving the beams emitted from the lamps of the several chief gems of the terrific corogets, diadems and helmets of the lords of all the immortals, Daityas and human beings whose heads bow down under the heavy burden of devotion, did the prosperous Nilambana gain the glory of the rising sun by conquering the mist of his foes. His person was adorned with an assemblage of the qualities of clemency and dexterity, truthfulness and good manners, purity, heroism, munificence, graveness, respectability, Aryan conduct and wonderful and honorable acts, whereby he became an incarnation of the seed of an offspring of great virtues, and found of a firmness worthy of the rulers of the earth in the returning golden age, and resembling in his complexion the lotus feet of the goddess Nanda and of the lotus-seated Brahma. To him was born a son, a meditator on his feet, of his queen and great lady, the fortunate Nāthu Devi. He was a devout worshipper of Siva, and devoted to the supreme Brahm. He, with the edge of a sharp sword, slew furious elephants, whose frontal globes scattered a series of excellent pearls, while the lustre of his lifted banner laughed to gurui the array of the stars. This was the most venerable king of kings and lord paramount, the prosperous Ishtagana Deva.

His son meditating on his feet, and begotten on his queen and great lady, the fortunate Vega Devi, is the most venerable and great king of kings and sovereign lord, the prosperous Lalīta Sura Deva, the auspicious, who is a devout worshipper of Mahesa, and devoted to the supreme Brahm (or exceedingly liberal to Brahm). He has acted the part of the great boar encumbered with the weight of the earth by delivering it from drowning under the dread of the dirt of the sinful age of Kāli. He possessed an exuberance of natural genius and super-human prowess, whereby his blazing valour withstood the hosts of his encompassing enemies. Being ever ready in his preparations for war, by the vast resources of his wealth, he, by the terrific frowns of his brows, bore an intimidation to his enemies, as the curling mane of the lion affrights the cub of the elephant. He, by his restless sword and arrows in battle, has slain many a soul (in warfare), and violently seized on the goddess of prosperity in victory, as if he had dragged her from underneath the waters (of the deep). The damsels of heaven viewing this reverse of fortune with affliction at his embraces to her, dropped down the bracelets from their trembling wrists, which, strewn like wreaths of flowers, formed his head-dress (as if it blossomed), to mature the seeds of his glory. Like Prithu his arms were
All the people assembled in the fortunate city of Kārttikeyapura, all—

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<td>...</td>
<td>Banik: merchants (baniyās).</td>
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<td>51</td>
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<td>...</td>
<td>Sreshtipuroyāṇ: chiefs of city, guilds: (chaudhriās).</td>
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<td>52</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>Sāhādāspaprakritiadhishāntiāṇ: superintendents of the eighteen departments.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

together with Khasas, Draviras, Kalingas, Gauras, Odhras, Andhras down to Chándālas, all peoples and places, all soldiers, slaves, and servants and others, whether mentioned here or not, who depend upon our royal feet, know ye, mark ye this Brahmānottara.

Be it known to you that the village situated in Gorunma Sāri within the aforementioned estate, which is now in the possession of Khasiaka, as also that in the possession of Gugula, and situated in the Palli of Bhutikā, these two villages are given by me by means of the grant of this deed, ordered to be made at Gorunma Sāri by the great queen Sama Devi herself to the reverend Nārāyana Bhattāraka, for adding to the merit and reputation of my parents and of myself, by observing the living world to be as unsteady as the leaves of the Ficus religiosa, and the billows moved by the breeze and by seeing this life to be as vain and void of substance as the form of a bubble of water, as also by knowing the instability of fortune, likened to the unsteadiness of the tips of a young elephant’s ears, for the sake of (obtaining) beatitude in the next world, and salvation in the ocean of this, on this meritorious day of the winter solstice, accompanied with diffusion of fragrant flowers, incense, lights and ointments, with offerings, sacrifices,
oblations, dancing, singing and music for the performance of the feast, and puri-
ification (correction) of all omissions and errors in the new act, as also for exped-
diting the fact of our servants, and further conferring the right to debar the in-
gress of all government officers therein, also exemption from every duty and a per-
petuity contemporaneous with the continuance of the sun, moon, and earth. They
are to remain as parcels detached from the estate as far as their visible bounda-
ries, with all the trees, arbours, springs and cataracts contained in them, and free
from all past and present usufructs, of gods and Brahmans therein. The
possessor thereof having full rights for ever and ever as defined herein, must not
at all be annoyed by seizure, resumption, robbery, or any other disturbance,
under a heavy penalty attendant upon any violation of this commandment.
In the year of the rising kingdom of victory (pravarddhomana vijayardjya)
twenty-one Samvat 21, the third day of the waning moon of Magha. The
deputies in this affair are the chief justice of lawsuits concerning gifts and grants,
named Sri Vijaka, the writer hereof, and the chief arbiter of cases relating to
peace and war, Sri Aryatta, by whose order this plate is inscribed by Ganga Bhadra.

(Verse.)

1. "This earth has been in the possession of several kings, commencing with
Sagara. Whoever becomes the owner of land at any time, he then reaps the
fruits thereof

2. Rama Bhadra hath required of all future princes of the earth that they
preserve from time to time the bridge of their beneficence.

3. The donor of lands ascends to the abode of the gods, mounting on a heav-
enly car yoked with nandas (swanes). But the resumer of lands is boiled in an iron
caldrum filled with hot oil by the delegates of the regent of death.

4. Whoe'er resumes lands given either by himself or others may he be
born as a worm to remain in filth for full sixty thousand years.

5. The donor of lands dwells in heaven for sixty thousand years, but the
resumer and his counsel are remain in hell for the same number of years.

6. The appropriator of a village, a gold coin, or one inch of ground, enters
into hell to remain there until the return of the offerings.

7. What man is there who can deny gifts made by former lords of men for
the sake of piety and renown, and attested by the articles of sacred offerings?

8. From this example of our caution against resumption by our posterity,
let others adopt the same in regard to their own donations, and know that gifts
and gain of renown are the only benefits of prosperity which is as unsteady as
a flash of lightning or a bubble of water.

9. Unsteady as the dew drop on the lotus leaf, so fleeting is fortune, and
so brief is human life. Considering these, and knowing the donor's name, no
man should destroy the deeds of another's reputation."

I have not thought it necessary to reproduce here the Mungir
inscription¹ of the Pala Raja, Deva Pala
Deva or the Bhagalpur² inscription of the

¹ This plate, of which a copy is given in A.S. Res., I., 123, was translated by
Mr. Wilkins in 1761. It was discovered amid the ruins of Mungir by Colonel
Watson.

² J. A. S. Ben., XLVII., I., 384.
Pála Raja Náráyana. The Mungir inscription calls Deva Pála a saugata. His genealogy is traced from Go Pála, whose son was Dharmá Pála, of whom it is said:—“He went to extirpate the wicked and plant the good and happily his salvation was effected at the same time: for his servants visited Kedára and drank milk according to the law.” Deva Pála succeeded and peaceably inherited the kingdom of his father as Bodhisattwa succeeded Sugata. He also is said to have conquered the earth from the sources of the Ganges as far as the well-known bridge which was constructed by the enemy of Dusásvya, i.e., from Garhwál to Cape Comorin. The characters in the five Kumaon plates are the same and belong to the earlier form of the kutila or 'bent' alphabet of which we have several examples from the eighth to the tenth century. A comparison with the form of the letters on the Mungir and Bhágalpur plates shows that they also belong to the same class. The tribal name of the writer is the same in all six records. In the plates of Lalitasúra Deva, the writer is Ganga Bhadra, in that of Desata Deva it is ** Bhadra; in those of Padma Deva and Subhiksharája Deva it is Nanda Bhadra and in the Pála plates we have Binda Bhadra on one and the Bhatta Gurava on another. In the Buddhál Pála inscription the name is Binda Bhadra. The very remarkable list of officials common to all the plates has been analysed in the translation of the Kumaon plate. The coincidences in order and position in this respect cannot be accidental and clearly shows that all were derived from one common original in the family of the professional scribes whose tribal name was Bhadra. The form of dedication is the same in all and also the precatory verses attached to each grant. An examination of the names of the officials shows that it is improbable that all of them could not have existed in a small hill state, especially such as the keepers of camels and elephants and the commanders of cavalry. This portion of the form of the grant is clearly borrowed from that in use in a larger and more important state in the plains. Another point of resemblance is that both the hill grants and the Pála plates are dated from some unknown local era and in the hills clearly from the accession of the reigning monarch, a practice presumably also borrowed from the Bengal Rájas. The hill plates are still in possession of the representatives of the grantees and there is not the slightest reason for
believing them to be other than genuine; in fact not one of their present possessors can decipher a single line much less attempt a meaningless forgery of this nature.

Turning to the Pandukeshwar plates we learn that Nimbarata Deva’s reign was remarkable for some great contest with, we may suppose, a foreign foe. Nimbarata Deva himself is said to have vanquished his enemies as the rising sun dispels the mist, and his son Ishtagana Deva ‘with the edge of his sword slew furious elephants.’ If we accept this statement the elephant could hardly be used by one hill-tribe against another, so that the invader must have come from the plains and been met by the Katyūris at the passes into the hills, for within the hills themselves elephants could hardly be used. Lalitasūra Deva, however, is the prince who is most praised for his successes in war. Ever ready in his preparations for a campaign and aided by his vast wealth, he was found resistless and ‘established the monarchs of the earth.’ In the Pāla inscriptions Go Pāla is likened to Prithu as Lalitasūra is in his inscriptions. In the Buddal inscription of the minister Gurava Bhatta, the empire of Deva Pāla is said to have extended from the Mahendra mountain to the Himālaya.

Of the second series of Kumaon plates those of Desata Deva and his son Padmata Deva are dated from Kārttikeyapura in the same manner as those of Lalitasūra Deva and that of Subhiksharāja Deva are dated from Subhikshapura, most probably another name for Kārttikeyapura or a suburb thereof. They do not mention any Rāja of the previous lists, but the character of the writing, the style and form, the name of the scribe, and the place from which they are dated is the same as in the former group. As these grants of Lalitasūra connect themselves by the names of the Rājas with the Bāgeswar inscription from which they differ in form, this group must be considered as following those of Lalitasūra Deva, at no great distance of time. The two first records were written by the same scribe and all give a literally identical account of Saloṇāditya, ascribing to him many virtues and success in battle. All agree also in passing over his son Ichhata Deva with the simple record of his birth, and little more is said of his successor Desata Deva than that he and his mother were devout worshippers of Siva and Brahma and were exceedingly liberal to Brahmans and
the poor. Of Padmata Deva it is said that he was a devout Saiva and "acquired by the might of his arms unnumbered provinces on all sides, the owners of which coming to make him obeisance poured forth such incessant gifts of horses, elephants and jewels before him that they held in contempt the offerings made to Indra. He resembled Dadhichi and Chandragupta in his conduct and mastered the earth, stretching to its zone, the reservoir of the ocean." His son Subhiksharāja Deva was a "Vaishnava, devoted to the supreme Brahma and a patron of those learned in the Shāstras," besides being adorned with many virtues. We can glean little more from the descriptions in these grants beyond what is given above.

With regard to the localities mentioned, the two grants of Lalita-ú: a Deva are addressed to the officials and others in the district of Kārttikeyapura. One is translated here and need not be further noticed. The second conveys a similar grant to the same person of Thapyala Sāri in the possession of Indra Vāka to provide for the necessities of the religious anchorites residing at Tapuban, a place on the right bank of the Dhauli above Joshimath, which will show that this village was still in the Kārttikeyapura district. The grant of Desata Deva is addressed to the officers in the Eśāla district and bestows the village of Yamuna in the possession of Nārāyana Varmana on Vijayesvara. The grant of Padmata Deva is addressed to the officials of the district of Tanganapura and that of Subhiksharāja Deva to the officials of the districts of Tanganapura and Antarānga. Tanganapura has already¹ been identified with the tract above the confluence of the Bhāgirathi and Alakananda and Antarānga with the country lying between those rivers. The first of these two bestows certain lands on the temple of Badarikāśrama. There were four villages in Drumati in the possession of the Aditya family of Buddháchal together with fifteen shares (blūga) in Pangara also in Drumati, also the vṛitti of Ogala in Yoshi and another patch on the banks of the Gangāpadi, an accretion to Sankrīma, as well as the fields detached from Ulika. Also the land near the great banyan-tree in Kākasthal village in Drumati and two dronas of land in the Randavaka village in Yoshi.

¹ Page 357.
In the grant of Subhiksharāja Deva there is a long list of villages and lands conferred on two priests, and amongst them the following which are given so that hereafter possibly they may be identified:

"Land in Vidimalāka belonging to Vachchhetaka; in Bhetha Sāryya; measuring eight nālis; in Bāriyāl, measuring four dronas; in Vangālika; also an accretion from Kandayika to Sarana belonging to Subhattaka; a piece called Satika; also one called Yachchila Suddha, held by Gochtattangaka; Talla Nāta belonging to Vibhāndaka; Kshīra belonging to Vena Vāka; Gangaraka belonging to Soshi Jivāka; Pēttaka; Kathasila; Nyāvapatiśaka; Bandiwala belonging to the Adityas; Ichhawāla, Vihalaka and Maharjīyaka; Khora-khottanka belonging to Silāditya; in Harshapura, land formerly belonging to Parababhāna Uṅgaka now in the estate of Durga Bhatta; also new land in Varoshiba belonging to the Sikkas, Ussoka, Vijjata, Durjana, Attanga, Vāchataka and Varāṇa; Jatipātaka in Ijjara; Sammijīya; Gododha in Pairi belonging to the sons of Saranaka; Ghasmengaka in Yoshiba; Shēra; Balīvardda and Silk; Ihanga; Rullatha; Titiranga; Kittanassila; Gondősērika; Yuga; Karkatathāla; Dālimulaka belonging to Ghara Nāga; Dāraka belonging to Sirwāla; Karkarāta belonging to the Vijjyānas; Chidhārīka belonging to the Katusthikas; Randavaraka; Loharas belonging to Tungāditya; also land in Yoshika; Ratnapalli near Sadāyika with the following limits: west of the boundary of Sankata, east of Andāriganika, north of the Ganga; and south of the village of Tamehaka belonging to the sons of Senāyika." The donees are Nārāyana and Brahmeswara, who appear to have been the officiating priests of the temple of Durga Devi. The tribal names Vāka, Jivāka, Aditya, Vijjyāna and Katusthi do not appear to occur now, but we have Manivāka as the name of one of the sons of the ruler of Saka-dwipa and in the Bharat sculptures.

The countries enumerated as subject to the Rājas who caused the grants to be inscribed are worthy of notice here. We shall accordingly place the statements of the six inscriptions together for comparison—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rāja’s name</th>
<th>Date of grant</th>
<th>Tribes to whom it is addressed</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Lalitasūra Deva</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Khasa, Draviras, Kalingas, Gauras, Odras, Andhras, Chandālas.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Ditto</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>The same with the addition of Kiratas, Hōnas and Medas.</td>
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<td>4. Padma Deva (son of</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Same as No. 2, omitting Andhras.</td>
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<td>Desata)</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Subhiksharāja Deva</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Gauras, Mālayas, Khasas, Hōnas, Kalingas, Chandālas.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(son of Padma)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Deva Pala Deva</td>
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The Mungir plate contains four names not given in the Kumaon plates, those of the Málavas, Karnátas, Lásátas, and Bhotas. We have already seen that the Málavas were a Panjáb tribe who after several changes of abode eventually gave their name to the part of Central India now called Malwa. The Karnátas were a southern tribe who have also left their name behind them in the Carnatic. The Lásátas and Bhotas are spoken of together and quite correctly. Lhásá was made the capital of the first really independent Tibetan State in or about 640 A.D., and the Bhotas represent the Chi-ang and wandering tribes not subject to Lhásá and indeed the common people of Tibet generally. There was constant intercourse between the Buddhist people of Tibet and their fellow Buddhists in Magadha. The Mungir inscription shows that Deva Pála was a Buddhist, though one of a very liberal mind. The names of Lhásá and Bhotas have properly been omitted from the Kumaon inscriptions, as Kumaon was too near those countries to permit of their submission being recorded as a matter of fact. The insertion, too, of the names Dravira in southern India, Kalinga on the Coromandel coast, Odra or Orissa, Gaura in Bengal and Meda in the Panjáb or indeed of any other names than those of the Khasas and Kirátas must simply be due to the existence of these names in the original form from which the Bhadras of Kumaon copied the terms of the grant.

In a grant of Náráyana Pála lately discovered at Bhágalpur and translated by Dr. Mitra⁠¹ we have a second record quite as full as that of the Mungir plate and some important rectifications of the genealogy. "The record opens with a stanza in praise of Go Pála, who was a devout Buddhist and a follower of Sugata. His son and immediate successor was Dharma Pála. The latter had a brother named Vák Pála, who lived under his sway. On his death Deva Pála, the eldest son of his brother, succeeded him. Vák Pála had a second son named Jaya Pála, who is said to have brought Orissa and Allahabad under his brother's government. On the death of Deva Pála, Vigraha Pála, the son of Jaya Pála, came to the throne. Vigraha Pála was succeeded by his son Náráyana Pála, the donor of the grant." We have

⁠¹ J. A. S. Ben., XLVII., i., 384.
accordingly to revise the indications afforded by the Mungir plate thus:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>I. Go Pála.</th>
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<td>II. Dharma Pála.</td>
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<td>III. Deva Pála.</td>
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<td>IV. Vigraha Pála I.</td>
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| Náráyana Pála. |

The donee’s name was Siva Bhattáraka, a name found also in the Ballabhi grants, and the record was composed by Bhatta Gurava,\(^1\) the minister who erected the Buddal pillar. The latter is a record of the family of this minister and contains the names of Panchal and Gaya and of the son of Garga called Darbhapáni, of whom it is recorded that by his policy “the great prince Deva Pála made the earth tributary from the father of Reva, whose piles of rock are moist with juice from the heads of lascivious elephants, to the father of Gauri, whose white mountains are brightened with beams from the morn of Isvara and as far as the two oceans whose waters are red with the rising and with the setting sun.” Here Deva Pála is credited with the conquest of the country from the Mahendra mountain which contains the source of the Reva to the Himavat who was father of Gauri. To Darbhapáni was born Someswar and to him Kedára Misra, trusting to whose wisdom, “the rāja of Gaur for a long time enjoyed the country of the eradicated race of Utkala (Orissa) of the Húnas of humbled pride, of the kings of Dravira and Gujarál whose glory was reduced and the universal sea girt throne” * * “To him, emblem of Vrihaspati and to his religious rites, the prince Sura Pála, who was a second Indra and whose soldiers were fond of wounds, went repeatedly.” Kedará-Misara had a son Gurava Misra, who was greatly respected by the prince Náráyana Pála and who caused the record to be inscribed by Binda Bhadra.\(^3\) We may also note that the donee in Deva Pála’s inscription was a Misra. In the Āin-i-Akbari, Abul Fazl

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1 The Guravas in western India enjoy a monopoly of the service in Saiva temples and have a right to the offerings made: Ind. Ant., III, 77.  
2 As. Res., I., 133: this is translated by Mr C. Wilkins, with notes by Sir W. Jones. The inscription was found on a stone pillar near Buddal on the boundary of the Dinajpur and Boghra districts in Lower Bengal, about forty miles south-east of Dinajpur, in 1780.
gives the names of seven so-called Vaidya rajas of Bengal ending with Nārāyana, whose successor Lakshmaniya was expelled by Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khalji in 1203 A.D. Before these Vaidyas occur the names of ten Pāla rajas, all of which except the first three are wanting in their proper places in the inscriptions. The length of many of the reigns also is so absurdly prolonged as to render this tradition utterly worthless.

Vassilief in his work on ‘Buddhism’ states, on the authority of Tārānāth, that the origin of the Pālas was in this wise. On the extinction of the Chandra dynasty as a ruling power in eastern India; in Orissa and Bengal and in the other five provinces of the east, each Kshatriya, Brahman and merchant constituted himself king of his surroundings, but there was no king ruling the country. The wife of one of the late kings assassinated by night every one of those who had been chosen to be kings, but after a certain number of years Go Pāla, who had been elected for a time, delivered himself from her and was made king for life. He began to reign in Bengal, but afterwards reduced Magadha under his power. He built the Nālandā temple not far from Otantapura and reigned forty-five years. Sri Harsha was at this time reigning in Kasmīr. Go Pāla was succeeded by his son Deva Pāla, who greatly extended his kingdom and re-established the Buddhist religion. He reigned forty-eight years and was succeeded by his son Rasa Pāla, by a daughter of Vibharata, king of Gajana. After twelve years he was succeeded by Dharma Pāla, who reigned sixty-four years and was a contemporary of Tissong. 1 The successors were—

Basurakshita, son-in-law of Dharma Pāla, reigned eight years.
Vanā Pāla, son of Dharma Pāla.
Mahi Pāla, reigned fifty-two years, contemporary of Khrisong.
Mahā Pāla, son of Mahi Pāla, reigned four years.
Sāmu Pāla, son-in-law of Mahā Pāla, reigned twelve years.
Sreshta, eldest son of Mahā Pāla, reigned three years.
Chānaka, maternal uncle of Sreshta, reigned twenty-nine years.
Bhaya Pāla, nephew of Chānaka, reigned thirty-two years.

1 Gladwin, II., 21. The following names with the length of reigns are given:—

Bhupāla, 55: Dhrapāla, 95: Deopāla, 85: Bhupati pāla, 70: Dhrapati pāla, 45: Bijjepāla, 75: Jayapāla, 99: Rajapāla, 98: Bhogpāla (brother of Rajapāla), 5: Jagadhapala (son of Bhogpāla), 74. Bhurāla may be identified with Go Pāla; Dhirpāla or more correctly Dhrpāla with Dhrmapāla and Deopāla with Devapāla.

Neya Pâla, son of Bheya Pâla, reigned thirty-five years.

Amar Pâla, son of Neya Pâla, reigned thirteen years.

Regency for eight years.

Hasti Pâla, son of Amra Pâla, reigned fifteen years.

Kâhanâti Pâla, maternal brother of Hasti Pâla, reigned seventeen years.

Râma Pâla, son of Hasti Pâla, reigned forty-six years.

Then came Lava Sena and expelled the Pâlas. Most of these names are hopelessly out of accord with existing inscriptions.

In 1806, a grant inscribed on a copper-plate was found at Amgâchhi in parganah Sultânpur in the Dinâjpur district, a place about fourteen miles from Buddal. It contained the name of Vignâha Pâla Deva and some others and was dated in sanvat 12. In an inscription from Sârnâth, however, we have a dated record clearly belonging to the Pâlas. It was discovered on a figure of Buddha near Benares by Mr. Jonathan Duncan in 1794 and bears the date sanvat 1083, equivalent to 1026 A.D. The writing has been translated by Colonel Wilford and again by General Cunningham, whose version is as follows:—

"Adoration to Buddha. Having worshipped the lotus foot of Sri Dhama-râsi, sprung from the lake of Varânasî, and having for its moss the hairs of prostrate kings, the fortunate Mahîpâla, king of Gaura, caused to be built in Kâsi hundreds of monuments, such as Isâna and Chitrâghanta. The fortunate Sthirapâla and his younger brother, the fortunate Basanta-pâla, have renewed religion completely in all its parts and have raised a tower (âsûla) with an inner chamber (garbha-kuta) and eight large niches, sanvat 1083, the 11th day of Pausha."

As now translated the date should be assigned to the buildings of Stîhra Pâla and his brother Basanta Pâla, who were contemporaries of Mahi Pâla, who according to the Amgâchhi plate was himself a successor of Vignâha Pâla II. General Cunningham's new reading and translation will set at rest the discussion regarding the names and dates raised on Wilford's imperfect transcript. In another inscription on the base of a statue of Buddha the ascetic found by General Cunningham in Buddha Gaya we have the name Mahîpâla and in the second line containing the date the following formula:—

1 As. Res., IX., 442; Colebrooke's Essays, II., 279: J. A. S. Ben. XLVII., i., 387.
4 Arch. Rep., III., 122.
"Parama bhattāraka, parama saugata, Sriman Mahipāla Deva pravarddhamāna vijaya ráje (rólje?) * * dasame samvatsare,"

which General Cunningham translates:—"In the 10th year of the prosperous and victorious reign of the paramount king, the eminent Buddhist, the fortunate Mahipāla Deva." Here we have the exact formula used in the dates of the Pandukėswar plates and which we have translated "in the year of the rising realm of victory." We have other inscriptions of Go Pāla, Vigrāha Pāla, Mahi Pāla, Naya Pāla, Rāma Pāla Deva, Mahendra Pāla Deva, Govind Pāla Deva (1175 A. D.), all of which except the last are dated in regnal years.

General Cunningham takes the names from the Amghachhi plates and adds to them the name Deva Pāla from the Mungir plate and that of Sura Pāla from the Buddhā pillar. He takes the date of the Sārnāth inscription as settled and allowing 25 years to each of the thirteen names in his list between Pāla dates.

Vigrāha Pāla II. and Go Pāla, places the latter in 765 A.D. The rectification in the list due to the Bhāgalpur plate reduces the number of names and in addition the average of 25 years for each reign is excessive and even the 20 years given by Dr. Mitra is far too high. Allowing the 20 years to each reign assumed by Dr. Mitra and accepting the Sārnāth date we have the following result:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pāla</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>—— Pāla</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Go Pāla</td>
<td>855</td>
<td>Vigrāha Pāla II.</td>
<td>995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharma Pāla</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>Mahi Pāla</td>
<td>1015-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deva Pāla</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>Naya Pāla</td>
<td>1040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vigrāha Pāla I.</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>Vigrāha Pāla III.</td>
<td>1080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāryāna Pāla</td>
<td>935</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāja Pāla</td>
<td>955</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This calculation assigns the accession to power of the Pāla dynasty of Magadha to the latter half of the ninth century. Those who have followed the remarkable coincidences in form, language and recorded facts between the grants of the Bengal Rājas and those assigned to the Kumaon Katyūris will readily see that all are

1 Arch. Rep., III., 133 : the initial date of Go Pāla is given as 765 A.D. at p. 184 and as 850 A.D. at p. 139.
2 J. A. S. Ben., XLVII., i., 394.
3 Ibid., VII., 40 : XXXIV., i., 189 : XLVII., i., 402.
derived from a common original. The quaint list of officials to whom the grants are addressed has no parallel elsewhere. We find it, in a modified form, in the inscriptions of the Senas, the successors and in part the contemporaries of the later Pálas. In the Bákirgânj inscription of Kesva Sena (1136 A.D.) the following titles occur:

'Samupagatúsesha rája rájanyaka rájniculaka réjaputra rájamátya mahápurohitā mahádharmmadhýjáná mahásándhivigrakika mahásenápati mahádauhádhihiká chárodwaranikanaubala kastyaswomahiskájávikádi vyáprita gaulmika dandopásika dandanáyakam neyagaputydíminanyánschá sakularáyádhipajw

Here, too, the grant is dated in sanvat 3. A similar formula occurs in the Tarpandíghi inscription of Lakshmana Sena dated in sanvat 7.

The short list of officials given in the grants of the Rá-thor Rajas of Kanauj has nothing in common with these Pála lists and we have to look for their origin elsewhere. We think that this will be found in the influence of the Hindu revivalists from western India, for the beginnings and germs of these lists are traceable from the Vallabhi grants of Gujrát onwards in western inscriptions. The Gurava who was minister of the Pálas was a Bhatta, a family who for generations were scribes of the rulers of Gujrát and the Guravas are to this day in charge of the Saiva temples in western India. The practice of dating in regnal years was general in western India after the reign of Vikramáditya VI. (1075 A.D.), of whom Mr. Fleet observes that: “After his time it became the custom for his successors, as a rule, to date their inscrip-


4 *Ind. Ant.,* VII., 189, 302: VIII., 192.
tions not in the Saka era but in the years of their reigns coupled with the name of the samvatsara of the particular year under reference." This is not strictly in accordance with the Kumaon practice, but it is of a similar nature and is another link in the chain connecting Kumaon with western influences. The formula for the regnal year occurs in a Pála inscription already noticed in exactly the same peculiar words as those used in the Pandukeswar plates, but it is also the 'standard formula' in Chalukya grants and occurs in one of Udyotaka Kesari Deva of Kalinga. The form of dedication and the precatory verses at the end are common to all India. We have, however, the tribal name of the scribes the same in all the Pandukeswars and many of the Pála grants.

In addition there is the express statement that Dharma Pála visited Kedár, a connection that was kept up by Deva Pála, and it was in their time (the latter half of the ninth century) that these Pandukeswar grants were inscribed. We are not without further evidence to show a connection between Bengal and Kumaon. The Senas, who followed the Pálas in Mágadha, have left an inscription at the great temple of Jageswar beyond Almora, which though very imperfect allows the name Múdhava Sena to be read. The Rájas of Mágadha are distinctly mentioned in the Nepál annals as having made incursions into the hills. Go Pála was probably the first to extend his dominion northwards and his conquest was confirmed and enlarged by Dharma Pála, whose generous treatment of the vanquished in sending them back to their own country laden with presents was so unusual that the conquered when reflecting on the deed 'longed to see him again.' It is evident, therefore, that there was no permanent occupation of the country and instead a semi-friendly relation arose which was further cemented by the enlistment of followers of the Bengal Rája in the service of the hill chief. It is to these circumstances that we owe the occurrence of the names of the hill-districts of Lásáta and Bhot in the Pála inscriptions. It may be suggested that all these records should be referred to an intrusive Bengal colony settled in the Katyúr valley, but with existing materials this theory must be negativized.

2 *J. A. S. Ben.*, VIII., 557.  
3 Cf. *Burnell's Elements of South Indian Palaeography.*  
There is little in the nature of records that can be relied upon to help us in ascertaining the time when the power of the Katyūris began to decline, but there are several traditions as to their dispersion which will aid us in estimating the causes of their downfall. One of these causes was the tyranny and incapacity of the later Katyūris. The curse pronounced on the family by Nar Sinha worked through them as the following story regarding Dham Deo and Bir Deo will show:—“The revenue of the country was collected in kind and it was customary to give out a part of the grain brought into the Rāja’s treasury to be ground for the use of the household. Each village took its turn to prepare the flour, as a customary due to the State. The servants of the Rāja, however, used to measure out the grain in the slightly indented bottom of the nāli\(^2\) turned upside down, but still called the grain given out a nāli. When the people brought back the grain ground, the Rāja’s officer spread at the foot of a great stone seven mats and then mounting on the stone, scattered the flour in the wind. The heavier particles fell on the mats near the stone and none but the very finest reached the seventh mat. Then coming down he collected the flour from the seventh mat and told the people to take away the rest as it was not fit for his master’s use. Of this fine flour, moreover, they were obliged to give a quantity equal to the nominal weight of the grain that had been given out to them from the Rāja’s stores. The Rāja used also to seize their sons and daughters as slaves and the taxation was on no system. In order to provide themselves with water from a favourite spring (Hatchina) some twelve miles from the palace, the Katyūris stationed slaves along the road, who remained there night and day and passed the water from hand to hand. Bir Deo still further shocked the prejudices of the people by forcibly marrying his own aunt. He used to fasten iron rings on to the shoulders of the litter-bearers and pass through them the poles of the dandi,\(^3\) so that the bearers might not be able to throw him down a precipice; but wearied with his tyranny and prodigacy two men were at last found patriotic enough to sacrifice themselves for the good of the people. They reflected that they themselves were ruined, their children were taken as slaves and life was not

\(^{1}\) A measure in common use.  
\(^{2}\) A litter in use in the hills.
worth living: so one day being pressed into service as litter-bearers, they flung themselves and the Rája over a cliff and so perished. After the Rája's death dissensions broke out amongst his family and each seized on a portion of the kingdom for himself, whilst the countries beyond Kumaon and Garhwal that had always paid tribute to the Katyúris threw off their allegiance." This account represents very fairly the state of the country at the time of the rising of the Chand family. We find then the Domkot Ráwat ruling in Káli Kumaon in subordination to a branch of the Katyúri family which had established itself in a fort on the Súi range. Another branch was settled in Doti, a third in Askot, a fourth in Bárahmandal, a fifth still occupied Katyúr and Dán-pur, and a sixth had several settlements in Páli, chief of which were Dwára Hát and Lakhanpur. The ruined temples and buildings in many parts of the country are attributed to these Katyúri Rájas. The low carved stone pillars in eastern Kumaon known as bríh kumbh (vrihastambha) are also attributed to the same dynasty and are said to have been erected to mark the halts or encampments in the royal progresses. Batten writes that "some of these ruins, especially the chabútras and wells, are not without beauty, at least in their carving, and the great number of small temples even now standing, each as it were dedicated to a separate idol, and the quantity of idol images themselves which have been found in their precincts, show that the Katyúri Rájas were devout worshippers of the whole Hindu Pantheon. The shape of the buildings and the character of the sculptures are said to be similar to the architectural features observed in the south of India; in Bundelkhand and on the banks of the Nerbudda. From the account above given it will at once be seen that the dynasty of which we are speaking was of low-land origin, and that no signs of an aboriginal extraction are visible in its remains. As before the Muhammadan conquests of India, the rulers of a region so illustrious in the Shástras as the Himálaya mountains, being also by their position masters of the sacred sites at the various sources of the Ganges, may be supposed to have held rank equal with, if not superior to, the Rájas of Katchir, or the country between the mountains and the Ganges now called Rohilkhand; and as, after the establishment of the Muhammadan
empire in Hindustán, the Kumaon Rájas were found in hereditary possession of the Taráí by a tenure quite independent of any grant from low-land potentates, I see no reason for doubting that the Taráí throughout its whole extent formed an integral part of the Katyúrí Kumaon Ráj. That it also formed an important part may be assumed from the almost absolute necessity still existing, that a large portion of plain country should, if not attached to the hills, at least be available for the annual resort of the hill-men and their cattle (an occupancy which under native rulers could hardly be maintained without an actual right of property in the soil, and actual separate possession thereof by the hill powers); and from analogies drawn from the late and existing feeling in Nepál in regard to the tract at its base.” Beyond this all is conjecture regarding these ancient times; and the question whether Sambhal and Bareli were then subject to Katyúr may be left for discussion when more accurate materials are available.

There is nothing, however, to show us that during Katyúrí times there was either such communication with the plains or such a surplus population in the hills as would enable them to colonise the Taráí. On the other hand everything that we know indicates that from the ninth to the eleventh centuries the Taráí had relapsed into its original state of forest and its towns were deserted and allowed to fall to ruin; in fact it was not till the sixteenth century that the hill state attempted to exercise any practical control over any part of the low-lands beyond the strip close to the foot of the hills, known as the Bhábar. Elsewhere we have given the pedigrees of the principal Katyúrí families, but, strange to say, we do not find amongst them a single name of those known from the inscriptions already noticed. There is no reason, however, to doubt that these families are really members of the Katyúrí stock, for, more than two centuries ago, their position as descendants of the old Rájas of Katyúr was recognised by the Chand rulers of Kumaon. It is commonly believed that the object of the Chands in neither destroying nor exiling the Katyúris was that they might be able to obtain wives for the members of their own family. The Chands often married Katyúrí wives, but never gave their own daughters to the Katyúris.
These now intermarry with the families of the petty Vaisya Thákuri Rájas to the east of Doti and Jumla in Nepál. The Askot family also intermarries with the Nepálese, but of late years the poorer descendants of the Páli families have begun to intermarry with the more wealthy Khasiyas. Besides these dynasties sprung from the original stock, we find others who had no connection with the Katyúris\(^1\) established at this time in Kumaon. Phaldakot and Dhaniyakot fell into the hands of a tribe of Káthi Rajpúts who claim to be of Surajbansi origin. Chaugarkha came into the power of the Padyár Rajpúts, whose capital village was Padyárkot. A family calling themselves Chandrabansi Rajpúts came from Pyuthána in Doti and established themselves at Mankot in Gangoli. After the conquest of Gangoli by the Chands this family returned to Doti, where their descendants still exist. Kota, Chhakháta, Katoli and the remaining pattis to the south became subject to the leading Khasiya families, whilst Sor, Síra, Dárma, Askot and Juhár were annexed to the Doti kingdom.

\(^1\)The Manurál and Kálakoti Rajpúts claim descent from the Katyúris.
CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY—(contd.)

CONTENTS.

Rise of the Chands. Chand chronology. Earlier dates cannot be accepted.


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

1 Another account gives the name as Baichhla Deva and makes him the ancestor of Dham Deo and Brahma or Br Deo. The Bais Rájas were lords of Kanauj in the seventh and perhaps also in the eighth century.
Rawat Rajā of Domkot, who refused to render submission to one who was obliged to leave his own country and had not the power to enforce obedience to his authority. The people themselves were divided into factions, each under its own leader, who espoused sometimes the cause of one Rajā and sometimes that of the other according as interest or prejudice moved them. So matters remained for several years until there was no authority in the land and every one did that which seemed good in his own sight. The usual insecurity of person and property ensured and worn out by quarrels which were undertaken for the sake of a few all parties amongst the people agreed that the absence of any form of government was intolerable and that as it was impossible to reconcile the conflicting claims of the rival Rajas, the people themselves should send a deputation to the plains to seek out a cadet of some royal house to rule over them. The chief men of Kumaon, accordingly despatched a trusty messenger to visit the courts of northern India and select a Raja for them. In those days the lunar dynasty of Kanauj was famous throughout Upper India, and Som Chand, a member of that family, was found at Jhūsi an ancient town on the left bank of the Ganges opposite the Dāraganj suburb of the city of Allahabad. His horoscope was carefully examined and pronounced by the astrologers to contain all those conjunctions of the planets which foretold a prosperous future and fitness for the royal state and he was at once brought to Kumaon and installed at Champtiwat. The second story makes Som Chand the brother of the reigning Raja of Kanauj and states that whilst on a pilgrimage to Badrināth he met Brahm Deo and so ingratiated himself with the feeble old man that he was invited to remain in Kumaon. Som Chand consented and received the daughter of Brahm Deo in marriage and with her as dowry fifteen bāsis of land in Champāwat and considerable grants in the Bhābar and Tarāi. There is much reason to doubt that such a person as Som Chand ever existed or at least that we can accept as history the stories told regarding him and his immediate successors in the local traditions. It seems better, however, to give this local history exactly as it exists and to state the reasons for distrusting portions of it in their proper place. There is no written history of Kumaon and the statements which are made in the course of this narrative are simply based on traditions.
many of which were collected during the long and laborious life of the late Rudradatta Pant, a learned Brahman of Almora, and which were placed at my disposal by Sir John Strachey. Research has contributed very many additions and much corroborative matter and on the whole these traditions may be considered quite as fairly trustworthy in the earlier years as any other similar accounts in India, and in the later years they appear to be more accurate and complete than any other similar records with which we are acquainted. It ought not to be considered strange that there should be so few writings in existence relating to the times of the former Rajas of this country, if due regard be had to its history. In Garhwál few of the old families were left at the British occupation and the official records had been burned by the Gorkhális. In Kumaon, too, the successive revolutions led to a redistribution of property amongst the adherents of the party for the time being in power and all the old records were either destroyed or disappeared.

Accepting, however, Som Chand as an historical personage, the main features of the several stories regarding him may be resolved into the very probable and simple statement that he came to Kumaon as an adventurer and being of Rājput blood married the daughter of the petty Raja of Sūi and in course of time supplanted his father-in-law. But before we proceed further we must examine the Chand chronology more closely and endeavour to discover some approximately correct date to which we can assign their settlement in Kumaon.

Two dates are commonly given for this immigration; one is 742 or 757 V. S. corresponding to 685 or 700 A. D., and the other is 1235 V. Sanvat or 1178 A. D. Even amongst those who adhere to the former dates there are variations in the successions and lengths of reigns which are very troublesome and difficult to reconcile. We shall therefore place the reader in as good a position as ourselves for exercising a judgment in this matter by giving the three principal lists which for convenience we will call A, B, and C. The list A. was obtained from Rudradatta Pant already mentioned; list B. from Bhima Sinha, titular Raja of Kumaon at Almora, and list C. from an official report made in 1849 A. D.
HIMALAYAN DISTRICTS

List of Chand princes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Date of Accession according to the Vikrama Sanvat and Length of Reign.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A.</td>
<td>B. and C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Soma Chand ...</td>
<td>757</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Atma</td>
<td>778</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Purana</td>
<td>797</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Indra</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sonár</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sudha</td>
<td>870</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Hammira</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Bina</td>
<td>913-26</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>843-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>926-1122</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>855-1067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Bira Chand</td>
<td>1122</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Rōpa</td>
<td>1137</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Lachchhimi</td>
<td>1150</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Dharma</td>
<td>1170</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Karma</td>
<td>1178</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Kalyān</td>
<td>1197</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Nirbhaya</td>
<td>1206</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Nara</td>
<td>1227</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Nānaki</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Date of Accession according to the Vikrama Sanvat and Length of Reign.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A.</td>
<td>B.</td>
<td>C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Rāma Chand ...</td>
<td>1252</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Megha</td>
<td>1283</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Dhyana</td>
<td>1250</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Parbata</td>
<td>1309</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Thohar</td>
<td>1318</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Kalyān</td>
<td>1332</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1290</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The difference between the lists 'B' and 'C' is probably due to the copyist of list 'C' mistaking in some instances the date of decease for the date of accession. Both these lists make Garur Gyan Chand, the successor of Kalyán Chand differing in this respect from list A:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>Names.</th>
<th>B.</th>
<th>Names.</th>
<th>C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acce-</td>
<td>Beign.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acce-</td>
<td>Beign.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sion.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Triloki Chand,</td>
<td>1353</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Guru Gyan Chand</td>
<td>1308</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Damara</td>
<td>1360</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Udhyān</td>
<td>1318</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Dharma</td>
<td>1378</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Atma</td>
<td>1335</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Abhāya</td>
<td>1401</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Triloki</td>
<td>1343</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Garur Gyan</td>
<td>1411</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Damara</td>
<td>1350</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Haribur</td>
<td>1476</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dharma</td>
<td>1363</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Udhyān</td>
<td>1477</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Abhāya</td>
<td>1380</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Atma</td>
<td>1478</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hari</td>
<td>1391</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Hari</td>
<td>1479</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Vikrama</td>
<td>1410</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>34. Vikrama</td>
<td>1480</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Bhratī</td>
<td>1419</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Bhratī</td>
<td>1494</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Katana</td>
<td>1438</td>
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</tr>
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<td>36. Katala</td>
<td>1518</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Kirti</td>
<td>1447</td>
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<td>37. Kirati</td>
<td>1545</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Pratāpa</td>
<td>1465</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>38. Pārak</td>
<td>1560</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Tāra</td>
<td>1475</td>
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<td>39. Pārak</td>
<td>1564</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Mālik</td>
<td>1492</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Manik</td>
<td>1580</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Kāli Kalyān</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Kāli Kalyān</td>
<td>1589</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Fatch</td>
<td>1521</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Punjor Turan</td>
<td>1608</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bhikhma</td>
<td>1526</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Bhikhma or Bhishma</td>
<td>1612</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kalyān</td>
<td>1552</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Bali Kalyān</td>
<td>1617</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Rudra</td>
<td>1577</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Though accepting the later dates it seems impossible to retain those given for the earlier members of the family. If we retain 700 A. D. as the date of Som Chand’s accession we shall have to crowd the coming of Sankara, the vast political revolutions consequent on the downfall of Buddhism, the reigns of the thirteen Katyūri Rajas known from inscriptions (three of whom ruled over twenty years
each) and the reigns of their successors into the sixty-six years between the visit of Hwen Thsang and the accession of Som Chand. We must confess, however, that there is nothing in the length of the reigns given in the lists which will admit of any considerable correction. The first eight reigns alone appear unusually long, yet they give an average of only twenty-one years, a by no means impossible chronology. Still we cannot accept the initial date and the only way open for reconciling the dates in the list with facts is either to reject Som Chand and his successors up to Thohar Chand as inventions of later years or to accept them and revise their chronology. If we retain Som Chand and his successors as historical personages we must abandon the story of his marriage with the daughter of the last Katyúri prince of Káli Kumaon. Som Chand may, indeed, have married the daughter of a hill-prince but considering that the Katyúri family must have then been settled in Joshimath and their later seat Kártnikeyapura was yet unknown, the connection of their name with the bride of Som Chand must have been made many years after the marriage had taken place. If we abandon the connection between Som Chand and Brahm Deo there is little need for further adjustment, but if we retain the names and the story we must amend the chronology. The only suggestion that appears possible to me in this case is to omit altogether the Khasiya interregnum as an interruption in the Chand chronology. It is much more probable that the Khasiya dynasty was contemporary with that of the Chandás and only came into collision with them when Sonpál Khasiya and Bíra Chand finally decided the question of the pretensions of their respective families to the tract along the Káli. In one of the lists and in an old tradition Bíra is made a grandson of Sonsár Chand and not a mere descendant and it seems unlikely that the descendants of Sonsár Chand should be so well known as at once to be selected to fill the throne if so many years had elapsed since his family occupied Champáwat. We might therefore fairly omit the reigns of the Khasiya Rajas as an interruption of the Chand chronology, and taking the more moderate reigns for this period given in the list B. we arrive at the date 1010 Sanvat or 953 A.D. for the accession of Som Chand.
There is much, however, to be said in favour of the suggestion that the Chand history commences at a much later date. The date 1235 Sanvat or 1178 A.D. would, if we retained the existing names, compel us to crowd into the period between 1178 A.D. and 1423 A.D., the well-ascertained date of Vikrama Chand, some thirty-four reigns, and thus allow only seven years to a reign, a very low and improbable average. From a memorandum, made for Government by Mr. W. Fraser in 1813, on a conversation which he had with the celebrated Kumaoni statesman Harakdeb Joshi, the early history of the Chands is thus given:—“The first Raja, a Rajput by birth Thohar Chand, was taken from Jhūsi at the age of 16 or 17. His son, grandson and great-grandson succeeded when the line became extinct. On this event, a second person descended direct from the uncle of Thohar Chand by name Gyán Chand was brought from Jhūsi and placed on the throne.” In the account of the succession to Thohar Chand one list makes Garur Gyán Chand sixth and the other makes him second in descent. According to the more correct list he ascended the gaddi in 1374 A.D. and Thohar Chand commenced to reign in 1261 A.D. The latter date is just thirty-eight years after the date on an inscription of the Dúlu Raja Kráchalla noticed hereafter, which shows us that some years previous to the accession of Thohar Chand there were Chandrabansis in Káli Kumaon. Of the three names given in the inscription not one agrees with any name in the lists, but unless we may suppose two or three families of the same clan of equal importance in the same tract these Chands of Kráchalla’s inscription belong to the same family as the Chands of tradition, and therefore Thohar Chand can hardly have been the first of his race in Kumaon although he was probably the first to attain to other than very local importance. We gather this much, however, that in the first quarter of the thirteenth century at least three Chandrabansi chiefs held the position of mandaliks or heads of circles as the smaller fiscal sub-divisions were called and that they then owed fealty to the Raja of Doti and in no respect differed from the Rawat Khasiya chiefs their neighbours. The latter alone have the title of Raja, and the inference follows that the power and influence which the later traditions assign to the earlier Chands,
if true at all, must be taken as referring only to the mandal or circle alone within which they exercised authority.

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

1 Beames' Elliot, I., 73. 2 Gazetteer, I., 438. 3 Report on Kumaon and Garhwal, page 164: Mr. Batten's note on this date is as follows:—"On a reference to contemporaneous history we find that the year 1194 A.D. is the date generally fixed for the conquest of Kanauj by the arms of Kutb-ud-din, the Lieutenant of Shaháb-ud-din, and also that 1195 A.D. saw him extend his victories across the Ganges to Budaun. It is I think extremely probable that an incorrect tradition may have anticipated the commencement of the Chand dynasty in Kumaon by 16 years, and that in the great revolution which transferred the empire of the Gangetic plain as far as Benares from the Rajputs to their Muhammadan victors, when the dispersion of numerous powerful Hindu tribes took place everywhere; among them the earliest Chand and his followers found their way to Kumaon. But, whether the elevation of this race in the hills preceded or followed the fall of the Kanauj kingdom, the shock of that fall may well be supposed to have reached to the foot of the Himalaya, and hardly to have been arrested at Budaun and the lower parts of Kutchir. The rule of the hill powers, whether Khasiya or Chand, if it had survived at all the decadence of the Katyura line, and the breaking of the Rajputs petty chiefships, must have been rudely shaken at this period."
show us that so late as the first quarter of the eleventh century a Rajput colony existed at Jhūsi from which the Kumaon Chands might have come. Jhūsi is also traditionally connected with the kingdom known as Harbong kā rāj, where the cruel and foolish Rāja Harbong lived. Elliot gives some account of his life and character, and it is to him that the Sombansi legend apparently refers when stating that the grandson of Sukranāsa Singh was cursed by a Musalmān fakir. The Musalmāns say that Harbongpur was destroyed and Jhūsi built and consecrated by Sayyid Ali Murtaza, who died as late as 1359 A.D., but this tradition is little to be trusted, for many acts are assigned to this saint which must have taken place long before the fourteenth century. The Hindus similarly ascribe the death of Harbong and the revolution in Jhūsi to Machchhindra and Gorakhnāth, their great miracle-workers. The first is the great Buddhist patron saint of Nepal, Padmapāni-Aryāvalokiteswara-Machchhindranātha. Gorakhnāth, according to the Nepāl annals,1 visited the valley in order to see the great Machchhindra in the reign of Raja Bar-deva in the Kaligata year 3023 or 521 A.D. Now Bar-deva is seventh in descent from the Lichchhavi Ansu-Varma, who was Rāja of Nepal shortly before Hwen Tsang visited the valley in 637 A.D., so that the Nepālese Machchhindra may be assigned to the middle of the eighth century. From other sources, however, we know that Gorakhnāth must have lived in the fifteenth century2 and that he was fifth in spiritual descent from a Matsyendra or Machchhindra, who therefore lived in the fourteenth century or about the same time as the Sayyid Ali Murtaza. We must, therefore, reject both traditions and refer to the Musalmān historians. Abul Fazl tells us that Mahmūd made two expeditions to Benares one in 1019 and another in 1022 A.D., but these are not mentioned by other historians and the inscription in 1027 A.D. shows that even if they took place Jhūsi was not affected. In 1033 A.D., however, we have an account3 of the conquest of Benares by Ahmad Nūltigin, who crossed the Ganges and marching along the left bank “unexpectedly arrived at a city which is called Benares and which belonged to the territory of Gang. Never had a Muhammadan army reached this place,” and this we would take as the date for the dispersion of the

1 Wright’s Nepal, 140. 2 Wilson, I., 213. 3 Dowsen’s Elliot, II., 192.
Rajpút family who ruled in Jhúsi. Our adjusted date for Som Chand’s accession is only fifty-eight years before the raid of Núáltigín.

The portion of Kumaon lying along the Káli has traditions1 of its own regarding its early history which help to throw light on the state of the country at the time of the Chand immigration. The name ‘Ku-
Káli Kumaon.

maun’ had here its origin for Vishnu, in his tortoise incarnation, dwelt for three whole years on Kánadeo,2 which ever afterwards was called Kúrmáchala and hence the modern name Kumaon. It was not until after the Chands had settled in Almora that the name Kumaon covered its present limits and Káli-Kumaon was restricted to its original signification. The people generally call themselves Kumúi or Káli-Kumúi, but in common conversation are known by the names of the fiscal sub-divisions in which they reside or are spoken of as Khasiyas by persons belonging to castes other than their own. The mythological tradition regarding Kumaon tells us that the Lohughát valley and its neighbourhood was, in the Satya ages, inhabited by the Devas, Daityas and Rákshasas. When Ráma slew the Rákshasa Kumbha-karna, he cut off the head of the demon and sent it to Kumaon by the hands of Hanumán, who cast it on the hill of Kúrmáchala. The skull filled with water and became a lake some four kos square, and many of the Daityas and Rákshasas perished in its waters. The lake remained during the Treta and Dwápara ages, and it was not until the incar-

nation of Vishnu as Krishna took place that any change occurred. Ghatotkacha, son of Bhímasena by the Rákshasi Hidimbi, invaded Kumaon and was slain by Kúrma, Raja of Angadesa. Bhímasena subsequently arrived and avenged the slaughter of his son and kinsmen and to commemorate the event erected and endowed two temples; one in honour of Ghatotkacha and the other in honour of his wife, the Rákshasi Hidimbi. The temple dedicated to Ghatotkacha, who is now known as Ghatka-

debut, is situate on the hill above Phúngar,3 one mile to the east of Champáwat, and the other is on the same hill a little lower down,

1 The greater part of the local folk-lore and traditions contained in the follow-
ing sketch of the history of Kumaon are faithfully reproduced from the notes of the late Rudradatta Pant. 2 A peak in Patli Chárál to the east of Champáwat. 3 Bhima is said to have chosen this site because the inhabitants were Rákshasas and of the same tribe as Hidimbi.
so that the blood of goats sacrificed to Ghatku is said to mingle with that of the offerings to Hidimbí. Bhúmasena then broke the banks of the lake which were formed of the bony substance of the skull of Kumbha-karna and let out the waters which became the source of the Gandaki, now known as the Gidhiya river. The oldest seat of government in the tract was at Súi in the Lohughát valley, where the ruins of an ancient temple of the Súi exist amidst a clump of lofty deodár (Indian cedar). The capital was then transferred to Domkot or Doukot, whose ruler was a Khasiya Thákur of the Ráwat clan. The oldest of the existing forts is that of Katolgarh.

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

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

2 Or royal 'fort,' to distinguish it from the ordinary forts of the Khasiya chiefs. Similarly the word 'razi' for quilt was never used until the Gorkhál invasion from its likeness in sound to the title 'Ráj Rajá,' borne by the Kumaon princes, nor would the Dhili officials call the Gárwall Rajás 'Sáh' because of its being pronounced like 'Sháh,' they always gave the affix 'Sinha' in-tended.

3 The Marás out of Káli Kumaon are known as Muhuras, but the Márás of Súi state that the latter are merely the bearers of the Raja's dindi (wáhu) or palanquin. The people of Rúni, near Ránikhet, who were subsequently appointed to this office, were of the Mahura caste corresponding to the Káhirs of the plains. The word 'wáhu' may be accepted as the generic term, the word 'náru' being peculiar to Káli Kumaon.

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

1 These two villages are still looked on as the head-quarters of the respective factions and are each inhabited by people of its own party.  A term now used as a title, borne by the junior members of the Raja’s family in Nepál.
of their fortunes the Chand family was little better off than the majority of the more important landholders in the province.

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

Bina was a weak-minded ruler who allowed the affairs of the country to fall into the hands of unscrupulous servants, so that on his death without issue, “the Khasiyas lifted up their heads and established their ráj in Káli Kumaon.” The Brahman and Kshatriya immigrants
and those who had grown wealthy under the Chands were made to feel the power of the Khasiya chiefs, "for," said they, "these have long tyrannised over us and our power has now come." So bitterly were the hopeless friends of the Chands persecuted that all the men of note who did not belong to the party now in power fled from the provinces or were expelled by force and filled the courts of the neighbouring states with complaints against the Khasiyas. The Katyūris, too, in western Kumaon were appealed to for assistance and invited to take back their old possessions, but they were too much occupied with their own affairs to be able to give any material aid and excused themselves on the ground that as "the raj of Kāli Kumaon had been given by them as a free gift to the Chands, it belonged to the Chands, who should reconquer the country if they wanted it, that they would not take it back." It would appear from this statement that the Khasiya revolution was the result of a national movement not only against the foreign dynasty but generally against all intruders from the plains. The names of fourteen of these Khasiya Rajas are given with the length of their reigns and they are stated to have ruled for nearly two hundred years over Kāli Kumaon, acknowledging, however, the supremacy of the Raja of Doti as their Chand predecessors and successors are also said to have done. We have already considered the suggestion that the Khasiya revolution should not be allowed to interfere with the Chand chronology. It may fairly be assumed that after the death of Atma Chand the family of the Rawats of Domkot who emigrated thence to Sáli began to lift up their heads and that in the reign of Bina Chand they actually seized on Champáwat near their old home. The names of these Khasiya Rajas may well be the names of those of the Domkot house, for they show no trace of lowland Rajput origin. The names1 are as follows with the length of their reigns:


1 Compare some of the names of the similar Kiráti dynasty of Nepal given in Wright's Nepal, 312, and Prinsep, II., 268. We have the names Guna, Jigri, Nane Luk, Guja, Varma, Kcsu, Soga, Shimbu, &c., in appearance of the same character as those given above.
The last name does not occur in list A. This was evidently a period of general discontent throughout the hills amongst the aboriginal tribes. We find from the Nepál chronicles that about this time the Vais Thákurs of Noákot raised the standard of revolt, and for 225 years Nepál was broken up into a number of petty principalities like Kumaon. To fix this date we have fortunately something more than mere conjecture. The Nepál annals as well as the Musalmán historians give the date 1324 A.D. for the emigration of Hara Sinha-deva from Simraun to Nepál, where he founded the dynasty which succeeded the Thákuri princes. If from this we take 225 years, the date 1099 A.D. will give us the first year of the Thákuri rebellion in Nepál. But we are also told that for seven or eight years previous there was no Raja in Nepál, because the last of the Karnátaka Rajas, Harideva, was subdued by Mukund Sena.¹ Now of this Mukunda Sena we have no certain information, but we know that the Senas established a separate dynasty in Magadha in the last decade of the eleventh century and that Mándhava Sena, the great-grandson of the founder of the line in Bengal, visited the Jageswar temple near Almora and bestowed lands on that institution. Prinsep² suggests the date 1123 for this prince, which would be twenty-five years later than the date of Mukunda Sena according to the Nepál annals.

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

_Inscription from Gopeswara._

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

¹ Wright, 172. ² Prinsep, II., 272.
rubies on the heads of the assemblage of his allied and hostile princes. Who is
as a lion amongst royal elephants and a ruler of the land of Dānava\(^1\) as
Vikramāditya had been of Vetala. Who like Nārāyana uses all princes as his
eagles (garuras), and is endowed with the three energies. Who is sprung from
the family of Gauda and is a tilaka (signet of royalty) to the Vairātha Kula
and a recent incarnation of Bodhisatva. This is the prosperous Aneka\(^2\) Malla,
the tilaka on the rulers of the earth, who with his encompassing forces has
subdued Kedāra bhūmi, and having male his conquered territories as his own
province, free of warfare, the lord of earth has erected thereupon his royal
edifice of Śri Padmapāda, which he has adorned with everything for his enjoy-
ment, giving of gifts and feasts. In the year of the Saka king past 1113 by
solar calculation * * * the number of days past is Ganaṭati 12, Friday, the
9th of moon * * * Written by * * Malla Śri Raja Malla, Śri Iswāri
Deva, Pandita Śri Rājana Deva, and Śri Chandrodaya Deva, in conjunction
with the general and captain.

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

\(^1\) The original has here dānava bhūgala raja vetāla vikramāditya, which should
mean "as Vikramāditya rules over Vetāla, so he (Aneka) rules over Dānava
and Bhūgala." The "bh" of bhūgala may, however, be read as 'm' and so mean
Mugala. The only tradition regarding the Mughals is that certain tombs lined
with and covered by large tiles and stones have been found at Dwāra and Bise-
war and are assigned to a Mughal tribe who are said to have held central Ku-
moon for twenty years. Harcourt notes that at different places in Lahūl old
tombs have been found and the local traditions point to a people beyond Yār-
kand as the builders of these tombs. Ten years is assigned as the period dur-
rng which they remained in that valley, during which time the Lahūlis took
refuge in the upper heights and there cultivated and resided Koolon, &c., p.
127. In Hunza too there is a tradition of a Mongol invasion (Biddulph's Tribes
of the Hindu Koosh, p 34) and the Maulāi sectaries are called Mugla (p. 116).
The earliest movement of the Mongols in force towards India took place in
1221 A.D. under Jīngis Khān: see Howorth's Mongol's, 1., 50; Douglas' Life of
Jīngis Khān, London, 1877. Jīngis Khān was born 1162, proclaimed chief of
his horde in 1175 and died in 1227. It is not necessary, however, to connect these
strangers with the Mongols of history as they may have belonged to the same
race and have had given them the name subsequently best known.

\(^2\) The name may be read as Śri Bhaneka Malla.

\(^3\) J. A. S. Den., V., 317, 485, and
Ancient Inscription on the shaft of the Gopesvara trident, at A.

Modern Inscription, at B

Modern Inscriptions at C and D

2. Inscription from Barahat in Garhwal.

1. अग्नि तिर्थों नित्यों नियतनिर्यातुर्युग्मयो व भरुक्तसुन्दरी श्रीश्रीमातृका राय सुन्दरी 
   जगदेवता सरस्वती नामश्रीमातृका राय सुन्दरी

2. भरुक्तसुन्दरी श्रीश्रीमातृका राय महादेवस्वातम्भरावहेकर जयसुन्दरी 
   श्रीमातृका राय सुन्दरी

3. भरुक्तसुन्दरी श्रीश्रीमातृका राय महादेवस्वातम्भरावहेकर जयसुन्दरी जयसुन्दरी 
   जयसुन्दरी

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

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

¹ Published as No. 9, plate IX., Vol V. of the Journal.
² During a recent visit to Gopeswar I examined these inscriptions and found them now utterly illegible—E. T. A.
translation of the fourth, which, though it contains many errors, is in Sanskrit. The opening verse is in the same metre as that of the Bárahát inscription and records that:—"the illustrious prince Aneka Malla having extended his conquests on all sides, brought together (quære, humbled or made low) upon this holy spot sacred to Mahádeva, under the emblem of a pillar, the very sovereigns of the world whom his prowess had overcome"—"and thus having re-established this same pillar of victory, he acquired reputation. It is a pious act to raise up a worthy foe when he has been humbled." The figures taken from the plate given in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society' show the shape of these tridents. A portion of the older inscription on that at Bárahát has been translated above and the inscription relating to Aneka Malla found at B. on the Gopeswar trident can refer only to the Aneka Malla of the Gopeswar inscription for whom we have a date. The older letters corresponding to those on the Bárahát trident must therefore be considerably earlier than the twelfth century and refer to an older dynasty than the Mallas.

It was evidently a custom of the hill rajas to erect tridents of metal in honor of Shiva as Pasupati. In the Nepál annals we read that Sankaradeva caused a trisūl or trident of iron to be made which weighed a maund, and this "he placed at the northern door of Pasupati's temple and dedicated it to him," and there it remains to the present day. From the same source we are able to fix the country of this Malla Raja, the invader of Garhwál. The Malla Rajas of Nepál were descended from Ansu Varma, who, according to the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thṣang, belonged to the Surajbansì family of the Lichchhavis of Vaisali near Patna. To one of them was born a son Abhaya, and on him the title 'Malla' or 'wrestler' was bestowed because his father was looking on at a wrestling match when the news of the boy's birth was brought to him. This Raja had two sons—Ananda Malla, who reigned in Bhaktapur,
and Jaya Deva Malla, who ruled over Pátan and Kántipur. Both these princes were expelled by a Kárnátaka (Carnatic) dynasty and fled to Thirút. Some of the family must have remained in Nepal for after a few generations we find that Raja Malla Deva and Kathya Malla of Pátan founded the village of Chápágaoon and another Malla resided in Kántipur. When the Karnátaka dynasty came to an end and Nepal was divided amongst a number of petty Thákuri chiefs, the dissolution of authority was preceded by a revolt of the ministers, people and troops at Pátan, an event referred to the year 1191 A.D. by the local historians. Hari-Deva, the Karnátaka Raja of the time, endeavoured to suppress the revolt in its beginning, but he and his Kathmándu troops "were defeated and pursued as far as Thambahil" and he never afterwards recovered possession of Pátan. We may therefore reasonably assume that the family of Jaya Deva Malla was never extinct at Pátan and that the leader in the successful revolt against the intruding Karnátakas belonged to the same family and that we have them again in the Garhwál inscriptions. The grant shows that Aneka Malla was a devout Buddhist and the Nepálene records also state that the Mallas were Buddhists. Aneka Malla was the conqueror of Garh-wál and the sacred Kedár-bhúmi. He found the trident at Gopeswar and inscribed on it a record of his prowess. Gopeswar and Bárabáty would appear to have been subject to the same dynasty whose principal town was Bárabáty already known, as we have suggested, as the capital city of the kingdom of Brahmapura visited by Hwen Thsang in the seventh century. The sway of the Mallas in these parts can only have been of short duration, for with the exception of an old chábátra or masonry platform which formed their customs post at Joshimath and is still known as the Rainka's chábátra, they have left neither trace nor tradition behind. It may be noticed also that in this record we have not the completeness of the older inscriptions either as to form or matter. Instead of having the heads of the civil and military departments and the chief of the scribes with their names and titles in full, the subscription is left to the nameless Senápati and Senáni, officers of an army in the field.

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

Translation of the inscription on the back of a copper-plate in the Baleswar temple in Súi.

Be this auspicious. The prosperous state of Bharauta.

The splendid Sirá ruling in heaven, ever strengthened by her victorious lord, having embraced the goddess of victory resplendent with her precious pearls, dropping from the skulls of her elephantine foes, who were dragged to battle, and killed and felled by the spears of her warriors, vincible only by the lord of heaven, a protectress and benefactress of cows and Brahmans. Her son was the great hero and king, Kráchalla, the most excellent, and chief of all who bear arms or are versed in the sciences, and who was ever inclined to (acts of) piety and charity. By his combat with elephants of newly sprouting tusks, with lance, sword, and ropes, Kráchalla, the lord of earth, became equally marvellous with the Pándavas. He was a devout Saúgata (Buddhist), and shone like the sun on the lotus of the Jini-kula.¹ He was fierce in the strength of his arms, of marked valour, and entitled the most venerable, the lord supreme, and great king of kings, the prosperous Kráchalla Deva, lord of men, who, in the Vijaya rájya (realm of victory), now in his possession, has crushed the whole circle of his enemies with his own arms, and having destroyed the kings of the demolished city of Kártipura, (Kárttikeyapura) and established our right therein, inspected the lands bequeathed by its former kings, all of which, with their revenues, are all now made over to the highly deserving of homage Sri Baleswaras, the sole Radre * * * Bhatta Náriyana, a Bengali Brahmana (bangaja) * * * jagthebhyaam by means of this grant. Here is a couplet of the king's sister:—"The clouds with abundance of rain fill the mountains and rivers, but fame, the necklace of the world, stretches over the three worlds." The (following) is another couplet of the great queen:—"The quality of charity and other virtues is excellent, but more

¹ It may be read Jijarkula.
OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

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

Sri Yáhad Deva Mandalika,  
Sri Sri Chandra Deva Mandalika,  
Sri Hari Raja Ráutta Raja,  
Sri Anúlāditya Ráutta Raja,  
Sri Vinsaya Chandra Mandalika,  
Sri Vádyya Chandra Mandalika,  
Sri Jaya Siuha Mandalika,  
Sri Jihala Deva Mandalika,  
Sri Vallála Deva Mandalika,  
Sri Musá Deva Mandalika,

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

( Verses.)

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

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

So long as the possessor of the place where the lotus loves to exist of the auspicious Kráchalla-deva wanders on the earth, so long may the lotus-abode of the chief of the Kirántis1 (flourish)—(Srimat Krácchalladevasya yávat ambhya- 
jintpati viharatu bhavi távat kiráttirasya nripakumudhaka).  

1 The text of this passage is doubtful and seems to read नायककीरिःस्य नूपकुड़ुङाकर There is one ‘i’ too much, but the reading to be preferred seems to be that given in the text. Kirttipura perhaps could refer to himself as lord of Kirttipura.
And long as the lord of stars spins on the head of the god holding the Pīnāka bow, and his dreadful braids of hair are moistened by Ganga's stream.

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

In beauty he resembled the moon and Ratipati.
To the indigent he was the Kalpa-tree.
In valour he was in quality like the gem of Raghu.
In the assemblage of all the qualities he was Bhavānipati.
In bowmanship he was a Rāma or Bhishma himself.
In justice he was as if born of Dharma.
Krāchulla was a destroyer of his elephantine enemies in the Kāliyuga.
Let our allies, abiding in firm amity, meet with prosperity,
And let the rulers of earth govern her with justice throughout the year.
Let the four articles of polity remain steady with you as a new-married bride.

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

This inscription throws valuable light on the period to which it relates. Krāchulla was a member of the Jina family who belonged to the hill Rajpūt race and who conquered and held the town of Kāntipura in Nepal. He was a devout Buddhist, as the name of his family would alone show, the word 'jīna' being a generic term applied to a Buddha or chief saint of the Baudhā sect in the same manner as to a Jaina saint; still he was liberal enough, as Buddhists generally were, to confirm the grant to the temple of the local deity Bālesvar. The names of the Mandalikas or local chiefs contain those of two Rāwat Rajas evidently of the same clan as the chief of Domkot, and the names Jihala and Jaya may be compared with the names of the Khasiya Rajas Jāhala and Jaya. It is worthy of note that three of the Mandalikas have the tribal affix Chandra, the same as that borne by Som Chand's family. It would also appear that the Tantras, those marvellous combinations of the ritual of the worship of the female energies, necromancy and mysticism, were held in high repute.
The donee is praised for his skill in these matters and his proficiency in literature in general. The identification, in the verse, of Kráchallá with the chief of the Kirántis has a shade of doubt about it owing to the error in the copy which prevents its being made a subject of speculation. The identification, however, is neither impossible nor improbable. Dúlu is a district in the west of Nepal and was in the last century the seat of an independent kingdom.

At the outbreak of the revolution the surviving members of the Chand family retired to the Mal or Chand restoration. Malás as the present Taráí was then called. When wearied with the new order of things the people resolved on obtaining a king to rule over them, Bíra Chand was put forward by one Saun Kharáyat as a relative of Sonsár Chand. The exiled Brahmans and Rajpúts and all who were dissatisfied with the rule of the Ráwats and Mandalikas rallied round the young Chand and joined him in an attack upon Káli Kumaon in which they were completely successful. The Khasiya Raja Sonpál was slain and Bíra established himself at Champáwat.

He is said to have rearranged the relations of the Máras and Phartiáls and to have recalled the Joshis to office as a reward for the aid that they gave in his restoration. From Bíra to Garur Gyán Chand the local traditions throw no light on the history of the country and merely furnish a bare list of names and the single remark that Triloki Chand annexed Chhakháta to Kumaon and built a fort at Bhím Tál to protect the frontiers towards Páli and Bárahmandal, where the Káthis and Katýúris still held independent sway. We have collected some forty inscriptions relating to this period, but in some of them the dates are wanting and in others the names, whilst the barbarous Sanskrit in which they are written and the numerous lucunae render them of little service to our purpose. They consist chiefly of inscriptions on temples and wells and rest-houses, but from them the following facts may be gathered. A branch of the Katýúri dynasty still ruled in the Dánpur parganah and their capital was at Baijnáth (Vaidyanáth) still called Kárttikeyapura in the inscriptions. Two of these of considerable length are found on a dhára or masonry well much worn, however, by the trickling of
water over the stones on which they are inscribed. They furnish us with the names Udayapála Deva, Charunapála Deva, and fragments of other names record the grants of certain quantities of grain from Chandoli and other villages for the service of the temple of Vaidyanáth. The names Agapara Deva, Jhakátha (Ijkátha) Deva and Mahípála may also be read, but the date has unfortunately been obliterated. A copper-plate in the possession of Haridatta Tripýthi of Darimthauk in Patti Talla Katýúr records the grant by Indra Deva Rajbár in the year 1202 A.D. of certain lands which were registered before Badrináth, the temple of that name at Bageswar. Rajbár was the name given to the heir-apparent amongst the Katýúris. On an image of Vishnu in one of the old temples at Baijnáth occur the names Srí Jahála, son of Thaupála, and in another temple the words “the Rawal of Kakarála” with the date 1499 A.D., and again on an image of Ganesha, the name Kadáru Parasíyo with the date 1322 A.D., and the date 1203 A.D. also occurs elsewhere. From these inscriptions we may infer that the valley continued to be inhabited during the period and that the Katýúris still resided there. Another branch of the same family occupied Dwára and held possession of the valley of the Rámganga. We have an inscription from the temple of Goril near Ganai dated in 1219 A.D. apparently inscribed by one Thapuwa Ráwat. On the Dunagiri hill above Dwára there is another dated in 1181 A.D., and in Dwára itself one of Ananta Pála Deva on the image of Kálíka dated in 1122 A.D. Another inscription on a náula or well at Dwára records its construction in 1214 A.D. by Asadhata Tripúthi. Beyond these few dates and names the inscriptions collected afford no information, and they are given here merely in the hope that future researches may throw some light on what is at present an unconnected series of dates and doubtful names.

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

¹ Dowson’s Elliot, IV., 15: VI., 229.
Khargu, the Katehiri chief who murdered Sayyid Muhammad of Budann, fled before the arms of Sultán Firoz Tughlak in 1380 A.D., he took refuge in the mountains of Kumaon in the country of the Mahtas, who were attacked and defeated by the Sultan. The name Mahtas probably refers to the Mewatis who occupied the Taráí along the foot of the Kumaon hills. The annual raids of the Musal-mán governors against the Hindus of Katehir must have sometimes brought both parties in contact with the hill-tribes, but of this little record remains. The same writer relates that in 1418 A.D. Khizr Khán sent a considerable force across the Ganges to invade Katehir and chastise the rebel Raja Hari Singh. The latter after an ineffectual resistance fled towards the mountains of Kumaon, pursued by twenty thousand horse, who crossed the Raheb (Rámganga) and followed the enemy into the mountains. Hari Singh pressed forward towards the snows and on the fifth day the royal forces, disheartened by the difficulties of the country, retired after having secured great spoil. It is also recorded that in 1424 A.D. Sayyid Mubáarak Sháh proceeded to Katehir and on reaching the Ganges was met by Hari Singh, who paid his respects. The royal army then crossed the Ganges and, having chastised the recusants of the neighbourhood, proceeded to the hills of Kumaon. There they stayed for a time, and when the weather became hot marched homewards by the banks of the Raheb. From these casual notices, however, we may gather that the Hindus of Katehir were gradually giving way before the Musalmáns and pressing back towards the hills must have encroached upon the possessions of the hill-men.

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

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1 For an account of these raids, see the history of the Bareilly District in Gaz., V., 640.
2 Elliot, I. c., 50.
3 Ibid., 61.
4 Now restricted to the tract lying between the Rámganga, Sárá and Khanaut rivers.
a large bird which he saw flying away with something in its talons. The bird proved to be a vulture, the garur or garudu, the bird and carrier of Vishnu, which had been carrying away a great snake. The Emperor was so pleased with the Raja's skill that he not only granted his petition to have and to hold the land lying along the foot of the hills as far as the Ganges, but directed him henceforth to assume the name of Garur Gyán Chand. The Raja returned to Kumaon and took possession of the present Bhábar and Tarái. As this Raja reigned from 1374 to 1419 A.D. he may have met either Mahmud Tughlak when he came on a hunting expedition to the foot of the hills in 1410 or 1412, or Daulat Khan Lodi, who paid a similar visit in the following year. However this may be, the Madhawa-ke-mal, corresponding to the Tallades Bhábar, was shortly afterwards seized and occupied by the Musalman governor of Sambhal. Gyán Chand despatched a force against the intruders under his favourite officer Nalu Katháyat, who expelled the Musalmans and recovered the entire tract. Gyán Chand recognized the services of Nalu by presenting him with a dress of honor (kumáya tiropo) and a sanad conferring on him the possession of several villages in the Bhábar and twelve jyúlas of land in Dhyánirau in tenure of rot, besides carving a tablet to be inscribed and set up in Nálu's own (thát) village of Kapraoli commemorating his success and ability in the campaign against the Mlechchhas.

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

1Dowson's Elliot, IV., 43, 44.

2 The term 'rot' was applied to land granted by the Raja to the families of persons who had perished in his service, and when given to a living man was held to express the Raja's opinion that the man had done deeds of bravery that it was wonderful that he survived: consequently the grant of land in 'rot' was considered one of the most honourable rewards that a man could receive. The ordinary form of grant in reward for services was in jyúra.
without permission and without wearing the dress that had been given him and so aroused the Raja's anger that an audience was refused and Nalu was sent away in disgrace. His wife, a Māra lady of Sirmola, thereon sent her two sons Súju and Baru to induce their uncle, the chief of the Māras at Champāwat, to make peace between Nalu and the Raja, but the lads missed their way and fell into the hands of Jassa, who induced the Raja to believe that they had arrived with the intention of murdering him. The Raja ordered the boys to be thrown into prison and there blinded them. When news of this event came to Nalu's ears he roused the Māras throughout the country and attacking the Raja, captured Jassa, whom he slew. He then sacked Jassa's village and fort of Kambalekh, the ruins of which exist to the present day. The Raja was spared by the conqueror but ill requited their generosity by causing the death of Nalu, some time afterwards. This episode of Nalu shows that the rivalry of the several factions had not diminished and that it was dangerous for even the Raja to offend the chiefs of the parties. Gyan Chand died in 1419 A.D. after a reign of 45 years and was succeeded for a few months by his son Harihar Chand. It is now time that we should take some notice of Garhwāl and the Dūn.

Garhwāl and the Dūn have no written history of their own and the traditions preserved regarding them are of the most meagre and unsatisfactory nature. We have been able to gather little more than a list of names with a few dates for the earlier history of Garhwāl. The eastern Dūn appears to have been settled at a very early period, at least that portion of it which adjoins the Tihri frontier near Tapuban. All along the foot of the inner range westwards are traces of Banjāra colonies and the names Banjārawālā, Fatehpur Tānda and the like must doubtless be referred to them. Until we come to the later Musalmán historians we have nothing to say about this tract, and even then the information is scant and uninteresting. Garhwāl from an early period would seem to have been broken up into numerous petty states. We have seen that the Malla Raja Aneka Malla visited Gopeswar and Bārahāt in 1191 A.D., and in 1209 A.D. Sonapāla

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1 He was the ninth Raja before Ajai Pāla, but the original of his inscription is not forthcoming, nor could my informant, a Brahman of Srinagar, tell me where it was to be found.
was Raja of the Bhilang valley, but how far his authority extended is not known. Ajaipála transferred the seat of government from Chandpur to Dewalgarh in the fourteenth century and is held to be the first who attempted to bring the scattered states “under one umbrella.” Much error has arisen from assuming that the name ‘Siwáliks’ used by the Musalmán historians must necessarily refer to the outer range of the Dún which separates it from the plains, and a brief consideration of its signification in the earlier histories will not be out of place here.

The name Siwálik hills seems to have been assigned to different tracts at different times by the Musalmán historians. We learn that in 1119 A.D. Báhalim built the fort of Nágor in the Siwálik hills, in the vicinity of Bera, which leads us to about sixty miles north-west of Ajmer. One of the results of the defeat and death of Prithviráj was that his “capital Ajmír and all the Siwálik hills, Hánsí, Sarsuti and other districts” fell into the hands of the Musalmáns (1192 A.D.) The fort of “Mándúr (Jodpur) in the Siwálik hills” was captured by Shamsuddín in 1227 A.D., and in 1225 we find Ulugh Khán hastening to Hánsí in order to assemble the forces of the Siwálik hills that were under his orders and refit the army of Mewát and the Koh-páya (hills). Here the name is clearly applied to the Aravalli range and Koh-páya to the foot of the hills towards the Himalaya. Shortly afterwards we hear of Ulugh Khán ravaging “the villages in the district of Hariána, the Siwálik hills and Baiyána,” a statement which further corroborates our determination of the hills south-west of Dehli as the tract at this time indicated.1 The first mention of the Siwálik hills in connection with the Dún is in Timúr’s account2 of his campaign in India. He fought several battles near Hardwár3 and the Chándi hill and then invaded the country of Raja Bahrúz which lay in a valley between the Ganges and the Jumna. After crossing the Ganges from the Bijnor district, Timúr marched ‘several kos’ and then halted. The following day he marched six kos, and whilst resting during the heat of the day heard that an immense number of Hindus had collected in the Siwálik hills.

1 Dowson’s Elliot, II., 279, 297, 395, 371.
2 Ibid., III., 461, 513.
3 For some account of these battles, see Gaz., II., 246. Bahrúz is subsequently said to be inferior in rank and power to Bataó Sen, Raja of...
When he received this information he gave orders for his entire forces to proceed at once toward the Siwaliks. Marching during the same evening and night, the troops accomplished five kos and encamped in the hills. Here Timur held a council of war and having disposed of the objections of those who wished to dissuade him from his purpose, despatched a body of horse to call in the detachments that had been sent to plunder the towns along the Jumna and directed every one to prepare for the expedition. The troops from the Jumna joined the head-quarters next day and on the following day all marched towards the Siwaliks. The distance travelled from the Ganges and the description given of the country point to the Mohan pass as the route taken by Timur in his invasion of the Dún. Timur himself informs us that from his inquiries he learned that the people of Hindustán computed this mountain region at one and a quarter lakh and that it had narrow and strong valleys. "In one of these valleys (darrá) was a Rāi named Bahrúz, the number of whose forces and whose lofty, rugged, narrow and strong position made him superior to all the chiefs of the hills and, indeed, of most of Hindustán. At the present time especially he, having heard of my approach, had done his best to strengthen his position and all the malignant rāis of the country had gathered around him. Proud of the number of his men and soldiers, the height of his darrá and abode, he stood firm, resolved upon fighting." Having marshalled his army and directed the drums to be beaten and the instruments to be sounded as it approached the valley Timur proceeded to the mouth of the darrá, where he alighted from his horse and sent on his officers and men. "They all dismounted and girding up their loins marched forward to the conflict full of resolution and courage. The demon-like Hindus were lurking in places of ambush and attacked my soldiers, but these retaliated with showers of arrows and falling upon them with the sword forced their way into the valley. There they closed with them and fighting most bravely they slaughtered the enemy with sword, knife and dagger." The Hindus fled, some hid themselves in holes and caves and others were taken prisoners. An immense spoil in money, goods, cows, buffaloes, women and children fell into the hands of the victors, who returned to their former encampment the same night. The next day they marched about
five *kos* to Bahrah and thence, the following day, to Sarsáwah. Timúr can hardly have penetrated beyond the head of the pass near Shorepur, where tradition places an old town and fort, and certainly not farther than Kiligarh (Kaulágarh), which was the capital in 1654 A.D., or Nawáda, the old capital on the Nógsidh hill some five miles south-east of Dehra. The name Hurdíz occurs in Mu
salmán histories for Hardat or Haridatta and the name Bahrúz may well stand for Brahmdat, and was probably that of some local chief like the name Chhatarbhuj which occurs hereafter and neither of which are found in the Garhwál lists. Local tradition assigns to a Rání Karnávati and Abju Kunwar several works in the Dún of ancient date and amongst them the Rájpur canal. Their palace was at Nawáda, ¹ and to them are assigned what were then important villages, *viz.*, Ajabpur, Karnápur, Kaulagárh, Kyárkuli, Bhatbír and Bhogpur. Other towns that have a reputation for an existence of at least two hundred years are Sahanspur, Prithipur, Kalyánpur, Nógal, Rájpur, Bhagwantpur and Tháno. Prithipur especially contains remains of a fort, temples and *sati* monuments betokening former importance and is said to have been the residence of Chanda or Jhanda Miyán.

On a previous page we have given a list of the Garhwál Rajás and the dates which we have been able to assign to them from existing records. The earliest reign thus dated is that of Man Sáh, of whom we possess a grant inscribed in 1547 A.D. The local traditions say that Ajaya Pál was the first to leave the family home in Chándpur and settle in Dewalgarh, whence the capital was transferred to Srínagar by Mahipati Sáh, of whom we have an inscription on the monastery of Kesho Ráí in Srínagar itself dated in 1625 A.D. General Cunning-
ham² assigns the founding of Chándpur to the year 1159 A.D. and the founding of Srínagar to 1358 A.D. Other local accounts place Ajaiya Pála in 1359, 1376 and 1389 A.D. Taking the date 1358 as having quite as much authority as any of the other three we have fourteen reigns between him and Mán Sáh and 189 years, and deducting fifteen years for the concluding portion of Ajai-
yá Pálà's reign and the opening years of Mán Sáh's reign we have an average of twelve years for each reign, a fair result for the time

¹ Williams' Memoir, 94. ² Anc. Geogh., p. 366.
and country. Up to the time of Ajaiya Pála, Garhwál was divided amongst a number of petty Rajas. Every glen or hill, as formerly was the case in the highlands of Scotland, was subject to its own chiefs who have left no record behind except the moss-covered walls of their strongholds. And although Ajaiya Pála is credited with having reduced fifty-two of these petty chiefs under his own rule, we may well suppose that he was only the first of his line to aim at more than a local supremacy, and that to his successors is due the extension of the Garhwál power over the Dún, Bisahir and the tract now known as Tihri or foreign Garhwál. Indeed, Mahipati Sáh, the founder of Srinagar, is often said to be the first Raja of the line who attained to any real independence. It is not therefore necessary that the Bahruz or Brahmdat of Timúr’s narrative should have any connection with the line of Garhwál Rajas. We have a grant of Dularám Sáh dated in 1580 A.D., and he was the immediate predecessor of Mahipati Sáh, and from his time the dates are ascertained by the aid of contemporary records.

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

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

_Inscription on the Baleswar copper-plate grant._

_On May it be auspicious. In the Saka year 1345, on the lunar day of Vishnu of the bright fortnight, in the month of Ashārha, in the day of Vishnu's repose (snaye) in the north. The lord of earth and gem of crowns, observant of a vow, hath given the land in * * Champiwar in the district called Kūrma to Kunjesarma Brahmin and Māyāserī * * * The lord of the earth Vikrama Chandra is a true Kalpa-drana, whose sword has brought a train of the rulers of men into his service, who has bestowed all the lands given by Krāchalla on the indigent and is resolved to repair the ruins as Hari delivered the earth from the abode of snakes (the sea). The witnesses here are Madhu, Sejyāla, Parbhū, Vishnu, Jadunālgani, Vīra Sigha Gānbhāri, and Jālu Bathyāl. Written in the _Panavatā_ office by Rudra Sarman. May it be well. Raichu * * Rāmpāntani made this deed._

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

Bhārati Chand must himself have been a man of considerable force of character, for during his short reign he continued the series of encroachments

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

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

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

1 The term Malla Sáhi was given to the junior members of the reigning family. In Doti, the head of which was known as the Rainka Raja, and he allowed the petty princes who paid him tribute to bear the title of Raja. Thus the Chandás were Rajás of Champáwat and called their fortress Ráj-bhúngá, but allowed no one subordinate to them to call themselves Raja. See page ; footnote.
believing that much of this good fortune was due to the protecting power of the great deity of Jageswar, he, while visiting his fief of Chaugarkha, paid his devotions at the temple and endowed it with several villages. He then made a tour through the outlying patts of his rāj and formed a settlement with the resident cultivators and so arranged his affairs that, it is said, the first real attempt at administration should date from his reign.\(^1\) His father died in 1461 A.D., and about this time the Raiuka Raja again made an effort to reassert his supremacy over Kāli Kumaon. Ratan Chand, however, was prepared for the emergency and assembling an overwhelming force invaded Doti. The reigning Raja was Nāga Malla, who had overthrown the Sāhi dynasty, and the followers of the old family who had fled for protection to Champāvat now assisted the invaders. Ratan Chand defeated and slew Nāga Malla in battle and restored the country to the Sāhi Raja. Taking advantage of his position he penetrated as far as Jumla, Bujān\(^2\) and Thal, then held by Jagarnāth Bhat, Kharku Singh Muhara and Shor Singh Muhara respectively, and compelled each of them to tender his submission and agree to pay an annual tribute of one pod of musk, a bow, a quiver full of arrows, a hawk and a horse to the Raja of Kāli Kumaon. This arrangement was faithfully carried out until the absorption of those states by the Gorkhals in the middle of the eighteenth century. On returning from Doti, Ratan Chand invaded Sor, then held by the Bam Raja of the Doti family, residing in Udepur near Pithoragarh and also at Bilorkot in the cold weather. Ratan Chand was again successful and Sor was for a time annexed to Kāli Kumaon.

The Doti family give the following pedigree which will be of use for comparison with other sources of information.

**Pedigree of the Doti family.**

|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|

\(^1\) Ratan Chand introduced the five Rajpūt clans known as Pāñch Purbiya into Doti, viz. — Surari, Deopa, lū chūnī, Paderu and Chārāl.

\(^2\) The names of the following Raja of Bujān are recorded: — Uttam Singh, Bagnāth Singh, Suraj Singh, Indra Singh, Ratan Singh, Mahendra Singh, and Gajrāj Singh, who was alive in 1659.
The Sáhi dynasty are descendants of Arjuna Sáhi, who was a contemporary of Ratan Chand. For the Askot pedigree we have a list from the present Rajbáír of Askot recounting his descent in 221 generations from Sri Uttapannapatra, the founder of the solar dynasty, through Brahma, Mráchí (sic), Kasyapa, &c. Opposite the name Sáliváhan is the note that he came from Ayodhya and established himself in Katyúr. Commencing with him the following names are recorded:

Pedigree of the Askot family.

1. Sáliváhana deva.
2. Sanjaya.
4. Haritríba.
5. Brahma deva.
7. Vajra deva.
8. Vranajaya.
9. Vikramájita.
10. Dharma pálá.
11. Sárangadhará.
15. Bhújanra deva.
17. Asala.
18. Asauaka.
20. Naja.
22. Sálívakula.
23. Granapati.
25. Sankasvára.
27. Krúsidhíja.
28. Vidhíraja.
29. Frithiveswar.
30. Balakadeva.
31. Asanti.
32. Básanti.
33. Kújír Malla.
34. Sotadeva.
35. Sindha.
36. Kimá.
37. Ranakína.
38. Nila Ráj.
39. Vajravabú.
40. Gaura.
41. Sadíla.
42. Itírája.
43. Tilangaraja.
44. Udakasíla.
45. Prítama.
46. Dham.
47. Brahm deva.
48. Trílokpála.
49. Abhayapálá.
50. Nirbhajapálá.
51. Bháratipálá.
52. Bháiraunpálá.
53. Bhúpála.
54. Ratnapálá.
55. Sankhapálá.
56. Svámapálá.
57. Súípála.
58. Surjanpála.
59. Bhújapálá.
60. Bhártapálá.
61. Sutatipálá.
62. Achúmapála.
63. Tilokpálá.
64. Surapálá.
65. Jagatipálá.
66. Pirojapálá.
67. Rápadá.
68. Mahendrapált.
69. Jaintapál.
70. Birbalpál.
71. Amaraspál.
72. Bhíramápál.
73. Uchchharpálá.
74. Vijaipál.
75. Múchendrapál.
76. Bahúdwrpál.
77. Pushkarapál.

Opposite (49) Abhayapálá is the note that he left Katyúr for Askot in 1279 A.D. and after (53) Bhúpála the note that twenty-eight generations, regarding whom there is no record available, intervene between him and Ratanapálá. Rudradatta gives a list...
from (46) Dhám deva, which will assist in applying the necessary corrections to the Rajbár's list:

1. Dhám deva.
2. Brahman deva.
3. Asana deva.
4. Abbaya deva.
5. Níbhaya pálá.
7. Bhairaví pálá.
8. Ratana pálá.
10. Sáhi pálá.
11. Suraj pálá.
15. Aclha pálá.
16. Trailokya pálá.
17. Sundara pálá.
18. Jagati pálá.
19. Piroja pálá.
20. Rai pálá.
22. Jaintha pálá.
23. Birbalá pálá.
25. Abbaya pálá.
27. Vijaya pálá.
28. Mathendra pálá.
29. Himmat pálá.
30. Daljit pálá.

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

The Barn Rajas of Sor, though nominally subject, were gradually founding an hereditary kingdom when interrupted by Ratan Chand. A curious story is told of one Jainda Kirá, who was settlement officer to one of these princes. Jainda measured the cultivated and culturable land and assessed each according to its value and recorded the demand against every cultivator in a series of volumes which were placed in the record-room of the Raja. The people therefore disliked him exceedingly, and when once he was sent to a distant part of the country to reduce some refractory villages to submission, his enemies resolved to do something that would vex him terribly. The plan which was adopted was to feign that Jainda had died in battle and so induce his widow to burn herself as a sati. The report was duly made to the wife of Jainda and was supported by corroborative evidence and she believed it, and inconsolable for her loss declared her determination to sacrifice herself. In
this resolve she was encouraged by all around her, who further suggested that she should ascend the funeral pyre with all the precious records that her husband had collected and so laboriously compiled and thus perform an act not only meritorious in itself, but one that would be specially pleasing to the spirit of her husband, who would thus in the next world possess all that he held most precious in this world. To this the infatuated woman consented, and thus the settlement records of the Sör rāj fed the funeral pyre of the wife of their author. Hence the proverb still current:—

"Mari gayo Jainda jaldi hala bai,
Jine jini Suryaṁ kauné tusi tusi bhāi."

Jainda died and his records (hala) were burned and everything turned out as the Sör folk said." The names of the following Rajas of this family are recorded:—Karākīl, Kākīl, Chandra bām, Harka bām, Anī bām, Sagti bām, Vījaya bām and Hari bām, and their officials were drawn from the Pātāni, Punetha, Bhat, Upādhya, Joshi, Upeti, and Pānde subdivisions.

Ratan Chānd died in 1488 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Kirati Chānd, who bears as warlike a reputation as his father. He was constantly engaged in drilling and exercising his soldiers and preparing for some expedition or another. The Doti Raja again threw off his allegiance, and while Kirati Chānd was calling in his men from, the detached posts which the insecure state of his frontier obliged him to maintain, the Dautiyals invaded Kumaon in force. Connected with this invasion we have another of those episodes so characteristic of the people and the times and indeed of the traditions themselves that no apology need be made for giving it here, leaving the reader to judge the value which can be assigned to it. In some cases these stories cover actual facts; in others they give a poetical explanation of facts, and to attribute to the influence of a deity or a holy man success or defeat is a practice not unknown in Europe. The story informs us that while Kirati Chānd was preparing to march against the Doti forces with the troops at his command, he heard of the arrival of a holy man by name Nāgnāth and turned to him for counsel in the existing difficulty. Nāgnāth said: "Your place is at Champāwat, send your general to the war.
Here is a whip with which he will scourge the Rainka as a man doth scourge a vicious horse." The advice was not palatable, for Kirati Chand was a brave prince and wished to lead his forces in person, but yielding to the urgent entreaties of his courtiers did as he was directed. The result was that the Doti army was almost annihilated and for a long time dared not appear again in force in Káli Kumaon. Nágnáth naturally acquired great influence and became the principal adviser of the Raja. He urged that now was a fortunate time to undertake still further operations and that if the Raja undertook an expedition towards Garhwál, he should meet the guru Satyanáth, who would instruct him as to what further he was to do.

Some seventy years previous, when Udyán Chand was Raja of Champáwat, a prince of the Katyúri family called Bír Sinha Deva occupied the fort of Bisau to the east of Bandani Devi near Almora and owned the country as far as the Suwál river, whilst on the other side of the river another Katyúri prince held and occupied the Khagmara fort on the Almora hill. In an inscription on a ruined temple near the Suwál and on the boundaries of the two governments we find the name Arjuna Deva and the date 1307 A.D., and on an old stone discovered on the Almora hill when making some repairs the name Nirayapála with the date 1348 A.D., names which doubtless belong to some of these Katyúri princes. We are told that Udyán Chand was at this time busy in repairing the temple of Báleswar and preparing it for the reception of the image. Srí Chand, a Brahman of the Gujráthi division, had settled with his son Sukhdeo in Champáwat, and the Raja asked the latter to conduct the installation service at the temple. Srí Chand was so annoyed at the preference shown to his son that he abandoned Champáwat and set out for Bárahmandal. On his way he visited the Bisaud Raja, who received him with much courtesy and accompanied him to the Suwál, regretting his inability to proceed further, as the country beyond belonged to another Raja. They separated and Srí Chand passed on by the gardens of the Khagmara Raja, where a gardener presented him with a bijaura or lemon to make sherbet with and refresh himself after his journey. Srí Chand refused the gift, giving as his reason that there was another lemon
within the fruit. The lemon was cut in two and the Brahman's statement was found correct. The matter was reported to the Raja, who sent for Sři Chand and desired an explanation of the portent. The Brahman informed him that his kingdom should certainly pass away into other hands and that he should be prepared, for the day was not distant when the teaching of the omen should be fulfilled. In order to anticipate whatever evils might be in store for him the Raja gave over Khagnara to Sři Chand and fled to Syúnara. The Bisaud Raja then took possession of the country dependant on Khagnara, but lost his own lands on the left bank of the Suwāl which were conquered by the Chands.

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

The pedigree of these Páli Katyúris has been preserved and deserves a place here: when compared with that of the Askot and Doti families, the variations are unimportant:—
Pedigree of the Katyüris of Páli.

1. Asanti deva.
2. Başanti deva.
5. Phenava Rai.
7. Ajava Rai.
10. Dhám deo (he emigrated to southern Garhwál and established himself in the Páli Dún, whence his descendants returned in the time of the Chandas.)

12. Sára deo.
15. Japu Gosain.
16. Dharm Singh (his descendants are the Manurals of Kuhergaon). Bhawan Singh (his descendants are the Manurals of Támádhaun in Chaukot.)
15. Sáranga Gosain.
13. Japu Gosain (his descendants are found in Udépur, Bhalatgaon and Hát in Chaukot.)
15. Sáranga Gosain.
16. Dharman (his descendants are the Manurals of Kuhergaon).
13. Japu Gosain (his descendents are the Manurals of Kuhergaon).
15. Sáranga Gosain.
13. Japu Gosain (his descendents are the Manurals of Kuhergaon).
15. Sáranga Gosain.
13. Japu Gosain (his descendents are the Manurals of Kuhergaon).
15. Sáranga Gosain.
13. Japu Gosain (his descendents are the Manurals of Kuhergaon).
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13. Japu Gosain (his descendents are the Manurals of Kuhergaon).
15. Sáranga Gosain.
13. Japu Gosain (his descendents are the Manurals of Kuhergaon).
15. Sáranga Gosain.
13. Japu Gosain (his descendents are the Manurals of Kuhergaon).
15. Sáranga Gosain.
13. Japu Gosain (his descendents are the Manurals of Kuhergaon).
15. Sáranga Gosain.
13. Japu Gosain (his descendents are the Manurals of Kuhergaon).
15. Sáranga Gosain.

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

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

1 An inscription on the temple of the Kuladevi or household goddess at Támádhaun in Chaukot records the name Sáranga deva and the date Saka 1342 = 1429 A.D., and may refer either to this Sáranga or to Sáranga Gosain, whose descendants are still found in Támádhaun.
their arrival attacked the Kāthis with redoubled vigour, ordering their total destruction. So well were his orders carried out that he was able in a short time to parcel out the lands amongst his Mára, Kharáyat and Dhek followers, on whom also he bestowed the fiscal offices of Kamín and Sayána. He next took possession of Kota and Kotauni and returned to Champáwat by Dhyánirau, consolidating his conquests by the appointment of administrative officers as he went. His next expedition was towards the Mal or low country, where he established a post near Jaspur and called it after his own name Kiratipur. He now held Kumaon as it exists at the present day with the exception of Kattyúr, which was held by a Katyúra Raja, Dánpur, the Bhot Maháls Askot, Síra, Sor and the Mankoti rāj of Gangoli. The death of Satyanáth prevented his pushing his conquests into Garhwál, but taking all his acquisitions; Kirati Chand must be regarded as the most active and successful prince of his family. He died in 1503 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Partáp Chand.

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

Manik Chand reigned from 1533 to 1542 A.D., and during his time an event occurred which is not recorded in the local traditions. From the Táríkh-i-Dáúdi of Abdulla we learn that in the year 1541 A.D. Khawás Khán, the opponent of Islám Sháh, made the skirt of the Kumaon hills his home, whence he ravaged the royal territories which lay in their vicinity. He, however, joined the Niázís before the battle of Umbala and on the day of action deserted them on the plea of their wishing to exclude any man of the Sur family from the succession to the empire. His subsequent movements appear to have been extraordinary, for instead of joining Islam Shah, to whom he had communicated his intentions, he again returned to his haunts under the hills and finally sought the
protection of the Raja of Kumaon. He entered Kumaon by the pass of Dabar and fixed his residence at Alhali and received from the Raja some villages for his support as well as a daily allowance of cash. When intelligence of this reached Islâm Sháh he directed Táj Khán Kirání, who held the súbah of Sambhál and owed his preferment to Khawáís Khán, to use every possible means to get the refugee into his power. "If his hand could not reach there, he was to do it by message, promising royal benefactions, such as the imperial districts at the foot of the hills, which could be made over to him. By holding out hopes such as these Táj Khán might be able to send him in chains to Court. Several messages were despatched at the same time to the Raja, who indignantly replied: "How can I throw into fetters a man who has sought my protection? As long as I have breath in my body, I can never be guilty of such baseness." Islâm Sháh himself then wrote to Khawáís Khán to say that he forgave him, and wished that what had passed should all be forgotten between them; that the Rana of Udepur had again raised his head and plundered several of the royal possessions and carried off the wives and children of Musalmáns; that none of the nobles had succeeded in their measures against him, and that all their hopes were now centered in Khawáís Khán. "All this is asserted with all the sincerity that can attach to an oath before God, and after that, an engagement and guarantee was engrossed on saffron-cloth and despatched. And Táj Khán was at the same time instructed to use every kind of cajolery and flattery in order to lull that bird into security and entice him into the net; for the wounds which his conduct had implanted in the king's breast could not be healed but by the salve of his murder." On the receipt of these missives Khawáís Khán's immediate impulse was to obey them, but he was strongly dissuaded by his adherents and the Raja, who represented that the king was perfidious, that he had destroyed most of his nobles, and how then could he allow Khawáís Khán to escape, who had been ten times opposed to him in battle? These remonstrances, however, were of no avail, and notwithstanding the warnings of his friend, Khawáís Khán gave himself up, when by orders of Islâm Sháh he was beheaded and his body stuffed in straw was sent to Dehli.¹

¹ Dowson's Elliot, IV., 484, 350.
the Kumaon Raja is a bright spot in the annals of the Chands and is recognized even by the Musalmán historian. Mánik Chand was succeeded by his son Kalyán, nicknamed Kuli Kalyán on account of his ungovernable temper. He weakened his authority by a lavish use of his power of punishment and caused much discontent throughout the province. After a short reign of nine years he died and was succeeded by Punu or Purun Chand, who was followed by Bhishma Chand.

Bhishma or Bhukam Chand, who began to rule in 1555 A.D., had no son and therefore adopted a son of Tára Chand named Kalyán, who was nicknamed Bálo Kalyán Chand and is known by that name in all the traditions. Disturbances again arose in Doti and Bálo Kalyán was sent to quell them; but during his absence the old Raja was troubled by news of a rising in Páli and Syúnara and left himself to visit the west. Convinced that the growth of his dominions required a more central capital than Champáwat, the Raja looked about for a site and at last resolved to settle near the old fort of Khagmara and make it his new capital. He had hardly made known his intentions when a plot was set on foot to counteract them. Away on the southern face of the Gágar range near Ramgarh was an old fort held by a semi-independent chief of the KhasiyaS, named Gajawa, who in some way had escaped the bands of Kirati Chand when his troops laid waste the pargana. Gajawa thought that the Khasiyas might now enjoy some revenge for all their sufferings as well as freedom in the future. He assembled a large number of his castemen and came unawares upon the old Raja as he tranquilly slept in the Khagmara fort and slew him and his followers. The triumph of the Khasiya chief however was very short lived, for no sooner did Bálo Kalyán Chand hear the news than he patched up a peace with the Dautiyals and hastening to Ramgarh and Khagmara took exemplary vengeance on all the Khasiyas in the neighbourhood. This event occurred in 1560 A.D.

Bálo Kalyán Chand peacefully ascended the gaddi of the Chands. He accepted the choice of Bhishma and made the Khagmara hill his capital under the name Almora. He separated the lands which had been given to Sř Chand by the last Katyúri Raja and taking the
remainder for himself, built his own residence near the Nail-ke-po-khar in 1563 A.D. He then gave land to all the members of his household near his own residence and also to the Joshis who accompanied him. The Chautara Brahmans, however, remained in Káli Kumaon and ceased henceforward to fill the high offices that they had hitherto monopolised. Hardly had the darbár settled down in Almora than fresh occupation was found for the troops of the Raja. To the north-east of Almora, in the tract between the Sarju and eastern Rámganga, an independent kingdom had existed for several generations under Rajas of the Chandrabansi line who from the place of their residence were known as the Mankoti Rajas of Gangoli. Karm Chand, the first of this line who attained to any eminence, made himself obnoxious to his Upreti kámdar or minister, and in consequence was slain by the minister’s followers when out hunting. The Upreti sent word to the Ráni of Karm Chand that the Raja had been killed by a tiger and that his general obsequies had been duly performed. The Ráni suspected that all was not right and calling for some Brahmans of the Pant tribe in whom she placed great confidence, intrusted to them her son to bring him up and protect him from his Upreti enemies. She then prepared herself to become a sati and when dying cursed the country, saying “since the Raja has been killed by a tiger, men shall ever be killed by tigers in Gangoli,” and from that day until very recently Gangoli was the most noted haunt of tigers in Kumaon. The Pants fulfilled their trust and established Sital Chand, the son of Karm Chand, on the gaddi at Mankot and received the lands of the Upretis as their reward. Sital Chand was succeeded by Brahmd Chand, Hingúl Chand, Puníp Chand, Ani Chand and Náráyan Chand. We have an inscription on an old well called the Jáhuñaví Nsula at Gangoli Hát bearing date 1264 A.D., which is attributed to the Gangola Rajas, in which the name Somati occurs, but the other names are not decipherable. In Bajináth also there is an inscription of these Rajas in the ancient temple of Lakshmináráyan which records that in 1352 A.D. the Gangola Rajas, Hamíra deva, Lingarája deva, and Dhúrala deu regilt the spire (kálasa) of the temple. A second record in the same place inscribed on the image of Gaurimahesvari in the Bhogmandir relates that in 1365 A.D. one Subhadra, wife of Kalhana Pandit, in the kingdom of Hamíra
deva, fulfilled a vow. Mention is also made in a petition in the case of Ratan Chaudhri of Gangoli (tried by Mr. Traill) of a grant by Ani Chand in 1311 Saka, corresponding to 1389 A.D., but as the original was never produced it may well be regarded as a forgery or at least that the petitioner was mistaken in the date, for Ani Chand was predecessor of Nārāyan Chand, the contemporary of Bālo Kalyán. Another Mankoti grant is alluded to in the file of the grants made to the Bageswar temple as bearing the date 1305 Saka or 1383 A.D., but the original is not forthcoming. It was Nārāyan Chand who gave offence to Bālo Kalyán and induced him to invade Gangoli, which he quickly overran and annexed to his own possessions.

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

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

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

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

"Jau Rudra Chand ke áli tou Rámadatta ke náli."

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

Husain Khán Kashmíri, the Bayard of Akbar's court, but at
the same time a bigoted, cruel and merci-
less fanatic, received the name Tukríyáh on
account of his tyranny towards the Hindús. He was once gover-
nor of Lahore and meeting a man with a flowing beard, saluted
him, believing that he was a Musalmán. On discovering that the
man was a Hindu, he issued an order that in future all Hindus
should wear a distinguishing mark on their shoulders, which being
called in Hindi 'tukri' obtained for him the nickname of 'Tukrí-
yáh.' He was governor of Lucknow in 1569 A.D., and being

¹ There is little doubt that Firishta here refers to the precatory verses usually
attached to a grant of land by a Hindu Raja and to which he has given a wider
significance than they possess: see ante p. 547, 549.
² Brigg's Firishta, IV., 547, 549.
³ Dowson's Elliot, VI., 209.
deprived of his charge resolved to lead a crescentade against the hills, from which he expected much spiritual profit from slaying infidels and disfiguring their idols and much temporal benefit from the plunder of the famous treasury of the Rajas of Kumaon. He accordingly set forth from Lucknow with (according to Badauni)¹ "the design of breaking down the idols and of demolishing the idol temples. For he had heard that their bricks were made of gold and silver and other false reports of their unbounded treasures had come to his ears. He proceeded through Oudh towards the Siwálik hills. The hill-men as is their custom abandoned the lower hills after a slight resistance and fled for security to a higher elevation, of which the ascent was very dangerous. Husain Khán arrived at last at the place where Sultán Mahmúd, nephew of Pir Muhammad Khán, was slain. He read the Fátihâ for the pure spirits of the martyrs who fell there and repaired their dilapidated tombs. He then ravaged the whole country as far as the kasbah of Wajrâil in the country of Raja Ranka, a powerful zamúdár, and from that town to Ajmer, which is his capital. In that place are to be found mines of gold and silver, silks, musks and all the productions of Tibet, from which country he was only distant two days' journey; when on a sudden, as has been frequently observed in those mountains, the neighing of the horses and the sound of the kettle-drums, as well as the voices of his followers, caused the clouds to collect and so much rain fell that neither corn nor grass was to be procured. Famine stared the army in the face, and although Husain Khán with the most undaunted intrepidity encouraged his men and existed their cupidity by representing the wealth of the city and the country in gold, jewels and treasure, they were too much disheartened to second his resolution and he was compelled to retreat. On their retreat the Káfirs who were in possession of the passes showered down stones and arrows tipped with poisoned bones upon them. They also blocked up the way and most of the bravest of his warriors drank the cup of martyrdom. Many of the wounded who escaped at the time died five or six months afterwards from the effects of the poison. Thus ended the first expedition of Husain Khán. The title Rainka Raja is that of the Raja of Doti at this time, and we may identify the name

¹ Dowson's Elliot, V., 468 496 : Blochmann's Afu-i-Åkbâr, 373.
Wajráil with either járaíl or dipáil, the cold-weather residence of the Doti Raja on the Seti river at the foot of the hills. His principal fort was Ajmergarh near Dandoldhúra, where the Chauntara or governor now resides. The insalubrity of the Doti Tarái is notorious even to the present day, and the allusion to Husain Kháň's being within two days' journey of Tibet is doubtless referrible to the mart of Barmdeo, which was then as now the great emporium for Tibetan produce. To the west in Garhwál there is a patti called Ajmer which is now confined to the lower hills between the Málini and Khoí rivers, but at one time included the whole of par-ganah Ganga Salán, but this tract was at this time in the possession of the Sáh rulers of Garhwál.

On his return from this expedition Husain Khan asked for and received Kánt-o-Golah in jágîr in lieu of one previously held by him. "Several times he made excursions to the foot of the hills with various success, but he was never able to penetrate into the interior. Many fine fellows who had escaped half-dead from his first expedition now felt the malarious influence of the climate and died off, but not in battle. After some years Husain Kháň, contrary to the advice and remonstrances of his friends, mustered his forces for a final struggle to get possession of the hills." This was in 1575 A.D., and all his efforts were now devoted to gain possession of Basantpur, a town of considerable importance and reputed wealth in the Eastern Dún. This expedition was solely actuated by his religious zeal and a love of plunder, and after breaking the idols, defiling the temples and laying waste the country, Husain Kháň returned to his estate with much plunder and, moreover, a bullet in his side. Akbar had already received many complaints of the exacting behaviour of Husain Kháň towards the Hindús, and on being informed of this unprovoked attack on a friendly town, recalled the Gházi to Dehli, where he died shortly afterwards of his wounds. There is nothing to show that Husain Kháň ever penetrated into Kumaon, though he held the Kumaon Tarái which lay not far to the north of his jágîr. Sultán Ibráhím of Anba, another of Akbar's grandees, is credited with the conquest of Kumaon and the Dáman-i-koh, as the tract lying along the foot of the hills is called by the Musalmán historians.
The hill tradition is that shortly after the death of Husain Khán, when Rudra Chand had arrived at years of discretion, he assembled a force which he led in person into the Taráí and expelled the Musalmán officials. Complaints were sent to Dehli and a strong reinforcement was sent to aid the governor of Katehir. Rightly believing that he could not withstand the enemy in the open field, Rudra Chand proposed that the claim to the Taráí should be decided by a single combat between the champions of the respective forces. After some preliminary negotiation this form of the trial by ordeal was agreed to. Rudra Chand fought on the part of the Hindús and a Mughal officer on the part of the Musalmáns and after a long and severe contest the Hindú champion was declared victor. This little piece of boasting is pardonable in the local traditions when we have the acknowledgment that the Mughals were never able to enter the hills. It is further recorded that Akbar was so pleased with the conduct of the Kumaon prince that he invited Rudra Chand to Lahore, where he then was, and sent him and his followers to aid in the seige of Nagor, where the hill-troops so distinguished themselves that, on their return, Akbar conferred on their leader a formal grant of the Chaurási-Mul parganahs and further excused Rudra Chand from personal attendance at court during the remainder of his life. Rudra Chand, moreover, made Bîrbal, the celebrated minister of Akbar, his purohit, and up to the close of the Chand rule, the descendants of Bîrbal used to visit Almora to collect the customary dues. This visit of Rudra Chand is not so highly spoken of by the Musalmán historians. Abdul Kádir Budáúní relates that "in 1588 A.D. the Raja of Kumaon arrived at Lahore from the Siwálík hills for the purpose of paying his respects. Neither he nor his ancestors (the curse of God on them!) could ever have expected to speak face to face with an emperor. He brought several rare presents and amongst them a Tibet cow (yak) and a musk-deer (Moschus moschiferus), which latter died on the road from the effect of the heat. I saw it with my own eyes and it had the appearance of a fox. Two small tusks projected from its mouth and instead of horns it had a slight elevation or bump. As the hind-quarters of

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

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

1 See further Gaz., V., Bareilly District, History.
was even then occupied by the Mahitas or Mewatis, whom we find there at the conquest by the British. Although early in the fifteenth century Garur Gyan Chand and his son Udyyan Chand are said to have claimed an ancient right over this territory, it is clear from all that has been recorded regarding them that this assertion had the faintest possible foundation in fact.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of mahal</th>
<th>Revenue in dams</th>
<th>Name of mahal</th>
<th>Revenue in dams</th>
<th>Name of mahal</th>
<th>Revenue in dams</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Bhukasai</td>
<td>4,00,000</td>
<td>9. Ratilas</td>
<td>10,25,000</td>
<td>17. Dwarkot</td>
<td>Nil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bhukasai</td>
<td>2,00,000</td>
<td>10. Chittik</td>
<td>4,00,000</td>
<td>18. Malwarah</td>
<td>25,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bastarah</td>
<td>2,00,000</td>
<td>11. Jakraram</td>
<td>5,00,000</td>
<td>19. Malachor</td>
<td>25,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Panchotar</td>
<td>4,00,000</td>
<td>12. Jardah</td>
<td>3,00,000</td>
<td>20. Sitachor</td>
<td>50,37,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>war.</td>
<td>11,00,000</td>
<td>14. Choli</td>
<td>Nil.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Bhakti</td>
<td>11,00,000</td>
<td>15. Sahajgar</td>
<td>Nil.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is very difficult indeed to trace these names to existing appellations. Aodan would appear to represent the Tarai of Kheri; Bhukasai to represent Bhuksar now known as Rudrapur and Kilpuri; Sahajgar is the old name of Jasipur; Gazarpur is the same as Gadarpur; Malwarah is the Mal or Tarai country; Sitachor,
Malachor and Kamūs parts of the Bhābar; Bhakti may probably be Bakshi, the old name of Nānakmatha, and the others, names of parts of the country below the hills as Dwārakot is Thākurdwāra. The entire enumeration is apparently confined to the tract along the foot of the hills, for not a single name can be identified with any tract within the hills. This exemption of the hill parganahs from Akbar's statements is supported by the following story which, upon the authority of the ‘Raja’s historians,’ General Hardwicke gives regarding the position of the Garhwāl Raja in the time of Akbar: “In the reign of Akbar that prince demanded of the Raja of Srinagar an account of the revenues of his rāj and a chart of his country. The Raja, being then at court, repaired to the presence the following day, and in obedience to the commands of the King presented a true statement of his finances, and for the chart of his country humorously introduced a lean camel, saying, ‘this is a faithful picture of the territory I possess; up and down (ūncha nīcha), and very poor.’ The King smiled at the ingenuity of the thought, and told him that from the revenues of a country realized with so much labor and in amount so small he had nothing to demand.”

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

1. Sahajgir, now known as Jaspur. 5. Bhuksr, now known as Rudrapur and Kalīpūr.

Rudra Chand himself founded Rudrapur and established governors throughout the different parganahs. It was one of these, Kāshināth Adhikārī by name, that founded Kāshipur, which now gives its name to a tract that was formerly included in the old parganah of Kota. On his return to Almora, Rudra Chand built the
fort which is now used for the public offices, also a residence for himself on the site of the old fort temples to Devi and Bhairava, on the place where his father's palace stood. Rudra Chand was an intelligent and learned prince and during his reign he so encouraged the study of Sanskrit that his pandits were said to have rivalled those of Benares and Kashmir. He initiated many important measures regarding the settlement of the land-revenue, and in this he was ably aided by his blind son Sakti Singh Goshain. His principal officers were members of the Silakhola Joshi family, Ratgalli and Adhikari Bishts and Sahu from Dwara Hat, who were hereditary record-keepers. There are now no descendants of the old Ratgallis and Sahu in Almora, where their place has been taken chiefly by the Chaudhirs from Jvalamukhi. The salaries of the officials were discharged by orders on the royal villages and not by regular money payments. Some of these orders were due to circumstances entirely unconnected with the administration. Thus it is said that when Rudra Chand returned from Delhi he used the utmost speed to regain Almora and was riding in the dark along one of the mountain paths when his bridle broke. The groom in the dark picked up a snake and with it mended the bridle, and when daylight broke the Raja saw what had happened and cheered by the omen ordered that the groom (bukhuriya) should receive certain dues (dastur) from all the villages in the country at the two harvests. We have a grant of land of this Raja in favor of the family of Debidatta Chaudhri, dated in 1565 A.D., and another in favour of the Briddh Kedär temple\(^1\) in 1568 A.D. Also one in favour of Anand Pande in 1575 A.D. and in favour of the Pandes of Chami in 1594 A.D. In 1596 A.D. he assigned lands to the family of Krishnanand Joshi and in the same year gave a village to the Baidirnath temple, so that there are ample records whereby to fix the date and length of his reign.

The mother of Rudra Chand was the Doti princess who asked for Sira from her brother and was refused. Dissatisfied with the refusal she resolved not to become a sati on the death of her husband, saying:—"My work is not finished; when my son takes Siragarh, then will I join my lord." Ever since his return from the plains Rudra Chand

\(^1\) At the confluence of the Râmganga and Bino rivers.
was urged by his mother to take up arms against Sira. She told him that it was his father's last command that Sira should be united to Kumaon and that she longed to join her husband, but could not do so until his desire had been accomplished. Rudra Chand proceeded to Sira, but was utterly defeated by the Rainka Raja Hari Malla and fled with the remains of his army to Gangoli. Fatigued by the rapidity of his flight and deserted by most of his retainers, the Raja lay down to rest beneath a tree, and looking upwards saw a spider spinning its web and trying to unite one point with another. Six times the spider failed, but the seventh time it succeeded and completing its web began to eat the flies that were caught in it. The Raja, like the great Bruce, reflected that if an insect could thus by perseverance attain its object, surely a man of tried courage and fixity of purpose like himself ought to succeed. He returned to Almora and summoning his courtiers related what had occurred. They unanimously accepted the dream as a good omen and advised him to discover first the strength of the enemy and then the character of the defences of their stronghold of Siragarh. At that time there was a Bichirál Brahman in Sira whose sister's son, Purushottama or Parkhu Pant, was in Gangoli and was known everywhere as a man of influence and great resource and in possession of much of the treasure that once belonged to the Mankoti Raja. Rudra Chand sent for Parkhu, who excused himself on various pretences, so that the Raja again sent a message fining him a lakh of rupees for his disobedience and threatening him with condign punishment should he make any further delay. Parkhu came and with clasped hands made the great obeisance and said: "I have no money; I am a poor man; dispose of my life if you desire, and if this is not your object I will ransom it by procuring for you the forts of Siragarh and Bádhangarh and the countries belonging thereto." Parkhu's proposal was accepted and he was placed in command of an army which again invaded Sira.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Jageswar near Almora.
OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

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

**Pedigree of the Rainka Rajas of Sira.**

1. Adhi Ráwat.  
2. Bhishma Ráwat.  
4. Dhira Malla.  
5. Jagat Malla.  
7. Ripu Malla.  
8. Bhupati Malla.  
10. Dáta Malla.  
11. Ananda Malla.  
15. Arjuna Malla.  
17. Bál Náráyan Malla.  
18. Dungara Basera.  
19. Madan Singh Basera.  
22. Hari Malla, who lost Sira.

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

Rudra Chand now called on Parkhu to carry out his promise to capture Badhángarh in the valley of the Pindar, a part of the territory of the Rája of Garhwal. The route to the Pindar lay through Sorneswar and the Katyúr valley, which was then held by Sukhal Deo, the last reigning Rája of the ancient family. Dularám Sáh was Rája of Garhwal and promised his protection if Sukhal Deo would aid him, and sending a force towards Gáwdam
and one towards Gañai, occupied the passes towards Badhāngarh. Parkhu with his small but veteran army proceeded through Katyūr to the valley of the Pindar, but soon found his supplies cut off by the Katyūri Raja and shortly afterwards lost his life in an action near Gwāldam at the hands of a Padyār Rajpūt. The Garhwāl Raja had promised a grant of land at every day's march to any one who would bring him the head of Parkhu, and the Padyār accordingly took the head of the slain general and carried it to the Raja of Garhwāl, at Srinagar, where he received the promised reward. The Kumaonis fled to Almora and Rudra Chand in person then undertook the preparations for a new expedition against Garhwāl, but first resolved to punish the Raja of Katyūr. He speedily overran the valley and captured the Raja with all his family, for the Garhwālis were forgetful of their promise to send assistance. When Rudra Chand was about to issue orders for the punishment of the Katyūri Raja, one Ratu, a Burha or headman of a village, came forward and remonstrated with him that there was neither honour nor profit to be gained from throwing the Katyūris into prison, that he was willing to stand security for the good behaviour of Sukhal Deo and would produce him at the end of six months, to be dealt with in a direct way. This Ratu, though a friend of Sukhald Deo, and on obtaining the Raja's consent took Sukhal Deo to his own country and refused to deliver him up when called upon to do so. Rudra Chand therefore again invaded the valley and in a battle fought near Baijnāth slew Sukhal Deo and banished his family and then laid waste the entire valley.1

1 A long story is told about this matter of Ratu which may well be relegated to a footnote. Tradition says that Ratu promised Rudra Chand that if he should be accepted as surety, he would guarantee that Sukhal Deo should make no further pretensions to Katyūr, or in default he (Ratu) would pay a fine of 12,000 takas (two—one piece) or bring in 243 prisoners from Katyūr. At the expiry of the six months Rudra Chand demanded the production of Sukhal Deo, and Ratu went to the Katyūri prince and showed him the order, at the same time advising the Raja to dismiss him with shame and insult. Sukhal Deo did so and Ratu came and represented the matter to Rudra Chand, who only ordered him to fulfil his contract. Ratu threatened that if the Chand Raja persisted he would sit in dhūrana on him and took away his daughter ostensibly to kill her before the Raja or a temple and thus fasten the sin on him. On the way to the great temple of Baijnāth he concealed his daughter and made up a dummy, which he brought to the temple and sprinkling it with the blood of a recently killed goat, pretended that it was his daughter, and burying it before the door of the temple invoked the wrath of the gods against Rudra Chand, who had caused him to commit this cruel act. The Raja, however, saw through the fraud and invading Katyūr, slew both Ratu and Sukhal Deo.
Rudra Chand died in 1597 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Lakshmi or Lachhmi Chand. The elder son Sakti Gosain was blind, but still took no mean part in the administration. He was a holy man of great energy and religious feeling and made many pilgrimages to various temples and continually mortified himself by prayer and fasting, so that the gods, in their mercy, might restore him to sight. It is said that through the favour of the great goddess of Jwalamukhi he received in lieu of sight such intense powers of touch and hearing as well made up for the loss of one sense. At all events to him is attributed the carrying out of his father's views in the elaboration of a complete settlement record of the land, the establishment of the bisi as the standard of measure, the mapping out of the entire cultivation, and the regular arrangement of the Raja's household and civil and military establishment on a stable footing. He distributed the officers into three classes, the sardars, faujdars and negle. To the first class was intrusted the management of important districts and posts, whilst the second class held command of levies, and the third class (from neg = dastur or due) formed the subordinate officers of the army as well as of the civil administration. Instead of obliging each village to supply a portion of the expenses of the royal table and the salaries of the royal servants, he set apart specified villages for the support of particular departments of the Raja's service, known as batkara villages, and also planted gardens in various places to supply the royal table with fruit. The Lachhmina and Kapina gardens near Almora were of this class and were cultivated by predial slaves of the Dom caste known as Bariya. A line of villages stretching from the snows to Almora was set apart for supplying the royal table with snow under the name Hiiupal. The long-continued wars had given rise to a body of professional soldiers who sought as their reward grants of land in the conquered districts; these were now for the first time administered on a fixed system and regular assignments of land were made for the support of troops in camp and garrison under the name of bisi banduk. So minute was the supervision that it is said the practice of growing grain and fruit on the tops of the houses dates from the settlement of Sakti Gosain, because these were
the only places left by him untaxed. There is no doubt but that regularity either in the fiscal arrangements or in the general administration would be distasteful to men who for centuries had enjoyed the utmost license, and it may have been impolitic to impose heavy burdens on a newly-conquered people; but taken as a whole the measures introduced in this reign were highly beneficial to the people as well as to the treasury of the Raja and enabled succeeding rulers to advance still further in the path of progress.

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

¹ We have also a grant bearing date 1605 A.D. in favor of the family of Debidatta Chaudhari, friends of the minister Bāsdeo Pānt, and one bearing date in 1616 A.D. in favor of the family of Mahādeo Joshi.
frequently encamped at the confluence of the Gomati and the Sarju near Bágéswar during his expeditions to Garhwál, and it was there that he paid his devotions to the gods before commencing his eighth expedition. In this, his last attempt, he was more successful in that he was able to plunder the frontier parganas of Garhwál and retire in safety to Almora, but he made no permanent impression on the country, and his only other work was to settle the boundaries of Dárma and its trade with Tibet. Lakshmi Chand, like his father, desired to visit the imperial court, and Jahángír in his memoirs records that Lakshmi Chand begged him to order the son of Itimád-ud-daulah to conduct him to court, and to meet his wishes Sháhpur was sent to bring him into the presence. "The hill-prince brought a great number of the valuable rarities of his mountains for my acceptance. Amongst them were beautiful strong ponies called gánukh, several hawks and falcons, numerous pods of musk and whole skins of the musk-deer with the musk in them. He also presented me with various swords which were called khandah and kattára. This Raja is the richest hill-chief, and it is said there is a gold mine in his territory." Lakshmi Chand died in 1621 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Dhalíp Chand.

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

1 Dowson's Elliot, VI., 329. The rarities noted are chiefly from the Bhotiya parganas. The āindr was a short dagger, the form of which was copied in their sign-manual by the Chand Rajas. The word "khandah," the name of another similar form of dagger. It is said that the imperial troops visited the lowlands in this reign, and their places of encampment are pointed out at Tánda and Pipalháta, near which is a grove called the Badsháhi Bágh.
suicide by throwing himself from that tree into the holy waters was certain to attain his desires. The Upreti performed 'karot,' as this form of committing suicide is called in the hills, and was born again as Dhalip Chand. His enmity towards the Pants first showed itself by his seizing one Jait Ram Pant of Gangoli, who had committed no offence. The man, however, was condemned, executed and burned in the Raja's presence, but the smoke of the funeral pyre so filled the Raja's palace that he fell sick and died in seven days. It must be remembered that this version of the story of Dhalip Chand and the Upreti has been communicated by a descendant of these very Pants who were always, and I suppose always will be, distinguished by their talent for intrigue. It was this spirit of intrigue that led the Pant party in Gangoli to so disturb the peace of the country in their efforts to destroy the Upretis that the Raja was obliged to interfere. He had already dismissed Basdeo Pant, who had been his father's minister, and proclaimed that whichever party be found marauding in future should be severely punished, be he Pant or Upreti, and it so happened that Jait Ram Pande, a Pant leader, was taken red-handed whilst plundering his enemy's village and was executed by orders of the Raja. In revenge for this bold assertion of the right of the head of the State, the Pants have ever afterwards handed down the Raja as a kind of demon possessed by the evil spirit of one of the hereditary enemies of their tribe, the Upretis. The Raja died in 1624 A.D., and of his twenty-one sons Bijaya Chand succeeded him.

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

1 Gaz., III., 63.
the royal family, Nîl Gosâin, a son of Lakshmi Chand, protested
against this treatment of the head of the State. Him they seized
and blinded with the concurrence of the Raja and then proceeded
to exterminate all the near male relations of Bijaya Chand. Tri-
mal Chand, another son of Lakshmi Chand, succeeded in escaping
to Garhwlal, while Nârâyan Chand, his brother, found a safe asylum
in the Mal of Doti, and the son of Nîl Gosâin, afterwards known as
Báz Bahâdûr Chand, through the good offices of a palace slave,
was taken care of by a Tiwârî woman, the wife of his purolîhit.
The Raja of Garhwlal offered to aid Trimal Chand if he agreed in
writing to consider the western Râmganga to be for ever the
boundary of the two kingdoms, but after consultation with the
Joshi of Galli and Jhijâr, Trimal Chand refused, for they said
from his horoscope it was certain that he would become Raja of
Kumaon and it was wrong for him to trammeL his future action by
an engagement of this sort. He then went to Barhâpur at the
foot of the Garhâlal hills and commenced to levy a force. Bijaya
Chand in the meantime continued to amuse himself with his
women, and the only noteworthy act of his reign was the building
of the entrance gate to the fort of Almora. Even this slight
attempt at exercising authority was resented by his ministers, who
resolved to kill him and place some younger member of the family
on the throne. Sukhram Kharku found means to enter the palace
through the good offices of one of the female slaves (râj-cheli)\(^1\) and
slew the Raja while, intoxicated with bhang, he slept in the inner
apartment. This event occurred in 1625 A.D. Sukhram then gave
notice that the Raja had died suddenly and that he should con-ti-
uue to be chief of the administration until a proper successor to the
Raja could be found. This conduct, however, was more than the
people could bear. Both Mâràs and Phartiyâls resolved to act in
the crisis; the former sent for Trimal Chand and the latter applied
to Nârâyan Chand, and each faction proclaimed its own favourite as
Raja. The Mâràs with Trimal Chand first reached Almora, and
though several of the Joshiis who were not of his party counselled
delay, as the constellations were not propitious, the full ceremony of

\(^1\) The râj-chelî or female slaves were usually of Garhâlal origin, as having
no connection with either the Mâràs or Phartiyâls. They were particularly en-
joined not to leave the palace or carry on intrigues with any one outside its walls.
Those who acted as carriers of supplies from the royal stores to the kitchen were
called Malda-pâni chelîs. The old name is Râj-chori, which has the same mean-
ing as Râj-chokri.
installation was proceeded with and not too soon, for almost before its conclusion Náráyan Chand and the Phartiyáls reached the ford across the Suwál below China Khán. Náráyan Chand there received the news of the success of the Máras and at once fled back to the Mal of Doti, whilst his followers dispersed to their homes.

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

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

1. He should see that the cook did his duty conscientiously and well.
2. He should have no dealings with either Mirás or Phartiyáls.
3. He should tell the Raja everything he saw or heard.
4. Should not tell lies.
5. Should not repeat anything concerning what he might hear or see in the palace.
6. Should taste everything used for the Raja's food.
7. Should never allow the cook to be out of his sight.
8. Constantly to move about and threaten the servants, whether there was cause or not, so that no one might become careless.
9. Never to allow other than the regular servants on the establishment to have anything to do with the Raja's food.
10. Not to allow these servants to perform any other duty.
11. Only to enter the durbar at the prescribed times and not to go in and out as if were an assembly in a private house.
12. Never to speak of poison, opium or bhang, nor to ever touch them.
13. To remain with the Raja at his meals and always treat him with due respect and no familiarity, watching his countenance for any signs indicating his wishes.
14. Should never on any occasions hold friendly converse with the people of Káli Kumaon or Só or members of the Katyúri family or junior members of the reigning family, nor enter their houses.
15. Should only address the women of the palace with the greatest respect, and when duty leads him towards the female apartments should always proceed with downcast eyes and speak in a low voice.
16. Should never speak of spells (mantras), as they are only used for evil purposes, nor cut his nails nor shave within the limits of the palace.
the palace. We have a grant of Trimal Chand to the temple of Kedárnáth which was subsequently confirmed by Díp Chand, and but little else is recorded of him. He had no son, and unwilling to permit his rival of the Phartiyál faction to succeed him, he searched everywhere for other members of the Chand family and heard that one of them, Báź or Bája, son of Nil Gosain, had been saved by a Tiwári woman. A deputation was sent to inquire where the young child was, which returned saying that the woman denied all knowledge of the child's existence. The Raja himself then went to the Tiwári's house and declaring that he had naught but good intentions and intended to make the boy his heir. Báź was produced and brought to court, where he was formally adopted as heir to the Raja with the title of Kunwar. One account is that the young Chand was concealed to avoid the general persecution of all members of the royal family begun by Sukhrám, and another story relates that when Nil Gosain was blinded, the women of his female apartments were taken over by Bijaya Chand, and that a jealous concubine of the Raja stole the child and threw him over a precipice, where he was found uninjured by the wife of a Tiwári of Chausar, who brought him up as her own child. Another tradition again says that Báź Bahádur was a son of the Tiwári and no Chand at all. However this may be, he succeeded his adoptive father in 1638 A.D.

During part of this period the Taráí is said to have attained to great prosperity and to have actually yielded the nine lakhs of rupees which gave it the name of Naulakhia Mal. This prosperity, however, excited the envy of the Hindus of Katehir, who with the connivance of their Mughal rulers gradually occupied the border villages of the Taráí. In this design they were much aided by the weakness of the Almora government during the previous twenty years. From the time of Lakshmi Chand, the Chands were occupied by internal quarrels and had neither the time nor the means to interfere with the Katehiris in their gradual encroachments on the lowlands. Alarmed at the progress that had been made by the Hindu chiefs of the plains and remembering the success which attended the personal suit of his predecessors, Báź Bahádur resolved to proceed to Dehli and invoked the aid of the Emperor Sháhjáhán.
On his arrival he obtained an audience and presented his petition supported by many valuable presents, and was told to join the army then (1654-55 A.D.) proceeding against Garhwal. The Raja obeyed and in this expedition so distinguished himself that on his return to Dehli he was honoured by many signal marks of imperial favour and received the title of Bahádur and the right of having the great drum (nakkára) beaten before him. But not content with obtaining empty titles he is said to have adhered to the original object of his visit and procured the full recognition of his right to the Chaurási Mal, together with an order1 addressed to the governor of the province for effectual aid against the Katehir chiefs. In this order Báz Bahádur was styled zamindár of Kumáon. Rustam Kháń, the founder of Moradabad and representative of the Emperor, aided the Raja, who succeeded in expelling his enemies and regaining possession of the Tarái. He then founded the town of Bázpur and appointed governors and a regular establishment to carry on the administration.

An account of Báz Bahádur's visit is told at some length by Ináyat Kháń, the author of the Sháhjahán-námah. He tells us that in 1654-55 A.D. Khalílullah Kháń was despatched with eight thousand men for the purpose of coercing the zamindár of Srinagar and was joined on his way by the zamindár of Sirmor, Raja Sabhák Prakás. They proceeded through the Dún, and leaving a guard in an entrenched position near Kilaghar reached Bahádur Kháñpur, “a place belonging to the Dún and lying between the Ganges and Jumna.” The peasantry of the neighbourhood took refuge in the hills and forests and ravines, and refused to appear: so the troops were despatched against them to coerce them and inflicted “suitable chastisement.” A number of them fell by the sword, others were taken prisoners and the remainder surrendered themselves, whilst immense herds of cattle fell into the hands of the victors. A second entrenchment was thrown up here, and leaving a sufficient guard the main body approached the town of Basantpur, which was also a depen-

1 It is strange that not one of these farmáns has survived nor has any European ever been able to see even a copy of one. It is very unlikely that they were ever granted or, for that matter, asked for, as the zamindárs of Kumáon held not only their hill but also their plains' possessions, independent of any title from Dehli by the right of occupancy of a tract of little value to any one else.
dency of the Dún, and halted half way up the hill.1 Opposite the
town a third redoubt was constructed and garrisoned, whilst Khalil-
ullah moved on to Sahijpur,2 a place abounding in streams and
fountains and clothed with flowers and verdure.” Here he formed
a fourth post and erected “a fort on the top of an embankment mea-
suring a thousand yards in circumference and fifteen in height, that
had in former times been crowned by a stronghold, inasmuch as
some traces of the ancient works were still visible.” On reaching
the banks of the Ganges, a detachment of the royal artillery was
sent across the river to take possession of the tháná of Chándi,
which then belonged to Srinagar. Meanwhile Bahádur Chand, 
zamindár of Kumaon, joined the imperial forces, and as soon as this
fact was known at court, through the good offices of Khalilullah, a
conciliatory farmán and a khilat set with jewels were sent to
Bahádur Chand. The Dún was taken possession of, and the rains
were about to commence, so an order was sent forbidding any
further operations for the present. The Dún was then handed over
to Chhatarbhúj, “who had expressed an ardent desire for it,” and
the tháná of Chándi was given to Nágar Dáš, the chief of Hardwár.
The Raja of Garhwál at this time was Príthi Sáh, of whom we
have a grant dated in 1640 A.D., and who shortly afterwards became
notorious for his conduct towards the unfortunate prince Sulaimán
Shikoh. The expedition passed through the Western Dún to
Dehra, and thence along the foot of the inner range to Basantpur,
and thence to the Ganges near the usual crossing at Lachcluhman-
jhúla. There is no allusion to any grant of land to the Kumaon
prince, and the conciliatory farmán that was really addressed to
Bahádur Chand has done good service in the hill traditions as an
actual grant to their reigning prince of the low country.

The episode of Sulaimán Shikoh, alluded to above, may be no-
noticed as told by Khán Khán.3 The story

1 The supply of ice for the royal use was obtained in the mountains of Tihri,
whence it was despatched by porters to Damrás on the Jumna, a distance of
sixteen kos. From Damrás it was packed in boxes and carried by raft on the
Jumna for sixteen kos to Dáryápur, one of the dependencies of pargah Khizr-
abad and thence reached Delhi in three days and nights. Dowson’s Elliot, VII.,
106. 
2 Basantpur and Sahijpur both gave their names to separate parga-
nahs in the Eastern Dún up to the last settlement and Kilaghar may be identified
with Kaulaghar near Dehra. 3 Dowson’s Elliot, VII., 230; see also Ibid.,
131, 245, 263: Dow., III., 245, and Bernier.
history and need not be dwelt upon here. In his attempt to reach his father he had arrived at Haridwar; but, learning that a force had been despatched to intercept him, he turned off to the mountains of Srinagar. Here he neither obtained assistance nor shelter, and was deserted by several of his adherents. He then made for Allahabad, where he had the misfortune to lose more of his followers, and was obliged again to trust to the tender mercies of the Garhwalis. Attended by Muhammad Sháh Koka and a few followers, he levied a contribution on the estate of the Kadsiya Begam and entered the hills for the last time. “The zamindár of Srinagar coveted the money and jewels that he had with him and kept him as a sort of prisoner in his fort,” and eventually delivered him up to an agent of the implacable Aurangzeb. Prithi Singh was certainly ordered by the Hindu minister, Raja Rám-rúp, to deliver up the fugitive or stand the consequences; and his narrow escape some short time previously must have rendered him fully alive to what that might mean. Tarbiyat Khán was even sent to overrun his country, and it was then that Prithi Singh wrote through the medium of Raja Jai Singh, begging forgiveness for his offences and offering to give up Sulaimán Shikoh. Kunwar Rái Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh, was sent to fetch the royal prisoner, and safely lodged him in the fort of Gwalior, where he was assassinated by the orders of Aurangzeb in December, 1660 A.D.

The treatment of Sulaimán by Pirthi Singh, Raja of Garhwal, will doubtless be compared with the courtesy and hospitality shown to Khawás Khán by Mánik Chand, Raja of Kumaon, but the difference in the time and the circumstances of the two cases should be allowed to weigh against any harsh judgment on the Garhwalí prince. The latter was more exposed to the much more formidable power of Aurangzeb than the former was to the comparatively

1 The Chand tradition is that Sulaimán applied first to Bahádur Chand, but when the Raja discovered that the prince was at enmity with the Emperor, he dismissed him loaded with presents to Garhwal; but in the meantime, it having become known that Sulaimán was in Kumaon, Aurangzeb sent an army which took possession of the low country and prepared to advance on Almora. One of the Raja's Mewáti guards stole the clothes of the leader of the Mughal army while he slept at night, and brought them to the Raja, who returned them to the Mughal with a message that he had not harboured the fugitive prince; that he did not wish in any way to oppose the will of the Emperor; and that if he desired he could have killed the leader of the Imperial army as easily as he had stolen his clothes. Before this affair could be reported to Delhi the unfortunate prince had been surrendered to Aurangzeb, and the Mughal troops accordingly withdrew.
innocuous influence of Islám Sháh, who would not have had recourse to intrigue to demand the surrender of Khwás Khán had he been able to accomplish his designs by force. The Srinagar Raja was owner of a poor country, with few fighting men at his command, and had no means whereby he could withstand even a moderate force if sent into his country. Besides, he was not under such obligations to any of the Musalmán rulers as to lead him to consider it his duty to venture life and kingdom in support of their quarrels. All he desired was to live in peace with his powerful neighbours, who had already succeeded in making the aggressive and hated Raja of Kumaon their ally, and with an army at his very doors there was nothing left for him to do but to deliver up his unbidden guest.

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

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

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

<table>
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<th>Date A.D.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1640.</td>
<td>Trinet temple in Lakhapur.</td>
<td>1665.</td>
<td>Family of Kamala Joshi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1648.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>1670.</td>
<td>Family of the Tiwári.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1662.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
<td>1675.</td>
<td>Pilgrims to Mánasgarowári.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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his dating from 1640 to 1675 A.D. Amongst them are three in favor of the family of Náráyan Tiwári, who brought him up as a child, and who is also said to have been a descendant of that Sri Chand Tiwári who received a portion of the Almora hill from the last Katyúri possessor. Báz Bahádur's religious feelings were continually wounded by the frequent complaints brought to him of the harsh and cruel conduct of the Húniyas towards pilgrims to the holy lake of Mánasarowar and Kailáś, the abode of the gods. Having some leisure from more pressing occupations, he equipped an expedition which he led by the Juhár pass into Tibet, and besieged and captured the fort of Taklakhar, and it is said that the breach in the walls which by 'the extraordinary good fortune' of the Raja had been effected without difficulty remains un repaired to the present day. He wrested the control over all the passes from the Húniyas and obliged them to promise to allow pilgrims to pass free to Mánasarowar. The Bhotiya traders used to pay a sort of tribute for permission to trade to the Tibetan authorities, and at first the Raja refused to allow this semblance of submission to continue, but finally it was agreed that so long as the Tibetan authorities threw no obstacles in the way of free communication, whether for the purposes of trade or of religion, the dues might be collected, as had been the case when Bhot belonged to Hundes. He also set apart the revenue of five villages near the passes (Páanchu, &c.,) for the purpose of providing pilgrims going to and returning from Mánasarowar with food, clothing, and lodging. He also investigated the tenure of the Rajbár of Askot and confirmed the orders made by his predecessors.

On his return to Almora, Báz Bahádur found that his enemies had been at work during his absence and had poisoned the mind of his eldest son, Udyot Chand, who was more than suspected of having designs on the throne. Udyot Chand was accordingly sent to Gangoli to Sarju-pár, to take charge of all the districts beyond the Sarju. Jhijár Joshis continued to monopolise all the chief offices in the State, and even the Chaudhris, Sáhus and Ratgallis, who were appointed to check and dispose of the grain collected as revenue, are said to have recognised these Joshis as their patrons and to have paid them dues. During Báz Bahádur's absence in Bhot the Garhwál
Raja had been maturing his preparations, and now by a rapid march surprised the Kumaon garrisons and recovered his territory. Báź Bahádur, however, quickly took the field, and sending a force into the Pindar valley under an experienced leader, himself took the route through the valley of the Rámganga and Lobha. The people of the Garhwál Pattis of Sábali and Bangársyún aided the Kumaonis, who, after some slight skirmishing, drove the Garhwális back to Srinagar itself. Here a hasty peace was patched up, to which the ignominy of its being signed in the enemy's capital gave no additional assurance. On his return from Garhwál, Báź Bahádur brought with him several Bisht families from Sábali and several Bangáras or Ráwats from Bangársyún, to whom he gave the office of heads (sayáñacharí) of the villages of Timli and Bharsoli respectively. The immigration of the Garhwáli Aswáls and Dungarwáls is also attributed to this time. It has already been mentioned that when Kirati Chand conquered Páli, the Katyúris were allowed to retire to Máníl and there they remained until this time; but Báź Bahádur, suspecting that they had given aid to the Garhwális in his late campaign, attacked their principal fort, which he captured and banished the inhabitants. Thus perished the last surviving remnant of Katyúri power in these hills. In 1672 A.D., the Raja led a force into the plains with which he ravaged the villages lying along the foot of the hills and is even said to have plundered Nagína in the Bijnor district.

Affairs in the east again attracted his attention and led him to make a tour through his eastern parganahs. He had an interview with the Rainka Raja of Doti in Sor, and thence marched down by the Káli to Barmdeo. Here he found that the Raja of Chitona had built a fort at Kála Ghút on the ridge above Barmdeo and had advanced some pretensions to independence. Báź Bahádur promptly attacked the Raja, seized his fort and hanged him on the nearest tree, thus effectually securing the peace of the neighbourhood. The next year saw the Raja again in Gangoli, whence he invaded and annexed Byáns, making the same arrangements with the Tibetans that he had before done with regard to Juhár. He allowed the Bhotiyas to pay the usual dues (sírtí) to the Húniyas, reserving to himself gold-dust (phatang), the pods of the musk-deer and
salt as revenue. Now comes the darker side of the picture, for now the Raja, at the instigation of an evil-minded Brahman, persecuted many innocent people. This Brahman persuaded the Raja that he could show him how to discover his friends from his enemies, and by his lying mummeries caused Báz Bahádur to put out the eyes of many good men. The Raja, however, discovered the deception that had been practised on him and punished the Brahman, and used every means in his power to remedy the evil that had been done by giving lands and pensions to the injured persons and their heirs. Hence the proverb still current in Kumaon:—

"haras bhaya usi budh gayi nasi,"

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

"Jaiko bap rikhali kháyo
Ukála khura deke dara."

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

Udyot Chand was at once recalled from Gangoli and ascended the throne without opposition and amid the general rejoicing of the people, who were glad that the gloomy old tyrant had ceased to exist. Like his predecessor he was a great friend of the priests and built and endowed many temples. We have sixteen grants1 of

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date A.D.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1679.</td>
<td>Family of Dabi Datta Páthak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1680.</td>
<td>Rámeswar temple in Bel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1681.</td>
<td>Family of Shíssan Kár Tíwári.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1682.</td>
<td>Jágeswar temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1683.</td>
<td>Ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1684.</td>
<td>Baleswar Thál temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1685.</td>
<td>Family of Kríshnánand Joshi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1686.</td>
<td>Dipchandexaswar temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1687.</td>
<td>Piñnáth temple in Borárau.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1688.</td>
<td>Briñdih Jágeswar temple in Dérun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1689.</td>
<td>Kalika temple in Gangoli Hát.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1690.</td>
<td>Ditto ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1691.</td>
<td>Bhamáditya temple in Bel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1692.</td>
<td>Rámeswar temple in Bel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1693.</td>
<td>Family of Bhábdeo Pánše.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1694.</td>
<td>Nágarjúna temple in Dwára.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10
his dating from the year of his accession to the year 1697 A.D. Dissatisfied with the conduct of the Garhwál Raja, Udyot Chand ravaged Badhán in 1678 A.D., but suffered the loss of his principal and favourite officer, Maisi Sáhu. He was more successful in the following year, when he entered Garhwál by Ganai and penetrated by Lobha to Chandpur, which he captured and plundered. The Garhwál Raja now sought aid elsewhere and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Rainka Raja of Doti, under which (in 1680 A.D.) Kumaon was attacked on the east by the Doti Raja, who occupied Champáwat, and on the west by the Garhwál Raja, who again took possession of Dunagiri and Dwára. The war raged for two whole years, but in the end the Kumaonis were victorious against both their enemies. Henceforward garrisons were established in Dunagiri and Dwára on the west and in Sor, Champáwat, and Barmdeo along the Káli. The Raja, affected by the great and unhoped-for success of his efforts, gave due thanks to the gods and vowed a pilgrimage to the sacred Ganges at Dárannagar, but had hardly performed his ablutions and commenced his return journey when news was brought him that war had again broken out with Doti. Deo Pála was then Rainka, and taking advantage of the absence of Udyot Chand had invaded Káli Ku-
maon; but his success was very short-lived, for the Kumaonis drove the Dautiyálás across the Káli and in 1685 A.D. captured Ajmer-
garh near Dundoldhúra, the summer residence of the Raja and the place where the Chauntra now resides. The Rainka fled from Ajmer to Dipálí on the Seti river at the foot of the hills, where was his usual winter residence; but two years afterwards he was driven thence and compelled to take refuge in Khairágarh, the capital of the plains district of the same name in the province of Oudh. Udyot Chand captured Khairágarh in 1688 and the Rainka yielded and agreed to pay in future a tribute to the Kumaon Raja. These victories were celebrated with great pomp at Almora and were commemorated by the building of the new palace on the site now occupied by the Mission School at Almora and the erection of temples to Tripuri-sundari, Udyotchandeswar and Pár-
bateswar close by, as well as the tank in the Raja's compound. In 1696 A.D. the Doti Raja repudiating the treaty of Khairágarh refused to pay the tribute that had been agreed upon and Udyot
Chand was obliged to lead in person his troops across the Káli. A battle was fought at Jurúil between Dundoldhúra and the Kumaon frontier and with such ill success on the part of the Kumáonis that the Raja was obliged to hand over the command of his troops to Manorath and Siromani, Joshis of the Jhijár clan, whilst he himself returned to Almora for reinforcements. Shortly afterwards Siromani was murdered by the Dantiyáls and his troops dispersed and the Raja eventually recalled the remainder. Like his predecessor, Rudra Chand, Udyot Chand is celebrated for his patronage of learning and the encouragement he gave to wise and pious men to come and settle in Kumaon. He took great interest in the management of his possessions along the foot of the hills and to him are attributed the numerous groves of mangoes in the Kota Bhábar. Feeling his end approaching he devoted the last few months of his life to religious meditation and prayer and died in the year 1698 A.D., leaving his kingdom to his son Gyán Chand.

As in former times every Raja commenced his reign by an invasion of Doti, so now every successor to the throne of the Chands considered it to be his first duty to invade Garhwál. Gyán Chand began his reign by crossing into the valley of the Pindar and laying waste its fertile villages as far as Tharáli. The next year he crossed the Rámganga and plundered Sábali, Khátali and Saindbár in parganah Malla Salán, an attention which was returned in 1701 A.D. by the Garhwalis, who overran Giwár and Chaukot in parganah Páli of Kumaon. Every year, one side or the other made marauding expeditions which served little except to render the lands near the borders of the two countries desolate. No one knew who should reap what had been sown, so that the more industrious part of the population abandoned the frontier tracts which in many places again became covered with jungle. In 1703, the Kumaonis were successful against the Garhwalis in a battle fought at Duduli just above Mahalchauri. In the following year Gyán Chand sent his forces into the Bhábar and laid waste the low country belonging to Doti, but not without considerable loss from fever, the ill effects of which were long visible in those who recovered. In 1707, another great expedition was undertaken towards Garhwál, and this time
the Kumáoni forces took possession of Juniyagarh in Patti Bichhla Chaukot, and again passing the Panuwakhól and Diwáli Khál passes penetrated as far as Chandpur near Khál on the Bhararigár and razed the old fort to the ground. Gyán Chand has also left us grants of his which by their dates corroborate the local chronicles. We have, one dated in 1701 A.D. granting lands to the family of Kulomani Pánde and another dated in 1703 A.D. giving lands to the family of Krishnanand Joshi. He also rebuilt the temples of Ganesh at Almora, Badrináth at Bágésvar and Baijnáth in Katýúr shortly before his death in 1708 A.D.

Jagat Chand, said by some to be of spurious birth, succeeded

Jagat Chand, 1708-20 Gyán Chand and also commenced his reign by an invasion of Garhwál; he plundered Lohba and took the fort of Lohbagarh at the head of the Panuwakhól pass, where he established a garrison. In the following year he pushed in by both Badhán and Lohba and uniting his forces at Simlí, in the valley of the Pindar, proceeded by the Alaknánda to Srínagar, which he captured. The Garhwál Raja fled to Dehra Dún and Jagat Chand formally bestowed the town of Srínagar on a Brahman and divided the spoil he took in this expedition amongst his followers and the poor, reserving, however, a portion as a present for Muhammad Sháh, who was then Emperor of Dehli. He subsequently imposed a tax on gambling (bachh), which he also assigned as a nazar to the Dehli court. The name of Jagat Chand is still highly esteemed as that of a Raja who gained and held the affectionate remembrances of his subjects. He was kind to high and low alike and closely looked after the administration. In his days, the revenue of the Taráí is again mentioned as having been nine lakhs of rupees, but after this epoch, intestine disturbances became utterly destructive of all prosperity both in the highlands and lowlands. We have six grants of land made by him dating from 1710 to 1718 A.D. He died of small-pox in 1720 A.D. and was succeeded by Debi Chand who, according to some, was an illegitimate son of Jagat Chand,

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date A.D.</th>
<th>In favour of</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>Purnagiri temple in Tallades.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>Family of Debidatta Pánde.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>Bhrámarí temple in Katýúr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date A.D.</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1713</td>
<td>Bajñáth temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Négánath temple in Chárál.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1718</td>
<td>Bhuvaneswar temple in Gangoli.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Before proceeding further we must make such a survey of Garhwal history to the Gorkháli conquest as the scanty materials at our disposal will permit.

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

During the reign of his predecessor, the Sikh Guru Ráma Ráí had taken up his residence at Dehra, and there he remained during the reign of Fateh Sáh. Guru Har Ráí died in 1661, leaving two sons, Rám Ráí and Harkishan, the former about fifteen years of age and the latter about six. Both claimed the succession, and as Rám Ráí was the son of a handmaiden and not of a wife of

1 Hamilton's Gazetteer, II., 636.
equal rank with the mother of Harkishan, so the latter was chosen to succeed their father. Rám Ráí refused to abide by the election and disputes ran so high that it was agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of Aurangzeb, who confirmed the election and sent Rám Ráí away disappointed and resolved not to abandon his pretensions to the spiritual leadership of his sect. Harkishan died at Dehli in 1664 of small-pox and was succeeded by his uncle Tegh Bahádur, son of the great Guru Har Govind. Rám Ráí recommenced his agitation and threatened not only the supremacy but the life of Tegh Bahádur, but the latter remained Guru of the Sikhs until his arrest and execution in 1675 A.D.¹ Aurangzeb was resolved to put down a sect the leaders of which were found to aspire to worldly as well as spiritual domination and who called themselves the 'Sachcha Pádsháh,' the veritable kings. It was by his orders that Tegh Bahádur was executed, and at the same time he directed Rám Ráí to retire to the wilderness of the Dún and to refrain from meddling in public affairs, or he should meet with a similar fate. Rám Ráí obeyed the emperor's command and came to the Dún, and when, some twenty years later, Govind, the son of Tegh Bahádur, succeeded his father as Guru, the personal following of Rám Ráí had dwindled to a few retainers and the adherents to his apostleship had declined into a mere sect of dissenters. Rám Ráí resided a short time at Kándli on the Tons and then settled down in Khúrbura, now included in the town of Dehra. He built his temple at the village of Dhámúwála, around which grew up the town of Gurudwára, which with Khúrbura formed the nucleus of the modern town of Dehra. Fateh Sáh and his successors confirmed the possession of several villages for the support of the Mahant's retinue and the service of the temple and also erected and endowed a similar institution dedicated to Guru Rám Ráí in Srinagar itself.

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

¹ Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, p. 63.
for we have grants\(^1\) made by him ranging from the year 1717 to the year 1772. During the latter part of his grandfather's reign and the earlier part of his own the Dún and Garhwl enjoyed a season of exceptional prosperity. Numbers of Rajput and Gujar settlers reclaimed the waste land of the Dún and villages sprang up on all sides, so that in 1729 the gross revenue from some four hundred villages amounted to close upon Rs. 95,000. In 1747 we find the Dún assessed at Rs. 97,465, of which Rs. 42,845 were assigned away in revenue-free grants to religious establishments and individuals. This prosperity soon attracted the attention of Najib-ud-daula, better known as Najib Khán, the Rohilla chief of Saháranpur.\(^2\) By the end of 1754, Najib Khán had reduced the upper part of the Saháranpur district under his sway, and Chait Singh of Bahsúma, the last of the local chiefs who opposed, was forced to submit. In 1757, the Rohilla led his first expedition into the Dún and after a very feeble resistance on the part of the Garhwl Raja established his authority there.\(^3\) The people speak of his rule with admiration and say that he protected the residents of the district, encouraged all classes alike to settle in the valley and provided them with land, fostered trade, dug canals, built wells and raised the revenue to a lakh and a quarter rupees without over-assessing the people. Mr. Williams\(^4\) tells us that:—"the numerous mango topes and remains of tanks frequently found in the midst of what now seems a primeval forest warrant the statement that at this happy period there were five hundred estates in the Dún all under cultivation;" but it would be safer to assign these remains as well as those all along the border of the hills from the Ganges to the Sárda to an earlier and more primitive civilisation. He adds:—"Trade kept pace with agriculture and the term Hátnála (or pass by a market) still applied to Nágal, Rájpur, Bhagwantpur, Thánu and Bhárápur, preserves the recollection of the course taken by the stream of traffic to and from the hills. Najib Khán died in 1770 and with him disappeared the

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

\(^2\) See Gaz., II., 250, for an account of the rise and fall of the Rohilla power in the Dúbh.

\(^3\) Mr. Shore to Government: 28th January, 1834.

\(^4\) Memoir, 97.
prosperity of the Dún. Pradipt Sáh was now an old man and little inclined to undertake the task of gathering up the scattered threads of government thus suddenly placed within his reach. He died in 1772 and was succeeded by his son Lalat or Lalíta Sáh.

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

¹ Travels, I., 199, quoted by Mr. Williams in Memoir, 100. ² Ibid.
OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

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

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

¹ Most of these were confirmed by the Gorkhlás, but were resumed by the British after the conquest.
Srinagar itself, and Jayakrit Sáh was murdered or according to others died of chagrin and fatigue. His brother Pradhuman united for a whole year the two countries under his personal sway, but harassed on the one hand by the pretensions of his brother Parakram and on the other by the attacks of the party favourable to Mohan Singh, he abandoned Kumaon altogether in 1786 and took up his residence permanently at Srinagar. Here there was plenty of work to occupy his talents and energy had he possessed any.

The notorious Ghulam Kádir succeeded¹ his father Zábita Khrán in 1785, and desirous of emulating the successes of his grandfather Najíb Khán undertook the reduction of the chiefs that lay between him and the Siwaliks, who had taken the opportunity afforded by the recent troubles to declare their independence. In 1786, he invaded the Dún and reannexed it to his possessions. Mr. Williams describes this second Rohilla inroad thus:—“Accompanied by his Hindu adviser Raja Muniyáî Singh, Ghulam Kádir entered the valley from Hardwár about the middle of the year. Fire and bloodshed marked his onward progress. Not content with sacking Dehra, he gutted the Gurudwára. Cow’s blood profaned Rám Ráí’s holy shrine and the conqueror, it is said, otherwise expressed his contempt for superstition in an extravagant fashion, smashing the Mahant’s cithern and reclining disdainfully on the couch where the saint breathed his last. It is an article of faith with many orthodox Hindús that God, as a punishment, smote the sacrilegious Nawáb with the madness which drove him to destruction. He nevertheless gave evidence of sound judgment by entrusting the administration of his easy conquest to a Hindu deputy named Umed Singh, who served him most faithfully to the day of his death (1789) * * *. After the death of Ghulam Kádir, Umed Singh courted the friendship of Pradhuman Sáh, to whom the district once more became nominally subject, but about three years later he betrayed his new master to the Raja of Sirmor, who proclaimed his own government in the Dún and, it is alleged, deputed a representative to live at Pirthipur. Pradhuman Sáh had recourse to an alliance with the Maráthas, who glad of an opportunity for plunder

¹ Gaz., II., 251.
hastened to his assistance, but merely amused him and retired after a few skirmishes with the Sirmor troops, without effecting anything decisive. Umed Singh was thus enabled to maintain the authority of his new patron several years longer until the Garhwal Raja again won him over to his side, giving him the hand of his daughter in marriage.' The result of this was a retransfer of the Dún to Srinagar about the commencement of the present century. Umed Singh was again preparing to prove a traitor when the Gorkhális stepped in and seized the Dún amongst their conquests.

The valley all this time belonged to any one bold enough to enter it and strong enough to encounter the little opposition that could be made. Mr. Williams, writes:—"The Sikh incursions continued while the hungry Rajputs and Gujars of Saháranpur emulated the activity of the Singhis. Whenever any delay occurred about the payment of blackmail, fifty or a hundred Panjábi troopers generally sufficed to sweep the country clear. The operations of the others were, as already noticed, sometimes conducted in a more ambitious style. Whatever slipped through the fingers of the professional spoiler fell into the hands of the official harpy. The amil, for the time being, was his own master and collected booty with all possible expedition, not knowing the moment when he might suddenly fall a prey to some other more influential or cunning than himself. The original owners retained few villages and almost all records of right perished." Amongst the more notorious of these oppressors of the country the names of Hari Singh of Guler and son-in-law of Pradhman Sáh and that of Rámdayál Singh of Landhaura stand out prominently, and between them the annual revenue was reduced as low as Rs. 8,000 a year. In 1801 a Marátha invasion destroyed what little had been left and paved the way for the Gorkháli invasion two years afterwards. Captain Hardwicke visited Garhwlál in 1796 and gives some account of the district in a description of his journey from Khoohdwár to Srinagar. His impressions of the people and country do not give one a high idea either of their condition or character. The smallness of the

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

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

The decline of the Chand power commences from the accession of Debi Chand, for although like his predecessors he made the usual military promenade into Garhwal, the Garhwalis recovered their possessions in Badhán and Lohba and even invaded the Bajnáth valley. A battle was fought near Ranchúla above the Bajjuáth temple, in which the Kumáonis were successful; Debi Chand then demanded back Srinagar, from the Brahman to whom it had been given by his father, and on the Brahman refusing to return the gift, attempted to take the town, but was repulsed and driven back across the frontier. Debi Chand was a weak and irresolute prince and altogether in the hands of the advisers in power for the time being. In connection with his unsuccessful expedition against Srinagar, it is related that, like the king of France in the fable, he spread a quantity of carpets over a hill near his encampment and calling the summit Srinagar marched with his army to the attack, and in
commemoration of his bloodless victory called the place Fathpur, 'The place of victory'. The treasury of the Chands is said to have contained at this time three and a half krors of rupees, or taking the rupee nominally as worth eighteen pence over two and a half millions sterling. The Raja's fingers burned to dispense the savings of his ancestors, and urged by his Brahman advisers, he resolved to make a name for himself which would last for ever by paying off the debts of all his subjects and then founding a new era when all were at ease and no one was in debt, to be called 'the golden era.' In this senseless undertaking he expended a kror of rupees withorit gaining his object and without improving the resources of his unthrifty subjects. The greater portion of the money found its way into the coffers of the Brahman money-lenders, who thus found themselves possessed of the only thing wanting to complete their preparations for the struggle for power which soon commenced. At this time the Gaira Bishts, Mánik and his son Puran Mall of Garhwáli origiu were the principal advisers of the Raja, and through their influence he was induced to take a part in the political struggles going on in the plains. He was led to believe that the Raja of Kumaon was one of the greatest princes in the world, and taking the Afghán Dáúd Khán into his service, supported one Sábir Sháh, in opposition to the Emperor. Azmat-ul-lah Khán was sent from Dehli to take possession of Rudrprur and Káshipur and Debi Chand marched with his troops from Almora to aid Dáúd Khán, who commanded the levies that held the plains parganas. The Raja proclaimed his partisan Emperor of Dehli and met the imperial forces near Nagína with the intention of offering battle, but his wily Afghán general had received a bribe from Azmat-ul-lah Khán and before the battle commenced deserted the Raja with all his forces. The Kumáonis

1 See p. 516, referring to the reputed treasures of the hill Rajas. The Nepál annals record that it was through a similar paying off of all the debts of the people that Vikramáditya established his era: p. 418. 2 Rustam Ali in the Tarikh-i-Hindi tells us that in 1726 A.D. "a person having assumed the name of Sábir Sháh went to Kumaon and represented to the Raja of that place, whose name was Debi Singh, that he was one of the princes of the house of Timúr, and thus obtained repeated orders on the functionaries below the hills at Káshipur and Rudrprur to the effect that they should give him a red tent, such as is usual for the royal family, as well as some troops to accompany him. Having carried these orders into effect they collected no less than 40,000 Rohillas." Shaikh Azmat-ul-lah Khán, who was then governor of Moradabad and Sambhal, was sent to quell the insurrection and in a single battle overthrew the Rohillas. Duson's Elliott, VIII., 45. 3 Life of Hafiz Rahmat, p. 10: Hamilton's Rohillas, p. 35.
were accordingly defeated and Dáúd Khán not satisfied with mere treachery actually made an attempt to seize the person of his master as a hostage for the payment of the arrears due to the troops, but in this attempt he failed. The Raja retreated to Thákurdwára and pretending ignorance of Dáúd’s treachery invited him to attend to receive his arrears of pay. Dáúd obeyed and was seized with all his followers and put to a cruel death, whilst the Kumáonís fled to Almora. Debi Chand next found himself attacked on the east by Doti and on the west by Garhwál. He made peace with Doti and entrusting the conduct of the war with Garhwál to his generals retired to the village of Debipur in Kota, where he had built himself a pleasure-house. Here, whatever happened, he remained during a portion of the cold-weather months of the last three years of his reign to indulge in the delights afforded by the female apartments, and here in the year 1726 A.D. he was murdered by Ranjít Patoliya at the instigation of his treacherous ministers. Mánik Bisht gave out that the Raja had died suddenly of snake-bite, and in the absence of heirs assumed the entire control of the administration. The wives of the Raja became sati and the Bishts believed that they had now little to do except to enjoy the power which they had so criminally acquired. In reviewing the events of the reign of Debi Chand the most charitable conclusion to arrive at is that he became insane at certain seasons, and that he should, therefore, not always be held morally responsible for his actions. Like his immediate predecessors he was exceedingly liberal to the temples and the priests. We have five grants of land made by him during his short reign, two of which bearing date in 1722 and 1726 A.D. respectively were in favour of the Jageswar temple; one dated in 1726 in favour of the Bhrámari temple; another dated in 1724 in favour of the Nar Singh temple in Tikhún, and a fifth in favour of the family of Prem Ballabh Pant dated in 1725 A.D.

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

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

Kalyán next turned to the priests for assistance, and we have

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date, A.D.</th>
<th>In favour of—</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1782.</td>
<td>Briddh Kedár temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1783.</td>
<td>Family of Gangadatta Joshi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784.</td>
<td>Baleswar temple, Champaawat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785.</td>
<td>Family of Kulomani Pande.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1786.</td>
<td>Family of Bishnadatta Joshi.</td>
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</tbody>
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² Called Duli Chand by the Bohilla historians.
Tarāī, to Rāmadatta Adhikārī in the Kota Bhābār and to Hari Rām Joshi in Almora. He also bestowed lands on the families of his victims and endeavoured in every way to blot out the remembrance of his cruelties. His position was now critical, having the forces of Oudh and Ali Muḥammad Khān opposed to him on his southern frontier; he had also to protect his eastern frontier, where the Doti Raja resented the exaltation of his former subject. Cunning and cruel, Kalyān despatched assassins into the Rohilla camp who murdered Himmat Gosāin and his family, but this act of his had an opposite effect to that intended.

Ali Muḥammad Khān was enraged at the murder of a guest within his own camp and in 1743-44 A.D. sent a force of ten thousand men under the command of Hāfiz Rahmat Khan, Pāinda Khān and Bakshi Sirdār Khān to invade Kumāon. Previously Ali Muḥammad made all arrangements for his plains possession during the absence of the force; he also forbade any one to join the army that was not enrolled and collected stores and carriage of all descriptions at Kāshipur for the use of the expedition. On his side everything was done that could conduce to success, while on the other side, although Rām Datta Adhikārī sent timely notice to his master and Sib Deo asked for money and promised that if he got it, the Rohillas should not invade Kumaon, nothing was done by the miserly prince. Kalyān Chand was persuaded that Sib Deo wanted the money only to pay off his own debts, and though he made some feeble attempts to fortify the hill passes by stockades and broke down the few bridges that existed, he sent no assistance to his officers. The Rohillas defeated Sib Deo at Rudrpur and obliged him to take refuge in the fort of Barakheri, and Hāfiz Rahmat, leaving a governor in Rudrpur, pursued the Kumāonis and occupied Bijipur in pargana Chhakhāta on the outer range of hills below Bhīm Tāl. The Raja alarmed at the success of the invaders at length sent a force to support Sib Deo and attack the Rohillas in Bijipur, but without a blow almost the Kumāonis fled at the first charge of the enemy and were pursued by Rāmgarh and Piura to the Suwāl river below Almora. Bakshi Sirdār Khān being of advanced age remained in command of a party in the
Barakheri fort which commands the route from the plains by Bhim Tál, while Háfiz Rahmat proceeded to Almora, which he occupied without opposition. Kalyán Chand fled to Gairsen near Lohba and entreated the protection of the Garhwál Raja, with whom he was now at peace.

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

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

1 The great temple of Jagéswar is said to have escaped owing to the Rohillás having been attacked by great swarms of bees. 
2 In the life of Háfiz Rahmat, the terms are said to be a tribute of Rs. 60,000 a year and an engagement not to assist Kalyán Chand, instead of whom another Raja was to be installed at Almora, p. 19.
after a stay of seven months the Rohillas, leaving a small garrison in Barakheri, returned to the plains, much to the chagrin and disgust of Ali Muhammad Khán, who wished to make a permanent occupation of the hill country, as he thought that it would afford him a safe asylum should anything go wrong with him in the plains. Kalyán Chand was escorted by Pradípt Sáh, Raja of Garhwál, to Almora and at once set about repairing the damages committed during the Rohilla occupation. Three months afterwards, whilst pressed by the troops of Muhammad Sháh, the Rohillas under Najib Khán strengthened the garrison of Barakheri and sent a small detachment by the Kosi and the Rkli to penetrate into the interior and form a basis of support should the Afghán forces be obliged to retire to the hills for protection. In the beginning of the year 1745 A.D. Sib Deo attacked the main body of the Rohillas under Rajab Khán close to the Barakheri fort, and after an obstinate struggle compelled them to retire to the plains, and on hearing of this the other parties of Rohillas also retreated. The Hindus of Katehir at this time made complaints to the Emperor Muhammad Sháh of the tyranny under which they suffered at the hands of the Afgháns and Kalyán Chand also sent an envoy to Dehli for the same purpose. The Emperor promised redress and further urged by the Oudh Nawáb, assembled a large army for the expulsion of the Afgháns from Katehir and encamped at Sambhal. Kalyán Chand hearing of this event resolved to plead his cause in person, and as he had no money he borrowed the jewels of the Jageswar temple to offer as a present and set out for the plains. At Rámmagar he met Sib Deo on his way back from Barakheri and took him in his train, which was increased at Káshipur by a guard of honor sent him by the Vazír Kumr-ud-din. The Raja was admitted to an interview,1 and though the extraordinary power of the Rohillas at this time was sufficient to awaken the jealousy and secure the intervention of the Imperial court, the representations of the Raja received further weight from the presence of twenty-two descendants of the old Hindu Rajas of Katehir, who headed by the aged chief of Thákurdwára demanded justice on their oppressors. Muhammad Sháh granted all that was asked for and is said

1 The first interview was near Sambhal and the second at Garhmuktesar.
to have given to Kalyán Chand a fresh sanad for his plains possessions.

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

Kalyán Chand died early in 1748 A.D., and the same year saw the decease of both Muhammad Sháh and Ali Muhammad Khán. With his dying
breath the old Raja again committed to Sib Deo his son and family, entrusting to him all power and authority to be used and exercised on behalf of Dip Chand, and well was the trust fulfilled. Sib Deo gave eight villages to Jageswar in lieu of the money borrowed by Kalyán Chand and, so far as was possible, restored all property which had been unjustly confiscated by that Raja. He appointed his own son Jaikishan as his deputy in Almora and again proceeded to the Tarái, where he made his cousin Hari Rám Joshi governor of Káshipur, whilst he took up his quarters in Rudrpur, and on Hari Rám neglecting his duties exchanged the offices and appointed Siromani Das, a Brahman of Bázpur, his deputy in Káshipur. At this time the Emperor called on all his subjects to send contingents to assist him against the Maráthas, and Hari Rám and Birbal Negi were sent with a force of four thousand men to the Emperor's support and took part in the battle of Pánipat (January, 1761 A.D.) Sib Deo also sent his son Harakdeo Joshi to hold Najíbabad, while Najíb-ud-daula was absent at Pánipat and there protected the Afghán's household from the attacks of foraging parties of Marátha horse. At Pánipat the Kumaonis were brigaded with their ancient enemies the Rohillas under Háfiz Rahmat, but both fought bravely together and the hill-men did good service, especially in the use of rockets and hand-grenades, with which they were familiar. After the battle the Emperor wished to see the Kumáoni leader and sent for him, but Háfiz Rahmat, being desirous that the interview should not take place, had previously sent off Hari Rám with presents as if from the Emperor, and in addition his own turban to exchange with Dip Chand and excused the absence of the hill-men to the Emperor, on the ground that he had advised them to return home, as they could not stand the heat of the plains.

Little has been said of Dip Chand himself hitherto and little can be said of him; he was a man of mild, weak temperament, generous and kind to a fault and beloved by all that came in contact with him. He was entirely in the hands of the priests, and we have more memorials of his reign in the shape of grants of land to temples and to favourites than of any of his predecessors. Thirty-six of these
grants exist in the Almora records alone and date from 1749 to 1774 A.D. In the earlier years of his reign, he had ministers on whom he could rely, but when these failed him he was helpless. In the year 1762 peace and prosperity reigned throughout his dominions. The lowlands were in a flourishing state and the Ku-
maoni governors cultivated friendly relations with Háfiz Rahmat Khán, Najib-ud-daula and the Imperial governor of Moradabad. Sib Deo and Hari Rám remained in the plains and kept up a standing army there, consisting for the most part of mercenaries from Jammu, Nagarkot, Guler and Barhepura, who so protected the people that numerous immigrants sought the shelter of the Ku-
maon authority in the Tará. At this time the principal cultivators were the Thárus, Bhukkásas, and Barwaiks, with a considerable admixture of settlers from the south both Hindu and Musalmán. The only tax imposed was one-sixth of the produce and in unfavourable seasons even this was remitted. Hari Rám was obliged to leave Rudrpur during the rains, but Sib Deo remained all the year round at Káshipur. The Márás had now a long season of power and the Phartiyáls resolved in some way or another to make a bold attempt for a share, as the Raja was practically ruled by whichever party should succeed in obtaining the nominal office of Diwán. They put forward Amar Singh Ráotela as a competitor for the throne, but this nascent rebellion was quelled with a strong hand by Sib Deo. This brave old man had now to

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

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date, A.D.</th>
<th>In favour of—</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1749.</td>
<td>Badhrínáth temple.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>* Jageswar temple.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>* Ditto.</td>
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<td>1753.</td>
<td>Bágésvar temple.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1754.</td>
<td>Family of Bishandatta Joshi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1755.</td>
<td>Badhrínáth temple.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>* Briddh Jageswar temple.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>* Gánándáth temple in Borárna.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1756.</td>
<td>Family of Bhrirá Upreti.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>* Briddh Jageswar temple.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1757.</td>
<td>Naráyan temple in Lakhapan.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>* Jageswar temple.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>* Family of Bishandatta Joshi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1758.</td>
<td>Jageswar temple.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>* Punágríri temple in Táládes.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>* Pinnáth temple in Borárna.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1759.</td>
<td>Jageswar temple.</td>
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<th>Date, A.D.</th>
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<tr>
<td>1759.</td>
<td>Nágnáth temple.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>* Kalika Devi in Gangol.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1760.</td>
<td>Kédáránáth temple.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Udésvar temple in Sálam.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1763.</td>
<td>Family of Debhdatta Tiwári.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1764.</td>
<td>Kúsiká Sitála temple in Dwálá.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1766.</td>
<td>* Ditto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1767.</td>
<td>Bhimeswar temple at Bhim Tál.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1768.</td>
<td>Family of Gangadatta Joshi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769.</td>
<td>Family of Krishnand Joshi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1770.</td>
<td>Family of Kádpasati Bhándári.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1771.</td>
<td>Family of Rewdhar Joshi.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1772.</td>
<td>Family of Shinsankar Tewári.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* Kalika temple in Gangol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1774.</td>
<td>Family of Kamalapati Upreti.</td>
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feel the ingratitude of his own near relations, for Jaikishan Joshi, himself a Mára, joined by a number of Phartiyáls, went to the Garhwál Raja, Pradípt Sáh, and induced him to invade Kumaon. Pradípt Sáh came to Jhuuiyagarh, which was then in his possession, and Sib Deo with the Rája occupied Naithána in Patti Dora Palla close by. Sib Deo left Dip Chand at Naithána and with the greater part of his force advanced and occupied Jaspur on the Mási road, above the confluence of the Bino and the Ramganga. He then sent an envoy to the Garhwál Raja demanding the cause of his thus disturbing the peace of Kumaon. Pradípt Sáh replied that Kalyán Chand was his brother and he looked on Dip Chand as his nephew, and that if Dip Chand wrote to him in the terms of such a relationship he would retire. This was practically asking that the Raja of Kumaon should acknowledge the supremacy of Garhwál. Pradípt Sáh also demanded that the Ramganga should henceforth be considered the boundary between Kumaon and Garhwál and threatened that if this were not granted he would seize the whole of Kumaon. Sib Deo agreed to the second proposal alone, but the Garhwál Raja and his advisers were prepared for war and a battle was fought at Tanba Dhond, the hill above Udepur on the Mási road in Patti Bichhila Chaukot, with the result that the Garhwális lost some four hundred men and amongst the prisoners was Jaikishan. The Garhwál Raja fled to Srinagar and eventually peace was concluded on such satisfactory terms that Pradípt Sáh exchanged turbans with both Dip Chand and Sib Deo.¹

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

¹ One of the Brahmans whose eyes had been put out by Kalyán Chand, by name Kantu Joshi, fled to Garhwál and died there. His son Jayanand was now called back by Sib Deo and restored to the family estates.
Hari Rám, but the latter never forgot the slight put upon him by his cousin, and now took up arms against him. It is said that the cousins fought seven great battles, in two of which only Sib Deo claimed the victory. The seventh battle took place near the confluence of the Gagás and the Dosándhgár at Báns-ke-sira, and here Jairám, son of Hari Rám, and the principal mover in the quarrel, with 1,500 men, lost their lives. Hari Rám at once gave himself up to Sib Deo and both agreed to refer their quarrel to the arbitration of Háfiz Rahmat Kháń, who obliged Hari Rám to give Sib Deo a bond that he would ever afterwards faithfully obey him. Sib Deo was now, once more, de facto ruler of Káli Kumaon; but he had many active and unscrupulous enemies who continually plotted against him, so that he was at length obliged to have recourse to measures of repression, which only increased the number of his enemies without ensuring his own safety. Foremost amongst the conspirators were the Phartiyáls of Káli Kumaon. One of these, named Rai Mall, the Búrha or head-man of the village of Choki in Káli Kumaon, wrote to a friend in Káshipur, telling him that should he organise a conspiracy against Sib Deo he might feel himself certain of the support of the entire faction in Káli Kumaon. The letter, however, miscarried, and the plot was discovered. Sib Deo believed that there were others concerned in these plots, and hastening to Almora instituted inquiries which resulted in the detection of a second conspiracy in which the Duniya Joshis were concerned. He seized the ringleaders, and after a somewhat perfunctory trial condemned them to death. The mode of execution adopted was singular and well calculated to strike terror into the hearts of his enemies. He caused the prisoners to be brought to Bálíghár above Bágéswar on the Sarju, and there tied them up in sacks and hurled them alive into the seething whirlpool below the cliff. The news of this affair spread quickly throughout the province, checking for a time any overt act of disaffection, but as surely increasing the efforts of those who worked in secret. Some remorse seems to have visited Sib Deo, for he released all the minor actors in the plots and sought to secure their allegiance by restoring their property to them. Rái Mall Búrha fled to Doti, and his prominent partisans disappeared for a time.
Notwithstanding these plots, the power of Sib Deo seems to have been as great as ever, and village after village was granted to him by his grateful sovereign. Besides his estates in the Taráí, he held Gangolá-Kotuli in Malla Syúñara, several villages in Bárachmandal and small grants elsewhere. He now rearranged the administration at Almora and set out for the plains which required his presence as he had heard that the mercenaries from Nagarkot and elsewhere, who formed the garrisons of the forts in the Bhábar and Taráí, were at the instigation of the Phartiyáls clamouring for increased pay. Sib Deo advanced by forced marches to Kháshipur, and there summoned those whom he felt would support him, but before any one arrived the soldiery rose in revolt and murdered Sib Deo and two of his sons. This event happened in the cold weather of 1764 (11th of Pús, 1821 Sambat), and was followed soon afterwards by the death of Hari Rám. From this date the dependence of the plains on the Hill State may be said to have ceased and determined, and from this period, too, internal commotions so distracted the highlands that there also merely the semblance of a stable government remained. Jaikishan succeeded his father as prime minister and viceroy, and continued to hold the reins of government for some two years and a half when a son was born to Dip Chand. The mother of the boy, the Ráni Sringár-Manjari, then acquired great influence over the Raja, and considering that in consequence of her being the mother of the heir to the throne she should have a share in the government, intrigued with Háfiz Rahmat Khán Robilla to oust Jaikishan. It is said that Háfiz Rahmat, at the instigation of Jodha Singh Katchiri, his favourite servant, and whose son was betrothed to a daughter of the Raja Dip Chand and therefore belonged to the Ráni’s faction, wrote to Jaikishan and advised him to submit to the Ráni. The result was that Jaikishan threw up all his offices, and disgusted and disappointed left Almora to the Ráni and her friends.

Mohan Singh, whom Batten calls “the spuriously descended Mohan Singh murders cousin of Dip Chand,” and for whom the chroniclers of his own party can give no higher origin than that he was descended from a Ráotela family of obscure descent who had settled at Simalkha on the Kosi, became
bakshi or head of the army. Kishan Singh, the Raja's bastard brother, became prime minister, whilst Parmanand Bisht, the paramour of the Ráni, was appointed viceroy, and Jodha Singh obtained the government of Káshipur. Thus the Ráni's party was completely successful, but had hardly enjoyed their position for a year when the intrigues of Parmanand deprived Mohan Singh of his appointment. Mohan Singh fled to Rohilkhand, and his place was taken for a time by Parmanand and then by Jaikishan and Harak Deb. In the meantime Mohan Singh, through the assistance of Dúndi Khán, of Bisauli, who was jealous of the power and influence exercised by Háfiz Rahmat Khán in Kumaon affairs, assembled a force of Rohillas and hillmen, and, eight months after the expulsion of Mohan Singh, captured Almora and the persons of the Raja and Ráni. According to other accounts, Mohan Singh was invited to Almora by the sons of Sib Deb, and the Ráni once more entrusted to him the office of bakshi on his swearing fidelity to Dip Chand and his family. However this may be, Mohan Singh so firmly established himself as head of the government that he was able to put to death his enemy Parmanand Bisht with impunity. Emboldened by this success, and believing that the Ráni was still plotting against him, he shortly afterwards entered the women's apartments and seizing her by the hair of her head flung her out of the window and killed her. Thus, like Jezebel of old, the Ráni Sringár-Munjari perished a victim to her own self-indulgence and desire for power.

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

1 See report of Mr. W. Fraser in the records of the Commissioner of Kumaon: Government to the Hon'ble E. Gardner, dated 22nd November, 1844.
2 This account is hardly correct, as the interests of the sons of Sib Deb were then and ever afterwards opposed to those of Mohan Singh.
the change that he desired to confer the two principal posts in the administration on the Joshi brothers with Kishau Singh as viceroy, but Jaikishan refused to serve with Kishan Singh, and thus it became necessary again to place the two offices of prime minister and head of the forces in the charge of one person. Harak Deb accepted this position and appointed as his deputies a Bisht of Chapuwa and Lakshmipati Joshi. The Bázpur Brahman Siromani Dás, now Diwán Siromani Dás, who had aided in the attack on Mohan Singh, was confirmed in his appointment of governor of Káshipur, with a grant of eight villages as well as the confiscated jagtr of Mohan Singh. Manorath Joshi, son of Hari Rám, was made sardár of Rudpur, and once more a certain semblance of order and good government began to make itself manifest in the administration of public affairs both in the plains and the hills. Shortly afterwards Siromani Dás died and was succeeded by his son Nandrám, who, with his brother Har Gobind, was resolved, should an opportunity occur in the present unsettled state of affairs, to carve out for themselves, as their neighbours on all sides were doing, an estate which they might, perhaps, be able to transmit to their children. They called for still more recruits from Nagarkot, and also enlisted a large number of the roving mercenary bands which the wars in the plains had created, and who were only too glad to accept service where fighting and plunder might be expected.

At this time Mohan Singh wrote to both Jaikishan and Harak Deb asking for forgiveness and begging them to allow him once more to return to Kumaon. He had, moreover, induced many of the more influential men, disgusted as they were by the conduct of Kishan Singh, to join in asking for his recall, and though Harak Deb merely sent a courteous but evasive reply, Jaikishan was imprudent enough to invite this arch dissembler back to Kumaon. On his way to the hills, Mohan Singh visited Nandrám at Káshipur and promised, in return for his assistance, to confirm that traitor in the government of the plains. On arriving at Almora, Mohan Singh almost at once assumed control of the administration, apparently with the consent of both Jaikishan and Harak Deb, who remained in office and assisted by their counsel
in the management of affairs. In the course of these consultations Jaikishan proposed that the Tarai should again be brought under the rule of Kumaon, and that an effort should be made to expel Nandrám, and in this resolution he was apparently warmly supported by Mohan Singh who offered to supply him with men and money for the expedition. Mohan Singh, however, wrote secretly to Nandrám, advising him to hold out and promising his aid should it be required, so that when Jaikishan reached the plains he found a strong force ready to oppose him posted at Halduwa between Chilkiya and Kashipur. In the fight that took place Jaikishan was worsted with the loss of the brother of Dip Chand who had accompanied the royal forces. Mohan Singh gained many advantages by this movement. The Joshi brothers were now separated, and means were found to make Almora so uncomfortable for Harak Deb that he was glad to take refuge in Páli. The unfortunate Raja himself was now alone and helpless in the hand of his gaoler, who sent him with his two sons, Udai Chand and Suján Singh Gosáin, to the State prison of Sirakot. Mohan Singh believed that the time had come when he might throw off all semblance of submission and loyalty and look after his personal aggrandizement alone, but resolved first of all to secure his position at Almora. For this purpose it was necessary to paralyse the influence of the Joshi brothers, and this could best be effected by the death of one or both. Mohan Singh accordingly proceeded to Kumkhet, a village on the southern face of the Gágar range in parganah Kota, and, under pretence of concerting a common attack on Nandrám and the rebels in the plains, invited Jaikishan to attend him. The Joshi at first refused, but overcome by the violent entreaties and protestations of Mohan Singh, at last yielded and came to Kumkhet. Mohan Singh invited the unsuspecting victim into his tent and engaged him in an interesting and apparently friendly conversation, in the midst of which, at a prearranged signal, assassins entered and murdered Jaikishan. Mohan Singh then proceeded to Almora and seized Harak Deb, who had incautiously returned there, and would have murdered him also had not Lál Singh, Mohan Singh's own brother, interposed and induced him to commute the order to one of perpetual
imprisonment. Dip Chand and his two sons now died suddenly in confinement at Sirakot, and there can be little doubt but that their murder also must be added to the catalogue of crimes committed by the usurper. The tradition runs that the food supplied to the unfortunate prisoners was so bad in quality and so insufficient in quantity that they died of starvation, though violence also is said to have been resorted to. This event took place at the close of the year 1777 A. D.

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

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

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<th>Date A. D.</th>
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<td>1777.</td>
<td>Jagaswar temple.</td>
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<td>Do.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1777.</td>
<td>Sitala Debi temple in Athaguli.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1777.</td>
<td>Family of Radhapati Bhandari.</td>
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<td>1777.</td>
<td>Family of Hussain Baksh.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1777.</td>
<td>Bhuwaneshwar temple in Gangoli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1778.</td>
<td>Nagnath temple in Chraral.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1778.</td>
<td>Kalika temple in Gangoli.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1778.</td>
<td>Bhatneswar temple in Boraur.</td>
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</table>
might succeed to the throne of Kumaon. Manorath was credulous enough to trust these statements, and with a slight escort proceeded to Bázpur to meet Nandrám, where he was treacherously murdered with all his followers, and Nandrám took possession of Rudpur in the name of the Nawáb. Thus passed away for ever even the nominal authority of the Hill State over the plains par- ganas. Nánakmatha and Bilhari were at this time supposed to be mortgaged to the Patháns of Bareilly and with Sarbna also fell into the hands of the Oudh Nawáb,¹ who remained suzerain of the Taráí until the British occupation in 1802 A. D., when Sib Lál, nephew of Nandráim and son of Har Gobind, was found in possession as farmer. Kilpuri alone remained for a time in the hands of Kumaoni landholders, but this also had to be yielded up to the Nawáb’s agents.

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

1 These changes never affected the upper part known as the Bhábar.
there existed in the Taráí a greater number of inhabited spots than there existed 30 years afterwards in the same tract; that more and more careful cultivation was visible in every direction; that the prairie, if not the forest, had retreated to a greater distance; that the gîls or canals for irrigation were more frequent and better made; that more attention was paid to the construction and management of the embankments on the several streams; and that, finally, on account of all these circumstances, the naturally bad climate, now again deteriorated had somewhat improved. While recording this statement, I must not omit to add that I myself possess no positive separate proofs that my assertions are correct; but that I write under the influence of almost universal oral testimony supported, nevertheless, by this circumstance, viz., that the revenue statistics of the tract under discussion shew a descending scale in regard to the income of the State, a product which, under general rules, bears an approximately regular proportion to the prosperity of a country."

"I must not omit to mention the fact that the Bhuksa and Tháru tribes are extremely migratory in their habits, and are peculiar in requiring at their several locations more land for their periodical tillage, than they can shew under cultivation at one time or in one year. To these tribes is in a great measure now left the occupation of the Taráí territory; so that now (1844) for every deserted village, there may be perhaps found a corresponding newly cultivated one, within the same area, and large spaces of waste may intervene, where under the present system no room for contemporaneous cultivation is supposed to exist, the periodical waste or fallow also, in that peculiar climate presenting as wild and jungly an appearance as the untouched prairie. In the times, on the contrary, which I have advantageously compared with our own, the fickle and unthrifty races whom I have named were not the sole occupants of the soil; all the number of contemporaneous settlements was therefore greater, and the extent of land required for each was less. I therefore come round in due course to the next fact (the obverse of that first stated) that as bad government in the ordinarily habitable parts of the country introduced an extraordinary number of ploughs into the borders of the forest-tract, so the
OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES. 105

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

Mohan Singh, as might be expected, signalised his accession by the persecution of all the friends and relations of Sib Deb, and obliged them to abandon Kumaon and fly to the plains. Lakshmipati Joshi, once a deputy of Harak Deb, was murdered at the deodar tree near Almora whilst on his way to pay his respects at the palace, and a complete reign of terror ensued. Both the Raja of Doti and the Raja of Garhwal were unwilling to allow this state of things to continue, and entered into correspondence with Harak Deb, who was still in prison, and the discontented generally in Kumaon. Lalat Sáh, who was then Raja of Garhwal, first took the field and advanced by Lohba to Dwára with a considerable force under the command of Prempati Kumariya. Mohan Singh, distrusting his own influence with the troops, sent his brother Lal Singh to meet the Garhwális, and calling Harak Deb before him begged him to go and fight against the ancient enemy of their country and that he should in reward be restored to his offices and lands. Harak Deb gave a seeming acquiescence, but had hardly time to prepare himself when intelligence was received of the utter defeat of the Kumáonis at Bágwáli Pokhar (1779 A.D.) Mohan Singh on
hearing the news resolved on flight and desired Harak Deb to accompany him, but the latter refused and the usurper fled alone by Gaugoli and the Káli to Lucknow and thence to Faizullah Khán of Rámpur, where he was eventually joined by Lál Singh and others of his adherents. Lalat Sáh sent for Harak Deb, and owing to his counsels placed a son of his own named Pradhaman on the throne of the Chands under the title of Pradhaman Chand.1

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

1 We have three grants made by Pradhaman Chand during his short reign in Kumaon:—One dated in 1781 A.D., in favour of the family of Krishnanand Joshi; another dated in 1782 A.D., in favour of the family of Beníram Upreti, and a third dated in 1784 A.D., in favour of the family of Rewadhar and Béllik-shan Joshis.
posted his forces at Charalekh, and sending a present of money to
the Nāgas asked them to retire, but urged by Mohan Sigh they
attacked the Kumāoni forces and were totally defeated, leaving
seven hundred of their dead in the ravines of the Kosi.¹

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

¹ Hence the proverb:—

 Jogi ha babā ko katak (f.inj. kya dhariyo chtoa.

 Meaning, what business had the jogi's (mendicant) father in the army? A
proverb now often applied to those that meddle in other people's affairs.
² Some say that he was assassinated by the express orders of Harak Deb.
³ The following rhyme was applied to the weak attempts of Parākram Sāh
to obtain possession of Garhwal:—

 "Ke lāta kāthā barta o sun kāla tu
 Anala te gat má ko dawr duma tu."

 Meaning, "speak, O dumb one, listen deaf one thou; the blind hath stolen the
store, seek the guard you."
race were too powerful for him. From the south came Nandram, from the eastern districts, Mohan Singh and Lal Singh, and a Garhwali contingent was added by Parakram Sah, and all united near the Naithana fort in Patti Dora Talla of Palí where Harak Deb lay awaiting reinforcements. None came, however, and many of his followers deserted him, as they did not care to fight for a Raja who was a Garhwali in heart and cared more for Srinagar than for Almora. Harak Deb was defeated and fled to the plains and thus ended the Garhwali domination in 1786 A.D.

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

"Charo khai gaya chakura. Jehata pura mush bhaya kura."

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

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

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1 We have eight grants of land made by Mohan Singh during this period:
son, Mahendra Singh, fled to Rámpur and Harak Deb again entered Almora as master. He at once wrote to Pradhaman Chand, inviting him to come to Kumaon and take possession of the vacant throne; but mindful of his sufferings and the uncertain tenure by which he held the country before, the Raja wisely enough refused to comply, and thus Kumaon was for a time without a master.

This state of things did not last long, for Harak Deb knew well that though he might rule in the name of some Chand, he could never hope to found a dynasty himself. He, therefore, sent for one Sib Singh, a Ráotela said to be descended from Udyot Chand, and installed him as Raja under the name of Sib Chand. From the accession of Pradhaman Chand up to the conquest by the Gorkhális the entire power of the State was vested in the hands of the Joshis and their adherents and is known amongst the people as “the Joshyál”; but this time, however, they had not an opportunity for establishing their government firmly in Almora before Lál Singh with the assistance of Faizullah Khán of Rámpur invaded the hills. A battle was fought at the Dharmsila village near Bhím Tál in which Gadadhar, the Joshi leader, was slain and his forces were routed. They all then fled towards Garhwál for assistance, and Lál Singh, passing through Almora, pursued the retreating Joshis as far as Ulkagarh in Garhwál, where Harak Deb made a successful stand and again assuming the offensive, drove his enemies to Chukám on the Kosi. In this action he was aided by a Garhwáli contingent sent by Pradhaman Sáh. But, on the other hand, a second Garhwáli contingent, sent by the Raja’s brother Parákram Sáh, now assisted Lál Singh, who was thus enabled to take the field once more. Harak Deb retired with Sib Singh to Srinagar, where Pradhaman Sáh resided whilst Parákram Sáh, always obstinate, unsteady and unreasonable, supported the pretensions of Lál Singh’s party and agreed to place the son of Mohan Singh on the throne of Kumaon in return for a subsidy of one and a half lakh of rupees, thus apparently acting in direct opposition to his brother’s policy. It is very difficult indeed to understand Garhwáli politics at this time. We see the brothers Pradhaman and Parákram arrayed as partisans on opposite sides and sometimes living in amity together at Srinagar and sometimes in arms against each other; and
1 As so much has been said about this family, we shall now give the genealogical tree. Mr. Batten calls Mohan Singh "the spuriously descended cousin of Dip Chand," and Mr. Fraser in his report to Government, in 1814 traces the descent of the family from Pahár Singh, the offspring of Báz Bahádur Chand by a dancing woman; to whose son, Hari Singh, were legal issue Mohan Singh and Lál Singh. Under the quasi caste-name of Ráotela are included both the legitimate and illegitimate junior members of the Chand family, and but little distinction was ever made in the hills between the lawful and illegitimate members of a family. Even Harak Deb allowed Mohan Singh to be a descendant "though illegally and basely" of the royal line, and as such it appears to me that he would, according to the hill custom, be considered a Ráotela, or one sprung from the royal stock. Báz Bahádur Chand.

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

HISTORY—(concl.)

CONTENTS.


We have now reached the time when the Chand dynasty that had so long ruled in Kumaon was to cease to exist. The blow was as sudden as it was unexpected and was delivered by the Gorkhálís who first appear in history towards the middle of the last century. At that time Nepál was broken up into a number of petty states; in the valley and its neighbourhood, were Bhátgáon, Banépa, Lálitpátan and Kántipur or Káthmándú, to the west were the Vaisya Rajas and Dúlu, Dotí, Jumla and Achán, and to the east were the petty chiefs of the Kírántis. To the north, the hills were also divided amongst a number of petty Rajas each of whom claimed independence of Nepál and of each other, and amongst them was Narbhupálá Sák, the ruler of the small state of Gorkha, which lay about eight days’ journey to the north of Nepál. The Gorkhálí Raja seeing the defenceless condition of the valley, divided as it was amongst a number of families each of whom was at feud with the other, and anxious to enlarge his narrow dominions which
ill afforded sustenance to its rapidly increasing population, led a force towards Nepál and laid claim to the throne. He was, however, met by the Vaisya Rajas of Noákot and obliged to retire across the Trisúl Ganga to his own country. Finding that his forces were insufficient and his information regarding the resources of the valley chiefs was imperfect, Narbhopála Sah resolved to await a better opportunity and in the meantime to correct the errors in his calculations which experience had made manifest. For this purpose his son Prithináráyana was sent, when quite a child, to be brought up at the court of Bhátgáon where he managed to acquire that intimate knowledge of the factions and feuds and resources of each country which shortly afterwards served his purpose so well. Prithináráyana succeeded his father in 1742 A.D. and commenced his career of conquest by the annexation of Nuwákot and the hill country to the westward. In addition to great natural abilities and considerable talent as a commander he was also a master of intrigue and by his agents found means to foment disturbances between the independent princes in his neighbourhood and to induce them to apply to him for aid and support. His troops were constantly exercised and the wealth already brought to Gorkha by many of them, attracted to his side the best fighting clans in the hills. When he thought the time was ripe for a decisive blow, he descended with an overwhelming force and took possession of Noákot, Kirtipur, Banepa, and Bhátgáon and in 1768 A.D. occupied Káthmándú which henceforth became his principal residence. The Gorkhális did not gain the country without a long and severe struggle during which strange and fearful cruelties are said to have been perpetrated by the invaders. Prithináráyana Sah died in 1775 and was succeeded by his son Sinha Partáp Sah who during his short reign was able to add only the country on the east as far as Sumbheshwara to the Gorkháli possessions. Ran Bahádúr Sah succeeded his father in 1778 with the Ráni Indur Lachhlími as regent. She was a woman of a determined character verging on cruelty and under her the work of conquest went rapidly on.

1 Wright, 147. 3 In 1779 the Rani Regent was put to death by Bahádúr Sah, uncle of the young king who assumed the reins of government and carried out the aggressive policy of his predecessor. It was he that completed the conquest of Achám, Jumia and Dóti whence he expelled the reigning Raja Príthipati Sah. It was he also who conceived and carried out the invasion of Káthmándú.
and Tanhan were the first to fall, then followed the country of the Chaubisi Rájas up to the Káli, including Kashka, Parbat, Prisingh, Satún, Isniya, Maskot, Darkot, Urga, Gutima, Jumla, Raghan, Dárma, Juhár, Pyuthána, Dhani, Jasrekot, Chhí, Golám, Achám, Dhulek, Dúlu and Doti.

The Nepálese darbár were well acquainted with the state of affairs in Kumaon and resolving to add it to their conquests, wrote to Harak Deb desiring his assistance and co-operation. There is some reason to believe that this was at least promised, for we find him join the Gorkhális on their entering into Almora and also named as their representative should the Gorkháli troops have been obliged to leave Kumaon to defend their own territory against the Chinese, a matter which will be noticed hereafter. For this conduct there can be no excuse and no matter how much he may have suffered at the hands of the Phartiyáls, the alliance of Harak Deb with the Gorkhális cannot but be looked on as selfish and unpatriotic. The Gorkháli army destined for the invasion of Kumaon set out from Doti early in 1790 under the command of Chauturiya Bahádur Sáh, Kázi Jagjit Pánde, Amar Singh Thápa and Surbír Thápa. One division crossed the Káli into Sor and a second was sent to occupy the patti of Bisung. When news of this invasion arrived at Almora all was confusion and despair. Mahendra Singh summoned the entire fighting population and with part of his regular troops took the field in Gangoli whilst Lál Singh with a like force advanced through Káli Kumaon. Amar Singh marched against the Kumáonis, but was defeated by Mahendra Singh and obliged to retreat towards Káli Kumaon. Here, however, the Gorkhális were successful for at the village of Gatera near Katolgarh, they succeeded in surprising Lál Singh and drove him with the loss of two hundred men towards the plains. Mahendra Singh was on his way to assist his uncle when the news of this disaster reached him and abandoning all hope of saving his capital, fled to Kota where he was soon afterwards joined by Lál Singh from Rudrpor. The Gorkhális finding the way thus opened retraced their steps and after some slight resistance at Háwalbágh, took possession of Almora in the early part (Chait) of the year 1790.
In the following year we find Harak Deb at Almora and great preparations made for the invasion of Garhwal. The Gorkhals, however, never penetrated beyond Langurgarh which for a whole year defied their efforts to reduce it and in the midst of their arrangements for a more determined attack on the fort, news arrived that the Chinese had invaded the Gorkhali possessions and that all the troops should return to Nepal, giving over to Harak Deb the conquered territory to the west of the Kali. The Gorkhali leaders had, however, so impressed Pradhaman Sah with a sense of their power that he agreed to pay a yearly tribute of Rs. 25,000 to the Nepalese government and send an agent to the darbar which for the next twelve years preserved some appearance of amity between the two governments. The Gorkhali annals simply state that the Chinese invasion of Nepal 'cut the Chinese army into pieces and obtained great glory.' But M. Imbault-huart gives us a very different account of the Chinese invasion of Nepal from official sources. The Panchan Lama of Tashilonpo died in 1781 during a visit to Pekin and his eldest brother Hutu Kotu Tchongpa seized on his treasures and refused to give any to the younger brother Cho-ma-eul-pa, the Schamerpa of Kirkpatrick and Syamarpa Lama of the Nepalese. The latter fled to Nepal and invited the Gorkhali to invade Tibet. They were, however, bought off by a secret treaty by which the Lamas promised them 15,000 taels or £4,800 per annum. Not receiving this, the Gorkhali crossed the frontier and sacked Tashilonpo in 1791. In the following year the Chinese not only expelled the Gorkhali from Tibet but penetrated close to Yang-pu or Kathmandu, where a treaty was signed by which the plunder was restored and recompense was made for the cost of the war. The Chinese troops returned, but left a garrison of 3,000 men in Lhasa, and this was the first time that they made a permanent stay in Tibet. From this time, too, the Nepalese have always sent tribute to China. It was owing to this invasion that the Gorkhali were obliged to raise the seige of Langurgarh in Garhwal and return to Almora. They intended to take Harak Deb with them to Nepal as their arrangements

1 As. Res., I, 343 (Hardwicke, 1796): Raper in 1808 says Rs. 9,000 and to keep a vakii of the Gorkhali at his court. As. Res., XI, 560.

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

During this time Mahendra Singh had not been idle, he attempted to pass by Bhím Tál to Almora, but was attacked by the garrison of the Barakheri fort and obliged to return to Kilpurí in the Taráí which he had made his head-quarters. A second expedition towards Káli Kumaon was equally unsuccessful for he found himself opposed not only to the Gorkhális but to the great mass of the Márás, who together with Harak Deb had again become fast friends of the intruders. In 1794 A.D. Muhammad Ali Khán of Rámpur was murdered by his brother Ghulám Muhammad Khán, and though the Nawáb was inclined to condone the offence in consideration of a bribe, a British force under General Abercrombie advanced
from Fatehgarh to Bareilly to depose the usurper. There they awaited the arrival of the Oudh Nawáb and Mr. Cherry before commencing hostilities. The Rohillas, however, determined to attack the British before the Nawáb’s troops could join them and were completely defeated in a severe action fought at the bridge across the Sanka river near the village of Bithaura. Ghulám Muhammad fled with his forces to Fatechaur in the low hills below Garhwál, but was eventually obliged to yield himself prisoner and was at once deported to Benares. So soon as the British and Oudh troops left Rámpur, Mahendra Singh began to levy the disbanded followers of Ghulám Muhammad for an attempt on Kumaon, but wearied with these repeated attacks, Amar Singh Thápa marched on Kilpuri and thus deprived the Kumáonis of their only rallying point. Mahendra Singh and his partizans deprived of every acre of land that they could lay claim to fled to the Oudh Subahdar and represented that the tract from which the Gorkhális had ousted them really formed a part of the Taráí which of right belonged to the Nawáb and requested his aid in recovering it from the Gorkhális. Atabeg Khán and Raja Sambhunáth were instructed to take measures to protect the interests of the Oudh darbár and apparently these would have taken the form of a war with Nepál had not the good offices of Mr. Cherry promoted an understanding by which the Gorkhális agreed to yield up all pretensions to the low country and the Nawáb, on the other hand, promised to respect the position of the de facto rulers of Kumaon. At the same time provision was made for the retention by the exiled family on some doubtful tenure of a portion of the Taráí for their subsistence and which so far as any jágír was concerned was subsequently exchanged by the British for the grant of Chachait in the Pilibhit district.

During the years1 1791-92 Joga Malla Subah managed the Gorkháli administration of Kumaon. He imposed a tax of one rupee on every bási4 of cultivated land and one rupee per head (adult male) of the population besides Re. 1.2-6 per village to meet the expenses of his own office. He was succeeded

1 Life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, 135 : Gaz., V.  
2 Fatehganj seven miles north-west of Bareilly.  
3 These dates are chiefly taken from official proceedings in which the names appear.  
4 Nearly a British acre.
in 1793 by Kázi Nar Sáhi and his Deputy Rámadatta Sáhi in charge of the civil administration and Kálu Pánde as commandant. The administration of Nar Sáhi was marked by great cruelties and excesses. Mercenaries from Nagarkot and the western hills had of late years been more extensively employed by both factions in Kumaon and many of them had intermarried with the hill people and formed scattered colonies in Páli, Bárahamandal and Sor. Nar Sáhi doubting their loyalty and determined on their destruction gave orders that an accurate census should be taken of their numbers and the localities in which they resided. He then arranged that on a night agreed on and at a given signal they should be slaughtered without mercy. His instructions were carried out and the people, to the present day, recall the *mangal ki rāt* (Tuesday night), or the *Nar Sáhi ka pāla*, when they wish to express their horror of any villainy or treachery. Nar Sáhi was recalled and was succeeded by Ajab Singh Khawás Thápa and his deputy Sreshta Thápa with Jaswant Bhandári as commandant. Events now occurred at Kathmándu which had some considerable influence over Kumaon affairs. Bahádur Sáh, who had succeeded in holding office since 1779, was deposed by his subordinate Prabal Rána in 1795 and died miserably in prison. Two factions had now arisen in the state and for a long time their quarrels and jealousies retarded all active union for aggressive purposes. The one was known as the Chauntara or Chautariya party, from the titles of their principal leaders who were either sons or nephews of the royal house, and the other the Thápa party sprung from the commonalty of the Gorkháli state and raised to power by its military successes.

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1 A writer in the *Calcutta Review* (Jan., 1877, p. 141) gives two derivations for this word. The one is *from Chauntara or Chabutra*, a platform of masonry, by which the houses of the chiefs of the Gorkháli were distinguished from those of their clansmen. “Hence the chief became styled amongst his people the Chauntara sáhib or master of the platform. In time the eldest son of the chief was called Sáhib Ji and the younger ones Chautara Sáhibs, and thence the corruption Chauntara or Chautariya. The other explanation is that the word is derived from *chaú* (= four) and *tri* to cross over the ocean. In the *Rajpati*, there are four things essential to the man who is entrusted with the management of state affairs: to wit, conciliation, presents, chastisement and the power of causing misunderstanding amongst the members of the enemy’s party. The eldest son, who inherited the throne, was not to trouble himself with any affair of state and hence the management devolved on his younger brothers, who acted as ministers. With such duties a knowledge of politics was incumbent on them, and hence they were called Chautarijána, that is those who have crossed the four oceans of the essentials named above.” We have seen the name applied to the earlier advisers of Som Chánd, and in Kumaon the term is interpreted as meaning those who transacted the affairs of the four quarters, that is all duties.
which, in the first instance, were entirely due to them. At this
time, the Chauntara party was still in power, but met its first
reverse in the disgrace and death of Bahádúr Sáh. As a conse-
quence of this change of parties we find Amar Singh with his
deputy Gobind Upádhya in charge of the civil administration and
Bhakti Thápa commandant of Kumaon in 1795. The former gave
place to Prabal Rána and his deputy Jaikrishna Thápa in the fol-
lowing year. In 1797 the intrigues at court brought the Chaunta-
ra party once more into temporary power and Bam Sáh with his
brother Rudrbir Sáh as deputy supplanted the Thápa faction in
the civil administration at Almora. Their short tenure of office is
said to have been signalised by the imposition of a new tax of five
rupees per jhúlu1 of cultivated land held by Brahmans which had
hitherto been exempt from the payment of revenue, but as this tax
was very seldom collected, it may be held to have been merely a
measure intended to keep the more refractory and intriguing
members of that caste in order. So long as they gave no trouble to
the authorities it was not levied, but if the Brahman landholders
were suspected of paying more attention to political affairs than to
the cultivation of their holdings, the tax with arrears was at once
demanded. Ajab Singh and Sreshta Thápa, who had previously
held office in 1794, relieved Bam Sáh and his brother, but were
themselves succeeded in a few months by Dhaukal Singh Bashnyá
t and his deputy Major Ganapati Upádhya. Dhaukal Singh was a
man of violent temper and possessed of little tact in the manage-
ment of his troops, so that in a dispute which he had with them
regarding their pay he attempted to cut down one of his men, but
was himself killed in the fray.

In 1800, Ran Bahádúr, in a feeble way, attempted to assert his
Ran Bahádúr goes to Benares.

1From six to thirteen acres according to the custom of the place.
OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

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

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

the danger to which he was exposed and portents had already paralysed his superstitious mind and warned him that his hour had come. The priests of Paliyagadh at the sacred sources of the Jumna had foretold⁴ the Gorkháli conquest and the death of Pradhuman Sáh at Dehra, and his capital itself had been visited by an earthquake,² which rendered his palace uninhabitable; frequent shocks took place for several months, and it is said that many ancient streams ran dry, whilst new springs appeared in other places. No real resistance was offered and the Raja and his family fled by Bárarahát to the Dún closely pursued by the victorious Gorkhális who occupied Gurudwára or Dehra in the cold-weather (October, of 1803.) Pradhuman Sáh then took refuge in the plains and through the good offices of the Gujar Raja Ramdayál Singh of Landhaura was enabled to collect a force of some twelve thousand men, with whom he entered the Dún, resolved to make one attempt to recover his kingdom. In this he was unsuccessful, and in an action fought at Khúrbura near Dehra perished with most of his Garhwáli retainers (January, 1804). Pritam Sáh, the brother of Pradhuman Sáh, was taken prisoner and sent in custody to Nepál, but Sudarshan or Sukhdarshan Sáh, the eldest son of the deceased Raja, escaped to British territory, and Parákram Sáh, who had so long been a trouble to his brother, took refuge with Sonsár Chand in Kangra. Amar Singh, with his son Ranjor Thápa as deputy, held the administration of both Kumaon and the newly-annexed territory in their own hands during 1804, whilst preparations were being made to extend the Gorkháli conquests westward. In 1805, we find Rútudhvaja Thápa, Bijai Singh Sáhi and Hardatta Singh Ojha in Kumaon engaged in a revision of the settlement of the land-revenue, but in the following year Rútudhvaj was recalled and for some crime was executed in Doti. He was replaced by Chautariya Bam Sáh, who retained the administration of the affairs of Kumaon in his own hands until the British conquest in 1815. This change from the Thápa to the Chauntara faction was again due to the intrigues at Kathmándú.

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

Harak Deb.

¹ Himála Mountain, 409. ² The date given is Bhádon Anant 14th, San 1860. ³ It is not a little remarkable that the Gorkhális entered the Dún as conquerors in the same month that the British first occupied Saháranpur. See Gazetteer, II., 252.
seems to have held some office there, for in 1794 we find his name connected with an application made to the Garhwlāl darbār to expel the adherents of the Rohilla Ghulām Muhammad, who had taken refuge in the Pāṭli Dūn. Harak Deb was much disappointed at the arrangements made by the Oudh darbār with the Gorkhālīs relative to Kumaon affairs and went in person to plead the cause of the oppressed Garhwlālīs before the Nawāb. Asaph-ud-daula referred him to Mr. Cherry, who had then gone as Resident to Benares, saying that as it was brought the advice and intervention of his friend Mr. Cherry that the agreement with the Gorkhālīs had been concluded, no alteration could be effected without his consent. In 1797, Harak Deb, then fifty years of age, presented himself as a vakīl on the part of the Garhwlāl Raja at Benares, before the British Resident, and some correspondence actually took place with Mr. Graham relative to the Gorkhālī position and the real or fancied wrongs of their subjects in the hills, which was only interrupted by the murder of Mr. Cherry in 1799. Harak Deb then went to the Court of Sonsār Chand of Kangra in quest of aid and applied to the Sikh ruler and also to Lord Lake, but obtained nothing more than sympathy. About this time Ran Bahādur came to Benares, and hearing of Harak Deb and his well-known hostility to the Thāpa faction sent a messenger to him at Kankhal and invited him to visit Benares. The result of the interview was that Harak Deb offered to espouse the cause of the Raja and aid him in any attempt that he chose to make on Nepal, and as a preliminary movement despatched his son Jainārāyan to make his way with a small force through Garhwlāl and Juhār to Jumla, where they knew that there were many adherents of the Raja’s party. Jainārāyan got as far as Lilām in Juhār, where he was detained quite as much by the disaffection and indeed exhaustion of his own people as by the active opposition of the Juhāris, who had broken down a bridge to stop his way. In the meantime the Juhāris amused the Garhwlālīs with promises of aid, whilst in reality fleet messengers conveyed information of their presence and condition to the nearest Gorkhālī post, the result being that Jainārāyan and his party were captured and the former was sent prisoner to Nepal, where he remained until the British conquest. This untoward result was soon followed by the death of Pradhunān Sāḥ, and
in disgust Harak Deb retired again to Kankhal, vowing never to take any active part in politics again. But here he was in the centre of the Nepālese traffic in Garhwālī slaves and was the only one that the poor and oppressed could now look up to for any alleviation of their miseries. Accordingly we find numerous letters of his to Mr. Fraser, our Resident at Dehli, complaining of the atrocities committed by the Gorkhālis on the hill people, whilst his connections with Nepāl still enabled him to be of use to Ran Bahādur, with whom also he held frequent communications.

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

1 Fraser’s Himāla Mounta’n, 6: Mr. J. B. Fraser was brother of the Dehli Resident and accompanied him in a tour through the conquered territories in 1815, so that he had exceptional sources of information.
Balram Sah slew Sher Bahadur, and in the end the Thapa party replaced Girban-Juddha on the throne with Bhimasena as his principal adviser. Amar Singh Thapa was appointed generalissimo of all the Nepalese forces to the westwards, and Kaji Amar Singh, the father of Bhimasena, held command in Nepal. Of all the Chauntara party only Bam Sah, Hastidal Sah, Rudhrbir Sah, Dalbhanjan Pand, and a few others retained any offices and these were in the shape of some unimportant commands and pensions. The Thargars and Baradars of the party in disgrace were, as might be expected, dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs and constantly watched for an opportunity for overthrowing the Thapas and getting the reins of government again into their own hands. The knowledge of this disposition was not forgotten later on when the British were obliged to pay attention to Nepalese affairs and doubtless contributed, in some measure, to decide our Government to interfere when they did.

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

1810. Kaji Bahadur Bhandari, Bakshi Dasarath Khatri and Subahdari Sinhbir Adhikari.

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

1 As. Res., XI., 464.
Improvement took place, which was further increased when Hastidal was recalled from Kangra and took an active part in the management of affairs. Mr. Williams tells us that:—"RaidS from Saharanpur and the Panjab had been brought to an abrupt termination by the fulfilment of a threat to burn one village for every plundering party that entered the Dun. A band of Sikhs once had the temerity to set the new government at defiance and, as in the days of yore, sacked a village, carrying away several women and driving off the cattle. The Nepalese commandant, receiving intelligence of the outrage, sent two hundred men in pursuit of the marauders whose own dwellings were surrounded and set on fire. Every man, woman or child attempting to escape was massacred in cold blood, except a few of the handsomest females, whose beauty purchased their life. This signal example had the desired effect." From Raper's account of his journey to survey the Ganges, in 1808, we gather a few more particulars. He met Hastidal Sáh at Hardwár and describes him as a man of about forty-five years of age, of middle stature, pleasing countenance and desirous in every way to aid him. A few days afterwards Raper was introduced to Hastidal's successor, Bhairon Thápa, who is described as the very reverse of friendly and only anxious to impede his progress, though eventually they parted good friends. Raper also notices the excessive rigour of the Gorkháli rule in Garhwal and writes:—"At the foot of the pass leading to Har-ka-paíri is a Gorkháli post, to which slaves are brought down from the hills and exposed for sale. Many hundreds of these poor wretches, of both sexes, from three to thirty years of age, are annually disposed of in the way of traffic. These slaves are brought down from all parts of the interior of the hills and sold at Hardwár at from ten to one hundred and fifty rupees each." Mr. J. B. Fraser computed the number sold during the Gorkháli occupation at 200,000, but we may hope that this is an exaggeration. Where delinquents were unable to pay the fine imposed, the amount of which, be it remembered, rested entirely at the arbitrary discretion of the Gorkháli officer in charge of the district, he was sold into slavery together with his family. Parents driven to desperation sold their children and, under certain circumstances, uncles sold their nephews or nieces and elder brothers, their younger

1 Ibid. At this time a camel cost Rs. 75 and a horse Rs. 250 to Rs. 300.
brothers and sisters. Bhairon Thápa was sent to the siege of Kangra and was succeeded at Srinagar by his son Sreshta Thápa, who had formerly held office in Kumaon. Hastidal seems to have fallen into disgrace because his brother Rudrabir Síh executed a treaty with Sonsár Chand of Kangra which was displeasing to the Thápa faction.

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

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

¹ Himila Mountains, 384, &c. ² Raper puts the Gorkháli revenue in 1808 at Rs. 35,000: As Res., XI., 466.
inclined to justice, but the executive officers were severe. Their manners as conquerors were rough, and they despised the people they had conquered, so that at some distance from the seat of government exactions went on, insults and scenes of rapine were continually acted, and the hatred of the people to their tyrants was fixed and exasperated; the country was subdued and crushed, not reconciled or accustomed to the yoke; and, though the spirit of liberty was sorely broke, and desire for revenge was checked by the danger of avowing such sentiments, a deliverance from the state of misery groaned under was ardently, though hopelessly, wished for."

But a day of reckoning arrived for the oppressors and the following extract would excite our pity for the Gorkhális did we not know that it was but the natural outburst of a savage and oppressed people and a punishment well earned by deeds of rapine and cruelty. Mr. Fraser writes:—"It was usual during the time when the Gorkhális were in power to station parties in the different districts for the purpose of collecting the revenue, and in progress of time many of them took daughters of the zamíndárs in marriage; not always with the good will of the latter, but the connection formed a tie between the conquerors and the conquered, which though far weaker, from the savage and treacherous nature of the people, and circumstances of violence under which it was formed, than a similar one in most other countries would have been, was still sufficient, during its existence, to guarantee the life and prevent the murder of the son-in-law. When the power of the Gorkhális was broken and their troops taken prisoners or scattered, those in the remoter districts, who were thus connected, choose to domesticate with their wives and families rather than run the hazard of retreating through a country of hostile savages, ripe for revenge upon tyrannical but now foreign masters, others too in like manner, although not enjoying the security resulting from any such tie, choose rather to trust to the protection of some zamíndárs whom they had known, and had possibly once obliged, and by whom they believed that their lives would not be attacked, than risk their safety in a more dangerous flight, although the loss of property in both cases was nearly certain. Thus individuals of this wretched people were found in the hills in every district, and almost every one was stripped of his property even till they were in want of clothes to cover them from the weather. Many were more deplorably situated. Some wounded and neglected
were found languishing unassisted and wanting even necessaries. Others had fled to the jungles to escape the massacre to which their comrades had fallen victims and for a long time subsisted on the roots and fruits found in thick forests. Even the marriage tie did not always ensure good treatment, and not unfrequently when the terrors of consequences ceased, the zamindârs reclaimed their daughters and forced them to leave their husbands, although the stipulated prices had been paid for them."

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

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

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1 Raper calls him Bhím Sáh and describes him in 1808 as a tall, stout, good-looking man, about sixty years of age, with a slight impediment in his speech.
the Nepál darbár sent a commission, at the head of which was Rewant Káji, in 1807-8, to inquire into the system and redress grievances. But with the country parcelled out amongst a number of military officers whose object it was to extract as much as possible in the shortest time from their fiefs, the good done by the commission only lasted so long as they were present. Accordingly we find that in 1809 Ban Sáh himself had to revise the entire arrangements and draw up a regular settlement and record which remained in force until the conquest. The principal officers were changed every year; during their tenure of office they were called jagtriya and on retirement dhakuriya; their salary (báli) was, like that of their men, obtained by assignments on some village.

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

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

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

Throughout Kumaon and Garhwal all civil and petty criminal cases were disposed of by the commandant of the troops to which the tract was assigned, while cases of importance were disposed of by the civil governor of

1 Himala Mount., 10.
the province assisted by the military chiefs who happened to be present at his head-quarters. But the commandants were frequently absent on active duty and delegated their powers to Bečhários, as their deputies were styled, who either farmed the dues on law proceedings at a specific sum or remained accountable for the full receipts. Their method of procedure was that common to their predecessors and most Hindu states and was simple in the extreme. A brief oral examination of the parties was conducted in presence of the court, and in case of doubt the section of the Mahábhárata known as the Harivansa was placed on the head of the witness, who was then required to speak the truth. Where the evidence of eye-witnesses was not procurable or the testimony was conflicting as in the case of boundary disputes, recourse was had to ordeal. Three forms of ordeal were in common use: (a) the gola-dip, in which a bar of red-hot iron was carried in the hands for a certain distance: (b) the karai-dip, in which the hands was plunged into burning oil, and like the former the evidence of innocence was that no harm resulted; and (c) the tárásu-ka-dip, in which the person undergoing the ordeal was weighed against a number of stones which were carefully sealed and deposited in some secure place and again weighed the next morning, and if the person undergoing this ordeal proved heavier than on the preceding evening, his innocence was considered established. Even the mahant of the sacred temple of Rám Ráí at Dehra had to submit to the karai-dip ordeal when charged with murder, and being severely burned was obliged to pay a heavy fine. The judgment was recorded on the spot and witnessed by the by-standers and then handed over to the successful party, whilst the other was mulcted in a heavy fine proportioned more to his means than the importance of the case. Pancháyats or councils of arbitrators were frequently had recourse to, especially in cases of disputed inheritance and commercial dealings, and these, too, were frequently disposed of by lot. The names of the parties were written on slips of paper of equal size, shape and material, and were then laid before an idol in a temple; the priest then went in and took up one of the papers, and the name recorded therein was declared successful. Many matters were simply decided in a somewhat similar way by

1 Tralli in Kumaon Memoir, 27.
2 Garhwál was divided into three commands, Ar. Res., XI., 499.
the claimant proceeding to some well-known temple and there
swearing by the idol that his statement was the true one. To the
present day several temples are celebrated in this respect.

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

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

"In petty thefts, restitution and fine were commonly the only penalties
inflicted; in those of magnitude, the offender was sometimes subjected to the loss
of a hand or of his nose. Crimes of the latter description have ever, in these
hills, been extremely rare, and did not call for any severe enactment. Acts of
omission or commission, involving temporary deprivation of caste, as also cases
of criminal intercourse between parties connected within the degrees of affinity.
prescribed by the Hindu law, offered legitimate objects of fine. Adultery among
the lower classes was punished in the same manner. Where, however, the husband
was of rank or caste, the adulterer was commonly put to death and the adulteress
deprieved of her none. The revenge of the injury was on these occasions left to
the husband, who by the customs of the country, and by the existing principles of
honor was authorized and required to wash off the stain on his name by the blood
of the offending parties, and no lapse of time from the commission or discovery of
the crime proved a bar to the exaction of this revenge. Convicts were occasion-
ally condemned to labor on the private lands of the Raja, to whom they from that
period became hereditary slaves. Criminals also settling at a royal village in the
Tarai called Garhgaon received a free pardon, whatever might have been their
offence. In cases of self-destruction, the nearest relations of the suicide were
invariably subjected to a heavy fine. The most oppressive branch of the police,
and that which proved the most fruitful source of judicial revenue, consisted
in the prohibitions issued under the Gorkhali government against numerous
acts, the greater part of which were in themselves perfectly unobjectionable.
The infringement of these orders was invariably visited with fines; indeed they
would appear to have been chiefly issued with such view, as among the many
ordinances of this kind it may be sufficient to specify one which in Garhwai
forbade any woman from ascending on the top of a house. This prohibition,
though apparently ridiculous, was in fact a very serious grievance: a part of the
domestic economy hitherto left to the women, such as drying grain, clothes, &c.,
is performed there, and firewood and provision for immediate consumption
are stored in the same place, and the necessity for men superintending these
operations, by withdrawing them from their labor in the fields, was felt as a
hardship."

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

¹The best account published of the war with Nepál is that by Mr. H. T.
Prinsep in his "History of the Political and Military Transactions in India
during the administration of the Marquess of Hastings, 1813-23." Whilst
acknowledging its value we must mention that Prinsep's work is based on the
official correspondence of the time, and that as the following sketch is drawn from
the same sources, occasional coincidence of expression and treatment will be
observed which are not to be attributed to plagiarism. The greater part, though
not the whole, of the documents relating to the war which are now in the Kumaon
Commissioner's office, and which have all been carefully examined and collated,
will be found in the "Papers regarding the administration of the Marquess of
Hastings in India," printed by order of the Court of Proprietors in 1834. My
obligations are also due to the private correspondence of Colonel Gardner during
the Kumaon war, which has been placed at my disposal.
systemon every favourable opportunity. The most important of these encroachments and the immediate cause of the rupture with the Nepálese Government took place in the Bútwal parganah in the Gorakhpur district. The Gorkhális in 1804, on the pretence that this parganah had formerly belonged to the Raja of Pálpa, whose territories in the hills they had seized, took possession of Bútwal, which was then under direct British management. Beyond weak remonstrances and still worse demands, the enforcement of which was forgotten or avoided, no notice was taken of this aggression until 1812, when the further encroachments of the Gorkhális in the same quarter had become so flagrant that the serious attention of our Government was at last drawn to them. The Gorkhális naturally attributed the indifference which we had hitherto shown to fear, or at least to a disinclination to enter into a contest with them, and consequently refused to surrender any of their acquisitions. The usual negotiations ensued which resulted in nothing that could be held in the slightest degree satisfactory, and in April, 1814, the Governor-General, Lord Hastings, ordered the occupation of the disputed districts, which was effected without any opposition.

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

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

While the conduct of the British Government has been uniformly regulated in its relations with the Nepálese by the most scrupulous adherence to the principles of justice and moderation, there is scarcely a single district within the British frontier, throughout the whole of the extensive line above described, in which the Gorkhális have not usurped and appropriated\(^1\) lands forming the ascertained dominions of the Honorable Company. Questions originating in the usurpations of the Nepálese have arisen in

\(^1\) Auber says that 200 villages had been usurped by the Gorkhális between 1787 and 1812; I., 501.
Two instances only are given in detail—namely, those which occurred at Sáran and in Gorakhpur, "which more particularly demonstrate the systematic design of the Nepálese to encroach upon the acknowledged possessions of the Honourable Company, and have, in fact, been the proximate causes of the war." We shall here refer only to the Gorakhpur case. The whole of Bútwal to the very foot of the hills, with the exception alone of the town of Bútwal, was held by the Rajas of Pálpa from the Nawáb Vázír for a considerable period antecedent to the treaty of cession in 1801, and was transferred to the Company by the schedule thereunto annexed. A settlement was made of these lands by the Collector of Gorakhpur with the Raja of Pálpa, then a prisoner at Kathmándu, for a yearly revenue of Rs. 32,000, without any objection on the part of the Nepál darbár. So it remained until 1804, when the Nepálese commenced that systematic encroachment on our possessions which terminated in their occupation of nearly the whole district of Bútwal. The Nepálese founded their claim on the circumstance that the lands occupied by them had formed part of the taráí attached to the hill states of Pálpa, Gaulmi, Pyuthána, &c., which they had conquered. Admitting that these lowlands were possessed by the chiefs of the neighbouring hill principalities, yet as they held them on dependent tenures from the Oudh darbár, whose representative, the British, had claimed and taken possession of them under the treaty of 1801, the Nepálese could have had no other rights than those to which they succeeded by right of conquest. They actually, at first, accepted this position and proposed to hold Bútwal in farm, to which the British Government did not think proper to accede. Remonstrances and discussions followed, with frequent interruptions for several years, during which the Nepálese continued to avail themselves of every favourable opportunity to extend their encroachments.

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

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

Having determined on war, no time was lost in preparation and Opening operations of the war, it was resolved that the Nepálese should be attacked simultaneously from several points. In Bahár, a force of about 8,000 men was placed under the command of Major-General Marley, who was ordered to march on Kathmándu, the Nepálese capital. In Gorakhpur, a force of 4,000 men was entrusted to Major-General J. S. Wood and to Major-General Gillespie, and a force of about 3,500 men was assigned the task of reducing Dehra Dún, whilst on the extreme west of the Gorkháli territories, Major-General Ochterlony with 6,000 men was to attack the enemy's positions between the Satlaj and the Jumna. We pass over the events connected with the commencement of the campaign at the eastern end of the line of attack and the more willingly as the "operations of Generals Wood and Marley were nothing short of disgraceful, betraying a carelessness, timidity and want of scientific knowledge which happily seldom occurs in the annals of the British army. The former, though his force was beyond doubt greatly superior in number to that of the enemy opposed to him, attempted little beyond defensive measures, and in what little he did attempt of a more active nature he failed. General Marley, whose division had now been raised to 13,000 men, a force (as Professor Wilson¹ says) more than adequate to encounter the whole Gorkháli army, even if its numbers had approximated to the exaggerated estimates to which they had been raised by vague report and loose computation, after two serious disasters and the loss of nearly a thousand men and two guns, ended, on the 10th of February, by shamefully abandoning his army, not only without giving any previous notice of his intention, but without making any arrangements for the command of the troops on his departure.² It was fortunate for the honor of our arms that Generals Gillespie and Ochterlony were men of a different stamp, though even here the latter alone showed that he possessed the true qualities of a great commander."

¹ It is doubtful whether the Nepálese had at this time more than 4,000 or 5,000 men to oppose General Marley's division. ² Prinsep, I., 129.
The operations of General Gillespie were most unfortunate, but they were not disgraceful, for he showed himself to be at least a brave and zealous soldier. His instructions were to enter the Dun and having reduced the forts in the valley either to proceed eastwards and rescue Srinagar from the hands of the forces under Amar Singh Thápa or to proceed westwards and take Núhan, then held by Ranjor Singh Thápa, and so separate the Gorkháli forces. The force destined for the Dun left Subáranpur, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mawby of the 53rd Regiment, on the 19th October 1814. One column under Colonel Carpenter advanced by the Timli pass, whilst the main body entered the valley by the Mohan pass and united at Dehra on the 24th October. The Gorkhális held the small fort of Kalanga or Nálapáni situate on the highest point of a low spur about three and a half miles north-east of Dehra. The hill itself is not more than five or six hundred feet high and is very steep except towards the south where the fort was built, and was then as now covered with a jungle of sál trees. The table-land on the top is about three-quarters of a mile in length and was protected by an irregular fortification, following the form of the ground and still incomplete, but the garrison were busily engaged in raising and strengthening it. There were only some three or four hundred of the regular troops of Nepál present under the command of Balbhadra Singh Thápa, nephew of Amar Singh, who commanded in Garhwál. Colonel Mawby sent a messenger the same night to demand the surrender of the fort, and it found Balbhadra Singh at midnight enjoying a well-earned repose. The Gorkháli commander read the letter and tore it up, vouchsafing no other answer than that “it was not customary to receive or answer letters at such unseasonable hours: but he sent his salám to the English sardár assuring him that he would soon pay him a visit in his camp.” Colonel Mawby thought next day to punish this insolent barbarian, and mounting a couple of 6-pounders and two howitzers on elephants proceeded to take the fort by assault.

1 The troops employed were:—

Artillery 347 men: Her Majesty's 53rd (or Shropshire) Regiment 785 men; 1-6th, 1-7th and 1-17th Native Infantry, 2,348 men and 133 pioneers; total 3,513 men with two 12-pounders eight 6-pounders, and four howitzers.

Mr. J. B. Fraser's valuable "Journal of a tour through part of the snowy range of the Himalá mountains and to the sources of the rivers Jumna and Ganges," London, 1835, is the principal authority for the Dun campaign, pp. 15, 27.
But a few rounds were fired when the task was given up as impracticable and the British force returned to Delhi with less contempt for the enemy and a more just appreciation of the work before them. On the 26th, General Gillespie joined and took command of the force. A more careful reconnaissance was made and orders at once followed for an assault, the preparations for which show a remarkable contrast to those made by Lieutenant-Colonel Mawby. Fascines and gabions were prepared beforehand and all the howitzers and 12-pounders and half the 6-pounders were sent on elephants to the table-land, which was occupied without opposition. Batteries were at once prepared for the guns, and four separate storming parties were ordered to be ready for the assault, which was fixed for the morning of the 31st October. The enemy had done everything possible with the men and materials at his disposal. The wall, although not yet complete, was raised sufficiently to render its escalade without ladders practically impossible. Gaps were filled up with stones, stockades were erected along the lines of approach, and at a wicket open, but cross-barred, a gun was placed which enfiladed the principal side of attack. The British guns played on the fort for some time, but did little execution, and "this, perhaps," writes Fraser, "uniting with the eagerness of a sanguine temper, induced General Gillespie to give the signal for assault some hours sooner than it was intended." The consequence was that three out of the four columns took no part in the attack, and the column under Colonel Carpenter with the reserve under Colonel Ludlow had to bear the whole brunt of the fighting.

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

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1 The attacking party was formed into four columns and a reserve: (a) Colonel Carpenter with 61 men; (b) Captain Past with 363 men; (c) Major Kelly with 541 men; (d) Captain Campbell with 263 men, and the reserve of 939 men under Colonel Ludlow. These were all to ascend, on a gun being fired, from different points and so distract the attention of the enemy.
reached a spot in front of the wicket, "where, as he was cheering on his men, waving his hat in one hand and his sword in the other, he received a shot through the heart and fell dead on the spot. His aide-de-camp O’Hara was killed beside him and many other officers were wounded." Colonel Carpenter, who succeeded to the command on the death of General Gillespie, deemed it prudent to retreat to Dehra and there wait for further reinforcements. The gun at the wicket did much damage to the attacking party, and "when the reserve advanced and got within the line it defended, the first discharge brought down the whole front line, killing seven and wounding eleven. Several persons penetrated to this very wicket, but, unsupported, could produce no effect. A very heavy fire was kept up from the walls by the garrison and showers of arrows and of stones were discharged at the assailants, and many severe wounds were received from stones which they threw very dexterously: the women were seen occupied in throwing them, regardless of exposure." Five officers were killed and fifteen were wounded, of whom several died subsequently of the injuries then received: 27 non-commissioned officers and men were killed and 213 were wounded. Out of a detachment of 100 dismounted men of the 8th Light Dragoons (now the 8th Hussars), the General’s old corps, four men were killed and fifty were wounded. So ended the first memorable assault on the petty fort of Kalanga.

It was not until the 24th November that the arrival of a siege battery from Delhi enabled the British to resume the attack on Kalanga. On the following day active operations recommenced and batteries were erected within three hundred yards of the wall of the Gorkháli fort, and by the 27th, a practicable breach was effected almost without any loss, though the enemy kept up a warm and well-directed fire. Shells had been used with great effect and a sally of the enemy had been repulsed with loss, so that everything promised well for the assault. The storming party was led by Major W. Ingleby of the 53rd Regiment and consisted of two companies of that regiment and all the grenadiers of the detachment. "They advanced to the breach and stood for two hours exposed to a tremendous fire from the garrison which caused the
loss of many officers and men: but after every exertion on the part of their officers and the fall of many in leading and endeavouring to push them forward in spite of the obstacles that were opposed to them, without any success, it was deemed expedient to order a retreat, and the whole returned to the batteries." The Gorkhális made a gallant and desperate defence, standing themselves in the breach whilst using every missile that came to hand, balls, arrows and stones. The British advanced in a cool and self-possessed manner; a few got to the crest of the breach and fell there, but the majority remained below exposed to a murderous fire. "No one turned to fly, but none went onwards; they stood to be slaughtered, whilst their officers exposed themselves most gallantly and unreservedly." Lieutenant Harington of the 53rd fell in the breach leading on his men, and Lieutenant Luxford of the Horse Artillery was killed whilst training his gun on the defenders of the breach. The official returns show three officers killed and eight wounded, and 38 men killed and 440 wounded and missing during the attack. Thus the disastrous results of the first attack were repeated, and it was only now discovered that there was no water within the fort, and that the besieged were obliged to supply themselves from a spring at some distance from the walls. Arrangements were at once made to cut off the water, and the fire from the batteries recommenced the next day, doing great damage from the unprotected state of the garrison and the shattered condition of their defences. On the night of the 30th November, only three days after the adoption of the measures which were equally feasible a month earlier, had they been adopted, Balbhadra Thápa with seventy men, all that remained of his garrison, evacuated Kalanga. The Gorkhális cut their way through the chain of posts placed to intercept them, and escaped to a neighbouring hill closely pursued by Colonel Ludlow. Of the condition of the fort Mr. Fraser writes:—

"At three o'clock that morning, Major Kelly entered and took possession of the fort: and there indeed the desperate courage and bloody resistance they had opposed to means so overwhelming were mournfully and horribly apparent. The whole area of the fort was a slaughter-house, strewn with the bodies of the dead and the wounded and the dismembered limbs of those who had been torn to pieces by the bursting of the shells; those who yet lived piteously calling out for water, of which they had not tasted for days. The stench from the place was dreadful. Many of the bodies of those that had been early killed had been
The determined resolution of the small party which held this small post
for more than a month, against so comparatively large a force, most
surely wring admiration from every voice, especially when the horrors of the latter
portion of this time are considered; the dismal spectacle of the slaughtered
comrades, the sufferings of their women and children thus immured with them-
selves, and the hopelessness of relief, which destroyed any other motive for
the obstinate defence they made, than that resulting from a high sense of duty,
supported by unsubdued courage. This and a generous spirit of courtesy
towards their enemy, certainly marked the character of the garrison of Kalanga,
during the period of its siege. Whatever the nature of the Gorkhális may
have been found in other quarters, there was here no cruelty to wounded or to
prisoners; no poisoned arrows were used, no wells or waters were poisoned; no
rancorous spirit of revenge seemed to animate them; they fought us in fair
conflict like men, and, in the intervals of actual combat, showed us a liberal
courtesy worthy of a more enlightened people. So far from insulting the bodies
of the dead and wounded, they permitted them to lie untouched till carried away;
and none were stripped, as is too universally the case. The confidence they
exhibited in the British officers was certainly flattering: they solicited and ob-
tained surgical aid; and on one occasion this gave rise to a singular and interest-
ing scene: While the batteries were playing a man was perceived on the
breach, advancing and waving his hand. The guns ceased firing for a while,
and the man came into the batteries: he proved to be a Gorkha, whose lower
jaw had been shattered by a cannon shot, and who came thus frankly to solicit
assistance from his enemy. It is unnecessary to add that it was instantly
afforded; and, when discharged from the hospital, signified his desire to return
to his corps to combat us again: exhibiting thus, through the whole, a strong
sense of the value of generosity and courtesy in warfare, and also of his duty
to his country, separating completely in his own mind private and national
feelings from each other, and his frank confidence in the individuals of our
nation, from the duty he owed his own, to fight against us collectively."
neighbourhood endeavouring to find a way into the fort. Major Ludlow was sent after these with some four hundred of our troops and succeeded in attacking their camp by night and dispersing them with the loss of over fifty killed. The British loss here consisted of but two officers and fifteen men wounded. In the meantime Colonel Carpenter had taken measures to guard the entrance to the hills at Kálsi and sent Captain Fast with a detachment to occupy some positions above that town, which resulted in the surrender of the fort of Bairát on the 4th December. The following day the troops marched through the Timli pass on their way to Náhan, to join the force under Major-General Martindell. Balbhadra Thápa with the remains of his party threw himself into the fort of Jauntigarth and defended himself successfully against a force despatched against him under Major Baldock. He subsequently joined the Gorkháli force at Jaithak, and on the surrender of that place entered the Sikh service, where he and all his followers

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

I.

West side.

To the memory of

Major-General Sir Robert Rollo Gillespie, K.C.B.

Lieut. O'Hara, 6th N. I.

Lieut. Gosling, Light Battalion.

Ensign Fothergill, 17th N. I.

Ensign Ellis, Pioneers, killed on the 31st October, 1814.

Captain Campbell, 6th N. I.

Lieut. Luxford, Horse Artillery.

Lieut. Harington, H M. 53rd Regt.

Lieut. Cunningham, 13th N. I., killed on the 27th November.

And of the non-commissioned officers and men who fell at the assault.

East side.

Troops engaged.

Detachments horse and foot artillery.

100 men of the 6th Royal Irish Light Dragoons who were dismounted and led to the assault by Sir R. R. Gillespie, H. M. 53rd Regiment.

5 Light Companies from corps in Meerut.

1st Battalion, 6th N. I.

Ditto 7th do.

Ditto 11th do.

Ditto 17th do.

7th Native Cavalry, one Rissalah of Skinner's Horse.

II.

West side.

On the highest point of the hill above this tomb stood the fort of Kalanga.

After two assaults on the 31st October and 27th November it was captured by the British troops on the 30th November, 1814, and completely razed to the ground.

East side.

This is inscribed as a tribute of respect for our gallant adversary.

Bulwár, commander of the fort, and his brave Gorkhas, who were afterwards, while in the service of Ranjit Singh, shot down in their ranks to the last man by Afghan artillery.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ G. I. to C. J. Metcalfe, 23rd October, 1814.
contemplated to provide for Bam Sāh by establishing him in the independent occupation of Kumaon with his brother in Doti, it was now resolved eventually to annex Kumaon to the Company's territory "as a part of the compensation\(^1\) which the British Government were entitled to demand for the expense of a war produced solely by the encroachments of the enemy." Under this view of the case Mr. Gardner was limited to the offer of a \(jāgir\) either in Kumaon itself or in some other quarter, with suitable provision for the relatives and dependents of Bam Sāh and his family proportional to the emoluments then enjoyed by them as well from their offices as from the profits of trade, but that it was desirable to reserve as much as possible in the hands of Government the details of the arrangements to be made, giving in the first instance a general assurance only of protection and an honourable maintenance. With regard to Lāl Singh it was decided that any attempt to restore him to the possessions temporarily held by his family would be obnoxious to the people in general, and the circumstances under which his brother obtained the chief authority in Kumaon deprived him of that consideration which the Government was disposed to show to the surviving representatives of the families formerly reigning in the principalities in the hills. Mr. Gardner was, therefore, authorised to adopt such measures as might be necessary to prevent Lāl Singh from interfering in Kumaon affairs; and should necessity arise, Kumaon was to be occupied by force of arms in the interests of the British Government alone. Moreover, had the British desired to restore a member of the ancient house, there existed at this time in Parewa, in parganah Kota, direct legal descendants of Lachhmi Chand, son of Rudra Chand, and in Jība, a village in parganah Sor, direct and legal descendants of Kalyān Chand, besides many spurious descendants of Rudra Chand. There were also descendants of the daughter of Dip Chand who married Subkaran, son of Jodha Singh Katehiri, any of whom, if it was thought desirable, would have been preferable.

\(^1\) It would appear, however, that the principal motive for retaining Kumaon was the better means it possessed for communication with Tibet and opening up a trade with Western China, an object as eagerly sought after then as the Central Asian trade was of late years, and with as little practical result. Notes by W. Fraser, Moorcroft, Haper, Hearsey and Rutherford on the state of Garhwal and Kumaon accompanied the instructions given to Mr. Gardner.
to Lál Singh, a junior member of an usurping family, as Raja, or even to Banu Sál himself as farmer, as was first intended.\(^1\)

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

\(^1\) Government to Hon'ble E. Gardner, 22nd November, 1814. "For years the family of Mohan Singh by the aid of their Rohilla levies and the terror inspired by the murder of their opponents held the nominal possession of Almora. Since then the Gorkhális had for quarter of a century occupied the country, so that no shadow of moral or even sentimental right can have vested in Lál Singh, who was himself personally obnoxious to the people." Subsequently (22nd November, 6th December, 1814) Mr. Gardner reported that there was not the least apprehension that Lál Singh could in any way interfere in Kumaon affairs, and in reply he was directed "to avoid any step which might be construed into an encouragement of Lál Singh's pretensions to Kumaon" (Government, dated 14th December, 1814 : 25th January, 1815). On offering his services to join in the invasion of Kumaon, he was peremptorily told that he was not required. Partáb Singh, his grand-nephew, claimed the zamindári of Kumaon when it was shown that the proprietary right and sovereign right were vested in the same individual, and were wrested from the former Raja by the Gorkhális and afterwards from the Gorkhális by the British, and consequently the usurping family of Mohan Chand could have no claim (Government, dated 13th August, 1820, and 28th April, 1821, and from Government, dated 26th May, 1821). A similar reply was given to Partáb Singh's claim to the zamindári of the Taráí (Board to Governor-General in Council, 4th May, 1821, No. 35).
It was consequently decided in December 1814, that, whatever might be the issue of the negotiations with Bab Sáh, an attempt should be made to wrest Kumaon from the Nepálése, and Lord Hastings formally declared his determination, in case the projected operations should prove successful, permanently to annex the province to the British dominions. Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner and Captain Hearsey, who had formerly served in the Máratha army, and the first of whom was at this time in command of a body of irregular horse employed in police duties, were appointed to raise a force of Rohillas for the attack on Kumaon. Captain Hearsey was placed under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, and both these officers lost no time in carrying out their instructions under the general control of the Honourable E. Gardner, who was appointed Agent to the Governor-General. During the month of January 1815 preparations were actively carried on in Rohilkhand for the projected attack on Kumaon; Mr. E. Gardner and Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner having their headquarters at Káshipur in the Moradabad district, while Captain Hearsey carried on his preparations at Bareilly and Pilibhit and Dr. Rutherford was attached to the force in the character of Surgeon, Commissariat Officer and Officer in charge of the treasure, postal and intelligence departments. On the first sound of the preparations becoming known, the Gorkháli garrisons in Kumaon were strengthened, and Hastidal Sáh was directed to protect Khairágarh and Duti and build forts at Banbasa and Mundiyaghát on the Sárda. The Patháns of Rámpur were enlisted, and Sháh Wali, formerly farmer of Rúdrpur, was made warden of the posts lying along the foot of the hills. These proceedings were met by a proclamation forbidding the subjects of the Company and its allies from engaging in the service of the Nepálése, and calling on those who, had already engaged in that service to abandon it before the end of November.

1 Nepál papers, p. 301: letters, Government, dated 23rd October, 14th, 17th and 22nd December, 1814. By the last the force of Colonel Gardner was raised to 8,000 men and that of Captain Hearsey to 1,500 men. 2 Captain Hearsey accompanied Mr. Moorcroft in his journey to Tibet in 1812, and had been detained as a prisoner with his companion in Kumaon the very year before the war broke out. 3 Sháh Wali was farmer of Rúdrpur at the cession and was expelled for defalcation. Amar Singh Thápa gave him the farm of the customs' posts from Hardwár to Bilhari for Rs. 1,000 in exclusion of the Ileras and Mewátis who had been placed there by Mr. Seton, the Collector of Moradabad.
Towards the end of the year a second proclamation, declaring war against the Gorkháis, was distributed amongst the hill people, and resulted in the return of the new Pathán levies to the plains. These in true oriental fashion formed the nucleus of the new irregular regiments raised for the special service of invading Kumaon.

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

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

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

3 Harak Deb was introduced to Mr. W. Fraser by Captain Hearsey, who thus describes him in 1814:—"This man is a perfect instrument whose name the Gorkháis dread; his connections in Kumaon amount to above 6,000 men, he is now near 63 years old, but is active and vigorous and has all his faculties clear; his influence is great on all the hill Rajas, even extending beyond the Satlaj." Mr. Fraser writes:—"Although exceedingly depressed by misfortune and penury, he still possesses an active, energetic and enterprising mind." Though informed fully of the intentions of the British Government to keep possession of Kumaon,
Chand Rajas, had exercised before the Gorkhali conquest an almost despotic authority in Kumaon. Harak Deb had used his power so freely that he was not unaptly called by Captain Hearsey "the Earl Warwick of Kumaon." The Gorkhali conquest had been fatal to his authority, and he readily engaged to use all the influence that he possessed to assist the British in expelling the Gorkhalis from the province. Now close upon seventy years of age, he joined Mr. Gardner at Kashipur in the beginning of January and began immediately to enter into communications with his friends in Kumaon, to prepare them for the approach of the British forces.

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

Harak Deb now threw his whole influence in their favor, as his party was always opposed to Lali Singh, who was countenanced by the Gorkhalis. One of the first results of his communications to his friends was that a body of them, including Márás, Phartiýáls, Tarágís and others, joined Captain Hearsey's force with 100 matchlockmen (to Agent, dated 19th February, 1815). Harak Deb accompanied our force to Almora and died on the 26th July, 1815, leaving two sons and a nephew, who were pensioned by our Government. (To Government, dated 19th August and 7th September, 1815.)

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

On the 9th of February, 1815, five hundred men were sent to Rudrprur, where they were ordered to halt until they received intelligence that the main body was about to enter the hills; they were then to march to Bhamauri, to attack the fort of Barakheri towards Bhim Tal, where the Gorkhalis had a post, and to endeavour to rejoin by Ramgarh and Piura the main body under Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner after it had established itself in the hills. Captain Hearsey was ordered to enter the hills immediately by the Timla pass, so that the attacks should be made simultaneously. Bad weather and a deficiency of carriage caused some delay, but on the 11th of February Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner marched from Kasipur with his whole force, accompanied by Mr. E. Gardner. A large number of men had been collected to carry the luggage of the troops when they entered the hills, and part of the heavy stores were taken on elephants, which, notwithstanding the difficulty of the country, were found very useful. The force reached Kaniyasí on the 12th February, Chilkiya on the 13th, and Amsot on the 14th, from which place a small outpost of Gorkhalis retreated on the advance of the column. The advanced guard reached Dhikuli on the Kosi at the entrance of the hills on the evening of the 15th. Here the Gorkhalis had a stockaded fort, which they evacuated on our approach without resistance, and a body of Manihars deserted from them and took service with us. A detachment was left at Dhikuli to keep open the communications with Chilkiya and the plains, and, on the 16th February, the force marched up the valley of the Kosi to Chukam, where it was found necessary to halt for two days to bring up the stores and ammunition which had been delayed for want of carriage. The force was now fairly within the hills, and it was necessary before proceeding onwards to secure the communications in the rear. The Gorkhalis had a post at Kota Garhi on the right bank of the Dabka, fifteen miles to the south-east of Chukam, which was in dangerous vicinity to our line of communications. Three hundred men were detached on the 18th February to dislodge the enemy from this position. The Gorkhalis evacuated the place on our approach and retired into the hills, and a
detachment of our troops was left to keep possession of the post. A party of 300 men were also sent from Chukáin on the 18th to occupy the Tanguraghát, a narrow defile about a mile above, through which runs the road up the valley of the Kosi.

On the ridge which separates the Rámganga and Kosi, three or four miles north of Chukáin, at Kath-ki-nau, the Gorkhális had a stockaded post, from which it was necessary to dislodge them, as it threatened the line of our communications. On the 19th, five hundred men were detached against Kath-ki-nau, which was evacuated on our approach, the enemy retreating to the Gágar fort. On the same day the main body marched up the Kosi to Ukhalduñga, a distance of about seven miles. Late in the evening, a party was pushed forward from our position on the right to occupy a hill communicating with the Tangura and Lohgaliya gháts, and the enemy perceiving the movement advanced in the same direction, our party gaining one height as they did the other; a musketry skirmish ensued and continued till dark, when our men advanced and drove the enemy from their positions. The passage of the gháts was now secured and information also came in that the two forts at Kota had been abandoned by the enemy. On the 21st, the advanced guard consisting of 700 men was pushed forward to Sethi, five or six miles higher up the valley, where Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner took all necessary precautions against a night attack. On the way, intelligence was received that a Gorkháli force, estimated to be about 800 strong, had marched from Almora under Angat Sirdár and had taken up a position at Buján, about fifteen miles higher up the valley, on the main road to Almora, where it had been joined by the garrisons of Kota and Kath-ki-nau. As it was evidently not advisable to risk an attack on the Gorkháli force with the raw levies under his command, Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner determined to leave the valley of the Kosi and the direct road to Almora, and striking off to the left to endeavour to turn the enemy's position. The Kosi in the first twenty miles of its course flows in a direction nearly north and south. Some miles below Almora, it turns somewhat abruptly to the west, and runs on in that direction to Chukáin, in its course towards the plains. Buján between Kakrigáht
and Khairna, where the Gorkhális had taken up their position, is situated near the apex of the triangle thus formed, and to cut off this bend in the river a path strikes across the hills from the upper part of the valley of the Kosi, again entering the same valley near Pant Pipal and Amel, about fifteen miles above Chukáň. Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner determined to follow this route. The distance to Almora was not much greater than by the road along the Kosi, and, although the natural difficulties were perhaps greater, there were many advantages afforded by this route, even if the Gorkhális had not been posted at Buján. By thus striking off, he could open communications with the western part of the province which was known to be greatly disaffected to the Gorkháli cause. This was the richest part of Kumaon and he could hope to draw from it plentiful supplies of provisions for his troops, while he would be enabled at the same time to cut off those of the enemy and to intercept communications with their armies west of the Ganges. Another important advantage which this route held out was that by it the British could approach Almora itself on its most open and least defensible side.

On the 22nd February, the force advanced a few miles up the Kosi to Amel, and thence on the same day Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, turning to the left, pushed forward with 300 men past Binakot, to seize the commanding post of Chaumukhia or Chaumua Devi situated on the range which separates the Kosi from the Rámganga, at an elevation of 6,354 feet above the sea. Owing to the steepness of the mountain and the fatigue caused by an ascent of not less than 4,000 feet, only forty or fifty men reached Chaumua Devi by sunset. During the night a few more came in, and next morning the rest of the party arrived. The ground was covered with snow, which prevented the difficulty that would otherwise have arisen from the want of water. The Gorkhális under Angat Sirdár, perceiving that our force had changed the line of its attack and had left the valley of the Kosi, divined our object and immediately marched towards Chaumua to endeavour to gain that point before our arrival. But they were too late, and when they were about four miles distant, finding that the post was already occupied by the British, and thinking themselves too
weak to attempt an attack, they fell back. The possession of this post was of great importance to our operations, as it opened the road towards Almora and gave us the means of communicating with the western districts of Kumaon and Garhwal. The rest of the force reached Chaumua on the 25th February, and on the following day the guns and the elephants with the heavy baggage were got up the hill with much labor and difficulty. The delay in the arrival of the depot of supplies made it, however, impossible to move onwards at once. From intercepted letters, it subsequently appeared that it was the intention of the enemy to defend both these points to the uttermost, but the onward march to Tangura drove their advanced guard back, and it was not supposed that the British would attempt the more rugged road by Binakot. The expectation that by taking this road plentiful supplies would come in was fulfilled; the people everywhere were most friendly, bringing in grain and fodder, giving information of the movements of the enemy and rendering aid in every way possible.

The range called Kathál-lekh, on which the British were now encamped, runs in an easterly direction towards Almora. The path follows the ridge, and there are no great difficulties in the way. The Gorkhális determined to make another attempt to stop our progress and to interpose their forces between us and Almora. They therefore ascended the mountain, and marching to Kumpur (Ránikhet), a small temple 5,983 feet above the sea, a few miles in front of our encampment at Chaumua, stockaded themselves in a very strong position which commanded the road to Almora. Police levies, each consisting of fifty men under a darogha, were placed at Kota and Kath-ki-nau to relieve the troops, who could ill be spared from active service at this time, and it was also found necessary to leave a guard of 200 men at Chaumua for a depot for the provisions which had not yet arrived. On the 28th February the British force made a short march to a hill called Kapina-ke-dánda near Kumpur and encamped opposite to the enemy’s stockade. The Gorkháli force was estimated to be about one thousand strong, with one gun, and their position was so well chosen that it was considered undesirable to attempt to carry it.
by assault, while at the same time Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner was unprovided with the means of regularly attacking and breaching the stockade. It was therefore determined, as there was no immediate probability of the Gorkhális receiving any considerable reinforcements, to suspend active operations until our force could be joined by a body of Rohillas which had been raised at Hápūr in the Meenajt district, and who were soon expected to enter the hills in support of Colonel Gardner's force.

From the 28th February to the 22nd March, the British force remained encamped near Kumpur, and with the exception of two unimportant actions, in both of which our Rohilla levies were successful, no military operations took place. In the first of these skirmishes, the Rohillas drove back a party of the enemy who ventured to descend from their stockade into the valley of Tarkhet which lay between them and the British, and in the second, where some six hundred of them were engaged, they drove back an equal number of the enemy who had ventured again on the same ground. On the 22nd March, the long expected reinforcements from Hápūr, consisting of 850 men, arrived, and it was determined immediately to resume active operations against the Gorkhális south-east of Kumpur. Half way between it and Almora is the mountain called Siyáhi Devi, the summit of which reaches an elevation of 7,186 feet above the sea. This mountain, which is one of the most conspicuous objects in the view from Almora, rises immediately above the Kosi on a ridge which runs down in a direction almost perpendicular to that of the Kathal-lekh and the Ryúni range, which separate the basin of the Kosi from that of the Rānganga. Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner perceived that the possession of this point would render it absolutely necessary for the Gorkhális to abandon their position at Kumpur, for the entire British force could thus be placed between them and Almora and would only be separated from the capital by the valley of the Kosi. The Gorkhális had taken no precautions against any such movement, nor had they in any way provided for the safety of Siyáhi Devi, a neglect that was mainly the result of want of skill in their leaders, but for which the insufficiency of the means at their disposal furnished some excuse. Almora itself must have been at this time almost
denuded of troops. During the night of the 22nd March, a detachment consisting of twelve hundred men was sent off toward Siyáhi Devi. They marched in a south-easterly direction, descending into the valley of the Panor, a confluent of the Ulabagar, which runs down from the Ryúni range immediately under Siyáhi Devi. The following morning a demonstration was made against the enemy's stockade at Kumpur in order to draw off his attention from the movements that was taking place on our right, and soon afterwards information was received that a post of 500 men had been established at Bajol, ten miles off and four miles distant from the enemy's left stockade. The expedition to Siyáhi Devi was completely successful. The detachment passing through the valley of the Ulabagar ascended the mountain from the village of Súri, and established itself at the temple on the summit in the course of the day, and it was not till noon that the Gorkhális discovered that they had been outflanked.

Early on the morning of the following day, the 24th March, the Gorkhális fearing for the safety of Almora hastily abandoned their stockades, to which they set fire and retreated in great haste along the Ryúni and Katármal ridge to Almora. The extreme difficulty of the country made it impossible for the British force to advance by the Siyáhi Devi route, nor would there have been any chance of their reaching Almora after the abandonment of the position at Kumpur in time to intercept the Gorkhális. Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner therefore decided upon proceeding by the road which the enemy had taken and on which no obstacles now remained. He immediately followed the retreating force, but was unable to march with equal rapidity, and reached Ryúni only on the 26th. Eight hundred men were left at Siyáhi Devi, and the rest of the detachment was recalled to head-quarters. On the 27th, the force halted at Ryúni in order to bring up the guns and baggage which had fallen behind, and

Advance on Almora. On the following day it marched to Katármal, a temple dedicated to the Sun on the ridge immediately above Hawalbágh and the Kosi, and distant only about seven miles from Almora. A party of Gorkhális which had been posted at Katármal retreated on our approach, and the enemy withdrawing to the left bank of the Kosi now concentrated his forces on the Sitoli ridge, above Hawalbágh and about two miles from Almora.
Nothing could have been more judicious than the manner in which Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner had carried on the whole of his operations. It must however be admitted that the success of the British was brought about more by the weakness of the enemy than by any skill and courage of their own. There are no means of discovering the amount of the force which the Gorkhális were able to bring against us in Kumaon, but it is probable that the number of men actually opposed to us never exceeded 1,500, and of these not much more than half were true Gorkhális. By the time that Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner was fairly established in the hills the greater part of the natives of Kumaon in the service of Nepál had deserted, and this loss it was quite impossible to supply by new levies. The greatest source of weakness to the Gorkháli cause was the universal disaffection of the people of the country. Nothing could exceed the hatred which the tyranny and exactions of twenty-five years past had created, and no sooner had the British forces entered the hills than the inhabitants began to join our camp and bring in supplies of provisions for the troops. The same causes made it easy for us to obtain information regarding every movement of the enemy and gave us every facility for obtaining a knowledge of the localities of this country—a knowledge which in mountain warfare such as this, and in the absence of all trustworthy maps, was almost essential to success. We thus possessed every advantage which an invading force could desire, and the Gorkháli chiefs appear to have been devoid of the ability and energy which might have helped them, as it had helped others of their nation elsewhere, to withstand the adverse circumstances under which they were placed.

Harak Deb Joshi was one of the main instruments by which the people of the country were persuaded to join us. His influence was still great, and he gave the whole of it without reserve to support the plans of the British Government. After the abandonment by the Gorkhális of their position at Kumpur and the advance of the British force to Katármal, the natives of the province who were employed in the Gorkháli service began to desert in great numbers. Many of them returned to their homes, and more than three hundred soldiers, including several sardárs of some importance, joined us and were incorporated in our force before the end of
March. After these desertions it is probable that the whole available force of the Gorkhâlis for the defence of Almora did not amount to one thousand men.

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

1 To Hon'ble E Gardner, dated 19th February, 1st and 18th March, 1815.
Singh, Subahdár of the fourth company and an experienced partisan leader, consisted of some 500 irregulars with 200 Kumáoni matchlockmen, with whom he crossed the Kánapadeo ridge and reached Champáwat, the ancient capital of Kumáon, on the 28th February. Captain Hearsey attributes the success of this expedition to the exertions of the Kumáoni levies. Kálidhára, the Gorkháli Subahdár, made some show of resistance at Barapiépal near Báráuli, where he had formed a stockade, but this was turned by Bahádur Singh on the 26th and the enemy fled to Katolgarh, leaving a few goats and sheep and their baggage behind. Bahádur Singh followed closely, but the Gorkháli leader with 100 men was able to occupy the fort before the levies came up and invested it. All the Kumáonis in the Gorkháli force joined our party and Captain Hearsey was thus enabled to leave 500 men at Bilhari as a precautionary measure to watch Hastidal, who threatened to cross the Sárda.

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

¹ Captain Hearsey reported his arrival at Champáwat on the 12th March, and detailing the difficulties that he had to encounter, pointed out that Hastidal could at any time cross the Sárda and commence operations in Kumáon.

² From Government, 23rd March, 1815. Prithipat Sáh was eventually pensioned by our Government. To, dated 12th August, 1815.
of our force which Captain Hearsey had left at Barmedeo, but were repulsed at all points and were compelled to retreat across the river with considerable loss. Our party suffered severely in this action. Prithipat Sáh, who with his younger brother Jagjit Sáh had joined the force, was wounded and obliged to return to Pilibhit and his uncle was killed. The levies were in the meantime being made with difficulty and, owing to the absence of Prithipat Sáh, the expedition was at last countermanded, and this diversion was consequently never carried into effect. The force under Captain Hearsey was employed during the month of March in watching the Káli, in the hope of preventing the passage of Hastidal, and in the unsuccessful siege of Katolgarh, a fort, a few miles to the north-west of Champáwat. On the 31st March, Hastidal succeeded in crossing the Káli at Kusum ghát about twenty miles east of Champáwat. Captain Hearsey, in his endeavours to watch the Káli and to prevent the passage of the Gorkhális, had so broken up his force into separate detachments, that it was impossible for him to concentrate immediately the means which he had for resisting the progress of Hastidal. He marched, however, with what force he could muster, and was met by the enemy near Khilpati, about five miles to the north-east of Champáwat. His men made hardly an attempt to withstand the attack of the Gorkhális, whose victory was immediate and complete, and Captain Hearsey was himself wounded and taken prisoner. The remains of the force fled to the plains, and thus ended the attack on Káli Kumaon. Captain Hearsey attributed his disaster to some measure to the treachery of the Phartiyál party in Káli Kumaon,¹ and the Márás always declare that the information and assistance which the Phartiyáls gave to Hastidal had an important effect in bringing about the defeat of the British force. There is no doubt that the Phartiyál party were suspicious of our intentions and jealous of the influence of Harak Deb Joshi, the chief of the opposite faction; but the real cause of Captain Hearsey's defeat was the superior courage of the Gorkháli soldiers, which no zeal for his success on the part of the people of the country could have enabled him to withstand. It was before mentioned that early in February a force of five hundred men had

¹ Letter from Captain Hearsey to Hon'ble E. Gardner, dated 14th June, 1815, mentioning Bhana Kulatis, resident of a village near Champáwat, as their chief.
been sent from Kashipur with orders to enter the hills from Rudhipur by Bhamauri and Bhim Tāl. No active operations were however undertaken in this quarter, and the only results were the occupation of the petty fort of Barakheri at the foot of the hills, and that of Chhakhātā Garhi near Bhim Tāl on the 1st April, after it had been abandoned by the enemy.

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

1On the 7th April, Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner received a report from Lieutenant and Adjutant Martindale of the defeat of Captain Hearsey's force at Khilpati on the 2nd April. This officer also reported that he had only 300 men with him and that he intended to retire on Champáwat, but the same day his force was attacked by Hastidal and dispersed with great loss. From Government, dated 9th April.
2Prinsep, Volume I, No 151, Government to Hon'ble E. Gardner, dated 2nd April, 1815, detailing the instructions given to Colonel Nicolls.
he had not deemed it safe to spare them.” The force assembled to support Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner was composed of 2,025 men, consisting of the 1st Battalion, 4th Regiment Native Infantry, under Captain Faithful (761 men); the 2nd Battalion, 5th Regiment Native Infantry, under Major Patton (764), and a detachment of the 15th Regiment Native Infantry then employed in Garhwal (500), with twelve guns,1 and the whole was placed on the 23rd March under the command of Colonel Nicolls of Her Majesty’s 14th Foot, Quarter-Master-General of Her Majesty’s troops in India.2 Early in April Colonel Nicolls entered the hills, and following the same route which had been taken by Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, he joined the force at Katármal on the 8th April without meeting any opposition on the way.

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

1 Two 12-pounders, six 6-pounders, two 4-inch mortars and two 8-inch mortars.
2 Afterwards Sir Jasper Nicolls and Commander-in-Chief in India.
3 See Appendix A. and from Govt., dated 25th April, 1815.
Various attempts at negotiation had been made by the Chauntra Bam Sáh, but his proposals were of so vague a nature that it appeared that his only object was to gain time, and they led to no result. That our officers had correctly interpreted the intentions of the enemy was afterwards shown, for from the day that intelligence was received by them of the despatch of Colonel Nicolls' force, letters were sent to Nepál asking for reinforcements, and on the 4th May, eight companies of Gorkhális (numbering 633 men) were actually despatched from Kathmándu towards Almora and a promise was given that others should soon follow. This tardy compliance with the requisitions of the Gorkháli commanders in Kumaon was of little use, for long before the reinforcements had reached the Káli, Almora had fallen and the Gorkhális had retired across that river. Abandoned almost by those to whom he looked for support, Bam Sáh saw the necessity for making some movement in Kumaon itself, and early on the morning of the 22nd April, up to which time no further military operations had been undertaken on either side, Hastidal marched with a strong detachment from Almora in a northerly direction. It has been generally supposed that the object of the Gorkhális in this movement was to turn the left of the British position and to endeavour by a sudden attack to recover the ground that had been lost. It appears, however, from a letter written by Bam Sáh and the other principal Gorkháli officers to Amar Singh Thápa after the fall of Almora, the sincerity of which there is no reason to doubt, that Hastidal had no such bold intentions, and that this movement was undertaken only with the object of keeping open the Gorkháli communications with the northern parganahs of the district. Having now lost their hold of the country between Almora and the plains, it was a matter of importance to the Nepálese Government, as well as to the Gorkháli forces operating in Kumaon, that their communications to the north should not be disturbed, for it was by this route only that they could correspond with their detachments in western Kumaon and Garhwal and with the seat of war on the right bank of the Ganges. But in the desperate state of the Gorkháli affairs at Almora the movement was a very unwise one, and although it would undoubtedly have been impossible for the enemy under any

1 To Mr. Gardner, dated 17th May, 1815.
circumstances to have delayed the fall of Almora much longe the result of this expedition greatly helped to accelerate that event. Hastidal directed his march over the Kalmatiya range towards Gananáth, a mountain about fifteen miles north of Almora between the valleys of the Kosi and the Sarju, intending apparently to hold a position there, by help of which a communication could be maintained round the left of the British army posted at Hawalbágh. The Gorkhális had been anxious to keep this movement secret, but the favourable disposition towards us of the people of the country gave us such facilities for obtaining information that all concealment was impossible, and Colonel Nicolls was aware of what had occurred very soon after Hastidal had left Almora. He, at once, despatched a strong party of irregulars under Captain Butterfield to the western parganahs, to induce confidence and obtain supplies and to counteract the manœuvre of Hastidal. Major Patton was detached on the same evening (22nd April) with seven companies of the 5th Native Infantry and five flank companies under Captain Leys, and a body of irregulars altogether amounting to nine hundred men with a six-pounder and a mortar, and was sent up the Kosi from Katármal to watch and if possible attack the force under Hastidal. The Gorkhális reached Gananáth the day after they left Almora, but before they could properly establish themselves there they were attacked by the British. The first part of the ascent to Gananáth is steep, but the upper parts of the mountain slope down gently in broad grassy lawns, with more level ground than we commonly find on the rugged ridges of the Himálaya. A little to the south of the temple of Gananáth, in one of the beautiful turfy glades among the pine-groves, the Gorkhálí and the British forces met on the evening of the 23rd April. The contest was a short one. Hastidal was killed by a musket ball in the temple and his fall was the signal for the flight of the Gorkhális. Our loss in this brilliant action was only two sepoys killed and Ensign Blair and twenty-five sepoys wounded.¹ The enemy lost both Hastidal and Jairokha Sardár and thirty-two sepoys killed, whilst the number of the wounded is unknown, for many of them perished on their way back to Almora and many others dispersed and never reached that place. The British, leaving a small detachment at Gananáth,

¹To C. in C., 24th April, 1875.
returned the next day to Katármal. "In Hastidal Chauntra," writes Mr. J. B. Fraser, "the enemy lost a most valuable active and enterprising officer and a man whose character was particularly amiable. He was uncle to the reigning prince of Nepál and his talents and virtues were worthy of his high descent. With the sentiments which a brave man ever entertains for a noble and worthy enemy, Colonel Nicolls, in his official despatch, paid a most handsome and feeling tribute to his memory."

Colonel Nicolls seemed determined to lose no time in following up his success, which the death of Hastidal rendered a very important one, and on the 25th April he put his troops in motion to attack Almora. The main body of the Gorkhális, under the command of Angat Sirdár, was stationed a little above the village of Pándekholá on the ridge called Sitoli, about two miles west of Almora between the town and the Kosi; a detachment under Chánú Bhandári was posted on the Kalmatiéya hill to protect the right flank of the position; and the remainder of their force was stationed at Almora under the command of the Chauntra Bám Sáh himself.

At one P. M. on the 25th April Colonel Nicolls moved with the greater part of his force against the Sitoli position, where the Gorkhális had thrown up breast-works and stockades. Colonel Nicolls had intended to establish a battery within range of the first stockade and had taken up ground for the purpose, but seeing his men confident and ready for the attack, he ordered the two first stockades to be taken by assault which was well carried out by Captain Faithful and the first battalion of the 4th Native Infantry. The irregular infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner then advanced by a parallel ridge and diverging near the summit easily possessed themselves of the three remaining breast-works on the Sitoli ridge. In the meantime, fifty men of the 4th Regiment occupied a small breast-work on the left and the entire regiment eventually halted on the ridge itself, whilst Captain Leys with the flank battalion pursued the retreating enemy. Finding five different roads, the British advanced along each until they possessed the stockade leading to Kalmatiéya and thus cut off all communications of the enemy in that quarter. The Gorkhális fought with their usual determination and courage, but they were driven from every point
and compelled to retreat into the town of Almora, followed closely by the British force. Colonel Nicolls established his head-quarters for the night at Pokharkháli about half a mile north of the fort of Almora, and the troops were encamped close to the town, and on the hill called Haridungari above Pokharkháli. About 11 p.m. in the same night, the enemy made a vigorous attempt to recover the ground he had lost. The detachment posted on Kalmatiya under the command of Chámu Bhandári descended from the ridge and attacked the British position on the north, while at the same time the garrison of Lalmandi hearing the noise of musketry made a sortie from Almora on the opposite side. The attack on the north was at first successful. The Gorkhadis carried our most northern post, though stockaded and held by Lieutenant Costly and a detachment of the 4th Native Infantry. One hundred men of the flank battalion of the same regiment under the command of Lieutenants Brown and Winfield were instantly despatched to the assistance of the party, and Lieutenant-Colonel Garduer, who happened to be with Colonel Nicolls at the time, led in person a company of his irregulars to the spot. By the promptness and gallantry of the supports the position was recovered, and though the Gorkhadis again charged our troops two or three times, they were always repulsed. The loss on both sides during this conflict was very considerable, for the enemy came on with great determination and was only defeated after a hard struggle. During this time the sortie from the Almora side took place and a violent attack was made upon our most advanced position in that quarter. The enemy came up to the very wall of the stockade, which they attempted to cross, though it was nearly six feet high; the one or two who succeeded, however, fell dead within. These assaults and skirmishes continued during the whole night, occasioning great loss on both sides and on the British side the death of a promising young officer, Lieutenant Taply.

Natives of Kumaon who were present at the time declare however, and very probably with truth, that a considerable part of our loss on the occasion was caused by the fire of our own men, in the confusion which was caused by the first successful attack of the Gorkhadis. Our loss in killed and wounded on the 25th amounted altogether to two hundred

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

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

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1 On this point exact information is not obtainable as the whole of the military correspondence and records of the period belonging to the station staff office at Almora were about ten years ago burned as waste paper—a fate which is gradually overtaking all the records in the country that are at all worth preservation. See further Fraser's Journal, p. 46, and Prinsep's Transactions, I., 166.
that it might be forwarded to Amar Singh Thápa, Ranjor Singh and the other Sardárs at Jaitikak and Náhan, against whom General Ochterlony was then acting, informing them of the events that had taken place in Kumaun and advising them to endeavour to obtain for themselves similar conditions and to withdraw their forces from the western hills to the east of the Káli. The letter was signed by Bam Sáh and the other Gorkháli leaders at Almora and is so interesting as containing the Gorkháli account of the war that I give it here in full:—

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

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

1 It was forwarded to General Ochterlony, who communicated its contents to the Gorkháli leader at Malaun. Government to Ochterlony, dated 12th May, 1815.
towards the fort, recommencing a brisk fire from the trenches which was maintained for six hours on both sides, but with the addition of stones on ours. The mortars never ceased firing an instant night and day, and men and women and animals were exposed to the fire. Captain Hearsey advised us to carry off the magazine and effects of the Raja. I replied that if anything could be saved it would be well, and I requested him to apply for a cessation of hostilities. In the meantime, I sent to Chánn Bhandári, and we four had a consultation on the state of affairs. We considered that we had a large stock of ammunition here, but the soldiers of the levies were altogether useless, and when those you have cherished betray you in the season of distress, what is to be done? The genuine Gorkhális alone proved themselves of service, and the Barádars (chiefs) only were to be depended on. On this I reflected that we ought not to suffer the power and wealth of our master to be reduced or dispersed, and determined on sending to Mr. Gardner and having a conference. On inquiry of Mr. Gardner what were the causes of the present quarrel, he replied that the murder of the Taláisdár in Bútval had given deep offence to the Governor-General, on which account he had made immense preparations. At present he anticipated no benefit from a reconciliation with us, but if our differences can be adjusted on certain conditions, it is well. 'Retire beyond the Káli and write to your Government to request that an accredited agent may be sent with full powers to the Governor-General.' I have accordingly written and matters are now in train of adjustment and now friendly intercourse is established between the English and Gorkhális. Do you therefore retire from the west with your army. We are going to the eastern side of the Káli, and you ought to put an end to the war and conclude terms of peace with General Ochterlony. Bring your army and military stores with you. We will then in conjunction address our Government, recommending that a vakil be sent to the Governor-General to settle the business.'

A proclamation was now issued by Mr. Gardner declaring that the province of Kumaon was attached to the British Provinces, calling on the principal people of the country to repair to Almora, and inviting the inhabitants to return to their homes and to their ordinary occupations.1 On the 30th April the Gorkhális commenced their march, and on the 14th May they crossed the Káli at Jhál-ghát into Doti, according to the terms of the agreement that had been entered into. No opposition was offered by any of the Gorkháli detachments in other parts of the province: they were all included in the convention entered into by Bam Sáh, and most of them followed him into Doti. The two principal posts which the Gorkhális had possessed in western Kumaon were the forts of Naithána, in Páli, on the left bank of the Rámganga; and Lohba twelve miles further north, a little within the border of Garhwál. In

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

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

1 To Mr. Gardner, dated 17th 19th, and 21st May, and from him dated 8th June, 1815, after a personal interview with Bam Sáh on these matters.
powerful and plausible handle would thus have been given to his enemies for preventing him getting the negotiations into his hands, and should they succeed, we should not only have unnecessarily excited their opposition and ill-will but have made Bam Sah's position extremely dangerous. The knowledge obtained by Bam Sah of our real disposition would enable him and his adherents to take advantage of the circumstance in disposing the Raja to emancipate himself from the Thápas, who by their violent measures had brought on the war, and to seek the aid of his own near relatives, whose pacific counsels would have averted the war and might yet save his Government from ruin.

As to the occupation of Doti by Bam Sah the British had no hesitation in offering their assistance. So long as hostilities continued between the two states, it was right to use every effort to reduce the means and circumscribe the territories of the Gorkhális and to support a rebellion in Doti was perfectly consistent with the acknowledged principles of public honor and the practice of belligerent states. But it was distinctly stated that it was for Bam Sah himself to consider whether, by taking this step, he promoted his own security and increased his chance of recovering his ascendancy in Nepál. So far as British interests were concerned, the presence of an independent state on our eastern frontier ruled by a chief well disposed towards us and necessarily relying upon us for support would have been eminently advantageous. Accordingly Mr. Gardner was instructed to convey to Bam Sah the assurance that it would afford the greatest gratification to the British if he were empowered by the Raja to conclude terms of peace, and that in the event of his finding it necessary to break with the Darbár to secure himself from persons seeking his destruction or to oppose the usurping faction who were ruining the states for their own selfish purposes, he might rely on the aid of the British Government, who would guarantee to him and to his family the independent sovereignty of Doti and any other territory which he might acquire, and promise was given that provision should be made for this purpose in any treaty entered into with Nepál. At the same time it was to be clearly understood that the views of Bam Sah should primarily be directed towards concluding a peace, and that when pledging our assistance towards maintaining him in Doti,
it was not to be done so as to tempt him, by the opportunity of acquiring an independent sovereignty, into conduct contrary to his duty to his prince and country. His seizure of Doti would doubtless cause a continuance of the war which, whilst ruinous to Nepál, would also prove inconvenient to British interests. The offer of assistance in conquering Doti was therefore made in such a way as to render it less preferable than aid in resisting the machinations of the Thápa party and restoring the influence of the Raja by promoting peace, but was still held out as an ultimate resource should occasion arise.

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

On the 15th May, 1815, Amar Singh Thápa surrendered to General Ochterlony, and I shall now complete the brief account of the campaign in the western hills. In Bahar and Gorakhpur nothing new was attempted, and it is therefore only necessary to refer to the operations before Jaithak and Náhan. After the unsuccessful attack on Jaithak of the 27th December, General Martindell, notwithstanding the immense numerical superiority of his force, made no further attempts worth recounting to dislodge the enemy. Miserable vacillation and utter want of all enterprise or judgment constitute the history of the siege of Jaithak. At the end of March it was determined to blockade the place, but it held out until its fall was brought about by the successful operations of General Ochterlony,
of which some account must now be given. It has already been stated that Amar Singh had been compelled towards the end of January to establish himself in the fortified position of Malauo, and to concentrate there the greater part of his forces. But, notwithstanding the indefatigable exertions of General Ochterlony and his officers, it was not until the middle of April that after all the detached forts had been reduced, in which Amar Singh had left small garrisons, the final preparations could be made for the attack on Malauo itself. On the 15th April General Ochterlony ordered an attack to be made on Deothal, a high point within the enemy's position. After a desperate struggle, which was renewed on the following day, Deothal remained in the possession of the British. We lost in these operations seven officers and three hundred and forty-seven men killed and wounded. The loss of the Gorkhalis on the second day alone was said to have exceeded five hundred men, and among them was Bhakti Thápa, one of their most distinguished officers. A road by which heavy guns could be transported to Deothal was now constructed, and batteries were raised against Malauo itself.

But it had now become evident to all that the Gorkhalis must very soon cease to offer any further resistance to the progress of the British arms. The occupation of Kumaon had cut off all hope of relief and had made retreat impossible, even if the vigilance and the superior forces of General Ochterlony could have been evaded, and most of the Gorkháli Sardárs were desirous of making terms before it was too late. But Amar Singh refused to listen to any proposals of accommodation. There was little subordination of rank in the Gorkháli army and most of the superior officers abandoned Malauo with their men, leaving Amar Singh to the fate which he seemed determined to suffer. At last, when he had only two hundred men remaining, he agreed to the terms that had been offered by the British General, and on the 15th of May, he signed a convention agreeing to deliver up the forts of Malauo and Jaithak and the whole country between Kumaon and the Satlaj. The Gorkháli troops were permitted to march through the plains to the east of the Káli, retaining their private property, but without arms. An exception to this last stipulation was made in favor of the small force under Amar Singh's personal command,
who, "in consideration," to use the words of the convention, "of the high rank and character of Kázi Amar Singh Thápa, and of the skill, bravery and fidelity with which he has defended the country committed to his charge," were permitted to march out with their arms and accoutrements, their colours, and two guns. A similar favour was granted to two hundred men under Ranjor Singh, the brave defender of Jaithak. "Thus," writes Prinsep, "the campaign, which in January promised nothing but disaster, finished in May by leaving in the possession of the British the whole tract of hills from the Ghágra to the Satlaj."

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

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1 Based on instructions conveyed to General Ochterlony, dated 12th May, 1815.
2 To Mr. Gardner, dated 25th May, 1815.
3 Ibid., 5th June, and reply, dated 17th June: Bradshaw to Government, dated 28th May, 1815. Gajráj Misr, however, brought no propositions whatever from the Government of Nepál, which left the terms of peace entirely to the generosity of the British Government. They relied still, it would seem, on the hope excited by past forbearance and appeared not to see the necessity for the sacrifice of territory which their violence had provoked the British to exact.
Colonel Bradshaw was authorised to treat with him. At the same
time means were taken to insure the safety of Bam Sáh and the
security of his interests, and it was still determined to support
him in the independent possession of Doti, if he should so resolve
under the disappointment of his other views. His decision on this
point, too, admitted of no delay, since if peace were once signed, the
British could not give open or secret aid to the attempts of any
subject of the Nepál State against the interests of that State, and
the approach of Amar Singh and the troops from the westward
would also preclude any attempt on Doti after their arrival. No
choice, therefore, remained to Bam Sáh between an immediate
declaration of his independence accompanied by the necessary
measures for securing it and a determination to preserve his alle-
giance to whatever party ruled in Nepál and await the course of
events. Authority was given to move a British force into Doti to
support Bam Sáh and Mr. Gardner was instructed "not to urge
him to the adoption of either measure, but leave him to his free
choice, assuring him that, whatever it may be, the British Govern-
ment would continue to regard him as its friend and well-wisher."

Lieutenant-Colonel Paris Bradshaw was also directed to ap-
prise Gajraj Misr fully of the intentions of the British Government,
that, amongst other stipulations, it insisted on the Nepál Darbá

Instructions to Colo-
nel Bradshaw.

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

1 Other stipulations not so closely connected with Kumaon affairs were the
cession of the Tarál along the whole line of frontier, the cession of certain lands
to the Sikkim Raja, who had aided us, and the reception of a Resident and escort at
Kathmándu itself.
event of Bam Sáh’s wishing to establish himself in Doti. At the same time it was agreed that a list of the chiefs and tribes referred to should be furnished before the treaty was presented for ratification.

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

¹ Given in letter of Bradshaw to Government, dated 23rd June, 1815.
² To Mr. Gardner, dated 15th June, 1815.
³ Ibid., 27th June, 1815.
⁴ To Government, dated 8th and 10th June, 1815.
⁵ Ibid., dated 20th, 9th, 28th June, 1815.
seriously involving their connections now scattered throughout Nepál, they had not the means for taking such a decisive step, and instead thereof they declared their intention, should occasion arise, to seek a refuge in our territory. This decision of the Chauntras relieved the British from considerable embarrassment and removed what was thought to be one of the great impediments to negotiation.

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

1To Government, 4th to 16th July; from Government, dated 22nd July, 1815.
now broken off, a result that must have been expected as the transfer of the arrangements for peace could only have occurred from a hope that Bam Sah would be able to obtain better terms than Gajraj Misr. The difficulty now remained that any departure from the terms laid down might be construed into an acknowledgment of weakness and merely provoke further aggression, but even this danger the Government were ready to risk if by so doing a satisfactory peace could be concluded.

The assertion that the Gorkhali chiefs and soldiery were, in a

Preparations for renewal of war.

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

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1 To Mr. Gardner, dated 20th July, to Government, dated 4th September, 1815, and to Mr. Gardner, dated 10th February, 1816.
prepare for operations against Doti and the Bütwal and Palpa frontier, whilst Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Adams was given the command of the troops in Kumaon. Stores were collected at different points along the Káli and the local battalions were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for active service. Whilst their preparations were going on Bam Sáh had an interview with Mr. Gardner in September, but as he had no extension of his powers to negotiate nothing was effected. Mr. Gardner informed Bam Sáh that Gajráj Misr had now obtained fresh and explicit instructions from Nepál and full powers to conclude a treaty on the basis laid down by the British Government,¹ and though the Nepál Government had shown that they had never any serious intention of concluding peace through his agency, the British Government would still regard him as their well-wisher and friend.

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

¹ To Mr. Gardner, dated 3rd September, from Mr. Gardner, dated 22nd September, 1816.
of hostilities and all doubt that a second campaign would be necessary was removed in the beginning of February, 1816 by a formal declaration on the part of the Gorkhális, through Gajrāj Misr, that they intended to renew the war. The British army had already taken the field, and by the 10th February twenty thousand men under General Ochterlony had reached the Bichiyakoh or Choriya-ghát pass leading into the valley of Nepál itself.

On the same day instructions were issued for the immediate assemblage of a force at Sitapur under Colonel Nicolls for the invasion of Doti. It was intended not only to occupy that district but, if circumstances permitted, to open up a communication with General Ochterlony to the east, and Mr. Gardner was deputed to accompany the force as Political Agent. Mr. Traill was intrusted with the conduct of the duties of the office of Commissioner of Kumaun, so far as they could not be conveniently carried on by Mr. Gardner, and Colonel Adams was directed to hold himself and his forces at the disposal of Colonel Nicolls. But long before this force could reach the Taráí news arrived from General Ochterlony of the cessation of hostilities consequent on the ratification of the treaty of the 2nd December, and I must now refer to the operations which led to this desirable result.

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

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1 Government to Mr. Gardner, dated 10th February, 1816. 2 From General Ochterlony, dated Makwánpur, 5th March, 1816; to Government, dated 10th idem.
all idea of further resistance was at once abandoned. Negotiations were immediately opened, the result of which was the ratification by the Raja of Nepal of the treaty which had been signed by Guru Gajraj Misr in December and the final termination of the war. Part of the Tarai which under the treaty had been surrendered to the British Government was subsequently restored to Nepal as an act of conciliation towards the Gorkhāli chiefs who had held lands in that quarter, the portion bordering on the Oudh frontier was handed over to the Nawāb of Oudh, and a small strip lying between the Mechi and the Tista was given to the Raja of Sikkim. It is to be hoped that our statesmen and our soldiers will not forget the lesson that was taught them in the Nepālese campaign. It was sufficiently evident and it was admitted on all hands at the time that in point of physical courage our native soldiers were altogether inferior to the Gorkhālis. This was clear not only at the more conspicuous failures of Kalanga and Jaithak but throughout the war. On the other hand, the admirable operations of General Ochterlony proved beyond a doubt that under proper management our sepoys were certain of success even in a country of most extreme difficulty to all natives of the plains and opposed to the bravest enemy that has ever met us in Asia.

We shall now turn again to domestic politics and briefly note the effect of the treaty of Makwānpur on the tract between the Tons and the Sārda. The whole of Kumaon became British territory and the only point in dispute was a small and unimportant tract to the north. By treaty the Kāli was made the boundary on the east, and this arrangement divided into two parts parganah Byāns, which had hitherto been considered as an integral portion of Kumaon as distinguished from Doti and Jumla. In 1817, the Nepāl Darbar, in accordance with the terms of the letter of the treaty, claimed the villages of Tinkar and Changru lying to the east of the Kāli in parganah Byāns, and after inquiry had shown that the demand was covered by the terms of the treaty possession was given to

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

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

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At the same time, the conduct of the political relations with the Raja of Garhwal was intrusted to the Commissioner as Agent to the Governor-General (4-3-16).
that point to consider themselves under the authority of the Commissioner of Kumaon, and henceforward this tract formed a portion of his jurisdiction. Mr. Gardner was too much occupied with his political duties to visit the western parganahs, and on Mr. G. W. Traill joining his appointment as Assistant Commissioner, he was deputed to Garhwál to introduce the British authority in that province and to conclude a settlement of the land-revenue. Mr. Gardner subsequently took up the question of the western boundary and gave as his opinion that Rawáin should be handed over to the Raja of Garhwál and that the British should content themselves with the watershed of the Mandákini as their north-western boundary. Rawáin comprised the comparatively barren and rocky country between Nágpur and Jaunsár Báwar and included the head-waters of the Tons, the Jumna and Bhágirathi, an immense tract yielding only 12,000 Gorkháli rupees a year, equivalent to about Rs. 5,000 of our money. The inhabitants, too, were of a turbulent character, accustomed to plunder and disinclined to work. This, however, was considered a good reason by others for keeping the tract under the British Government. It was apprehended that the Raja would find much difficulty in preventing the inhabitants from plundering the pilgrims who passed through Rawáin to Gangotri and from making predatory incursions into the neighbouring districts as they were accustomed to do before they fell under the Gorkháli Government, who only restrained them by severe measures. The task of punishing the robbers would then fall on the British Government, who might be obliged to establish a military force there for the purpose, and so interfere in its arrangements far more than if it were an integral part of the British dominions, and the people felt themselves to be our subjects. The only question for decision was whether the Raja was able to maintain peace in the tract, and it was ultimately resolved to permit him to attempt the management of Rawáin. In 1816 Mr. Traill brought to the notice of Government the difficulty that might arise if more precise words were not used in defining the boundary. Although parganah Nágpur was clearly intended to be included in the portion of territory retained by the British, the loose use of the Alaknanda and Mandákini rivers as the eastern boundary in the negotiations.

1 To Government, dated 6th June, 1816.
of the period would have cut off some valuable portions of that parganah, including pattis Bámsu, Maikhanda, and the mines near Dhanoli, which lay to the west of those rivers. In fact, in 1823, the Raja laid claim to the villages lying to the west of the Mandákini on these very grounds, but it was ruled that the term parganah Nágpur as used in the negotiations included all the sub-divisions then within its established limits.

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

1 To Government, dated 10th July, 1818. From Government, dated 14th August, 1818.
2 To Government, dated 4th January, 1817.
3 To Government, dated 13th May, 1816; from Government, dated 14th August, 1818; from Government, dated 16th January, 1817.
acceptance of the territories restored to him by the British, as well as the previous conquest of the Gorkhális, annulled all subordinate contingent rights of other members of his family.  

By the terms of his sanad, the Raja of Garhwal is bound to give assistance and supplies when called on and to furnish facilities for trading in his country and the countries beyond, nor can he alienate or mortgage any portion of his territory without the consent of the British Government.

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

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1 From Board, dated 18th August, 1818: to Board, dated 3rd September, 1818, and 11th September, 1818: from Board, dated 11th September, 1818, and 25th September, 1818.
2 Aitch. Treaties, II., 58.
3 Laws of the Non-Regulation Provinces, p. 1: Allahabad, 1870: a valuable repository of facts regarding the administrative history of the hill districts.
the Government, which had remained quiescent while the province was in the hands of an administrator of tried ability and equal to all emergencies, found it necessary to re-assert their control and to lay down specific rules in matters that had hitherto been left to the judgment of the Commissioner. Mr. Batten was then only Assistant Commissioner of Garhwal: but he was a man eminently qualified both by training and disposition to second the action of Government and to assist in the inauguration of the new era. His talents had already been recognized, and from this period he was consulted in every step, and it was his influence more than that of any single officer which gave its stamp and character to the period which I have distinguished by his name. Its duration covered the years 1836-56. It was marked in its earlier stage by an influx of codes and rules and a predominancy of official supervision which gradually subsided as Mr. Batten gained in influence, position and experience. Thus the second period glided insensibly into the third, which, nevertheless, has a distinctive character of its own. In Sir Henry Ramsay's administration we see the two currents blended. The personal sway and unhampered autocracy of the first era combining with the orderly procedure and observance of fixed rules and principles which was the chief feature of the second. Foremost in every movement for the benefit of his charge, Sir Henry Ramsay has popularly received the title of King of Kumaon, and no more worthy representative of Her Imperial Majesty exists throughout Her wide domains.

For the history of Kumaon under the British the materials are ample and sufficient in themselves to form a volume full of interest and instruction. They show the means whereby a peculiar people, sunk in the uttermost depths of ignorance and apathy, the result of years of oppression and misrule, have been induced by the patient and intelligent efforts of a few Englishmen to commence again their national life. They show how whole tracts where formerly the tiger and the elephant reigned supreme have now yielded to the plough, and waters that not long since went to feed the deadly swamps are now confined in numerous channels to irrigate the waterless tracts which increasing population bring into cultivation. The history of Kumaon under the British is one that will amply repay
the study and assist us in understanding the principles on which western civilisation can be best introduced among our many half-civilized Indian communities. For the materials for this notice we are indebted to the records of the Commissioner's office and Mr. P. Whalley's admirable work already quoted. As already noticed the Hon'ble E. Gardner was the first Commissioner of Kumaon, and in May, 1815, he was authorized to employ a revenue and police establishment. In June, the transit duty on the sale of children was given up and the practice abolished. The Commissioner was much taken up with his political duties, and in August, 1815, on the arrival of Mr. G. W. Traill, that officer was appointed to superintend the police and revenue administration and to undertake the settlement of the revenue of Garhwal and Kumaon. His own account of the measures he thought necessary for this purpose will be given elsewhere. In the first year the Gorkháli collections were assumed as the basis for assessment, and subsequent settlements were made under orders of the Board of Commissioners at Farukhabad, under whom Kumaon was placed in 1816 A.D.

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

1 G G. in C. 16th May, 1815. 2 Ibid., 2nd June, 1815. 3 Proceed.
in force. By this system, for the small sum of Rs. 8,881 a farmer was able to place a line of guard-houses along a frontier extending nearly sixty miles and levy practically whatever duties he liked, and in consequence these vexatious cesses were abolished. In 1817 a curious practice of the hill men was prohibited. In former times it was allowable for the husband of an adulteress to take the life of an adulterer after due notice given to the executive government. The consequence was that many innocent persons suffered death at the hands of jealous husbands who found themselves both judges and executioners. The Government made the practice punishable with death and thus effectually put an end to a custom which was one of the most frequent sources of hereditary feuds.

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

1 Whalley, p. 33.  2 G. G. in C, 1250, 6th August, 1819.  3 To Government (Political Department), 14th November, 1820.  4 Ibid., 16th May, 1821; Whalley, 47.
portions of the lower forest and prairie which were thought to be more in the real or nominal possession of the hill-men than in that of settlers from the plains or in which the Bhukas and Tharus preferred the hill jurisdiction or were connected with hill capitalists. In 1825, after the settlement of Major Hearsey's claims, a correspondence arose regarding the annexation of parganah Chandi now in Bijnor to Kumaon, and during the same year an epistolary conflict took place between Traill and Shore in charge of Dehra Dún principally regarding the use of elephant-pits on the confines of their respective jurisdictions. The result of both was that in 1826 parganahs Chandi and Dehra Dún were annexed to the Kumaon Commissionership. Dehra Dún was separated again from 1st May, 1829 by Regulation V. of 1829, but parganah Chandi continued under Kumaon for some time. In 1827 certain rules were framed giving the Magistrates in Kumaon jurisdiction over native soldiers in certain cases, and in the following year a registration of births, marriages and deaths was ordered. In 1830 Mr. Traill was appointed to the charge of the Bareilly Division, and at the close of the year 1835 he finally relinquished his connection with the Kumaon Division. In 1831 the newly-created Nizámat Adálut at Allahabad was invested with criminal powers over Kumaon by clause 1, section 3, of Regulation VI. of that year, and in the same year the Board of Revenue at Allahabad was invested with powers in all fiscal matters by section 5 of Regulation X. of 1831.

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

1 G. O., 21st May, 1824: Board of Revenue, 11th June, 1824: 14th August, 1823. 2 G. O., 25th June, 1825., No. 16: Ibid., 6th December, 1825.
were heard like other suits. The Government at length stepped in and by merely forbidding the hearing of such suits put an end to a system which must be regarded as a blot on the administration of the most powerful ruler Kumaon has ever had. The questions of the investigation of rent-free tenures, the surrender of refugees, the arrangement of the records and the treatment of lunatics also engaged the attention of the superior authorities during this year. The year 1837 is also marked with the lively sense of the necessity for further interference in the administration of Kumaon which the Board of Revenue and Government had shown in the previous year. The Nizāmat Adālut forbade Magistrates to order the restoration of wives to their husbands and directed the punishment of the importers of slaves into Kumaon under the provisions of Regulation III. of 1832. On the civil side the slaughter of kine for troops was restricted to the cantonments. Those who object to the scruples of the hill people on account of kine-killing should remember that whereas Benares, Mathura and other Hindu cities have been for centuries under direct Muhammadan rule Kumaon never had a beef-eating ruler until the British took possession. The few Muhammadans previously known in the hills were the families of shikāris and cooks who received favour at the hands of the Rajas, the former for killing game and the latter for providing suitable food for any Musalmān visitor of rank. The revenue authorities were no less busy. We have rules for process-servers and their fees, the supply of grain to the troops and the recognition of bādshāhi grants. This year saw the re-annexation of the Kāshipur parganas to their respective districts and the Tarāi to the Rohilkhand Commissionership. A curious question was also submitted for decision as to the legality of the ordeal by hot iron, a description of which has already been given. Colonel Gowan seems to have quarrelled with the revenue authorities, and on his refusal to supply information was reported to Government, who ruled his absolute subordination. In 1837, he reports that up to 1829 only one court existed for the cognizance and adjudication of civil claims, and this was presided over by Mr. Traill himself. In that year a recourse to local subordinate tribunals was thought necessary in the ends of justice and good government.

1 To Commissioner, 31st May, 1836.
The duties of a Munsif or Civil Court of the primary jurisdiction were with the sanction of Government delegated to the Kanúngoes, who under the new system of Patwáris had since 1819 scarcely any duties to perform. The number of Munsifs was fixed at eight, of whom seven were Kanúngoes and one with the title of Sadr Amin became the pandit of the Court at Almora. Six were stationed in the Kumaon and two in the Garhwal district and rules for their guidance were drawn up in the spirit of Regulation XXIII. of 1814. These officers were empowered to decide claims for rent for the current year and damages on account of cattle-trespass and claims for money or personal property up to Rs. 25. In 1830 their jurisdiction was increased to Rs. 50, with an appeal to the Commissioner (now to his Assistants). The Sadr Amin had power to hear suits up to Rs. 100 in value. Above this, all suits for money and all claims to real property were heard in the Courts of the Commissioner or his Assistants. The institution stamp-fee was also raised to two per cent. on the claims.

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

1 Letter, 17th March, 1837.
appeal which might be offered, and that he should forward this with his opinion to the Sadr Diwâni Adâlat, who might then call for such cases as they might think fit. In criminal cases he characterizes the administration ‘as unimaginably bad.’ He was credibly informed that persons were apprehended, retained in jail, and worked in irons on the roads for years, not only unsentenced and untried but even without any charge having been recorded. He recommended the adoption of the Assam rules and the subjection of the Courts to the appellate authority of the Sadr Court and Board of Revenue. The Government had previously allowed a sort of irregular appeal by referring cases for the opinion of the Sadr Court and then passing final orders thereon. In accordance with Mr. Bird’s suggestions Act X. of 1838 was passed, in which the only new provision is the control given to the Sadr Diwâni Adâlat in civil cases. This provision was lost sight of in the rules of 1863 (section 63) and was virtually rescinded by Act XXIV. of 1864, which stamped the rules, so far as the jurisdiction of the Courts is concerned, with legislative sanction.1 In was not till 1839 that any active measures were taken in consequence of the new powers given to the superior Courts. In that year and the following the Board issued a multitude of instructions in regard to partitions, patwâri’s accounts, summonses, process-fees, watchmen, stamps, distraint, compensation, village police, &c., which could only have a partial application to Kumaon. The Sadr Court seems to have followed the same course and with as little care or discrimination in their orders. The result of all this was in one way an increased responsibility thrown on the Commissioner in judging what orders of the superior Courts could be considered applicable to the peculiar people over whom he ruled, and a decreased personal responsibility in that the general principles of administration were now laid down by higher authority, on whom the blame or praise for failure or success would in future principally rest. The police administration of the Tarâí was given over to the Magistrates of the adjoining districts in Rohilkhand.

1 The Assam rules were promulgated in January, 1833, under Act X. of 1838, and remained in force till 1862, when the Jhânsi rules passed in 1862 were introduced and subsequently legalised by section 2 of Act XXIV. of 1864. In supersession of Regulation X. of 1817, certain rules for criminal administration were framed which remained in force till the Criminal Procedure Code was introduced in 1862.
But in no case was the change more marked than in the instructions for the revenue assessment. Regulations VII. of 1822 and IX. of 1833 were introduced and Mr. Batten, then Senior Assistant in Garhwl, was appointed to the charge of the settlement of the entire province. His instructions were to aim as far as possible at conducting the settlement on the principles that were observed in the plains, and how far he succeeded is noticed in the chapter on the fiscal history of the Kumaon division. To return to other matters, rules for cases of abduction and adultery were framed by the Sadr Court in 1840, and again in 1843 the Government intimated its desire that the law in force in the plains should in all cases be adopted. 1839 is also marked by the division of Kumaon into the two districts of Kumaon and Garhwl with a regular staff of officers for each; the Senior Assistants to have the same powers as a Collector and the Commissioner the powers of a Commissioner in the plains. The duties of the officials in connection with the appointment and dismissal of priests of Hindu temples were also defined. In 1848 Mr. G. T. Lushington died and was succeeded by Mr. J. H. Batten. In 1850 a commission was issued to Mr. (now Sir John) Strachey to enquire into the sadabart assignments for charitable purposes made in favour of the temples of Badrinath and Kedarnath, which resulted in orders being issued for their management by a committee as a trust in the spirit of Regulation XIX. of 1810. In 1852-53 the first rules for the grant of waste land for tea plantations were made and the tea industry came into prominence. In 1855 the rules at present in force in regard to revenue suits and suits for rent were framed and received the sanction of Government. They are of a simple character, easily worked, and are said by those who administer them to be admirably adapted for the people. In 1856 Captain (now Major-General Sir Henry) Ramsay was appointed Commissioner, and we may here fitly close our sketch of Kumaon history.

1 Government (Judicial Department), dated 14th September, 1839, dated 9th June, 1843.  
2 Government (Judicial Department), dated 12th June, 1840: Government (Revenue Department), dated 18th May, 1846; dated 26th June, 1847.  
3 Mr. Lushington appears to have been Commissioner from 1839 to 1848.  
4 Government (Revenue Department), dated 8th October, 1853.
A copy of your letter of the 23rd December addressed to Ranjor Singh under the red seal was sent by the latter to me, who have received it with every token of respect. It was to the following purport:—"The capture of Nálapáni by the enemy had been communicated to me from Garhwal and Kumaon as also the intelligence of his having marched to Náhan; having assembled his force he now occupied the whole country from Baraparsa to Sabotari Mahotari. My army also is secretly posted in various places in the jungles of the mountains. An army under a general has arrived in Gorakhpur from Palpa and another detachment has reached the borders of Bijipur. I have further heard that a general officer has set out from Calcutta to create more disturbance. For the sake of a few trifling objects, some intermediate agents have destroyed the mutual harmony, and war is waging far and wide. All this you know. You ought to send an embassy to conciliate the English, otherwise the cause is lost. The enemy after making immense preparations have begun the war, and, unless great concessions are made, they will not listen to terms. To restore the relations of amity by concession is good and proper: for this purpose it is fit, in the first place, to cede to the enemy the districts of Bútwal, Palpai and Siuráj and the disputed tracts, already settled by the Commissioners towards Bareh. If this be insufficient to re-establish harmony, we ought to abandon the whole of the Tarái, the Dún and the lowlands, and, if the English are still dissatisfied on account of not obtaining possession of a portion of the mountains, you are hereby authorised to give up, with the Dún, the country as far as the Satlaj. Do whatever may be practicable to restore the relations of peace and amity, and be assured of my approbation and assent. If these means be unsuccessful, it will be very difficult to preserve the integrity of my dominions from Kanka-Tista to the Satlaj. If the enemy once obtain a footing in the centre of our territory both extremities will be thrown into disorder. If you can retire with your army and military stores, to pursue any other plan of operations that may afterwards appear eligible, it will be advisable. On this account, you ought immediately to effect a junction with all the other officers on the western service and return to any part of our territory which, as far as Nepal, you may think yourself capable of retaining. These are your orders."
means should we have left to defend our eastern possessions? While we retain Basahr, Garhwal is secure; if the former be abandoned, the Bhotiyas of Rawân will certainly betray us. The English having thus acquired the Dûn and Rawân, it will be impossible for us to maintain Garhwal, and being deprived of the latter, Kumon and Doti will be also lost to us: after the seizure of these provinces, Achân, Jûmla and Dûlû Dwalekh will be wrested from us in succession. You say that a proclamation has been issued to the inhabitants of the Eastern Kurâts; if they have joined the enemy, the other Kurâts will do so likewise, and then the country from the Dûdh Kodi on the east to the Beri on the west cannot be long retained. Having lost your dominions, what is to become of your great military establishment? When our power is once reduced, we shall have another Major Knox’s mission under pretence of concluding a treaty of alliance and friendship and founding commercial establishments. If we decline receiving their mission they will insist; and, if we are unable to oppose force and desire them to come unaccompanied with troops, they will not comply and they will begin by introducing a company, a battalion will soon after follow, and at length an army will be assembled for the subjection of Nepál. Thus you think that if, for the present, the lowlands, the Dûn and the country to the Satlaj were ceded to them, they would cease to entertain designs upon the other provinces of Nepál. Do not trust them. They who counselled you to receive the mission of Knox and permit the establishment of a commercial factory will usurp the government of Nepál. With regard to the concessions now proposed, if you had in the first instance decided upon a pacific line of conduct and agreed to restore the departments of Bûtwal and Shiurâj as adjusted by the Commissioner, the present contest might have been avoided; but you could not suppress your desire to retain these places, and having murdered three revenue officers, a commotion arose and war was waged for trifes.

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

Formerly, when the English endeavoured to penetrate to Sandauli, they continued for two years in possession of Baraparsa and Mahotari; but when you conquered Nepál they were either destroyed by your force or fell victims to the climate with the exception of a few only who abandoned the place. Orders should now be given to all your officers to defend Chaudandi and Chaudena, and the two Kurâts and the ridge of Mahâbhârat; suffer the enemy to retain the lowlands for a couple of years: measures can afterwards be taken to expel them. Lands transferred under a written agreement cannot again be resumed;
but, if they have been taken by force, then force may be employed to recover them. Fear nothing, even though the Sikhs should not join us.

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

There has been no fighting in your quarter yet. The Chaudandi and Chaudena of Bijipur, as far as the ridge of Mahábhárat and Kiliána, should be well defended. Countries acquired in four generations, under the administration of the Thápás, should not be abandoned for the purpose of bringing matters to an amicable adjustment without deep and serious reflection. If we are victorious in the war, we can easily adjust our differences; and if we are defeated, death is preferable to a reconciliation on humiliating terms. When the Chinese army invaded Nepal we implored the mercy of heaven by offerings to the Brahmanas and the performance of religious ceremonies, and through the favor of one and the intercession of the other we succeeded in repelling the enemy. Ever since you conflated the jázírs of the Brahmanas, thousands have been in distress and poverty. Promises were given that they should be restored at the capture of Kangra, and orders to this effect under the red seal were addressed to me and Nain Singh Thápa. We failed, however, in that object, and now there
is an universal commotion; you ought, therefore to assemble all the Brahmans and promise to restore to them their lands and property, in the event of your conquering and expelling the English. By these means many thousands of respectable Brahmans will put up their prayers for your protection and the enemy will be driven forth. By the practice of charity the territory acquired in four generations may be preserved and, through the favour of God, our power and dominion may be still further extended. By the extension of territory our military establishment may be maintained on its present footing and even increased. The numerous countries which you propose to cede to the enemy yielded a revenue equal to the maintenance of an army of 4,000 men, and Kangra might have been captured. By the cession of these provinces the fear of your name and the splendour of your court will no longer remain; by the capture of Kangra your name would have been rendered formidable, and though that has not happened, a powerful impression has nevertheless been made on the people of the plains by the extension of your conquest to the Satlaj.

To effect a reconciliation by the cession of the country to the west of the Jumna would give rise to the idea that the Gorkhális were unable to oppose the English, would lower the dignity of your name in the plains, and cause a reduction of your army to the extent of 4,000 men. The enemy will therefore require the possession of Basáhr, and after that the conquest of Garhwál will be easy, nor will it be possible in that case for us to retain Kumaon, and with it we must lose Dot, Achám and Juûla. He may be expected to penetrate even to Beri. If the English once establish themselves firmly in possession of a part of the hills, we shall be unable to drive them out. The countries towards the Satlaj should be obstinately defended. The abominable of the disputed tracts in the plains is a lesser evil. The possession of the former preserves to us the road to further conquests; you ought therefore to direct Guru Rangnáth Pandit and Dalbháujan Pánde to give up the disputed lands of Bútwal and Shírújá and the twenty-two villages in the vicinity of Barh, and, if possible, bring our differences to a termination. To this step I havé no objection and shall feel no animosity to those who may perform this service. I must however declare a decided enmity to such as in bringing about a reconciliation with the English consult only their own interest and forget their duty to you. If they will not accept these terms, what have we to fear? The English attempted to take Bhartpur by storm, but the Rajá Ranjít Singh destroyed a European regiment and a battalion of sepoys, so that to the present day they have not ventured to meddle with Bhartpur and one fort has sufficed to check their progress. In the low country of Dárma (perhaps Burmá) they established their authority, but the Rajá overthrew their army and captured all their artillery and stores, and now lives and continues in quiet possession of his dominions. Our proffers of peace and reconciliation will be interpreted as the result of fear, and it would be absurd to expect that the enemy will respect a treaty concluded under such circumstances; therefore let us confide our fortunes to our swords, and by boldly opposing the enemy compel him to remain within his own territory, or if he should continue to advance, stung with shame at the idea of retreating after his immense preparations, we can then give up the lands in dispute and adjust our differences. Such, however, is the fame and terror of our swords that Balbhádr with a nominal force
of 600 men destroyed an army of 5 or 4,000 English. His force consisted of the old Gorakh and Kurakh companies, which were only partly composed of the inhabitants of our ancient kingdom and of the people of the countries from Beri to Garhwal, and with these he destroyed one battalion and crippled and repulsed another. My army is similarly composed; nevertheless, all descriptions are eager to meet the enemy. In your quarter you are surrounded with the veterans of our army, and therefore cannot apprehend desertion from them. You have also an immense militia, and many jácirídás who will fight for their own honour and interests. Asembling the militia of the lowlands and fighting in the plains is impolitic; call them into the hills and cut them up by detail (a passage here the sense of which cannot be discovered).

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

ENCLOSURE.

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

I yield obedience to the Emperor of China, and no one dare invade my dominions; or if any force has ventured to encroach on my territory, through your favor and protection I have been able to discomfit and expel them! Now, however, a powerful and inveterate enemy has attacked me and, as I am under allegiance to you, I rely on obtaining your assistance and support. From Kanka to the Satlaj, for a thousand kos war is waging between us. Harbouring designs upon Bhot, the enemy endeavours to get possession of Nepál, and for these objects he has fomented a quarrel and declared war; five or six great actions have already been fought, but through the fortune and glory of your Imperial Majesty I have succeeded in destroying about 20,000 of the enemy. But his wealth and military resources are great, and he sustains the loss without receding a step; on the contrary numerous reinforcements continue to arrive, and my country is invaded.
at all points. Though I might obtain a hundred thousand soldiers from the hills and plains, yet without pay they cannot be maintained, and though I have every desire to pay them, I have not the means: without soldiers I cannot repel the enemy. Consider the Gorkhális as your tributaries; reflect that the English come to conquer Népál and Bhot; and for these reasons be graciously pleased to assist us with a sum of money that we may levy an army and drive forth the invaders or if you are unwilling to assist us with subsidies and prefer sending an army to our aid, 'tis well.' The climate of Dármá is temperate; and you may easily send an army of 2 or 300,000 men by the route of Dármá into Bengal, spreading alarm and consternation among the Europeans as far as Calcutta.

The enemy has subdued all the Rajas of the plains and usurped the throne of the King of Delhi, and therefore it is to be expected that these would all unite in expelling the Europeans from Hindustan. By such an event your name will be renowned through Jambu-dwipa; and whenever you may command, the whole of its inhabitants will be forward in your service. Should you think that the conquest of Népál and the forcible separation of the Gorkhális from their dependence on the Emperor of China cannot materially affect your Majesty's interests, I beseech you to reflect that without your aid I cannot repel the English; that these are the people who have already subdued all India and usurped the throne of Delhi; that, with my army and resources, I am quite unable to make head against them, and that the world will henceforth say that the Emperor of China abandoned to their fate his tributaries and dependents.

I acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor of China above all other potentates on earth. The English, after obtaining possession of Népál, will advance, by the routes of Badrináth and Mánásurowar and also by that of Digarcha, for the purpose of conquering Lhása. I beg therefore that you will write an order to the English, directing them to withdraw their forces from the territory of the Gorkháli state, which is tributary to and dependent upon you: otherwise you will send an army to our aid. I beseech you, however, to lose no time in sending assistance, whether in men or money, that I may drive forth the enemy and maintain possession of the mountains; otherwise in a few years he will be master of Lhása.