

HISTORY OF KUMAUN

(English version of '*Kumaun Ka Itihas*' by Badri Datt Pande)

[VOL. - TWO]

Translator

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Preface

In the course of successive visits in 1988 and 1989 to U.S.A. and France I came to know there about the people's unquenchable thirst and hunger to know about Kumaun Himalayas exhaustively. But there is no book covering the entire subject in all its aspects—social, economic, administrative, religious, political—in a single volume except the *Kurmanchal Kesari* Badri Datt Pande's book : *Kumaun ka Itihas*. This work, no doubt, 'a mine of information on Kumaun', is not very useful for the foreigners as it is written in Hindi. I felt a strong need to get it translated into English so that it might be accessible to the foreigners as well as to the people of the non-Hindi speaking belt of India.

Sri Vinod Prasad Agrawal, the publisher of Sri Badri Datt Pande's book *Kumaun ka Itihas* accepted my suggestion and asked me to prepare the English version of the above book. It was really a difficult, monotonous and tiresome job to translate such a voluminous book like *Kumaun ka Itihas*, but my keen interest in the subject sustained me through and gave me strength and courage to complete this project with devotion.

The book in its translated form is the same but to make it more useful to the students and scholars as well as general readers a detailed index and some relevant photographs (deleting the old ones) have also been incorporated in it. Being a student of history, I have made some minor changes while translating the book to make it more accurate, useful and relevant and have also tried to use simple language as far as possible.

In the preparation of the translation I received much help from my father Professor R.M. Das, Ph.D., D.Litt. at different stages. I must acknowledge my heartfelt gratefulness to him who has so generously gone through the whole manuscript and made change and corrections where necessary. I must admit that without his help the work could not have been completed.

My grateful thanks are also due to Sri Jagdishwari Joshi, M.A.

LL.B., Retd. Principal, for helping me in translating few typical portions full with Kumauni words. I must confess that but for his co-operation, I would have to face a great deal of difficulty.

My thanks also due to my friend Dr. C.L. Sharma, Head of Dept. of Political Science, Kumaun University Campus, Almora for his help and encouragement.

Finally, I would be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge my thanks to my wife, Shivani, M.Sc., Ph.D. whose help proved fruitful in completing this work.

I am thankful to Sri Vinod Prasad Agrawal, proprietor, Shree Almora Book Depot for the timely publication of this work and also to the proprietor and staff of the D.K. Fine Art Press for its neat and clean printing.

Jakhandevi,
Almora

C.M. AGRAWAL

A Word

On the request of a number of revered intellectuals and friendly readers the present new edition of this book is being published. For the publication of this work, from time to time, suggestions are being received. Some credulous persons wanted that only its revised edition should be published and the chapters on modern social progress and cultural development be added to it. By doing so the edition could have been more useful, but it was doubtful to complete such a project. Need was felt for that historical work in which the writer had collected and presented all the then information in respect of Kurmachal. Writers and researchers of later date have also given sufficient material and almost all the contemporary writers have accepted this work in Hindi, as the base book.

In Uttarakhand some political and social currents of thought (Ideologies) and recognition are taking new direction. At such a moment for the political prospects and aspirations of a region, its historical basis is desirable. If the present edition provides right guidance to the new generation then those ideals shall be achieved for which our past has been struggling. The book is being published under its original name though now it would have been proper to call it, '*Ancient History of Kurmachal*'.

Long-awaited publication of this work in its original form could be possible by the untiring efforts of Shree Vinod Prasad Agrawal, Proprietor, Shyam Prakashan, Shree Almora Book Depot ; so I am grateful to him.

SHAKTI PRASAD PANDE

Prem Kuti
Almora

Introduction

Since long I had a desire to write in Hindi a systematic history of Kumaun because there is not a single book in Hindi from which the history of Kumaun could be fully known. But owing to my engagements in the political field for 22 years (from 1910 to 1932 A.D.) this desire of mine could not be fulfilled. Even in prison I thought a number of times to write the history, but owing to non-availability of sufficient material there, the resolve could not materialise. On Aug. 24, 1932 when on account of some domestic tragedies, I was released from the jail, my mind, all of a sudden got perplexed. I could not pay attention to any work. Then I turned my mind to this side. But when I made an estimate, I found the work difficult. Whatsoever history of Kurmachal has been written, is almost non-existent in Hindi. Whatever exists in English, it has been written by skilful politicians with some motive.

For the progress of a country the knowledge of its history is not only useful but is a must. Though I have named this book as *History of Kumaun* yet I myself do not fully approve of this name. To call this book a history is just to reduce the importance of history, as it is not a history in the sense in which Sir Jadunath's *Aurangzib* and *Shivajee* or Sirdesai's *History of Marathas* are. They had been permitted by the British government to study the old documents available in all the offices, but how can I get these facilities. The above learned writers have given historical proofs at every step but doing so is quite impossible for me. In this treatise I have highlighted almost all the facts about Kumaun and in the course of it, the known facts of history of Kurmachal have also been included. So I, in the end, thought it more meaningful to call it 'All about Kumaun.'

It is needless to say that not only the ancient history of this region but even its present history is shrouded in deep darkness. So writing the history of our own country, our religion and our nation in National language *i.e.* Hindi, is a work of public utility. In the beginning I intended to write a short history but when I started writing and began researches then not to say of completing this

work in one volume, it could not be completed even in seven volumes. I have here presented a short outline of the history of Kurmachal. I could simply initiate the work as my knowledge and learning are limited. In fact this work should have been undertaken by scholars more qualified and intelligent than me. I dared take up this work simply because it did not receive due attention of the people of our region. Great scholars and virtuous men have raised the glory of this country but they had least interest in historical literature and art. Some people told that this region has no ancient history worth writing. They say that the history of Kumaun is nothing but the story of feuds and mutual wars between Doti and Kumaun and Kumaun and Garhwal. We have glimpses of mutual enmity and bloodshed between Maharas and Fartyals of Kurmachal *i.e.* the tragedy of extracting eyes and bloodshed at Balighat, or it is a mine of such boastful caste pride such as 'we are great and they are petty' or it is the proclamation of the greatness of such gods as Syuriya, Puriya, Ganganath, Bholanath, Aidi, etc. There is no use of highlighting these points further.

There is no country the history of which has no glimpses of such things as killings, political intrigues, pride and prejudice and the desire of the victor to crush the pride of the enemy. The history of almost all the regions of India is full of brilliance as well as darkness. Similarly in the history of Kumaun also bright and interesting facts can be seen at some, places and at some pictures of inhuman atrocities and treason are to be seen.

My main aim in writing this history is simply that the youth of Kumaun might get help in knowing the nature of the ancient period of their region and also the reforms to be initiated in future to merge the whole of Kurmachal in the ocean of Indian nationalism—things to be introduced and the customs to be prohibited. For nationalism existence of one language, one dress, media and one religion throughout the country is a must.

But in a country like India where the people are divided into various groups, castes and sects only a first-rate nation-builder can establish nationalism. It is essential for a social reformer and a nation-builder to know all the customs, usages and ceremonies of his country or region. He should also be acquainted with the ideas of the people regarding caste and creed, and also with their faith in

gods, goddesses and ghosts and goblins and then assess from whence to begin the reform.

It is not the function of the reformer and the nation-builder to copy other country, rather he should try to present the good and remove the evil. From this very point of view this book has been written.

It is our aim to make our people who are plunged in ignorance, darkness of illusion, and a number of superstitions, self respecting, self reliant and able to take independent decisions. My sole desire is that our region also should be an expert swimmer in the ocean of Indian Nationalism and the various castes should merge in one nation.

Despite my sincere efforts, many faults may have crept in this book and they will be detected by our affectionate readers. As I have already said, I have no ability of a true historian, so I have here simply collected the material about Kumaun I culled from several books. The job of a researcher is quite difficult. In the West research, criticism and the literary art are honoured. In India this art has not attained that height. The human nature has not become so generous and cultured that it might rightly appreciate the importance of thorough criticism and original literary research. There is no doubt that a more learned and scholarly writer than myself would have presented a better book to the readers. By writing this book I have, as it were, given them a challenge to prepare a good book.

The list of the books which have been consulted has been given here. I am greatly thankful to the writers of those books, specially to Mr. Atkinson who has earnestly carried on his research on Kurmachal.

In the present work Pt. Ram Datt Jyotirvid Mahamahopadeshak, Sanatan Dharm Maha Mandal has greatly helped me and Babu Ganga Prashad Khatri supplied a number of old books ; so I am indebted to them.

To national leader honourable Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant I am greatly thankful who very kindly went through some portions of this book, invited my attention to some of the parts and advised me to correct them. Now the errors that still exist in this book are mine, I

am responsible for them. Still I say that I have written this book for the benefit of our country, nation and society and as far as possible it has been based on facts.

I am thankful to Thakur Devi Singh Kunwar and Pt. Tara Datt Upreti who respectively helped me in picture collection and correcting the proofs.

All the older material collected here, is based on Atkinson's *Gazetteer* or a copy of the manuscript written by Pt. Rudra Datt Pant and on some other old documents. While the Atkinson's *Gazetteers* was being prepared, Pt. Rudra Datt Pant carried on the work of historical research in the whole of Kumaun. He has gathered old facts from Raja Nand Singh, Pt. Harshdeo Joshi and from other people of the older generation. I called for old literature from many persons but got negative answers from them.

This country be educated, cultured and prosperous and the people be dutiful, lovers of freedom and have a keen desire for the progress of the country ; with these well-wishes, I am dedicating this book to the whole country, society and the nationalists.

Prem Kuti
Almora

BADRI DATT PANDE

Content

Preface	v
A Word	vii
Introduction	ix

[VOL. - TWO]

Chapter-Five	: Gorkha Rule	347-383
Chapter-Six	: The Period of the British Rule	385-463
Chapter-Seven	: Castes, People, Religion etc.	465-676
	Select Bibliography	677-679
	Index	689

HISTORY OF KUMAUN

O excellent one ! the highly radiant and auspicious mount Mahameru illuminating the north stands here. Only the knowers of Brahma have access here. On it exists the seat of Brahma where Prajapati, the soul and the creator of all the movable and unmovable beings, always resides. This Mahameru is the disease and sorrow-free and pleasant residence of all the Prajapatis who are said to be mind-born sons of Brahma, and among whom Dakshprajapati occupies the seventh place. O beloved one ! It is here that Vasistha etc. the seven divine sages disappear and reappear. O Yudhisthir ! look at the elevated summit of Meru, it is a place free from *rajas*; there Pitamah Brahma resides along with self-satisfied gods. This elevated place of all powerful and great Narayan, who is called the imperishable source of the five elements of Nature and who is without beginning and end, is shining above the region of even Brahma. Even gods cannot see him who is full of brilliance and is auspicious. The place of Lord Vishnu is more lustrous than the sun and the fire and shines by its own lustre. Even the gods and the Meru itself is located in the residing place of Narayan, where he, the self-born and the creator and Lord of all, illuminating all beings by his lustre, resides. Only the persevering and high-souled can reach it, even Brahmarshis and Maharshis have no access to that place. All the shining things lose their lustre before Him, only the incomprehensible lord himself resides there. Only the self-controlled by means of their devotion can reach there. Only such high-souled ones as are endowed with great penance, have been purified by auspicious acts, have got efficiency in *yoga* and are free from all ignorance and infatuation, go there not to return to this world, but to merge themselves with that self-born, imperishable and the highest God. The residence of the God is imperishable, permanent and eternal, so O Yudhisthir ! salute it.

कुमाऊं का इतिहास

“उदीचीदीपयन्नेष दिशं तिष्ठतिवीयवान् ।
महां मेरुर्महाभाग शिवो ब्रह्मविदां गतिः ॥१२॥
यस्मिन् ब्रह्म सदश्चैव भूतात्माचाव तिष्ठते ।
प्रजापतिः सृजन् सर्वं यत्किञ्चिज्जंगमागमम् ॥१३॥
यानाहुब्रह्मणाः पुत्रान मानसान् दक्ष सप्तमान् ।
तेशामपि महामेरुः शिवं स्थान मनामयम् ॥१४॥
अत्रैव प्रतितिष्ठन्ति पुनरेवोदयन्ति च ।
सप्तदेवर्षगनस्तान वशिष्ठ प्रमुखास्तदा ॥१५॥
देशं विरज संपश्य मेरोः शिखरमुत्तमम् ।
यत्रात्म तृप्तैरध्वास्ते देवैः सह पितामहः ॥१६॥
यमाहुः सर्वं भूतानां प्रकृतेः प्रकृति ध्रुवाम् ।
अनादिनिधनं देवं प्रभुं नारायणं परम् ॥१७॥
ब्रह्मणः सदनात्तस्य परंस्थानं प्रकाशते ।
देवोपि यन्न पश्यन्ति सर्वं तेजो मयं शुभम् ॥१८॥
अत्यर्कानलदीप्तन्तत् स्थानं विष्णोर्महात्मनः ।
स्वयैवप्रभया राजन् दुष्प्रेक्ष्यं देवदानवैः ॥१९॥
प्राच्यां नारायणस्थानं मेरावति विराजते ।
यत्र भूतेश्वरस्तात सर्वप्रकृतिरात्मभूः ॥२०॥
भासयन् सर्वभूतानि सश्रियाभिविराजते ।
नात्र ब्रह्मर्षयस्तात कुतएवमहर्षयः ॥२१॥
प्रायुवन्ति गतिं ह्येतां यतीनां कुरुसत्तम ।
नतं ज्योतिषिसर्वाणि प्राप्य भासन्ति पाण्डव ॥२२॥
स्वयं प्रभुरचियात्मा तत्र ह्यति विराजते ।
यतयस्तत्रगच्छन्ति भक्तया नारायणं हरिम् ॥२३॥
परेण तपसायुक्ता भविताः कर्मभिः शुभैः ।
योग सिद्धा महात्मानस्तमो मोह विवर्जिताः ॥२४॥
तत्रगत्वा पुनर्नमं लोकमायान्ति भारत ।
स्वयंमुव महात्मानं देव देवं सनातनम् ॥२५॥
स्थान मेतन्महाभाग ध्रुवमक्षयमव्ययम् ।
ईश्वरस्य सदाह्येतन प्रणमात्र युधिष्ठिर ॥२६॥”

History of Kumaun

PART FIVE

Gorkha Rule
(1790 to 1815 A.D.)

1. Early History of Nepal

On the downfall of the Chand rule Gorkhas ruled over Kumaun for 25 years. Gorkhas are militant type of men, so their rule also was a military rule. There was a little element of civil rule in it. Owing to mutual quarrel the administrative machinery of the kingdom of Kumaun had shattered. The treasury was empty. Owing to mutual discord the condition of the country had gone topsy-turvy. The army was jumbled, yet it did not come to any one's mind that the Gorkhas coming hurriedly would at once capture the 1000 years old kingdom, as the kingdom of Nepal also was divided into smaller states. All the provinces of Bhatgaon, Venapa, Lalitpatan, Kantipur or Kathmandu were divided into smaller states. In the west in the state of Dulu, Doti, Jumala, Achham etc. kings of Vaishya dynasty ruled. In the east petty leaders of Kiranti family ruled. So was the condition in the north also. Each ruler regarded him as an independent king of Nepal. The ruler of one of these petty states was king Narbhupal Shah. He invaded the *Vaishya* kings of the west but got no success. Then he sent his son prince Prithvinarayan to receive his education in the kingdom of Bhatgaon with an intention that his son might come to know all the secrets about that side. The prince well equipped with all the facts ascended the throne in 1743 A.D. on the death of his father. He was quite clever. He was both ruler and commander. As soon as he ascended the throne he captured Nuvakot and conquering the neighbouring regions collected huge wealth. On account of his wealth efficient Gorkha warriors came over to his side. In 1768 he along with a huge army captured the states of Noakat, Kirtipur, Benapa, Bhatgaon etc. He had to fight big and difficult battles in which political wickedness, malpractices, viciousness and atrocities all took place to which generally all the imperialists have to take recourse to. King Prithvinarayan died in 1775 A.D. His son king Singh Pratap Shah became the ruler. He also died after conquering the kingdom only upto Someshvar. After him king Ranbahadur ascended the throne in 1778 A.D. Owing to his young age his mother queen Indralaxmi became the regent. She was a highly

violent and cruel-natured lady. Under her patronage the work of conquering continued. In 1779 A.D. Bahadur Shah, the uncle of the minor king, killed her and laying his hand on royal authority started the work of conquering other states with great zeal. He, ousting Prithvi Shah, king of Achham, Jumala and Doti, sounded the kettle-drum of his victory there.

Lamjung and Tanhan were the first to be captured. Later on all the twenty four kings upto the region of Kali in which lay Kaksh, Parbat, Prisingh, Satun, Isaniya, Maskot, Dalkot, Urga, Gutiya, Jumala, Raghan, Darma, Johar, Pyuthan, Dhani, Jaisarkot, Chili, Golam, Achham, Dhulekh, Dulu, Doti etc. accepted the suzerainty of Nepal. The Nepal court was well acquainted with the administration of the kingdom of Kumaun. When he entered into correspondence with Harshdeo, he told him the remaining secrets also. Besides, he also promised to help him if he invaded Kumaun and wrote to co-operate and help him in this way. Atkinson himself writes: "We find him (Harshdeo Joshi) join the Gorkhals on their entering into Almora and also named as their representative should the Gorkhali troops be obliged to leave Kumaun against the Chinese..... For this conduct there can be no excuse and no matter how much he may have suffered at the hands of Fartyals, the alliance of Harshdeo with the Gorkhals can not but be looked on as selfish and unpatriotic".

Atkinson himself has written a lot in praise of Harshdeo Joshi and he has helped more than enough the English also, but one of his learned officer calls him as a traitor.

2. Gorkha's invasion

In the beginning of 1790 Gorkha army here set out from Doti to attack Kumaun and there a sealed letter of Nepal court asking to help the Nepali army was delivered to Harshdeo by *kazi Jagjit Pande*. So Harshdeo came to Kumaun from Bareilly. The names of the Gorkha commanders were Chauntariya Bahadur Shah, *kazi Jagjit Pande*, Amar Singh Thapa and Sursingh Thapa. One regiment went from Kali to Sor, another set out to capture Visung. When this news of the invasion reached Almora, commotion and despondency spread all over. King Mahendra Chand summoned all his warriors and taking a contingent of trained soldiers with him moved towards Gangoli. There Lal Singh also taking that much

contingent advanced towards Kali Kumaun. *Subedar* Amar Singh Thapa attacked the Kumauni contingent but the forces of king Mahendra Chand defeated him and compelled him to turn towards Kali Kumaun, where the Gorkhas got success, as he had deceived prince Lal Singh at village Gautoda near Kotalgarh and killing his 200 men had compelled him to flee towards the plains. When king Mahendra Chand was about to start to help his uncle prince Lal Singh, he got the news of his uncle's defeat and he also giving all hopes of saving Almora fled towards Kota where Lal Singh also reached from Rudrapur. Gorkhas thus finding their path clear proceeded towards Almora and after an ordinary encounter near Hawalbagh occupied Almora on the first day of the dark half of *chaitra samvat* 1847 i.e. 1790 A.D. Pt. Harshdeo Joshi was with *kazi* Jagjit Pande in the capacity of the commander of a special Kumauni contingent.

Later on with a view of freeing his country from the Gorkha king Mahendra Chand and prince Lal Singh first time fought in village Birgul between the Sipati and Gangol *pattis* and second time from the valley of Badakheda, but were defeated both the times and fled to reside in Kilpuri.

3. Encounter with China and Tibet

In 1791 A.D. also Pt. Harshdeo Joshi was in Almora and was helping Gorkhas in all possible ways to conquer Garhwal. Gorkhas could not proceed ahead of Langurgarh in Garhwal. They were unsuccessful in capturing this inaccessible fort. And when receiving further help he was preparing to attack it again, news was received from Nepal that Chinese had invaded Nepal and also the order that Gorkha officers having surrendered the right over the region on the other side of Kali to Harshdeo and the king of Garhwal should return towards Nepal, but king Pradyumn Shah was so much afraid of the awe of the Nepali officers that he accepted to pay annual tax of Rs.25000/- and also agreed to keep Nepali ambassador in Srinagar, (Historian Repar describes this deposit as Rs. 9000/-). There in respect of the battle between Nepal and China the Gorkhas said that they had hacked the Chinese soldiers to pieces. But in Chinese history something else is written. The head Lama of the Tashi Lamas died in 1781 A.D. His eldest brother seized his whole treasury and gave nothing to his younger brother. The

younger brother with the help of Nepal invaded Tibet. The Tibetans purchased the Nepalese by promising to pay Rs.72000/- annually. When Gorkhas did not get this amount they in 1791 went there and started plundering and killing the Tashi Lamas. Next year the Chinese at the head of not only defeated the Gorkhas but also made them pay indemnity and for the first time a contingent of 3000 soldiers was stationed in Tibet. Nepal also agreed to pay *khiraj* to China.

4. Harshdeo imprisoned again

Owing to this battle Jagjit Pande got from Nepal a sealed order addressed to him that entrusting the kingdom of Garhwal to the king of Garhwal and that of Kumaun to the king of Kumaun he should come back to Nepal along with the forces. Thereupon, prince Parakram Shah advised commander Amar Singh Thapa not to entrust the kingdom of Kumaun to Harshdeo as he was a great cheat and imposter, he knew fully about him. So commander Amar Singh Thapa instead of entrusting the kingdom to Harshdeo, imprisoned him and told him that he would get back the kingdom of Kumaun. After proving his honesty when Harshdeo lodged his appeal before *kazi* Jagjit Pande, he asked him to accompany him to Nepal where the matter would be decided. Harshdeo also accompanied the military forces going to Nepal upto Gangoli. In the meantime another sealed letter came from Nepal that as peace had been made with China, the Nepali Officers should again bring the western regions under the authority of Nepal like before and if by then the kingdoms of Kumaun and Garhwal had not been entrusted to anyone, then they should not be entrusted. As soon as the order came, the Gorkha forces halted. In the meantime Harshdeo came to know that *Subedar* Amar Singh Thapa would be appointed as a *kazi* in place of *kazi* Jagjit Pande and so it would be difficult for him to get rid of him. So finding the Gorkha guards inattentive Harshdeo Joshi, escaping from the captivity fled towards Johar. By then Johar had not come under the rule of the Gorkhas.

In the meantime on receipt of the news of peace with China both Gorkha officers and army came to Almora. So Harshdeo could not instigate the people in Pali and Baramandal against the Gorkhas. Joshis belonged to Fartyal faction. So they apparently sheltered Harshdeo with them but virtually made him a captive and

sent the news of this incident to prince Lal Singh and king Mahendra Chandra. Both of them got happy as both of them regarded themselves as the crown king of Kumaun. Both of them sent one of their relations to prince Padma Singh. The members of the Mahar faction say that prince Padma Singh was sent to kill Harshdeo. But when he could not be killed, Prince Padma Singh might have been sent to capture Harshdeo and bring him to king Mahendra Singh. Clever and crafty Harshdeo who was a tamer of serpents and lions played another trick. He allured prince Padma Singh, brought him under his control and told him that if he accepted his advice and accompanied him in his efforts he would seat prince Padma Singh on the throne of Kumaun. Harshdeo also told him that Lal Singh and Mahendra Singh were not real claimants but prince Padma Singh was the real one and so he would try to seat him on the throne of Kumaun. Innocent prince Padma Singh was deceived by Harshdeo. Now Harshdeo wanted only this much that any how king Mahendra Chand and prince Lal Singh might not come to Almora. He had already made the Gorkhas of Thapa group his enemies ; at them also they looked with disdain. So he taking prince Padma Singh with him went to the king of Garhwal to see what help he provided. But king Pradyumn Shah had made a solemn promise that he would now never interfere in the politics of Kumaun and whatever he had to suffer on account of the Gorkhas from that he thought it is wiser not to associate himself with any quarrel against them. Prince Padma Singh was compelled to return to Kota along with his friends as the king of Garhwal did not agree to help him in any way and Harshdeo in Srinagar, was busy in reflecting and all the plans that Garhwal made for his protection he continued taking main part in them.

King Mahendra and prince Lal Singh made many efforts to free their kingdom from the Gorkhas but they remained unsuccessful because even the Maharas of Kali Kumaun did not accompany them.

5. Rohila War

In 1794 A.D. his brother Gulam Muhammad Khan killed *nawab* Muhammad Ali Khan. The *begam* of dead Nawab submitted an application to Nawab Wazir of Awadh. As soon as Nawab Wazir on receiving some money was to settle this matter, English forces

were sent from Fatehgarh to Bareilly. This battle took place under the orders of Warren Hastings. In Bareilly the English forces awaited Nawab Wazir of Awadh and his forces when the army of *nawab* Gulam Muhammad Khan made its offensive attack. This battle was fought on the bank of river Shanka near village Bithaura lying seven miles west of Bareilly. In this battle Nawab Gulam Muhammad Khan was defeated and fled. He hid himself first in Bhavar of Kumaun and then Naberana. Atkinson says that he hid himself in Fatechauda of Garhwal but Rudradatt Pant says that he had dug trenches for battle in Naberana which still exist there. Later on Nawab Wazir ordered Harshdeo to drive out Gulam Muhammad Khan from Kumaun. Harshdeo fetching forces from Garhwal got Gulam Muhammad Khan expelled. In the end he went to Sansar Chand, king of Kangra, and stayed on there. Harshdeo Joshi sent the forces of king Pradyumn Shah back to Garhwal and himself to get his designs fulfilled accompanied the army of Nawab Wazir. The army of Nawab Wazir of Awadh proceeded to Lucknow after appointing *nawab* Ahmad Ali Khan, son of killed *nawab* Muhammad Ali Khan, as the *nawab* of Rampur. Harshdeo cleared his intention through Raja Tikait Rai. From there he got the assurance that he would be made the *zamindar* of the wards such as Kashipur and Rudrapur etc. and will be given the villages in the middle of Mal by way of fief. In this hope Harshdeo stayed encamping in Lucknow.

As soon as the English forces and the forces of *nawab* were disbanded from Rampur king Mahendra Chand and prince Lal Singh recruited the soldiers of the army of *nawab* Gulam Muhammad in his army and decided to again invade Kumaun. *Kazi* Amar Singh Thapa being fed up with these frequent invasions taking his army captured the fort of Kilpuri and drove out both prince Lal Singh and king Mahendra Chand from there. Both of them from there went to Bareilly and narrated their long story before the *subedar* of that place. The *subedar* forwarded his petition to Nawab Wazir of Awadh. By Nawab Wazir Sardar Hasan Raza Khan, Sardar Haidar Beg Khan and Raja Tikait Raj were ordered to take Harshdeo along with them and eject the Gorkhas from Kumaun and other regions. So preparations for war began to be made. Harshdeo also went to Lucknow. He suggested a device that the manager (*karinda*) of Kashipur was Shivilal and his son Jai

Narayan Joshi is in full knowledge of the facts about Almora. So the passage to Chilkiya might be blocked through them. So an order came to Atabeg, the *subedar* of Bareilly and manager Shambhunath that they with the help of Shivlal and Jai Narayan should block the way (*ghata*) of Chilkiya. The army was encamped there so that no provisions could reach the hills.

On behalf of the Company government Mr. Chery was the resident in Lucknow. He brought about reconciliation between Nepal government and Nawab Wazir. Thus the imminent war was postponed. The *vakil* of Nepal came to Lucknow and brought a letter that he had vacated the *pargana* of Kilpuri and now it should be regarded as annexed to Lucknow. And now Nepal would raise no dispute. Nawab Wazir accepted this proposal of peace. The war came to an end. Later on king Mahendra Chand and prince Lal Singh reached Lucknow. Nawab Wazir granted them the region of Chanchahat, situated in the district of Pilibhit, *jagir* and some regions of Tarai for maintenance.

Harshdeo Joshi was in Garhwal. First he instigated the Garhwal king to invade Kumaun, but when he refused to do so, it appears that he accepted service there because his signature has been found on a petition which was sent to the king of Garhwal that Rohila *nawab* Gulam Muhammad Khan be expelled. Perhaps he had fled to that place. Harshdeo was highly displeased on account of the peace that *nawab* of Awadh had made with two Chands (king Mahendra Chand and prince Lal Singh) disappointed by Nepal and Kumaun. So he put up a pretext that he was going to the court of Nawab Wazir with a complaint of the people of Garhwal but actually he went to the court of Asafuddaula, the *nawab* of Awadh, to oppose the above peace. Nawab asked him to go to Mr. Chery, the political agent, as he alone, with whose advice the peace was made with Nepal, could change the peace. So in 1797 A.D. Harshdeo went to Mr. Chery at Banaras as the *vakil* of the king of Garhwal. There he conversed not a little with Chery and also despatched a few letter as also surveyed all the atrocities of the Gorkhas had committed on the people of Garhwal and Kumaun. Mr. Chery was a clever politician. Then the Company government was anxious to conquer Awadh, Rohilkhand and Kumaun. Knowing that Harshdeo would be of great help in the battle with Kumaun he gave him good assurance. He told him that he would make up all

the losses he had suffered, so he should not worry. He would secure him Company government's patronage when Rohilkhand comes into its possession Harshdeo would get his due. When the time for conquering Kumaun would come he could be remembered, so asked him to give all facts about Kumaun in writing. Harshdeo submitted a detailed report in writing. Mr. Chery told him that he had forwarded his report to higher officers. He was granted maintenance allowance of Rs.50/- per month so that he might stay at Banaras and spend his days easily. Harshdeo began to live at Banaras with Mr. Chery.

After this *nawab* Asafuddaula died. There arose a dispute among his successors regarding the *nawabship*. Mr. Chery accompanied by Wazir Ali came to Banaras from Lucknow. Harshdeo was already present in Banaras. Later on in 1799 Mr. Chery was murdered. His friend *nawab* Wazir Ali whom he wanted to appoint *nawab* fled away. Nawab Saadat Ali Khan ascended the throne of Lucknow. Harshdeo was disappointed from all sides. In the meantime he made friends with king Ranbahadur Shah, expelled from Nepal. The details about this king are published also elsewhere. He seated his son Girvanyuddha Vikram Shah on the throne, but also gave orders himself. People said that the execution of the orders of two kings was not possible. So the arbitrators compelled king Ranbahadur Shah to flee to Banaras. King Sansar Chand of Kangra summoned Harshdeo to his place. On reaching Haridwar from Banaras he fell ill and so stayed there.

A letter and *dharmpatra* from Banaras of king Ranbahadur Shah addressed to Harshdeo came to Haridwar that he should help him in capturing the throne of Nepal again. He was sending money to meet the expenditure. On the receipt of money Harshdeo asked his eldest son Jainarayan Joshi to go to Nepal with a small force. Jainarayan along with the forces via Garhwal reached Johar upward and encamped in Lipa Sangudi. That time also Milmvals played the same old trick. They apparently accorded warm reception and said that it was not a good place for their stay, but going a bit lower down there is an extensive *udyar* (cave) and a field above village Nilam; encamping there would be better. Jainarayan encamped there. Milmvals on the other hand demolished the Sanga bridge, over Gori, and told that if they stay for some time they would reconstruct the bridge and then he would be able to go to Nepal via

Darma. There such things were going on, but here they sent a message to *kazi* Bhakti Thapa in Almora that the son of Harshdeo Joshi was going to Nepal for betrayal, he had kept him imprisoned, sending army he might take him away. On getting this news *kazi* Bhakti Thapa reached Johar with a contingent. There was a little fight. At last Jainarayan was caught and Bhakti Thapa came to Almora taking him a prisoner. Later on he was sent to Nepal as a captive.

Leaving Hardiwar Harshdeo went to king Sansar Chand in Kangra. There he happened to meet *nawab* Gulam Muhammad Khan, former *nawab* of Rampur. In that battle both were ruined. Both the old enemies happened to meet.

In the meantime *maharaja* Jaswant Rao Holkar fleeing from the battle of Bharatpur had become extremely angry. General Lake pursued him upto Bhakhuval. Then king Sansar Chand sent Harshdeo Joshi to General Lake to convey that he would not give shelter to Jaswant Rao in his region. Pt. Harshdeo in addition to conveying this message to General Lake, narrated his own story. Lake consoled him and asked him to see him again. Harshdeo again returned to king Sansar Chand at Kangra.

But Gorkha forces attacked Kangra also. King Sansar Chand got perplexed. He sent Harshdeo to Maharaja Ranjit Singh to seek his help. Harshdeo asked Ranjit Singh for force, but also narrated his own story and the atrocities of the Gorkhas on Kumaun. The Sikhs came to help king Sansar Chand and drove out the Gorkhas from Kumaun. Since then the fort of Kangra came under the possession of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. King Sansar Chand became a feudatory king under him.

After the battle of Kangra Harshdeo left his nephew Ramnarayan Joshi with king Sansar Chand and himself came to Kankhal via the bank of Ganga saying as he had grown old, he, not taking any part in politics would spend his time only in taking bath in the Ganga and remembering God.

Later on Bhimsen Thapa *kazi* carried on the state administration with king Girvanyuddha Vikram Shah in his lap. A number of functionaries were got murdered. The order of Bhimsen Thapa prevailed in Nepal. He was addressed as general.

6. First Settlement

In *samvat* 1848-49 (1791-1792 A.D.) Jogamall got the right to rule the kingdom of Kumaun and first of all he made the revenue settlement. He levied tax @ rupee 1/- per populated *bisi*. Rupee 1/- per major person was realised as *manga* (poll tax).

7. Narshahi ka Mangal

In *samvat* 1850 *i.e.* 1793 A.D. *kazi* Narshah and his *naib* Ramdatt Shahi were appointed *daishik* administrators, and commander Kalu Pande was made the chief of the army. Subba Narshah is said to be a great despot and tyrant. Many soldiers from the mountains of the west and Nagarkot had settled down in Pali, Baramandal and Sor. They there entered into matrimony also. Kazi Narshah suspected their loyalty. So he carried on the administration and also conducted an enquiry as to who lived where. He also got it decided that on a fixed night and a fixed indication they all be killed. It was done accordingly. The Nagarkotiyas had curling locks of hair. That night many of them cut their curling locks of hair with swords, knives and saws and many turned *fakirs*. In this way some could save themselves.

The rest were killed wherever met. Even now the night of Tuesday, when they were killed, is called *Narshahi ka Mangal*. In respect of deceit and fraud also the same expression is used. The atrocious and unjust Subba Narshah was called to Nepal.

8. Groupism in Nepal

In *samvat* 1851 Ajabsingh Khavas was appointed Subba in his place and Shreshtha Thapa was appointed a *kardar* and Jaswant Singh Bhandari military officer *i.e.* military commander. In Kathmandu such incidents took place as had their effect on the politics of Kumaun also. *Maharaja* Bahadur Shah who ascended the throne in 1779 A.D. was dethroned by one of his subordinates—Parbal Rana and died after bearing severe torture during his imprisonment. In Nepal also like Mahar and Fartyal there merged two factions. One of them from before was called Chauntara or Chauntariya faction. An elevated place is called Chauntara or terrace. The royal throne is placed on an elevation. So they were called Chauntariya *i.e.* the supporters of the king. He also is called Chauntara who is adept in the knowledge of *sam*, *dam*, *dand*, and

bhed in politics. Till now this was the only party in Nepal. But now the second Thapa party also came into being. The party consisted of those persons who had risen to power from ordinary status by means of military victories. So on account of the dominance of the Thapa party in Nepal *subba* Amar Singh Thapa, deputy *subba* Govind Singh Upadhyay and army commander Bhakti Thapa in *samvat* 1852 *i.e.* 1795 A.D. were appointed as chief officers in Kumaun. Next year in *samvat* 1853 *i.e.* 1796 A.D. both the chief and deputy *subbas* were removed and their posts were respectively occupied by Prabalrana and Jaikrishna Thapa. In *samvat* 1854-55 *i.e.* 1797 A.D. the Thapa party suffered defeat. So this year in place of Thapa party, Bam Shah and Rudravir Shah were sent. That party which came in power, appointed officers of its choice.

9. A Fresh tax on the Brahmins

In his short reign a land tax named *kushahi* @ Rs.5/- per one *gyula* land was levied on brahmin cultivators. *Jyula* constituted of 6 to 15 acres of land. Till now no land tax was levied on brahmins. It is said that this tax was rarely realised, but it was virtually levied to frighten and snub such brahmins as participated in conspiracies and high treason. As long as a brahmin lived peacefully the tax was not realised from him but when he took part in politics and did not pay his attention to cultivation, this tax, also with arrears, was realised from him. Now Kaldhar and Brahmanand Upadhyay were the revenue collectors and Amar Singh Thapa and Angad Sardar military officers.

In *samvat* 1856 *subba* Ajab Singh, *naib subba* Shreshtha Thapa were appointed again. Vishram Khatri was made *dishtha*.

In *samvat* 1857-58 *i.e.* 1800-1801 A.D. Dhaunkal Singh Basanyat was appointed as *kazi* and major Ganpati Padhya as a *subba*. Dhaunkal Singh was a man of ill-temperament. He was not cautious even in his military duties. In a military dispute he wanted to kill a soldier with his own hand but at that very place the *dhakacha* soldiers themselves killed him with the buttends of their rifles. This year when the new king Girvanyuddh Vikram Shah ascended the throne *nazrana* was realised from the whole kingdom.

In 1800 A.D. king Ranbahadur wanted to dismiss Thapa ministers, but they united with the second queen and compelled the

king to enthrone his son. So in place of king Ranbahadur, Girvanyuddh Vikram Shah became the king and the queen, the regent. King Ranbahadur turned a recluse and named himself as Swami Nirgunanand. First he stayed in Devpatan, then in Lalitpur. In Lalitpur he did a fraud. When one of his wives fell ill and when even after making various offerings to and worshipping god Teluji, she was not cured, he ordered to break the idol and hang the physicians. Later on they were sent to Banaras. In 1802 commander Rudravir was for some time appointed as a *subba* in place of Dhaunkal Singh. A fresh tax namely *tankar* was levied. A rupee for 16 *annas* was the rate maintained.

In *samvat* 1860 *i.e.* 1803 A.D. *kazi* Gajkeshar Pande was appointed as *subba* and subedar Krishnanand Adhikari as naib *subba*. This very *samvat* at midnight of *anantchaturdashi* of *bhadon* there occurred severe earthquake lasting for 7 days and 7 nights. There were repeated tremors. Many buildings were smashed. In Srinagar the royal palace also wrecked. Chasms were created in mountains.

10. Conquest of Garhwal

In *samvat* 1861 *i.e.* 1803 A.D. Gorkhas conquered Garhwal. The people of Garhwal had fought against the Gorkhas very bravely since the invasion of Langurgarh till today. They always fought and whenever got an opportunity plundered the neighbouring regions. This year Gorkha leaders *subba* Amar Singh Thapa, Hastidal Chauntariya, Bam Shah Chauntariya and Ranjor Thapa came from Nepal. They attacked Garhwal at the head of a huge and trained army. From that side the king of Garhwal and both his brothers, whom Mr. Hardwik has described as under, came to fight.

“(1) King Pradyumn Shah, about 27 years old, of short stature, lean and thin, handsome but looked like women.

(2) Prince Parakram Shah was strong, brave and of human inclinations.

(3) Prince Pritam Shah of 19 years and almost similar to the king.

All the three wore muslin *jamias*, coloured turbans and belts and white trousers which crumpled on wearing. They wore no ornaments and decoration.”

The astrologers of Paliyagada who lived in the place of the source of Yamuna declared that the king would be defeated and he would go to Dehradun. It happened so. In Dehradun king Pradyumn Shah with the help of Ramdayal Singh, the Gujar king of Landhaura, collected a force of 12000 soldiers. He wanted to get back his kingdom but in the battle with Gorkhas near Khudbuda. King Pradyumn Shah was killed. Prince Pritam Shah was sent to Nepal as a captive. Prince Parakram Shah fled to Sansar Chand, the king of Kangra. This happened in 1804 A.D.

Amar Singh and his son Ranjor Thapa remained the rulers of both Kumaun and Garhwal.

In *samvat* 1862 *i.e.* 1805 A.D. officers named Ritudhvaj Thapa, Vijay Singh Shahi, Mithun Das Kayastha, Jayanarayan and Hardatt Singh Ojha etc. came to Almora and the revenue settlements were again looked into. A number of free lands and *gunths* were confiscated. This is called *raibandi*.

11. Subba Bam Shah Chauntariya

In 1806 A.D. Ritudhvaj Thapa was on some ground convicted and he was hanged in Doti. In his place Subba Chauntariya Bam Shah was appointed. The administration of Kumaun lay in his hand till 1815 when the English occupied Kumaun. In Kathmandu owing to political turmoil, the authority passed from the hands of Thapa party into the hands of Chauntariya party. Under Chauntariya Bam Shah these were appointed as functionary officers: Virbhanjan Pande and Chamu Bhandari. It is said that Bam Shah Chauntariya was born in Kumaun.

In his time the revenue was fixed under four heads (*harah*) : *avval*, *doyam*, *soyam*, *chaharum*. The army was given provinces in lieu of pay. When the military officers went to the *tehsil*, they got no cash, they got only utensils, clothes, food-provisions etc. Even human beings were collected in tax in lieu of cash. After collecting them they sold them to others. Such a man was regarded as their slave.

12. Shree Harshdeo

When king Pradyumn Shah was killed and one of his brothers was captured and the second fled to Kangra, Harshdeo went to

Kankhal. He had bidden adieu to participate in politics but the Nepalese via Haridwar and Kankhal enslaved men and women of Garhwal and sold them in foreign countries. Who else was there to hear the complaints of the poor except Harshdeo? He carried on a long correspondence with the British agent Mr Frazer at Delhi. He also did not forget Nepal. First his son was a prisoner there and secondly his friend king Ranbahadur had been dethroned. So he also maintained his correspondence with that mad king. At the end the king with the conspiracy of his ADC's, once again reached Nepal. Though he had lived outside for so long, his nature had not undergone any change. The king started committing atrocities which led the people of all the parties to unite. One day a letter of the king was seized which contained the names of such persons as were to be killed. Among those names, the name of prime minister Sherbahadur was there. So in 1807 A.D. Sherbahadur killed Ranbahadur. This resulted in great turmoil. At last king Girvanyuddh Vikram Shah was again enthroned.

13. High Handedness of Gorkha Rule

Gorkhas had once conquered the regions upto Dehradun, Saharanpur and Kangra, Simla. It is said that they committed many atrocities in Garhwal. It is said that every year upto 200000 (?) male and female slaves were brought and displayed at Gorkha-Chauki for sale. Women and men of thirty were sold. Their price was from Rs.10/- to Rs.30/-. In lieu of fines also they were sold. When on the demand of the Gorkha officers, money was not paid all the members of the family were captured and sold. Parents were compelled to sell their children, uncles their nephews and elder brothers their younger brothers and sisters.

Though the people of Kumaun scantily opposed Gorkhali rule, yet they were tortured, compelled to pay heavy taxes and made victims of a number of atrocities. No commissions were fixed by the government in respect of wages and godam, nor was any permanent arrangement made. Gorkhalis carried food materials without payment. They allured *brahmins*, *rajputs*, *baniyas*, *khas rajputs* whom they might engage for works as a porter or made pretexts that they had to talk to them the next day, they should come to their houses or there was a *shradhh* of the forefathers or worship of gods, and when they went there in the morning they got tied up loads. They

after beating them and placing the loads on their heads went other way. The coolies often avoiding their vision, throwing off the loads fled away but they were not caught again. They compelled even brahmins to carry loads saying that feet of a brahmin are worshipped, not his head. When the Gorkhas came to a town, or a village, they ousted the owner of the house. They cutting the wood of the house burnt it and taking out the food materials ate them up. If there were trees of fruits and flowers in the garden, they after eating the fruits cut down the trees to test their scimitar.

Pt. Rudradatt Pant writes, "A Gorkha is strong-bodied and a valiant fighter. For him there is no difference between giving up his life or taking that of others. The king of Nepal and his functionaries regarded the soldiers as their slaves."

In *samvat* 1865-66 the old settlement was retained. Chauntariya Bam Shah remained the governor of Kumaun. In *samvat* 1867 Lal Dhadhe were made. *Pargana-wise patta* (title deed) called *lal muhar* was issued. In it all the terms, rentals, areas etc, were recorded. This very settlement continued upto *samvat* 1871 *i.e.* 1814 A.D.

In Kumaun Gorkhalis ruled for 24 years. In the meantime there were two kings in Nepal—Ranbahadur Shah and his son, Girvanyuddha Vikram Shah. It was a convention in Nepal that every year there was an exchange between the administrative and military officers. During the year of appointment they were called *Jagicha* and from the year of their confirmation *Dhakacha*. The custom and law were not fixed or written down. Among the functionaries his orders were obeyed who had more soldiers. That is, if one *kamdar* imprisoned or sentenced an offender to death, another *kamdar* set the offender free and if the third *kamdar* happened to be strong he again arrested the offender set free and could get him chastised. If the Gorkhas got their monthly pay and their soldiers remained intact they would be ever serving their master. The Gorkha soldiers even chewing vice had fought for two to three days continuously. Gorkhas are true to their salt. They have excess of anger and obstinacy. Their faces look like *huniyas i.e.* round face, flat nose and swollen eyes. They often keep their beards and moustaches.

Gorkhalis have great respect for gods, *shastras*, brahmins and cows. They were firm in these matters but behaviour towards the

brahmins and rajputs of other places except Nepal was not good. But a few of the Gorkhas of noble birth were good in their ordinary behaviour and talks.

Gorkhali kings were very cruel at heart. Killing a human being or bird was equal in their eyes. They paid least heed to the dignity of the king whose country they seized in war. Even if they gave a bit respect to anyone, they without any enquiry, at his small fault ruined his prestige. The reason was that they did not like the execution of the name of any other king except his own. Yet they tried to fully observe the religious duties of *kshatriyas* as prescribed in the sacred books. They were always ready to maintain the custom of the old temples of gods and to innovate them or to build new temples and to consecrate and worship them. They also granted *gunth* and free land. They also worship brahmins and cows. They gave charity and also performed sacrifices. They often seized the fiefs and *gunths*. They were not quite intelligent. They were also libertine.

During the 24 years of rule of the Gorkhals the Joshis of Jhijhad, Danya, Digauli, Kalaun, Oliagaon and Galli were the *kamdars*. The Chaudharis, Gangolis and Upradas of Dwara, Pants of Syunarakot and Khunt and others also were engaged in the work of agency. In respect of the profession of Pandit and Vaidya Kumaunis held the first place. In the army also the Kumaunis were recruited in a good number. But the Gorkhas rarely trusted them. They also commanded least respect.

The reason why the Kumaunis did not rise in rebellion against the Gorkhali rule is that there was a constant warfare between king Mohan Chand and the Joshis for royal power and during it there was none to hear about miseries of the people they had to suffer from. So what was the gain or loss for the subjects? Whosoever wielded the royal power he began looting them. The saying of Tulsidas came to their mind: "कोऊ नृप होय हमै का हानी". So the subjects were not satisfied with any rule, but what could they do? Whomsoever they approached to, was ready to bite them.

There are a number of stories regarding the atrocities of the Gorakha rule. In the beginning atrocities in excess were committed. One story runs as follows: Once a fresh tax was levied, when people refused to pay it, *padhans* of 1500 villages were summoned under the pretext that the rules of tax would be explained to them. They

came and they were killed so that others might get a lesson. Many people fled to Rohilkhand. Their family members were sold in Rohilkhand. Though efforts were made during the last days of the Gorkha rule to rectify the faults of administration, yet the ill name that the Gorkha rule has earned in its designation of 'Gorkhyol' would not be forgotten for centuries to come. People upto now say,

“के भै हूँ गोरखियोक राज है गोंछ।”

In 1806 A.D. Bam Shah (Some call him Bhim Shah also) became the ruler of Kumaun. He tried to reform the administration. He summoned the main brahmins and kshatriyas and giving them bribe and assurances brought them under his control and in this way did not give an opportunity to the invasions from outside to succeed. Whereas Garhwal was ruled in such a way as its habitation might turn into forests, so was not the case in Kumaun.

Personal property of the people was protected, the old *jagirs* were retained, the revenue continued to be collected as before and some show of justice was also practiced and best of all these things king Bam Shah did was that he stopped the sale of family members in case of non-deposit of money. At least these things were done on paper, how far they were actually practised, we can not say.

Many Kumaunis and Garhwalis were recruited in the army and sent to conquer the western side. These forces were not mingled with the permanent Gorkha soldiers, rather it was a kind of volunteer force which got full pay in the time of war and in peace times, land to earn livelihood or less pay. They were mostly placed under Gorkha officers. Sometimes they were placed under Kumauni commanders also. They were used as permanent forces but were less strong than the Gorkha forces, though capable of rendering good service under efficient officers. Gorkha forces were stationed here and there all over Kumaun and that *pargana* where the cantonment was located, had to disburse the pay. This caused great discontent. The soldiers lodged a complaint in the Nepal court that did not get their pay in Kumaun. In 1807-8 A.D. an enquiry, under the chairmanship of Revant *kazi*, was conducted by Nepal court. It suggested a few improvements.

Here the military officers had gripped the whole province and desired to become rich by hurriedly collecting money as after a short stay they were transferred. So how could they attend to the

proposals of reform, yet in 1809 A.D. *subba* Bam Shah had promulgated certain rules which were enforced till the end of the Gorkha rule. Chief officers were transferred every year. When in actual service, they were called *jagiriya* and pension holders *thakuriya*. They got their pay from the revenue of a village. The enquiry commission retained the back amount and levied new taxes i.e. *dhiukar*, *tankar* and *mijhari*.

Captain Heresy says. "Nepali officers are ignorant, unsteady, treacherous, untrue and greatly greedy and when victorious, ferocious and impolite and when defeated, mean and pitiable; terms and peaces made by them are not to be trusted." Later on they copied the dress, posts and army advancement of the English. They created the posts of connel, major, captain, *subedar*, *faujdar*, *sardar*, *kazi* etc. but their army is said to be insignificant in comparison with those of Holkar and Sindhiya. The pay during the wardays was Rs. 8 per month and at other times Rs. 6.

Dress:—Formerly in the days of Kumauni kings *chaubandi*, *pajama*, cap, shoes were used. Later on in the days of Gorkha rule, it was also English dress.

Weapons:—were sword, *khukari*, knife, *lamchhad*, guns. Officers carried swords, shields, *khukari* and bows and arrows which they handled efficiently. Sometimes they had *khanda* and *bhujali* also with them. They had smaller gun-powders also.

Captain Heresy again says, "Owing to fighting battles day and night the Gorkha army had become valiant, fearless and unmindful of enemies. It lived happy and never cared for weariness." Many of them were highly valiant. Even now there are only a few contingents which can stand with Gorkha soldiers. But the horrible atrocities they committed during their rule, can not be forgotten.

14. Gorkha System of Justice

There was no specific system of rendering justice. Each and every officer decided cases according to his position and sweet will. In the whole of Kumaun all the petty civil and criminal cases were decided by the provincial military officers. Major cases were decided by local rulers with the help of military officers. But the military officers who had to remain hither and thither in connection with military operations, entrusted the work of deciding cases to their

subordinate officers, *vicharis*. The process of filing suit was simple. The statements of the plaintiffs and the defendants were taken cursorily and then they were asked to swear by '*harivansa*'. In cases like boundary dispute where there were no eye-witnesses or the evidences were contradictory, fire-ordeal called *divya* was prescribed.

- (1) *Red-hot iron-bar ordeal*—In it one had to walk some distance holding red-hot iron-bar in his hand.
- (2) *Balance ordeal*—In it the suspect was weighed against pieces of stone; they were kept in a safe place and then he was next day again weighed against them, if he was found heavier, he was regarded innocent, but guilty if lighter.
- (3) *Cauldron-ordeal*—In it the suspect was to put his hand in boiling oil in a cauldron, if his hand did not burn he was regarded innocent, but guilty if burnt.

Mahanth Guru Ramrai of Dehradun also when suspected guilty of murder was once put to cauldron ordeal. His hand was burnt and so he had to pay a heavy fine. The judgment was written then and there and shown to the on-lookers and then handed over to the winning party. The losing party was compelled to pay heavy fine, not according to the nature of the suit but according to his pecuniary condition. In cases, related to succession, trade and other miscellaneous matters *panchas* were appointed and they decided cases by ballot. The names of the plaintiff and their defendants were written down on small pieces of papers of the same type and placed in a temple. The priest came and picked up one of the pieces. The man whose name appeared on this slip was declared successful. In many cases the decision was arrived at in this way : plaintiff went to a temple and took oath that his suit or allegation was just.

Mr. Traill refers to some other ordeals :

- (1) *Arrow-ordeal*—In it a man was kept drowned in water till another man ran to and came back from a place located at an arrow-thrown distance.
- (2) Children of both the parties who could not swim were drowned in a pond; one who survived longer, was declared the winner.

- (3) Poison also was administered. A poisonous herb was administered to the party, one who died lost and he who survived won.
- (4) In a money suit the money or in a land-dispute one clod of earth belonging to the piece of land under dispute was kept in a temple. If no death occurred within six months in the family of the claimant, he was regarded right, if any death occurred or some divine calamity befell him, he was treated guilty and punished accordingly.

15. The System of Punishment

For breach of trust capital punishment was awarded. For murder the offender was executed by hanging him from a tree. But a brahmin committing murder was awarded the punishment of banishment. A shudra was awarded capital punishment even for intentionally killing a cow, violating his caste-rules and touching the hubble-bubble of a brahmin or rajput. Under the Chand-rule hanging meant suspending from a tree or chopping off the head. But the Gorkhas started amputation also. Sometimes the offender was killed very cruelly. It is said that on wounds salt and chilly were applied.

In the days of the Chands hanging was quite rare. Only a few shudras were sometimes hanged but in the days of the Gorkhas capital punishment had become a common thing.

Mr. Traill writes that in cases of petty theft the offender was compelled to compensate the loss and also pay a fine, but if the offence was severe his hands and nose were cut off. In hills grave thefts were rarely committed. For committing offences against the rules of Hindu *Dharmshastra* fine was imposed. Among the people belonging to lower status for committing adultery only monetary punishments were awarded. But among high caste people if adultery was committed the male was awarded capital punishment and nose of the female was cut off. On committing sexual offence by the wife, if the husband killed both the paramour and the woman, there was no interference from the side of the government. Offenders awarded the punishment of imprisonment became king's servants; they worked on the personal land or gardens of the king. The offenders setting down to the royal village of Tarai, named

Garhgaon, were exempted from punishment for any type of offences. If a person committed suicide his near relations had to pay heavy fine. During the Gorkha rule curious and fantastic ordinances were promulgated and on violating them fine was to be paid. In Garhwal an ordinance was promulgated that no woman should go on the roof; but work of the villagers could not be carried on without going on the roofs. Drying corns and clothes and collecting wood and grass all are carried on roofs. So women went on the roof and the fine was realised. Both men and women had to face the trouble.

16. Anglo-Nepal War

It is described here how the Nepal government suffered defeat and the British empire expanded in these hills. Then the Gorkha kingdom extended from Kangra upto Darjeeling. Tarai at places was in their hands. Nahan, Dchradun, Jaunsar-Bavar, Garhwal, Kumaun, Nepal and its *tarai* and some portion of the *tarai* of the province of Bihar was under them. Their's was military administration. Plundering and sacking was their regular business. When these things began to happen in British territories, they wrote to the Nepal government, but with no result.

The first dispute began in 1804 from Butwal which originally belonged to king Palya. The Gorkhas had grabbed his wealth and property in Nepal and then occupied Butwal also, though it is said that it was under the British rule. Correspondence continued till 1812 but Nepal paid no attention to it. So in 1814 Governor-General Lord Hastings issued an order to annex these districts to the British empire. He proclaimed that as the Nepal government had forcibly established its authority over so many places in the districts of Purniya, Tirhut, Saran, Gorakhpur, Bareilly and the protected land between Yamuna and Satluj and grave atrocities had been committed there, so this war is declared. An English writer, Over says that between 1787 and 1812 the Gorkhas had occupied 200 villages of the British territory. Decisions had also been taken about the land of king Palya. The company government acquired this land on an annual rent of Rs. 32000/- and the Nepal government then did not object to it, but later on occupied Butwal. Later on a commission also was set. There was a good deal of correspondence and the English in April 1814 occupied Butwal.

But on May 29, 1814 the Nepali army under the command of Shri Manraj Faujdar occupied Butwal and killed the English police *daroga* and constables there. Then on account of bad weather the English could not send the re-inforcement.

The English government sent a letter. The Nepal government gave evasive reply. From May to November poison had been mixed in the wells near district Saran so that the English forces drinking their water might die. The English had come to know all about this. Four battalions were sent to attack Nepal.

- (1) A contingent of 8000 under Major General Morley to attack Kathmandu.
- (2) A contingent of 4000 under Major General Wood to fight in Gorakhpur.
- (3) A contingent of 3500 under Major General Gilesbi to conquer Dehradun.
- (4) A contingent of 6000 under Major General Ochterloney to occupy the regions between Sutlej and Yamuna.

Among them Morley's and Wood's performances were not good. They did not prove good commanders. Although the contingent of Morley was raised from 8000 to 13000, yet he had got so frightened that he fled away without giving charge to any body. Though the Gorkha contingent in Kathmandu consisted of only 4000 or 5000 men, yet General Morley's 1000 soldiers were killed and two guns snatched. Mr. Atkinson says that hardly any other general in the English army was so unwise.

In Dehradun there took place a fierce battle in the forts of Kalanga and Nalapani. Senapati Balbhadra Singh Thapa at the head of 300-400 soldiers guarded these forts. When proceeding from Saharanpur, one English contingent through Timali pass and another through Mohan pass reached Dehradun, the English commander Col. Morbey sent a letter to Senapati Thapa to vacate the fort at night. He tore the letter to pieces and said it was not a proper time to send a letter when people sleep and so no reply could be given at such a time but he sent his compliment and the message that he would go to see him.

The bravery with which 5400 Gorkhas fought here and routed the English is worth writing with a pen of gold. Gorkhas are

unrivalled fighters. Had they been also wise rulers, it would have been excellence in something already nice.

Thus, brave Senapati Balbhadra Thapa after a tough fight with the trained English contingent of 5-4000 and many guns for one month, along with his remaining 70 brave soldiers with *khukhari* in his hand and driving the whole army fled to the nearby hills. In the battle along with bravery he also showed generosity towards his enemies: he neither used poisoned armour nor mixed poison in water nor insulted the dead body; a Gorkha soldier who being wounded came from the fort to a English hospital for dressing and when he recovered, again joined the battle. The qualities of bravery, valour and toleration of the 400 Gorkhas at Dehradun have been extolled by the English themselves.

These 70 valiant soldiers found 300-400 more soldiers who wanted to enter the fort to help them, but they all were killed. On November 30, 1814 Dehradun and on December 24 Nahan came under this occupation of the English. In the forts of Jaithak, Ramgarh and Malaun also fierce battles were fought.

After having fought so many battles at different places, Lord Hastings' attention was again drawn towards the conquest of Kumaun. He was told that *subba* Bam Shah who was most probably displeased with the Thapa faction, might come to the side of the English and hand over Kumaun to them. So in November 1814 Hon. E. Gardner, the assistant agent of Delhi, was sent to Moradabad to ascertain all the facts there, enquire about *subba* Bam Shah and enter into correspondence with him. Then there were not enough forces that could be sent along with Mr. Gardner. So he was ordered to carry on peaceful talks but later on thinking that if the Gorkha officers did not agree to the terms of the English, army would be badly needed for capturing Kumaun. So it was decided that Major-General Gilesbi should send a contingent to Kumaun; recruiting local people in it would serve the purpose. It is said that both Bam Shah and his brother Hastidal, after withdrawing themselves from administration spent most of their time in carrying on trade between Chilkiya-Brahmadeo and this yielded them good income, as they had trade monopoly there. The *bhanga* factory or the company, located in Kashipur, also maintained its relation with the hills because *bhanga* was produced in hills only.

It was brought from there to Kashipur and purified there. The government first instructed Gardner to allure *subba* Bam Shah that if he helped the English in conquering Kumaun, he would get *jagirs* there and his brothers at Doti which would be sufficient for their and their family's maintenance. But later on it was decided to keep Kumaun under them under the pretext that this region would be given to them in lieu of the expenses over all the battles with the Gorkhas. But the real intention to capture Kumaun was that it was easy from here to carry on trade with Tibet, China and Central Asia. This route was easier than those from other regions Mr. Gardner was ordered that at no cost prince Lal Singh should be allowed to come to Kumaun, as the people would not like his ascending the throne. Owing to the way in which he and his brother established their right to the throne for a short time, the government was not in their favour. So Gardner was ordered to see that Lal Singh and his companions did not interfere in the administration of Kumaun and if situation demanded, Kumaun should be forcibly occupied. If the English desired that a descendant of the Chand dynasty be enthroned, the descendants of Laxmi Chand were available in Kota and those of Kalyan Chand in Jivi of Sor. Besides, there were here and there many illegal sons of king Rudra Chand. Further the descendants of king Deep Chand were available in Katghar. They were better claimants than prince Lal Singh. Gardner was also told that it would be much better to appoint Bam Shah as the zamindar of Kumaun than enthroning Lal Singh who had forcefully usurped the throne of Kumaun and belonged to the junior family of the Chand dynasty. On 22nd November 1814 E. Gardner in response to the instruction of the governor sent this letter that for some years the family of Mohan Singh who killing the opponents with the help of Rohilla soldiers had created a reign of terror could secure only a nominal right to govern in Almora. After this for more than 25 years Kumaun remained under the rule of the Gorkhas. So neither from the point of view of morality nor right thinking Lal Singh could be a claimant to the throne of Kumaun as he had made himself most unpopular among the people. Later on in his letters of 22nd November and 6th December 1814 he wrote that there was no apprehension that Lal Singh could in any way interfere in the politics of Kumaun. In its letters of 14th December 1814 and 25th January 1815 the government clearly wrote to Gardner that nothing should be done that might create any hope in Lal Singh to get the

throne of Kumaun. So when Lal Singh wanted to help the English in invading Kumaun, it was immediately refused. When his grandson Parvat Singh set up his claim over the *zamindari* of Kumaun, he was told that as the right of *zamindari* and government was vested in one person and as it was seized from Gorkhas it came into the hands of the English, there was least claim of the descendant of Mohan Singh who had forcibly seized the throne of Kumaun (vide: the letters of 13th August, 1820, 28th April 1821 to the government and then government's letter of 26th May 1821). Such a reply was also given to Parvat Singh in respect of the *zamindari* of Tarai (The Board's letters No. 35 of 4th May 1821 to Governor-General-in-Council). The English are themselves expert in politics. Further Harshdeo must have greatly poisoned their ears against Lal Singh.

In fact in December 1814 it was decided that what ever might be the result of the talk with Bam Shah, every effort would be made to seize Kumaun from the Nepalese. Lord Hastings had already expressed his intention that if he succeeded in his mission, Kumaun would be permanently annexed to the British dominion. So in the letter of 22nd December, 1814 there was an order, "Col. Gardner's army should consist of 3000 and Captain Heresy's 1500 soldiers." Both the military officers were deputed to occupy Kumaun. They started to recruit the Rohilas. And according to the order of Gardner both of these officers started preparations for military invasion over Kumaun. In January 1815 all things began to be settled in Rohilkhand. Mr. E Gardner and Col. Gardner both had their headquarters at Kashipur and Captain Heresy was camping at Bareilly and Pilibhit. Dr. Rulherford was an officer of the department of medicine, commissariate, treasury, post and intelligence. As soon as it was known that English were to invade Kumaun, the Gorkha regiment there was augmented. Hastidal was ordered to protect the forts of Kairagarh and Doti and to construct forts at Banbasa and Mundiyaaghat at the bank of Sarada. The Pathans of Rampur also were recruited in the army. The *zamindar* of Rudrapur was appointed an officer of the outposts in the valley of Shahvali hills.

This side the English issued an order that no subject of the company or allied nations should hold any appointment in the

Nepal court; those who are already in service, should leave it by the end of November 1814.

On December 14, 1814 the British government issued a proclamation addressed to the people of Kumaun, "The British government has been since long hearing the painful stories of the atrocities perpetrated by the Gorkhas and is also aware of the conditions that are presently prevailing under the oppressive Gorkha government. Till there was a treaty as well as friendship between the latter and the British government, the public faith demanded that the British Government should have friendly attitude towards it. So the British government was compelled to watch quietly and painfully the destruction of Kumaun during the rule of the Gorkhas. But now on account of groundless and unjust invasion by the Gorkhas on the territories of the English, the English in order to maintain their prestige and right, have been compelled to fight against the Gorkhas. The English are pleased to avail of the opportunity they have got to save the people of Kumaun from the oppression. So an English army was sent there to destroy the Gorkha army and its power and authority there for ever. Now the people should willingly help the English in this great work and silently and peacefully obey the order of the British government under whose benign and equitable rule their right and personality and property shall be fully protected."

This proclamation was distributed here and there in the hills. The result was that the Pathans whom the Gorkhas had recruited, went over to the side of the English and they were recruited as irregulars particularly for military duties in Kumaun.

Mr. Gardner again earnestly started correspondence with Bam Shah. But when there was no result, on Jan. 1, 1815 he shifted his office from Moradabad to Kashipur and from there he again sent letters to the Nepali governor. Although Bam Shah sent no letters to Mr. Gardner, he sent letter to Mr. Colebridge, the agent of the Governor-General, which contained no particular proposal but only friendly matters. But one thing was quite clear that Bam Shah, though highly displeased with the Nepal government, would not act treacherously against it and he would never betray the trust the Nepal government, reposed in him. No Nepali can betray his country. The English would have to depend not on the treachery of

the Nepalis but on their own strength. Hearing about this battle prince Lal Singh also submitted to fight against the Gorkhas but he was not permitted to do so. He went to Warren Hastings at Saharanpur.

Pt. Harshdeo, though he had bidden good bye to politics, yet as soon as he heard the news of this warfare got watchful. He started correspondence with Mr Fraser, who was with the army of General Martindale. He giving up his retired life, came along with Hariballabh Pande, his friend, philosopher and guide, to help the English.

In 1814 Captain Heresy introduced Harshdeo to Mr Frazer at Kashipur, describing him as follows, "He is such a powerful man as his name is a terror for the Gorkhas. He has his 6000 relations in Kumaun, he is 68 years old, yet is active and strong till now and all his sense-organs are sensitive. He has unrivalled influence over the mountain kings upto Sutej." This relates to 1814. Mr. Frazer wrote about him thus, "Though greatly dejected on account of his misfortune and poverty, yet he is active, energetic and undaunted." Though the government had already said to Harshdeo that the English would occupy Kumaun and would not install on the throne any descendant of the Chands, yet he exerted all his influence in favour of the English government, as his party was always against the English Government, but the Gorkhas consoled him. On coming from Kankhal and Kashipur and meeting the English the first thing Harshdeo did was to raise a huge army from the Mahars, the Fartyals and the Tadagis etc. Along with them and one hundred Lamachhadavalas he got ready to help the army of Captain Heresy and along with his army came to Almora where he died on July 26, 1815. He left behind two sons and one nephew whom the English government granted pension. Seventy year old Harshdeo helped the English to a great extent. Captain Heresy has called him, 'Earl of Warwick' of Kumaun. He sent letters all over to give help to the English. People were fed up with the Gorkhali rule. So they greatly helped the English.

Pt. Rudradatt Pant has further written these things about Harshdeo, "Mr. Hansy sat in the region of Chandi and from his side Harshdeo always got consolation."

"When the company government decided to seize Kumaun from the Gorkhas, Frazer, in search of Harshdeo suddenly reached

Kankhal. Harshdeo lived there in the house of a Khatri. Frazer summoned him and said that the English army was about to invade Kumaun and an order has been received from the government that he too should participate in the war. Harshdeo wanted to get his design fulfilled at all costs, so he agreed to participate in the war. Then Frazer told him that after the victory over Kumaun the same treatment would be extended to him, as had been done to other rulers of the region. He also told him he knew about all the facts from the letters of Mr. Chery and General Lake. Frazer at the head of a big contingent attacked the Gorkhas at Dehradun. Harshdeo accompanied him. In this battle Chandvir Kunvar fought bravely but the victory came to Frazer. Then Frazer asked Harshdeo to go to Mr. Gardner with his letter in the *ghate* of Kumaun which was under the latter's command. Another reason why Frazer was so kind to Harshdeo was that the latter had sent letters to all the Kumaunis in the Gorkha army and summoned them near Frazer. They fought against the Gorkhas, even some Gorkhas also came to the side of Mr. Frazer, and all of them were granted pensions.

One thing I could not understand. Pt. Rudradatt writes. "In this very battle Harshdeo, by the kindness of the English avenged his old enmity with Amar Singh Thapa *kazi*, that is Amar Singh being defeated in the battle, took a small contingent with him and along with his children came out from the fort in the presence of Harshdeo and went to his country via Dehradun, Haridwar, Kashipur and Brahmadeo." Amar Singh Thapa on the other hand showed great valour in fort of Malaun and fought for quite a long time. Even after his defeat in Kumaun, he continued fighting. The English have described his bravery. So how in the presence of Harshdeo, he went to Dehradun, is not understandable.

Harshdeo bidding good bye to his retired life went to Kashipur and there met Mr. Gardner and stayed there for a number of days. Mr. Gardner had told Harshdeo that in Kumaun he would be given the same treatment as would be given to the rulers of these provinces. Harshdeo for the betterment of Kumaun and for his own reputation submitted a charter of 18 conditions before Mr. Gardner. Gardner accepted all the conditions, even now some of those conditions are in practice in Kumaun.

All the arrangements to invade Kumaun at the end of January had been made. 4500 men with two guns got ready. It was decided to

attack from two sides, (1) Colonel Gardner at the head of a contingent of 3000 was to reach Almora from Kashipur via Chilkiya and Koshi and captain Heresy with 1500 soldiers and officers through Tamali pass. Prithvipati Shah, the dethroned ruler of Doti also sought help from the English that if he got some military assistance, he would capture Doti. First it was thought desirable to send 500 soldiers to his side as by capturing that side the routes to Nepal and Kumaun would have been blocked but later on, not taking it to be proper, the contingent of 500 soldiers was recalled and it accompanied the army of captain Heresy.

On February 9, 1815, 500 soldiers were sent to Rudrapur where they were asked to stay as long as the whole army did not proceed towards the mountain. Then they proceeding through Bamauri (Kathgodam) should attack the fort of Barakhoda and driving away the Gorkhas from there, and proceeding via Ramgarh and Pyuda, join Col. Gardner and establish their base on the mountains. Captain Heresy was ordered to proceed via Tamali pass and at once attack Kali Kumaun. It was delayed owing to the bad weather, coolies did not turn up. Even then on February 11, 1815 Col. Gardner taking away the whole army started from Kashipur. Mr Gardner, the political agent, also accompanied him. In plains the loads were carried on carts and elephants. In hills, the hill-people carried the loads and some loads were carried on the back of elephants, whose performance was good. The military contingent reached Kanyasi on the 12th, Chilakiya on the 13th and Amsot on the 14th. From there a small contingent of Gorkha army retreated. On the 15th when the advance party of the English reached Dhikuli, the Gorkhas vacated their fort bounded by wooden walls. But some *manihars* leaving the Gorkhas came to the side of the English. A small contingent was posted here to maintain contact between the plains and the hills. On the 16th the army encamped at Chukam. There they stayed for two days so that all the stores and provisions might reach there. From Chukam, towards south-east at a distance of about 15 miles stands the Gorkha fort called Kotagarhi. On the 18th February 300 men were sent for occupying this fort. The Gorkhas leaving this fort fled to the hills and it was occupied by the English. 300 men were sent for occupying Tangudaghat. On the 19th the English army driving away the Gorkhas from the wooden fort named Kathi-ki-Nava reached

Ukhaldhunga at a distance of 7 miles from Chukam. That very evening after a gun-battle, the English occupied the passes of Tanguda and Logaliya also. That very day a message was received that the enemies had also vacated the two forts of Kota. On the 21st 700 men reached Sethi, a place at a distance of 6-7 miles. There it was known that General Angad, along with 800 Gorkhali army was encamping at Bhujan which lies on the main route to Almora and where the armies from Kota and Kath-ki-Nava had come and joined. Col. Gardner not thinking it wise to face the Gorkhas with his recruits at Bhujan, left the route to Koshi and followed another route.

On February 22, he along with 300 men reached Binkot via Amel. From there he started with an intention to capture Chaumukhiya or Chaumudevi—a place at the height of 6345 feet. But the ascent to that hill was very steep, so only 40-50 men could reach there by the evening, some reached there at night. All the rest reached the next day. There had been snowfall, so there was no scarcity of water. At Bhujan when Gorkha commander Angad *Sardar* came to know about it, he also decided to occupy Chaumudevi but when he was four miles away, by then the English had captured it. Regarding himself weak he did not advance but retreated. On 25th the total English army and their belongings reached Chaumudevi. This place proved to be highly useful for them. From there they got an opportunity to enter into correspondence on both sides with western Kumaun and Garhwal. Having come here grass, cereals and all other types of things were available to them. People there told the English all about the Gorkha army and helped them in all possible ways.

The English army was camping at Kathalalekha *danda*. The Gorkha army with a view to checking the advance of the English army camped at the 5983 feet high hill of Kumupur (near Ranikhhet). All the war-materials were brought here. They had about 1000 soldiers and also guns. They had selected such a place from where all the four sides were visible. So Col. Gardner did not think it wise to face the Gorkha army without sufficient army. The English army was encamping near Kumupur from February 28 to March 22. When 800 more Pathan recruits came from Hapur and Meerut, the attack was made on the valley of Tadikhhet. Some Gorkhas armed with scimitars were ready to attack the English, but

the Rohilas defeated them in two battles. Colonel Gardner sent a few soldiers to Shyahidevi to capture that high place and the rest of the army attacked Kumupur. When the Gorkhas saw the English army going to Syahidevi, they apprehending blockade there, set fire to the fort of Kumupur and on March 24 via Syuni and Katarmal came towards Almora and encamped at Sitoli. The English could not follow the Gorkha army which was fleeing speedily. They reached Syuni on 26th and on 28th Katarmal where there is a sun temple and from where Almora is 7 miles away.

In fact this was not the valour of Col. Gardner that his army without any effort advanced to this way, rather it was the weakness of the enemy. Fortune and people both were against the Gorkhas and their army never consisted of more than 1500 men. Even in this only 50% were Gorkhas, the rest were others. On account of their atrocities people instead of helping them helped the English. About 300-400 commanders and soldiers in course of reaching Katarmal from Kumupur left the Gorkhas and joined the English army. Harshdeo Joshi exercised all his influence in favour of the English. People were already against the Gorkhas, so they also contributed a lot to the war started by the English. They instigated the people and excited them to help the English government. So when the English reached Katarmal the number of men in Gorkha army did not exceed 1000.

Towards Kali Kumaun

When the English army was advancing towards Almora from the side of Kali Kumaun Captain Heresy along with a contingent of 1500 soldiers came from Pilibhit to Bilari, on February 13, the day when the army of Col. Gardner had captured Chilakiya. In Bilari Captain Heresy distributed those pamphlets which Harshdeo had issued in the name of the Kumaunis. The result was that in a few days 100 men came over to the side of the English and informed that the army was going to vacate the fort of Tamali. This fort, situated at the height of 3840 feet, commanded a vast part of the region on that side. On 18th the captain sent a part of the army and captured two forts near Kailaghati. Leaving a part of the army at Tamali, the Gorkhas via Amkhad returned to Kotalgarh. The recruits followed them. Next day 150 hill-men with Lamachhada guns captured Tamali and descended into the Ladhiya valley where

they joined the contingent which was already there. On February, 28 under the leadership of Mahra leader Subedar Bahadur Singh who was an able and experienced commander, 500 recruits and 200 Kumaunis equipped with Lamachhada rifles crossing the Kandeo hill reached Champavat, the ancient capital of the kings of Kumaun. Captain Heresy himself writes that all these works could be performed only owing to the bravery of the Kumaunis. The help they gave to the English with their '*samal kamal*' and rifles without any rescue in expelling the Gorkhals, is unrivalled in history anywhere. Gorkha *subedar* Kalidhar resisted a bit at Badapipal near Barauli, but this brave subedar Bahadur Singh on February 26 defeated and drove him off and while fleeing left behind his animals and other possessions behind. But the Gorkha leader along with 100 men captured Kotalgarh. All the Kumaunis of the Gorkha army came over to the side of the English. Captain Heresy had to leave his 500 men at Bilari, so that commander Hastidal crossing Sarada might not attack the English army from the rear.

Captain Heresy was ordered to break all the bridges thereby not allowing the Gorkhas to cross Kali. He should also station forces on its bank, so that commander Hastidal, the brave brother of Bam Shah, might not go to Almora taking a big army from Doti and Bachham. Captain Heresy came to Champavat on March 13 and also ordered Prithvipat Shah, the dethroned king of Doti, to attack Doti, with his forces under the command of Amankhan. On March 14, the Gorkhas made an attack on the army of Captain Heresy but they had to retreat; though the English army had to suffer great loss. Prithvi Shah and his brother Jagjit Shah were on the side of the English. Prithivi Shah had to return to Pilibhit. Thus owing to the absence of Prithvi Shah the forces could not be sent to Doti. The forces of Captain Heresy were patrolling the bank of Kali and thus obstructing the Gorkhas from crossing Kali. Besides, a part of the army was attacking the fort of Kotalgarh located towards the north-west at a short distance from Champavat. So his forces lay scattered. On March, 31, commander Hastidal crossing Kali at Kusumghat, 20 miles east of Champavat, stationed his army in Kali Kumaun. In addition, when captain Heresy came via Baramdeo to fight against him, he in seconds defeated the army of Heresy at Digali Chauda, situated below Khilpati in Gumdesh patti. Captain Heresy also was wounded and captured by the Gorkhas. The

remaining forces fled away to the plains. Thus ended the attack on Kali Kumaun. This defeat was said to be owing to the Fartyals siding with the English.

Captain Heresy in his letter of June 14, 1815 blamed Bhana Kulaliya, the *sardar* of a village near Champavat for this defeat because it was said that the Fartyals were dubious about the attack of the British and were against the influence of Harshdeo Joshi over the Mahar faction, but this fact would prove to be untrue. The Britishers had said earlier that Harshdeo had collected an army of Mahar, Fartyal and Tadagis. Then it is untrue to put the whole blame for the defeat on the Fartyals. The real fact was that on the one hand Captain Heresy was not an able officer like Gardner; secondly, his army had been split up; thirdly general Hastidal was a great and experienced soldier. Besides, this territory was near Doti and Harshdeo and his able and brave soldiers were bent upon giving support to their brother Bam Shah. It was a tough job to face such soldiers. It has been said earlier that a platoon of 500 soldiers had been sent to Bhimtal from Kashipur to Rudrapur via Bamauri (Kathgodam). This army after annexing this small fort of Badakhoda captured the small fort of Chhakhata-garhi near Bhimtal on April, 1. They did nothing beyond this.

On 6th April the news of the defeat of commander Heresy spread like wild fire in Almora. The Gorkha army fired machine-guns with great enthusiasm from the Lal Mandi fort. There were great rejoicings. Through this, this news reached the British army stationed at Katarmal. On the 7th April the Gorkha governor of Almora namely Bam Shah sent the news of Captain Hersey being wounded and made captive to the commander-in-chief of the British army Col. Gardner. He also wrote that he would be kept in prison with great care and honour. That very day Col. Gardner received a letter from Lt. Martindel that Commander Heresy was defeated at Khilpati on April, 2. This officer had written that he had 300 soldiers with him and he wanted to return to Champavat, but Hastidal had killed many of his soldiers and they were scattered.

The Gorkhas did not take as much advantage of this victory as they could have, because had the army of Hastidal, reputed warrior,

which had been victorious over the English, attacked the army of Col. Gardner with zeal, it was probable that most of his untrained forces might have fled away. But the Gorkhas did not act promptly and in the meantime Lord Hastings despatched a contingent of 2025 trained soldiers to protect Col. Gardner. Of this contingent 761 men were under Captain Faithful, 764 men under Major Patton and 500 men with 12 cannons came from Garhwal. Col. Nichols who was then the Quarter Master General of the English army and later on became the commander of the Indian army, was appointed its chief commander. On April 8, he reached Katarmal via that very route through which Col. Gardner had come to Almora. There was no resistance on the way.

Colonel Nichols took on himself the responsibility of mobilizing both the trained as well as untrained forces. From the other side Hastidal reached Almora with a big contingent. Now the victory of the English was assured, as firsts. Trained forces had come to them and secondly a number of guns also had arrived. The trouble of the Gorkhas had increased. They had no sufficient provisions. Whatever they could get by plundering the neighbouring villages, that also had become difficult as the people of Almora and its neighbouring areas, being apprehensive of war, had fled to the peaceful places. Besides, the officers had no money to pay Gorkha forces. The letters of the Gorkhas sent to Nepal, which were obtained by the English, revealed their miseries, reading the description Lord Hastings praised Gorkhas' patriotism and their love for their country.

The English again carried on long correspondence with Chauntara Bam Shah but all was in vain. He did not write any thing clearly in his letters and his demands also were such as were not acceptable to the English. In the meantime the Gorkha officers requested Nepal to send more forces. On May 4, 633 soldiers were sent to Almora but they could reach there when the English had already captured it. When Bam Shah received no help from any quarter, on April 22, he sent *senapati* Hastidal towards Gananath. He thought that he would be victorious if they attacked the English from the rear and the forces of Lal Mandi fought with the English army stationed at Katarmal. Besides his contact with Nepal, Garhwal, and northern Kumaun would remain intact. From

military point of view the step was excellent, provided the country was on his side and provisions and supporting army were regularly supplied. Otherwise when the enemy was standing face to face it could not be said to be a sound policy to divide his army. Yet *senapati* Hastidal took a section of his forces to Gananath via Kalmatia. This beautiful mountain lies 15 miles north of Almora. The Gorkhas wanted to keep it secret, but as the people were against them, this secret also was made known to the English. So Col. Nichols, on the evening of April 22, sent a mixed contingent consisting of 900 men towards Gananath under the command of Major Patten and Captain Lees. The Gorkhas had hardly settled in Gananath when the English reached there along with the forces. People supplied provisions and water to the army. Hastidal offered three *asharfis* (gold-coins) to Gananath but despite his efforts they fell down from his hand ; this was taken to be a bad omen, Hastidal said.

“क्या जाने, देवता क्या नाराज भयो, भेटमान्ने ना ।”

As soon as the English reached there they started bombarding. In the evening of the 23rd a battle was fought in the beautiful plains of Vinayakthal. The battle continued for a short time. Hastidal was killed by a bomb that hit him in his head. On his death the Gorkha army was scattered and fled away. In this battle only two soldiers of the English and also Insaina Balir were killed, 25 soldiers were wounded. Both the leaders of the Gorkha's army, *senapati* Hastidal and *sardar* Jayrakha and 22 soldiers were killed. The number of the wounded is not known. A few soldiers returned to Almora, a few died on the way and a few fled hither and thither. One contingent of the English army was posted in Gananath. The remaining army returned to Katarmal on the 24th.

In the death of Chauntara Hastidal a jewel of the Gorkhas was lost. He was a highly intelligent, prompt and sensible officer. He was the man of good character and sweet tounded. As he was an uncle of the king of Nepal his high ideals and qualities were in tune with his high family. Col. Nichols in his letter from the battlefield highly praised this great and brave commander.

With a view to not missing the good opportunity of Hastidal's death and this success Col. Nichols, on April 22, started the attack on Almora. The major part of the Gorkha army under *sardar* Angad was staying in the *dhar* of Sitauli, above village Pandekhola. This

mountain stands at a distance of about 2 miles from Almora as well as Koshi. The second part under Chamu Bhandari, was stationed in Kalmatia for the protection of the right side. On April 25, at 1 P.M. Col. Nichols started from Katarmal with the major part of his forces and attacked Sitoli. Here the Gorkhas had dug chest-deep trenches and had pitched wooden stockades. Col. Nichols lined up his guns in the front and his soliders to take possession of those trenches. Captain Faithful captured two ditches along with the wooden stockades. Col. Gardner attacking from the other side captured the remaining three trenches also. In the meantime 50 men proceeded to the north of the 4th regiment and driving away the Gorkhas from the trenches on that side snapped the link between the Gorkha army staying at Kalmatia and Sitauli. In the end the total English forces occupied Sitauli. There the English forces found five routes and started driving away Gorkhas through them. The Gorkhas fought with their reputed bravery but were defeated on all points and were compelled to flee to Almora. The English forces closely followed them. That night Col. Nichols camped at Hiradungari from Lalmandi (the place where now-a-days the platoon is stationed and also a fort is there). That very night the Gorkhas made violent attack and decided to recapture the places conquered by the English. It has already been said that a part of the forces of Chamu Bhandari was stationed at Kalmatia. He came down from there at night and attacked the English forces. The forces staying at Lalmandi also hearing the sound of guns despatched a contingent of soldiers. A fierce battle was fought at night. The Gorkhas with their *khukharis* created havoc. The forces of Chamu Bhandari had once defeated the English army. He had occupied one trench and one stockade but Col. Nichols and Col. Gardner were then together. They along with sufficient forces themselves withstood this vigorous attack. The battle continued for the whole night of the 25th. The Gorkhas risking their lives and taking *khukharis* fought bravely at many places. Many men on both the sides were killed. Lt. Tapily, a young English officer, was killed. Owing to the break out of fire at night the confusion grew, all the more. In the confusion none could recognise his friend or enemy. The English say that in the fateful night of 25th April 211 men on other side had been killed. Others say that for five times more men might have been killed as when the ferocious Gorkhas, with *khukharis* and *khandas* come out, even the god of death can not stand before them. The

English say that it is not exactly known as to how many men have been killed as a number of essential papers at Almora have burnt down.

17. Treaty with the English

At night itself the Laidori forces carried guns and set them at a distance of 70 yards from the fort of Lal Mandi and in the morning started violent bombarding from there. The walls of the fort cracked and through there the bombardiers could see the activities of the forces inside the fort. Seeing the forces fleeing here and there, they thought that the Gorkhas vacated the fort. They reached towards the fort but were driven back. Till 9 in the morning guns were being continuously fired. Then Mr. Chauntara sent a letter of treaty along with a white flag. Along with it there was also a letter of Captain Heresy in which it was said to stop the battle. Gorkhas are ready to leave Kumaun and go to Nepal, their own commander Col. Gardner was sent to negotiate with Chauntara Bam Shah. On April 26, it was decided that the Gorkhas would vacate all the forts under their possession and go to Kumaun. They were assured that they would be allowed to cross Kali taking their guns, cannons, army materials of war and their personal belongings ; the English would arrange for their provisions and their transport.

On April 27, 1815 a treaty was signed that the Gorkhas would handover the region of Kumaun to the English and themselves go to Nepal. From the side of the English Political Agent Honourable E. Gardner and from the side of the Gorkhas, Gorkha officer Bam Shah, Chamu Bhandari and Jasmendan Thapa signed it. Honouring the terms of the treaty the Gorkhas vacated the fort of Lal Mandi that very day and it was renamed Fort Moira and the English that very day entered into it with royal salute. Captain Heresy was freed. All the Gorkha officers of Kumaun and Garhwal, who were under Bam Shah, were ordered to submit their resignation.

On April 28, 1815 Chauntara Bam Shah and his officers met Mr. Gardner and Col. Nichols. In the tent of Col. Nichols these defeated warriors were welcomed with great pomp and with 19 guns salutation. The next day the English also went to see the Gorkha officers. That very evening *sardar* Jasmadan Thapa came with a letter from Chauntara Bam Shah and asked him to send Jaithak and Nahan to *sardar* Amar Singh Thapa and *sardar* Ranajor Singh as

General Ochterloney was going to attack there. The copy of the letter is given below :

“On April 22, a battle was fought in the *danda* of Gananath. Hastidal and Jairakha *kazi* were killed along with 9 soldiers. Some of the rest were wounded. On the side of the enemy one captain and few men were killed. The enemy-party was staying at Katarmal. Parts of the army were stationed in Syahidevi and Dhamus. 2500 men were in stockades in Fattapur mountain. Out route to Bangeshwar was risky, so I sent Hastidal to Gananath. The death of Hastidal and Jairakha assured the enemies of their victory, even then I kept the forces posted at proper places.”

“On Tuesday, April 25, the enemy keeping the Europeans in the front and moving the forces from the rear and placing guns on 8 elephants, attacked Sitoli. The news about it was sent to me by Captain Angad. So I sent the forces to Bhawanibaks, retaining only one *patti* for helping me. I could not send more forces. Had I sent more, the forces of Rangelu at Lal Mandi and Chadlekh would have been reduced. Our men could not stand before the firing of 1000 guns of the enemy. So they had to flee leaving the trenches. Nar Shah Chauntara with meagre provisions made great efforts on the other side but how could only one gun compete with those 20 guns. It was impossible to stand before their firing.

“The enemy chased us in the town. Then I decided to protect the forts of Lal Mandi and Nanda Devi. In the meantime some officers and Captain Angad came in litters, through the lower path. I asked thirty men to attack taking unsheathed swords in their hands but the enemy who halted in the temple of Deep Chand resorted to continuous firing in the fort. I asked Bhandari Kazi to collect forces from Kalmatiya and attack Hiraungari above Patal Devi. We got success in this battle. One Lt. and 98 men on the enemy's side were killed. We captured their place but our officers *subedar* Zabar Adhikari and Mastram Thapa were killed. 20 minutes later one battalion came with Col. Gardner and other Europeans. Again the fighting began and *sardar* Ransur Karki was killed along with *jamadars* and 25 valiant soldiers. None was left without being wounded. Many men on both the sides were killed and wounded. Col. Gardner and the brother of Col. Nichols both

were wounded. I sent more forces under Jasmadan Thapa, but some of them fled and some showed signs of fleeing, so the forces could not proceed ahead. Though at the night guns and cannons continued firing. In the morning the forces of Bhandari reached Simtola, the enemy attacked the fort and fierce bombarding continued. For 6 hours bombs were hurled from both the sides. Stones were also thrown from our side. Guns fired continuously, day and night. Men, women and beasts all were in danger of fire. Captain Heresy told us that we should go away taking the governmental stores. I answered that if some things could be saved, it was good. I asked them to stop the battle. In the meantime I summoned Chamu Bhandari and we all the four took stock of the situation. We thought that we had sufficient ammunition but the collected soldiers were totally worthless. When they in whom we reposed our faith leave us during distress, what could be done. The Gorkhas alone proved themselves to be worthy of service and the Badadar alone was worthy of trust. Thus I thought that we should not unnecessarily waste our master's strength and wealth and then I decided to negotiate with Mr. Gardner. When asked as to what was the reason behind this fight Mr. Gardner said : Governor General has been highly displeased at the murder of the *tahsildar* of Butwal and so he has made great preparations. Now he has told us that there would be no gain from agreement but if our mutual enmity is resolved, it is better. The condition is "Go beyond Kali and write to your government to send its agent to settle the terms of the treaty with the Governor General". So I had written the deed of treaty and now all the things are being settled. Now friendship has been established between the English and the Gorkhas. So you too come back from the west along with your forces. We are going to the eastern bank of Kali, you also end the war and enter into treaty with General Ochterloney. You bring your forces and military equipments with you, then we shall together write to our government to send a *Vakil* to Governor-General to settle all the matter.

Almora—Dated 29 April, 1815

"Hastidal Chauntara"

This letter was sent to General Ochterloney. He forwarded it to the Gorkha Officer of Nahan. From this details of the battle on the side of the Gorkhalies are known. In this way the Gorkha rule in Kumaun came to an end.

18. The taxation policy of the Gorkhas

The Gorkhas completely changed the settlement made by the Chands. The system of 'छत्तीस रकम व बत्तीस कलम' was abolished. Cess was greatly enhanced. The names of some of the taxes of their times are as under :

<i>Tandakar or Tanker</i>	: Tax on spinning wheels and looms
<i>Mijhari</i>	: Tax on untouchables for leathers etc.
<i>Ghee-kar</i>	: Tax on <i>ghee</i>
<i>Salami</i>	: Presentations given to officers
<i>Soniya Fagun</i>	: Presentations on the occasions of festivals.

Revenue and cess were not so high. There was a fixed rate. But the other taxes were quite exorbitant. They were realised like income tax. Owing to bad management and grant of land to soldiers in lieu of pay, the country was almost ruined. These military persons arbitrarily looted the country. The produce of land had also gone down. The Gorkhas did not allow to raise the prices of grains. So the farmers were in distress. If there was a drought, then they had to face death.

The details of the income the Gorkha government received from Kumaun in 1812 A.D. is as follows :

Malgajari	85,525/-
Salami Nazarana	2,743/-
Ghee kar	2,252/-
Mijhari	631/-
Tandakar or Tankar	50,741/-
Soniya Fagun	1,360/-
Chungi Tijarat	7,500/-
Chungi from mines	2,400/-
Chungi from wooden bamboos	1,200/-
Others	162/-
Asmani Farmani (fine, kurki)	2,500/-
Total	1,57,014-*

Then also in Kumaun, as compared to Garhwal there was

*The figure in the original is 1, 64, 426/- which is wrong. (Translator).

more population and better cultivation. So from whole of Kumaun 400000 crude rupees were realised where as from Garhwal 200000 only. Besides, in times of need *Maukar* was imposed. If the government needed 10000/- the amount was distributed over 5000 houses and then realised from them. The country was entrusted to military officers. They themselves realised their pay. They give no account to the government; so they did not care whether the country was ruined. They arbitrarily realised taxes. The farmers and the *zamindars* could not pay so much and so they were always in dues. They were caught and sold in the markets of Rohilkhand.

All the villages were deserted. Habitation turned into forest. When the Gorkha government occupied Kumaun; a commission came from Kathmandu. It fixed the amount on the basis of status of the villages. They were also registered who carried on trade and earned profit. Statements and papers were prepared and sent to Nepal. From there they came back bearing red seal and were given to *kamins* in each *ilaka*. A copy of it remained with the officers. The amount was not very high, but owing to lack of central government's proper control, subordinate officers at the lower level acted arbitrarily. The military officers levied as much fine as they desired. In Garhwal the Gorkhas were more harsh even than in Kumaun. So during the rule of only 25 years the people cried for protection. Poet Gumani had to write these lines :

“दिन-दिन खजाना का भारका बोकनाले ।
 शिव शिव चुलिमें बाल नै एक कैका ।।
 तदपि मुलुक तेरो छोड़ि नै कोई भाजा ।
 इति वदति गुमानी धन्य गोर्खालि राजा ।”

In the times of the Gorkhas there was no *pargana*, perhaps there were *pattis* only. They used words like *garkha*, *pal*, *rau*, *patti*, *kot*, *aal* etc. to denote *pargana*. The land given to people in lieu of their service was called *manachaula*. The land donated to the temples was called *vishnu priti* in the days of Katyuri and Chand kings. The word *gunth* was introduced by the Gorkhas.

History of Kumaun

PART SIX

The Period of the British Rule
(1815 A.D. to the present day)

1 Gorkhas Back to Their Country

Owing to the occupation of Almora by the English on 27th, April 1815, the whole of Kumaun came under their supremacy. Mr. Gardner issued a declaration on May 3, 1815 that Kumaun had been annexed to the British Empire. The citizens of Almora were asked to return to the town and the people of the villages to their respective houses and engage themselves in their own business.

On April 30, 1815 the Gorkhas left bag and baggage and according to the terms of the agreement went to Doti via Jhulaghat. No Gorkha leader anywhere raised any objection. All of them accepted the peace made by Bam Shah Chauntaria. Many of them went to Doti along with him. In the west there were two big forts of the Gorkhas : One is Pali on mountain Naithana above Ramganga, another 12 miles north in Lohaba-Garhwal. In each of the forts there might not have been more than 150 soldiers. After the occupation of Almora the Gorkhas themselves vacated Naithana. The people of that place attacked the fort of Lohaba. Mr. Gardner had supplied them military equipments. Four days prior to the occupation of the fort of Almora by stopping the supply of water he on April 22, 1815 A.D. had compelled the Gorkhas to vacate that fort. Gorkhas say that Pt. Harshdeo Joshi himself came there and instigated the people there. He borrowed the equipments from the English and attacked this fort. Here itself the people themselves made an effort to drive out the Gorkhas though in it also the English had their indirect hand. In Garhwal the Gorkhas created no disturbance or opposition and the whole of the district peacefully came under the possession of the English. An English contingent went to Srinagar and occupied Garhdes. Nothing worth description happened there.

On May 3, 1815 A.D. by the order of the Governor-General, Honourable E. Gardner was appointed the commissioner of Kumaun and agent of the Governor-General. On July 8, Mr. G.W. Traill was appointed his assistant. Col. Nichols along with a contingent went to Champavat with Mr. Gardner at such time when

Subba Bam Shah Chauntaria along with his army and equipments had gone to Nepal. Colonel Nichols drove him across Kali. On going there Bam Shah turned his eyes towards native administration. The peace made with Nepal could not be finally decided upto December 2, 1815 and so even by March 4, 1816 it was not fully accepted by both the parties.

Till the peace between Nepal and the English was finally accepted, river Kali was fixed as the boundary between Kumaun and Nepal. The government also wrote to Mr. Gardner that if for gains from trade with Tibet, it was desirable to occupy some other part across Kali, he should send report accordingly. So that in the peace made such terms might be included. Here the British government wanted to help Bam Shah Chauntaria also specially in view of the cheap peace which he had made with the English under the advice of Captain Heresy. Bam Shah had also intention to establish an independent state for himself in Doti. The English also wanted that it was good for them, if there was a buffer state between them and Nepal. Bam Shah had made good impression of his sociability on the English. The English were ready to instal him on the throne of Doti even by sending their forces. But Bam Shah worked with foresight. He did not deem it proper to take help from the enemy of Nepal and having raised the banner of revolt in his own country established an independent state. He told the English that if he did so, the Thapa party, whose leader was Amar Singh Thapa, would raise great hue and cry. In the end, by his trickful ways, he succeeded in getting him appointed as the *subba* (governor) of Doti.

Later on the difficulties that arose in respect of the peace with Nepal have no special relation with the history of Kumaun, yet after saying a bit in respect of the peace this chapter shall be closed. The English wanted that Bam Shah should be the representative from the side of Nepal so that the settlement might be made peacefully, but in Nepal court the Thapa party wielded influence and its leader was Sardar Amar Singh Thapa. He in Malaun and Jaithak forts near Nahan, fought against the British army with great valour and though defeated in Kumaun did not accept his defeat. But in the end when while fighting bravely only two hundred soliders were left behind in the fort, he made a peace. He also was allowed to go across Kali with bag and baggage. On May 15, 1815 Amar Singh Thapa also signed the deed of peace. Thus the whole region from

Simla to Kumaun came under the English. The Gorkhas were not allowed to take arms with them, but the army which was under the command of *sardar* Amar Singh was, as a special case, allowed to take arms with it. It was written in their firman, "Amar Singh Thapa for his good conduct, bravery, high position, art of battle and allegiance, which he showed in defending the region entrusted to him, and his companions were ordered to take arms to their country, Nepal."

On reaching Kathmandu, they fiercely opposed the peace made by Bam Shah. The English wanted to sieze the whole of the region of Tarai and also keep their resident at Kathmandu along with a contingent. The spirited preceptor of the king, Pt. Gajraj Mishra, came as representative from the side of Nepal. The Thapa party opposed these terms. Again preparations were made for the war. At places fortifications and entrenchments were made. From the side of the English also General Ochterloney was sent along with the forces and this side Colonel Nichols was asked to attack Doti, Butval and Palya. The Thapa party even agreed to leave Tarai but did not accept to keep the resident in Kathmandu. General Ochterloney stationed his army near Makvanpur, 20 miles away from Kathmandu. Here on February 28, 1816 A.D. a fight took place with the Gorkhas. 800 Gorkhas were either killed or wounded. The English say that 2 officers and 250 men on their side were either killed or wounded. When the news of defeat reached Kathmandu, peace was made according to the terms the English wanted. The whole of Tarai was sieged and they lost their right on Kumaun. It was agreed to keep English Resident in Kathmandu, Later on, a part of the Tarai was restored to the Nepal court by the British Government. A certain part was given to the *nawab* of Awadh and the region between rivers Mechhi and Tista was given to king of Sikkim. In 1817 A.D. Nepal demanded two villages Tinkar and Chhangaru, near Kali, in the neighbourhood of Vyans. On investigation they were found to belong to Nepal. So they were given to Bam Shah who then was the *subba* of Doti. Later on he demanded the two villages of Kunti and Nabhi also. Enquiry was made about them also, but they were found to belong to *pargana* Vyans, in which they are still included.

In this way the three arms of the Nepali government which had established its kingdom from Simla to Sikkim were broken. There is

no doubt in it that the Gorkha soldiers in comparison with other soldiers of the world are superior in respect of bravery, art of war and fearlessness. They are ready to do work, howsoever, difficult. Their officers also, posted in Kumaun or elsewhere, were brave and self-sacrificing. They performed great and valiant deeds. The English army of that time was not equal to the Gorkhas in point of military prowess and strength. Mr Atkinson in his *Gazetteer* at page 679 himself writes:

“It is to be hoped that our statesmen and our soldiers will not forget the lesson that was taught them in the Nepalese war. It was chiefly 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 Gorkhas. 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 Ochterloney proved beyond a doubt that under proper management our soldiers were certain of success in a country of extreme difficulty to all natives of the plains and offered to the bravest enemy that has ever met us in Asia.”

The English were expert in *daishik* administration and diplomacy. These things lay in their nature, they were not to be tough to them. Had Gorkhas had a bit of diplomacy and the above mentioned qualities of the English in them, what to say of the region of Kumaun, if they desired, they would have become the rulers of the whole of India. Warrior commanders equal to them in fighting hill-fights are a few in Asia. Robust-bodied, short statured and fearless Gorkha soldier in an ideal soldier but the Gorkhas had not derived full benefit from education. If Nepal pays its attention to mental power, it can become eminent among all the nations, as in martial strength it excels all.

From 1790 to 1815 the Gorkhas conquered a number of hilly regions but their administration was ruthless, harsh and stupid. So the whole of the country got against it. Even when the country was against, they showed bravery. Had the people been in their favour, they would have worked wonders. Had they been a bit tactful and had to become popular, not to say of one Kumaun, they would have conquered many Kumauns. But it was not so in the lot of Kumaun. There remained neither the virtuous Katyuris, nor powerful

Chands, nor independent Khasas nor the brave Nepalese. All the rulers having got the result of their actions went into oblivion. Now for 120 years the English are the rulers of this region. God knows what happens later on.

2. Division of Garhwal

In 1811 king Sudarshan Shah had made a promise to Major Heresy that if he helped to liberate Garhwal from the claws of the Gorkhas he would give Dehradun and Chandi to the English. In 1815 the dethroned king Sudarshan Shah, who was leading a miserable life in Dehradun, got back his kingdom of Garhwal. He got only the regions on this side of Alaknanda. At first he did not get *pargana* Ravain, but later on got it. The English took the regions of Dehradun and Chandi under their possession. Other princes of Garhwal got nothing. Prince Pritam Shah, when set free from his imprisonment in Nepal, demanded the right of *zamindari* in Garhwal, but they were not given to him. In the agreement with the king of Garhwal it was written that when needed, he would be compelled to give help and other things and shall grant trade facilities in his kingdom as well as outside facilities. He would without the permission of the English government neither sell his state nor mortgage it. In the region of Kumaun only this state remained independent. Formerly it was included in Kumaun division, now from 1936 it has been included among the states of Punjab.

3. The Will of Pt. Harshdeo

The writer of *Political Notes on Kumaun* admiring the political dexterity of Harshdeo Joshi, has described, in the English translation of his will (which he had written for the benefit of his offsprings in Gananath temple on *Ashada Sudi Ashtami samvat* 1878 accordingly July 1815 A.D.), the substance whereof I am giving below :

When I was living in Kankhal in the house of Lala Bharamal Khatri, Mr. William Frazer under the orders of the Honourable East India Company in 1814 demanded my help to annex Kumaun to the British kingdom. At that time Mr. Frazer asked me to tell

him my terms. On his promise that when this region was annexed to the British empire, my terms shall be fulfilled, I with a view to protecting the rights of the king, *diwan*, the subjects of Kumaun and my descendants laid down 21 terms out of which Mr. Frazer accepted 18 ones :

- (1) The throne of Kumaun shall remain intact.
- (2) We shall get the same honour which our elders got.
- (3) The *jagirs* granted by the older kings, shall remain intact.
- (4) The property of the brahmins shall as before remain undisturbed.
- (5) The *gunths* of the temples shall remain intact.
- (6) The *khaykars* of Kumaun, Garhwal and Tarai shall enjoy the rights like *sabiks*.
- (7) Kanungos shall remain intact.
- (8) Administration shall be carried on according to the *Dharm Shastra*.
- (9) the Gorkhali settlement should be suspended and old settlement implemented.
- (10) In hills cow-slaughter be stopped for ever.
- (11) Social relationship between the Hindus and the Muslims have ever been separate, now also they should be so.
- (12) The Hindus and the Muslims should live apart.
- (13) Respectable persons should remain entitled to their previous respect.
- (14) There be no interference in religion as dicated by the *Shastras*.
- (15) People of the hills are straight-forward and simple. None should be allowed to seduce the women of this region.
- (16) The brahmins who have left the country on account of the atrocities of the Gorkhas should be called back.
- (17) None except those that have right should enter into the temples.
- (18) The company should be kind enough to set my son free who is a political prisoner in Nepal.

“On being assured by Mr. Frazer I went to Garhwal and was successful in getting that district annexed to the British kingdom. Later on, I along with Mr. Gardner went to Kumaun and the help I gave in annexing it to the British Kingdom is world-known. After the conquest of Almora, my health, on account of old age, was ruined. Now I am on death-bed. My successors should ask the company government through Mr. Frazer and Mr. Gardner that it should fulfil my terms. The substance is that if the English fulfil my 21 terms, my descendants shall ever remain loyal to the British Government. If my descendants do not fully try to be loyal, they shall be unhappy and if the government even in spite of entreaties does not fulfil my 21 terms, it shall be accountable in the next world. Mr. Frazer has shown me the papers in which I have been appointed hereditary councillor. Some objections have also been made in respect of the throne.” A copy of the original will of Pt. Harshdeo is being given herein, which is full of Persian words. This will is being printed here in its original form. The language and grammar all is of Pt. Harshdeo.

“तरजुमा चिट्ठी हिन्दी मोहरी जोशी हर्षदेव वालिदम के बरवख्त बूदन वैकुण्ठवासी वम्प्रहिलकारान खुद दादा रफ्ताबूदन्द मय बिरादरान निजद फिदवी रसीदा अस्तफकूत।

नक़ल याददास्त जोशी ज्यू ने बरवख्त वैकुण्ठवासी होने के औलाद अपने के वास्ते अहवाल हक़ी लिखाकर सौपत अहिलकार अपनों के किया।

मर्कूम अष्टमी सुदी आषाढ़ सम्वत् १८७२ विक्रमाजीत बमुक्राम श्रीगणनाथ सम्वत् १८७१ आश्विन्य सुदी पड़ेवा के रोज बरहुक्म कम्पनी बहादुर केसे मिस्टर विलियम फ्रेजर साहब बहादुर ने बीच कनखल के हवेली भागमल खत्री की में दस्तगिरी हमारी की वास्ते करने फते मुल्क कोहिस्तान के उस वख्त में साहब ममदूह ने फर्माया, जो कुछ की मुद्दा तुम्हारे दिल में कम्पनी के घर से वसूल करने के वास्ते तुम चाह रखते हो, सो अर्ज करो। बाद फते होने के वसूल होंगे करके साहब ने हुक्म दिये जाने में राजा राजपंचों मुल्क कुमय्यों को की और औलाद अपनी की बेहतरी के वास्ते तफसील बमूजिब मैंने मुदआ अर्ज की, सो साहब ममदूह ने कबूल की, बाकी मुद्दाइ हुक्म कम्पनी का ही हमको मुकर्रिर होंगी।

यह कहके हुक्म अपनी तरफ से दिया--अव्वल कि इज्जत तुम्हारी कम्पनी के घर से मुआफिक राजाओं के मयफजन्दान होगी। दोयम हुक्म जर्नेली तुम्हें मिलेगा। सेयम गढ़ व

कुमाऊं निज तुम्हारी ही है, इससे सिवाय जो मुल्क कोहिस्तान अमल दखल कम्पनी के में आवेगा, उसका बन्दोबस्त मार्फत तुम्हारे होगा। यह जो हुक्म मिस्टर विलियम फ्रेजर साहब बहादुर के देने से हमराह साहब बहादुर के होके गढ़माला पाली में पहुँचकर फतह गढ़ करवाया। बाद इसके बरहुक्म साहब बहादुर के वसीला चिट्ठी के हमराह गाडनर साहब बहादुर के होकर मुल्क कुमाऊं की तई जो कुछ खैरखाही मुझ गरीब से बनी, सो जहान आलम में रोशन है। बीच अल्मोड़ा के नक्कारा फतेह का कम्पनी का बजाय करके उम्र मेरी ने वफान दिया। अब मैं वैकुण्ठवासी होता हूँ। मेरे हक की हकदार औलाद मेरी मार्फत साहब बहादुर के से (और अर्ज कर ले पास मिस्टर गाडनर साहब बहादुर के से) भी कम्पनी के घर से वसूल कर ले। मुद्दा यह तमाम इक्कीसों की थी, बेहतरी तमाम मुल्क की और अपनी करके बीच दायरे दौलत कम्पनी अंगरेज बहादुर की खैरखाही की तई मशगूल रहना, अगर इस बात के वास्ते क्रायमियत की जांफिशानी औलाद मेरी न करे, भला नहीं होगा, लेकिन हकदारों को हक सरकार न पहुँचायेगी, तो अर्ज मेरी औलाद की साहबान लोग न सुनके दुरुस्ती मुआफिक मेरी अर्ज की हुई के न कर देवें, तो मैं दामनगरि आगपत में हूँगा, और किताब दिखाई उसमें साहब ममदूह ने लिखा दिखलाया। हकदार क़दीमी मेरे तई कौन्सल का ठहराया बतलाया। अव्वल मुद्दा गद्दी की में तकरार भी किया।”

(तफसील मुद्दाहेजुदा १८)

- (१) गद्दी राज कुमाऊं की क्रायम हो।
- (२) मुआफिक बुजुर्गान हमारों के मुआफिक इज्जत उस जगह क्रायम हो।
- (३) जमींदारी बक्सी हुई राजाओं की हमारी तई सो हमको मिले।
- (४) मिलिकियत ब्राह्मणों की बतौर साबिक के क्रायम होवें।
- (५) जो कुछ वास्ते देवतों के रुपया जमीन जो साबिक से क्रायम है सो बहाल रहे।
- (६) बदस्तूर साबिक के खायकार हमारी कुमाऊं के तराई की गढ़वाल की क्रायम रहे।
- (७) कानूनगोई कुमाऊं की इप्तदाय से ताल्लुक बुजुर्ग हमारी के रही सो अब भी क्रायम रहे।
- (८) इन्साफ माफिक धर्मशास्त्र के हो।
- (९) बन्दोबस्त गोरखालियों का बन्द होकर माफिक साबिक राजाओं के बन्दोबस्त होवें।
- (१०) गोवध परवत में कभी नहीं हुआ, अब भी न हो।
- (११) जल, हिन्दू मुसलमानों का जुदा-जुदा रह आया है, सो ही अब भी रहे।

- (१२) बिछौना, हिन्दू मुसलमानों का जुदा ही रहा है सो अब भी रहे ।
 (१३) हुमत इज्जतदारों की मुआफिक आगे के रहे ।
 (१४) मजहब, जो धर्मशास्त्र का चला आया है मुआफिक उसके में फर्क न पड़े ।
 (१५) आदमी पहाड़ का गरीबसुदा है औरते इस मुल्क की किन्सी के बहकावटी से बदइमान न हों ।
 (१६) गोरखों कि बिद्दत से ब्राह्मण इस मुल्क से चले गये हैं, सो आबाद हों ।
 (१७) मकान देवतों के में सिवाय कदीम के जानेवालों के और कोई न जाय ।
 (१८) बेटा बड़ा मेरा कैद गोरखाली के में है नवाजिस कम्पनी की से छूटे ।”

The terms of Pt. Harshdeo have been no where seen in the English works. If this agreement bearing the genuine signatures of Mr. Frazer and Mr. Gardner lies with the successors of Pt. Harshdeo, then we shall say that the English have betrayed them. But if at the time of his death in the temple of Gananath, he has written down all this, by way of expiation, on the basis of his memory, then in politics it has no value. The English have highly praised the good qualities of Shivdeo Joshi and Harshdeo Joshi. Shivdeo was virtually diplomatic and skilled worker but the cruelty he showed at the time of the rebellion of the Fartyals, spoiled all his credit and reputation. The barbarity shown in Balighat—*Kand* is demonical. I have dispassionately and completely described all the political activities, as far as I could get, of Harshdeo Joshi. There is no doubt that Harshdeo Joshi was an extra-ordinary politician of his time. He was a scholar, virtuous and what not. But Mr. Atkinson has described him as unpatriotic and selfish. On the other hand, Bam Shah Chauntaria, even though he to great extent sided with the English, and the latter were ready to declare him as an independent ruler of Doti, did not commit treason. But Harshdeo Joshi performed all the acts of craftiness on the political chessboard of Kumaun. He made many of the persons, kings and many paupers. He was a leader of the politicians of that time. Had he ousting the Chands with the help of his country-men himself become the ruler or all in all his fame would have become everlasting, but to sell the motherland to the foreigners, according to Daishik Shastra, is a great sin. In politics the rulers practise all types of intrigues and fraudulences. They behead some and cut the feet of some. All their mistakes are excusable, but the crime of treason is such as can never be expiated. One who betrays his mother or his mother-land, his

infamy exists till the Ganga flows in the Kurukshetra. Vibhisan, Jaichand and Amichand shall never get emancipation from their infamy, but Ravan and Prithviraj are immortal. Harshdeo having ousted the Chands brought the king of Garhwal to Almora and again ousting him installed the Gorkhas on the thorne. Many a time he took shelter with the Muslims and at last making the English the ruler of Kurmachal, himself died in the temple of Gananath. It is said that the government wanted to grant him a good *ilaka* as a *jagir* but he agreed at a pension of Rs. 1000/-. One English writer says that the government had decided to give him a monthly pension of Rs. 3000/- but he agreed to Rs. 1000/- only. The villages in his *jagir* viz. Bajel, Gangolakotali, Jhijad, Pithrad, Rithagad, Islana, Kirada, Khadaun etc. were left intact. His son Maghan Narayan got a pension of Rs. 500/- only but he died early. So Gujlala could get with great difficulty the pension of Rs. 100/- only. Later on his son Pt. Badridatt Joshi got only Rs. 50/- a month. Now this, too, has been stopped. On the other hand Pt. Harshdeo's brother Pt. Jaikrishna's sons Laxminarayan and Gangadatt got Rs. 100/- per month. Later on, the sons of Laxminarayan-Shrikrishna, Ratanpati, Chudamani, Ishvaridatt, Govindballabh—were given Rs. 50/- per month which they distributed Rs. 10/- per head among themselves. On the death of the last man—Shrigovind, the pension was stopped for ever.

4. State-ministers of the Chands made Kanungos

During the rule of the Chands some families were hereditary *daftari* or *likhivad*. They had been granted land in lieu of monthly salary. The government forfeited the land in 1818 A.D. and permanently established the following 5 *kanungos*: (1) Jhijhad family—1 *kanungo* (2) Danya family—2 *kanungos* (3) Chaudhari family—2 *kanungos*.

Then their pay was fixed at Rs. 25/- per month. In 1818 there were following five *kanungos* in Kumaun: Mana Chaudhari, Narayan Chaudhari, Ratanpati Joshi, Trilochan Joshi, and Ramkrishna Joshi. They possessed land worth Rs. 1535/-. This they had got from the time of the Chands. Mr. Traill sent a proposal as follows :

To Ramkrishna	Rs. 30/- per month
To Trilochan	Rs. 30/- per month

To Mana Chaudhari	Rs. 30/- per month
To Ratanpati	Rs. 20/- per month
To Narayan Chaudhary	Rs. 15/- per month

But the Company's board of directors on May 11, 1819 A.D. fixed their salary at Rs. 25/- per month. Free lands were confiscated. These are called hereditary *kanungos*. Out of these four exist in Almora. One *kanungo* has been transferred to Nainital in 1891. A.D.

5. The last king of Chand family

It is necessary to give the description of the royal family of the ancient Chand kings.

King Mahendra Chand and king Lal Singh had sought the permission to fight against the Gorkhas but it was not granted to them. The English have never treated them as rightful kings. They might not have granted them permission to fight, so that they might not establish their claim over the state. In a gazetteer, their progenitor has been said to be the son of the maid servant of Baz Bahadur Chand, but when the king of Kashipur, opposed it, in a second gazetteer he was said to be the Rautela king of Kashipur. The English also say that he received the state from the Gorkhas, not from the Chands, and so did not give the throne of Kumaun either to king Mahendra Chand or to king Lal Singh. In 1790 A.D. king Lal Singh wanted to establish his capital at Kilpuri but the Gorkhas beat him away from there. At last king Mahendra Chand sent Lal Singh to the Nawab of Awadh. Owing to his illness, he himself could not go there. King Lal Singh submitted his petition through wazir Tikaitrai. Nawab of Awadh for the king's maintenance granted him in Tarai 16 villages in *asali jagir* and 7 villages in *dakhali jagir* which yielded an annual income of Rs. 1600/-. On the death of king Mahendra Chand the *jagir* was transferred in the name of the queen. Later on, after a little litigation the *jagir* came into the hands of king Lal Singh. This incident created suspicion. Enmity was created between both the royal families of Almora and Kashipur. Pande of Patia was the *guru*. He said that as king Lal Singh had acted against religion, he would not give him *gurumantra*. Since then Selval Joshi became their *guru* and *purohit* (priest). The family of the Chands was divided into two houses : (1) Almora, (2) Kashipur.

The Almora house belonged to the elder brother.

King Pratap Chand

King Pratap Chand was the son of king Mahendra Chand. He got the *jagir* of Almora and two villages in Morababad and also a monthly pension of Rs. 250/-. He was a highly handsome, simple and artless man. But he died at an early age.

King Nand Singh

His son was king Nand Singh. He was also a deputy collector. He also died at the age of about 32 years. First he got the pension of Rs. 250/- which was later on reduced to Rs. 125/-.

King Bhim Singh

He did not get any pension. Formerly he was a *sarishtedar*, later on became settlement *tahsildar*. He was an awe-inspiring and ill tempered man. But he also died in 30-32 years.

He had two sons : (1) prince Rajendra Singh and (2) prince Anand Singh. Prince Rajendra Singh was extremely handsome. He was married in Nepal. He also died while young. Prince Anand Singh survives. Being of Chand royal family he is called Raja. He has not married. He himself worships Nandadevi. He was once also a member of the Council.

Kashipur State

King Lal Singh had got a *jagir* in Kilpuri but owing to its deteriorating condition the government gave his successors 16 villages in Chanchat in lieu of Kilpuri. They also remained the *zamindar* of Kilpuri. King Pratap Chand had filed a suit for his share in Chanchat and Bajpur but it was dismissed by the board. It decided that as king Lal Singh was the head of the family and the *jagir* was in his name, so it should belong to him alone.

King Guman Singh

On the death of king Lal Singh in 1828 A.D. his son Guman Singh ascended the throne. He mostly lived in Rudrapur where he had his fort also. Pindari leader Amir Khan invaded this fort but king Guman Singh beat him away. Many of his associates were killed. In 1835 A.D. he got the regions of Rudrapur and Gadarpur in *zamindari* on the conditions that he would develop cultivation in this region and improve it. He died in 1836 A.D.

Honourable King Shivraj Singh

After him in 1836 A.D. this minor prince Shivraj Singh

became king. Till 1841 A.D. that state remained under court-of-wards. In 1848 A.D. he resigned from the *zamindari* of Rudrapur and Gadarpur as there was a charge on him that he could not efficiently manage those regions. In 1840 A.D. he took land from the Pandes in Kashipur, he built his palace and leaving Rudrapur began to live there. Later on he became the owner of 20 *mauzas* of Kashipur. In 1857 A.D. he helped the government. For this he, after the end of mutiny, got a *jagir*. In 1866 A.D. on the recommendation of John English he was given the *jagir* of Badhapur in lieu of Chanchat. 57000 acres of cultivable land, which was confiscated from the rebel *nawab* of Afzalgarh, was given along with the jungle as a free hold land. He was also a member of the Governor General's Council. He was respected like the ruling chiefs. In his memory the Shivraj Sanskrit Pathshala of Almora was built. He died in 1886. A.D. He had four sons : prince Hariraj Singh, prince Kirat Singh, prince Jagat Singh and prince Karn Singh.

King Hariraj Singh

The eldest son king Hariraj Singh ascended the throne. He died in 1898 A.D. He had two sons : prince Udairaj Singh and prince Anand Singh. Both of them are alive.

King Udairaj Singh

In 1898 A.D. he succeeded to the throne. Owing to his minority the state remained under court-of-wards. The property of Bijnaur and Badhapur is free hold land. In addition to it he has 30 villages in Kashipur which yield a revenue of Rs. 9590/- and in Phad Kota there are two small villages yielding a revenue of Rs. 74/-. The total income of the state is said to be Rs. 1.5 lacs. Patriot prince Anand Singh now is also the owner of the Barauli state in Aligarh. Prince Kirat Singh and Jagat Singh have no issue. Prince Karn Singh's son is prince Bhupal Singh. He possesses 6 *mauzas*.

King Udairaj Singh was married in the state of Bushahar. Both the uterine sisters were his queens. When king of Bushahar died issueless, his estate should have been given to the princes of Kashipur but was given to others.

6. The remaining part

The history of Kurmachal practically ends here. All the facts that were known about the Katyuri, Chand, Khas and Gorkha administration have been described above. For the last 120 years

the English rule is established here. The history of the English rule in India is almost the same. It is difficult to write clearly the history of British rule as the problems of the Press Act and Sedition are quite difficult. A dependent nation can not write with open heart the history of the power wielding rulers. There are many hurdles in doing so. The history of British rule in India shall be written on getting independence. So in the end the facts worth noting have been added without any criticism.

7. English administrative system

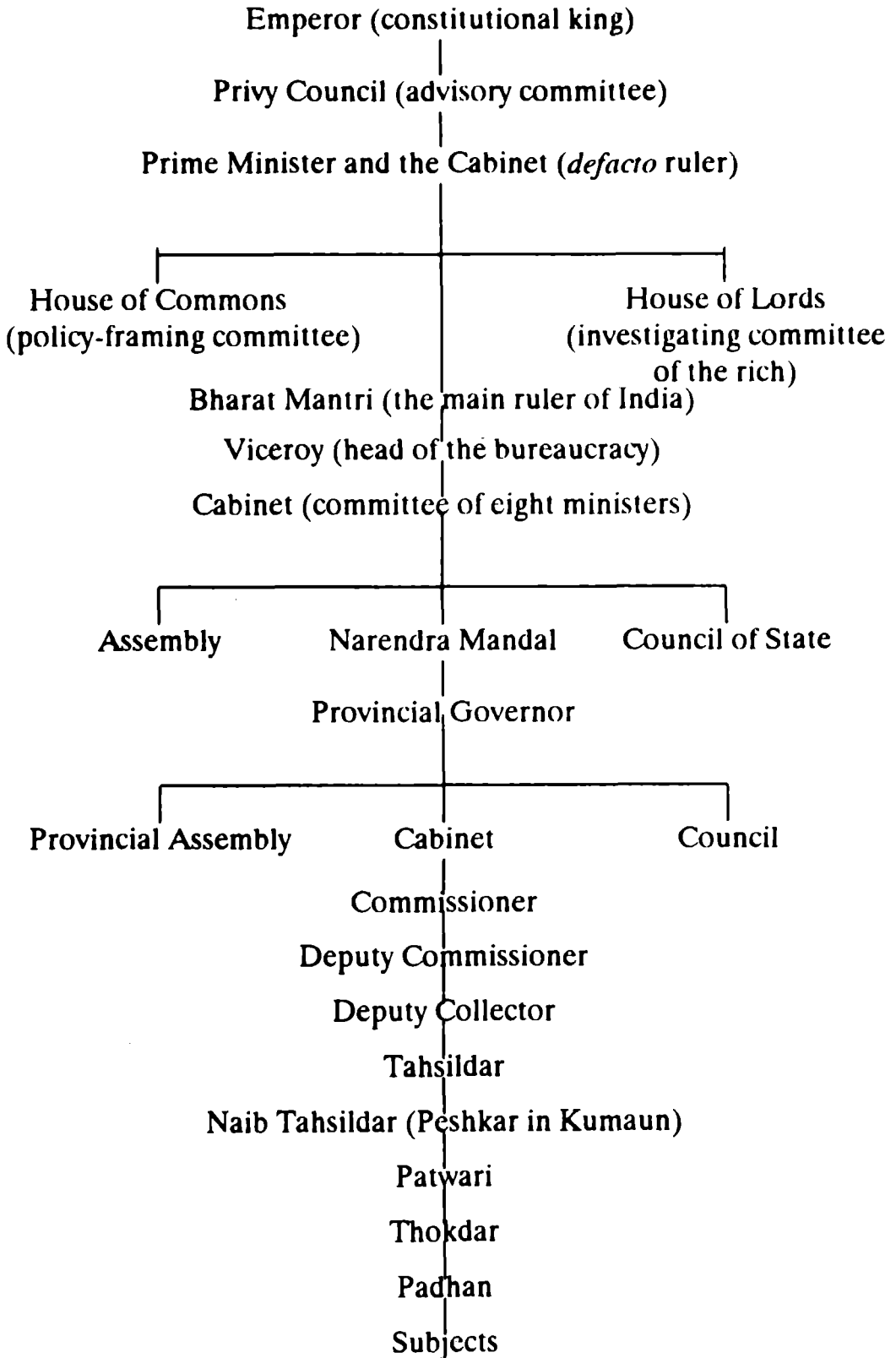
In 1600 A.D. East India Company was founded. It was a trading association. Since 1608 A.D. the officials of the company began going to the Mughal court. How by establishing *kothis* first in Surat and then in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta and the way in which the cunning officials with the help of the Parliament laid the foundation of the British empire in whole of India is well known.

This company had established a *bhanga* factory at Kashipur. Here the officers of the Company used to come. They all were damn happy to see the divine beauty of the land of Kumaun. In 1802 Lord Wellesley deputed Mr. Gaut to inspect the forests, climate and general situation of the place. In 1811-12 A.D. Mr. Muircraft and Captain Heresy went to Tibet. They were captured there. On being set free they submitted a highly pleasant report about Kumaun. Later on Honorable Gardner also sent a report. Some say that Marquis of Hastings *alias* Lord Moira also had come to Kumaun via Kashipur. He was greatly surprised to see the land, climate, scenes and valuable things of the place and he sent a secret report in which was written, "In dreams also I see surprising scenes of Kumaun and the natural beauty of the Himalaya and pray God that the day might come soon when this beautiful region comes under us."

Even before the battle of Nepal the Indian employees of the Company had decided to annex Kumaun to the British Kingdom. The battle of Nepal provided a good pretext. The British directors had blamed Lord Hastings for wasting much money over wars. They sought explanation from him in respect of carrying war in Kumaun and Nepal but this haughty administrator did not care for it.

In the name of British empire or British Parliament big officers ruled in India. Lokmanya Tilak had given the suitable

nomenclature of bureaucracy to this type of administrative system. The administrative table of the English empire is as follows :—



The emperor resided in London. He is called the king of England and emperor of India as he is the king over 600 native states also. Though he is regarded as the chief representative of the policy of the empire, army and society, yet he is not an autocratic ruler. He is called a constitutional emperor. He can do no work without the advice of the ministers. He has also his private cabinet but it has no political administrative power. It is only an advisory and information giving body. The actual reins of the government are in the hands of the cabinet. Party government system prevails in England. From amongst about 4.5 crores of people 615 representatives are selected who sit in the Parliament and frame laws and regulations for the administration of the state and determine the policy. The main parties are Conservative, Liberal and Labour. Two new parties Fascist and Communist have recently come into existence. The emperor summons the leader of the party which has majority in the Parliament and entrusts the seals and the reins of the government to him. The ministers take oath before the emperor and the subjects to work honestly. Fresh election of Parliament is held either on the defeat of the cabinet or every fifth year or when Prime Minister advises the Emperor to hold a fresh election. The cabinet works with only the advice of the House of Lords but with directions of the House of Commons.

For the administration of the British Empire in India a special minister has been appointed. He alone is the defacto ruler of India. The cabinet lays down the policies and the Bharat Mantri actually administers. For his Indian administration he is not responsible to Indian subjects but to the British representative body. The viceroy in India works under him. He, too, has a cabinet of eight ministers, in which is included the commander-in-chief also. These eight ministers under the orders of the viceroy carry on the administration of the whole of India. Here also three committees exist but they are only nominal.

- (1) Assembly—Committee selected by the common people.
- (2) Council of State—Committee of the members selected by big capitalists and landlords or nominated by the government
- (3) Narendra Mandal—Committee of native kings to advice in respect of native states.

The government hears the suggestions and discussions of these three committees but works according to its own sweet will. It is not bound to work according to their advice.

Provincial Administration

Provincial governor works under the viceroy. He is the ruler of one province. He also has a cabinet of 4-6 ministers, half of whom are selected by the bureaucracy and half by the subjects. Upto 1936 A.D. there were 123 members in the council of the United Provinces out of whom 100 were elected by the people and 23 nominated by the government. The government heard their proposal and also gave arbitrary answers to their questions but did what it liked.

8. Administration of *kismats* (divisions) and districts

Commissioner works under the governor. He is ruler of one *kismat*. Under him are the collectors or deputy commissioners who administer the districts. Under him are deputy collectors who are called *pargana* or sub-divisional officers. Under him is *tahsildar* who administers a *tahsil*. Under *tahsildar* and *naib tahsildar* are *quanungos* or superintendents of *patwaris*. Under him works *patwari*. *Thokdar* and *padhan* help the *patwari* in the administration of villages.

All these administrators right from the lowest to the highest are responsible for their work respectively to the officers just above them. In England the government is responsible for its work to the people but not so in India. The government functionaries in England regard them as servant of both the king and the people and the people are regarded as the master. But in India the government officers regard themselves masters rather more than a king. People command no respect, nor their rights are protected. This is actually the aim of the Swarajya Movement. The Swarajis claim that the administration of India should be carried on by the Indians in the interest of India. The administrators should be responsible to Indians.

9. Indian Administration

Except the above main administrators, the work of the administration of 35 crores of people is divided into 30-35

departments whose heads also enjoy fat salaries and wield high powers.

Army (navy, air and land), rail, telegraph, post, shipping, native states, income tax, customs etc. are all central departments. Income from these goes to all India treasury. Their administrators are responsible to the Viceroy or Governor General.

10. Provincial administration

Provincial administration also is divided into many departments such as :

- (1) General administration (administration of the whole province).
- (2) *Garh Captani*—(Management of bridges, roads, canals, buildings and electricity).
- (3) Stamps
- (4) Prisons
- (5) Doctors and hospitals
- (6) Pension
- (7) Police
- (8) Health and hygiene
- (9) Revenue
- (10) Registration
- (11) Agriculture
- (12) Education
- (13) Justice
- (14) Forest
- (15) Trade and industry
- (16) Printing and stationery
- (17) Advance and Loans

These are the basic departments. However, there are other average sub-departments also. The chief officers of all these departments are responsible to the provincial governors.

Normally the main administrator of the district is deputy commissioner, but in Kumaun from the very beginning

commissioner has been the autocratic ruler. This region like a small *nawabship*, has been quite separate. The commissioner here has for a long time been all in all. National leader Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant writes in his booklet entitled '*Shasan Sudharon ka Sukshma Vivarn*', "In addition to troubles and inconveniences existing in the provincial regions there are particular local handicaps also. The Kumaunis are very much troubled by the disgraceful and immoral usage of Kuli-utar and the wide spread troubles relating to the forest. Besides, treatment of Kumaun as a scheduled district and all the civil cases here under the administrative officers of this place are the hurdles in the freedom of the people. Besides, *benap*, *nayabad*, wild animals, license, *gharat*, *abpashi*, *begar*, arbitrary rule in Tarai Bhavar are the other difficulties."

These difficulties do not exist in the plains. These are the peculiarities of the hills. Since 1815 A.D. till today the commissioners have been all in all in Kumaun and they have been carrying on the administration of this place in an arbitrary way.

11. List of Commissioners

The name of commissioners, as far as available, are given here :

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. E. Gardner | 1815 A.D. for about six months |
| 2. Traill | 1816 A.D.—1830 A.D. |
| 3. Col. Goyan | 1830 A.D.—1836 A.D. |
| 4. Lushington | 1839 A.D.—1848 A.D. |
| 5. Batten | 1848 A.D.—1856 A.D. |
| 6. Henry Ramsay | 1856 A.D.—1884 A.D. |
| 7. Fisher | 1884 A.D.—1885 A.D. |
| 8. Ross | 1885 A.D. |
| 9. Col. Grigg | |
| 10. Col. Arskin | |
| 11. Col. D.T. Roberts | |
| 12. Devis | |
| 13. Gracy | |
| 14. John Campbell | 1913 A.D. |

- | | |
|--------------|---------------------|
| 15. Wyndham | 1913 A.D.—1924 A.D. |
| 16. Stiffe | 1924 A.D.—1931 A.D. |
| 17. Stubbs | 1931 A.D. |
| 18. Owen | |
| 19. Ibbetson | |

Recently Kumaun division has been bifurcated but the commissioner of Nainital looks after the work of the Kumaun division also.

12. Honourable E. Gardner

Mr. Gardner was appointed the first administrator of Kurmachal. But after conquering Kumaun he could hardly rule for six months when he was called elsewhere. In 1815 A.D. he was ordered to make recruitments in the departments of police and revenue. In June 1815 the system of selling boys was abolished.

13. Mr. Traill

He was the first real administrator of Kumaun. He was first appointed as an assistant to Mr. Gardner. On his transfer he was the commissioner from 1815 to 1935. In 1816 Kumaun was placed under the board of directors at Farrukhabad. The rule of the Katyuris, Chands, Khasas and Gorkhas had come to an end. The reins of this region had come into the hands of the English. The English then were respected and worshipped like gods. Mr. Traill is said to be a strong administrator. It was he who made the roots of the rule of the English firm in Kumaun. He was an autocratic ruler, he did what he liked. He himself framed rules and regulations and worked according to them. He neither recognised nor followed the rules framed by his higher authorities. Cases were not so complicated. There were neither *vakils* nor appeals nor arguments. Decisions were summarily taken. Atkinson calls his rule as 'strict and autocratic.' He did not abide by the higher governmental policies. He had his own way but was a just ruler. He did not care to look into the laws framed in the country, he made his rules and regulations independently. Mr. Bird writes that on his departure there was no permanent law in Kumaun, as the law-framer had gone away.

When he was making the settlement, people presented the copper-plates issued by the older kings in respect of the tax exemption. He rejected hundreds of them and asked people to prepare *tava* and *gagari* with them.

In 1817 A.D. Regulation X was enforced through which the officers of Kumaun were ordered to conduct all the cases except those of murder, dacoity and fraud for which a separate commissioner was ordered to be appointed but there came no such cases.

In 1828 an order was issued to send criminal cases of here to the court of Bareilly. Some *zamindars* on a contract of Rs. 8881/- realised arbitrary octroi duty in Tarai Bhavar. It was stopped.

Formerly in Kumaun a husband killing the paramour of his wife was not hanged if he had given warning to the government in respect of killing the paramour. But in 1817 A.D. this custom was stopped. In 1820 A.D. Mr. Traill commenced eight *annas* court fee stamps.

Then there were no *vakils*. If a man could not himself appear in his case he sent his agent. In 1824 A.D. Tarai was transferred to Moradabad. Mr. Traill did not allow the transfer to Bhavar.

In 1826 A.D. the region of Dehradun and Chandi also were included in Kumaun, but Dehradun was separated from it on May 1, 1829 A.D.

In 1827 A.D. magistrates were given the right to institute cases against the native soldiers and in 1828 A.D. the system of registration of birth, death and marriage was introduced.

In 1831 A.D. Kumaun came under the Nizamat court at Allahabad and also Board of Revenue.

In 1830 A.D. Mr. Traill was transferred to Bareilly and in 1835 A.D. he cut off his relations with Kumaun.

Atkinson regards Mr. Traill as just but the people of Kumaun hold contrary opinion.

Pt. Harshdeo Joshi laid down a condition that there should be no cow-slaughter in Kurmachal but Mr. Traill allowed it. When the Hindus here opposed it, he said that the Hindus that oppose it, do

not deserve to live in Kumaun; they should be transferred to Banaras. The people there, who having left the mountain did not want to go to the plains thinking that they might be sent to Banaras, kept quiet. Mr. Kennedy in his book *Banaras and Kumaun* has mentioned this fact.

Mr. Burn writes about the rule of Traill. "There is a great need of reformation in the criminal penal justice in Kumaun. I have come to know that people without getting their faults established were stuffed in prisons, or compelled to work on roads for years."

Though he put forth a dangerous principle that the East India Company had sovereign rights over lands in Kumaun yet his settlement of 1823 A.D. which is called 80 year settlement is till now an ideal and just settlement. He set right the boundaries of the villages and said that the land within the village belonged to the villagers. When in 1820 king Sudarshan Shah got back the state of Tehri, there arose a great commotion in Kumaun. People who were already fed up with the oppressive rule of Traill said that when the state of Garhwal was returned, why should the state of Kumaun be not returned. On this Mr. Glenn was sent to conduct enquiry but who returns the state once taken.

14. Mr. Goyan

In 1831 A.D. Col. Goyan was appointed as the commissioner. From this year the board of directors enhanced their supervision. In 1836 A.D. slavery was abolished. Till now only octroi duty on selling slaves, selling of women by their male guardians and of widows had been stopped, now the sale of *chhyodas* and *haliyas* also was stopped. People filed suits that they should get their rights, but they were dismissed. This very year free hold lands were investigated, the management of the officers was set right and arrangements for the lunatics were also made.

Cow-slaughter remained confined to military cantonments only. People launched formidable movement against cow-slaughter. In 1836 A.D. the *parganas* of Kashipur and Tarai were respectively included in Moradabad and Rohilkhand. The custom of ordeal was abolished. In 1827 A.D. there was only one civil court and its overall head was Mr. Traill. In 1837 A.D. *Kanungos* were given the powers of *munsifs* and over them was appointed a *sadar amin*. They

could decide cases upto Rs. 25/-. In 1830 A.D. they get right upto Rs. 50/-. The *sadar amin* had the right to conduct cases upto Rs. 100/-. The cases of more valuation were heard in the court of the commissioner. This very year the stamp fee was raised to Rs. 2/- per hundred.

In 1837 A.D. Mr. Bird was sent to enquire into the administrative system of Kumaun. He submitted highly strong report. He greatly condemned the administration of Mr. Traill and Mr. Goyan, only praised Mr. Batton, the assistant commissioner.

In 1839-40 A.D. the Board sent extensive circulars in respect of partition, accounts of *patwaris*, summons, *chowkidars*, stamps, compensation and rural police etc. Some of them were accepted, some not, as the administration was unilateral, arbitrary and *gairaini*. The settlement-laws were implemented here also and Mr. Batton was appointed as the settlement officer.

In 1838 A.D. it was decided that the rules relating to adultery should be implemented in Kumuan also.

In 1839 A.D. the districts of Kumaun and Garhwal which were one till then, were separated and the administration of both was entrusted to separate officers.

The commissioner for both the districts remained the same. In 1842 A.D. both the regions of Bhavar and Tarai were again included in Kumaun and a separate district named Tarai was created.

The writer of *Political Notes on Kumaun* regards Traill as cruel, Goyan stupid, Batton and Bikkett selfish and Ramsay absolute ruler.

15. Mr. Batton

In 1848 A.D. on the death of Lushington Mr. Batton became the commissioner. He is said to be a very deserving officer. Though he, too, was a unilateral ruler, yet he, to some extent, complied with the rules.

In 1852-53 lands were given to the people for the plantation of tea. In 1855 A.D. rules in respect of revenue were framed. In 1840-41 during the days of Mr. Lushington the settlement of Nainital was made. Nainital was peopled in his days.

We quote here the verse which poet Gumani Pant had composed in praise of Lushington and recited in Hawalbagh :

“हुनर्गाह कीना न विर्रा महीना न दौलत महीना तलपना न धरवर ।
 लगी कर्जदारी यही मर्ज भारी हरो अर्ज सारी सुनो बन्दा परवर ।।
 मुझे खूब रोजी इनायत करो जी खुशी से लर्शिटन कमिश्नर बहादुर ।
 बड़े आप दानी करें दुआबानी हमेशा गुमानी खड़ा होय हाजिर ।।”

From it, it appears that Lushington was somewhat a popular officer.

In 1852 A.D. *Calcutta Review* had written about the administration of Kumaun, “Since 40 years British rule is established in Kumaun. Can we speak well of our protection ? I am afraid, the answer to this question can not be in ‘Yes’. Much money has been spent over nominal roads and bridges for the army but it is also true that no man ever walked over these bridges and these bridges exist on roads which lead to nowhere.”

The readers should themselves understand what this criticism means. Those days the main aim of the employees of the company was to go home, getting rich at the earliest.

16. Mr. Ramsay

In 1856 A.D. in place of Batton Captain Ramsay (who later on was called Major General Sir Henry Ramsay) was appointed the ruler of Kumaun. He was a resident of Scotland and belonged to Lord family. Lord Dalhousie was his cousin. He remained commissioner from 1856-1884 A.D. Earlier he had worked on junior posts. He was the administrator of this region for 44 years out of which for 28 years he was the commissioner of Kumaun and here he had his uninterrupted rule. English writers have conferred on him the title of ‘*King of Kumaun*’. If he is called *Kaiser of Kumaun*, it will be no exaggeration. In Kumaun he was called ‘*Ramsay Saheb*’. Every child of Kumaun knows him even now. He had become quite intimate with the people here. He knew the conditions of each and every house. He also spoke the language of the hills. He ate the bread of *madua* in the houses of the farmers and patiently heard whatever they said, but worked according to his own sweet will. He was married to the daughter of former commissioner Sir Henry Lushington. In 1884 A.D. he was forcibly retired. After retirement also he lived in Ramsay House at Almora till 1892 A.D. He wanted to live here itself, but his sons took him

from there under pressure. It is said that he bitterly wept at the time of his departure. While going he sold his beautiful bungalow to the government. Now it is used as Session House and high officers and V.I.Ps stay there. Four months he lived in Binsar, four months in Almora and four months in Bhavar. In the meantime he went on tours also.

First he built his bungalow in Binsar and later on in Khali. In Almora, Haldwani and Ramnagar also he had his bungalows.

Father Dr. George Smith includes him among the 12 great politicians of India. The reason behind this might be that Ramsay was a great proclaimer of Christianity. He helped the Fathers greatly. He wanted that the whole of Kumaun be converted to Christianity. It was perhaps owing to this that Father Smith calls him a high rate administrator.

There is no doubt that Ramsay was a strong administrator. He ruled like a *nawab* and dispensed justice like a *kazi*. The credit for making this region *gairaini* goes to him alone. New laws came from the above but he refused to implement them in Kumaun. Here his order was the law. It is said that once he tore away the pages of the book of a lawyer.

The writer of *Political Notes on Kumaun* writes, "Those who supported him (Ramsay) right and left he gave them posts and services but who opposed him, were thrown into ditches."

He opposed the policy of settling down the English here. We cannot say what his intention was behind doing so. Either he thought that only Kumaunis should live in Kumaun or the English living there in good number, might interfere in his arbitrary administration and also criticise him. But nothing exactly can be said in this regard and nothing has been written by experienced writers of his time. Mr. Ramsay also made sufficient efforts for the protection of the trade and commerce here. But his most praiseworthy work was to populate Tarai Bhavar. In Bhavar cultivation was done, but there were no such big and metalled canals. Villagers cut out *gools* (small canals) and cultivated the land. Mr. Ramsay constructed canals and roads and founded townships at places and developed cultivation in Bhavar. He himself was the ruler, engineer, forest officer and P.W.D. officer of Bhavar. He himself made the settlement and maintained the

account. He raised green fields every where and the horror of malaria was also reduced. Lord Mayo had come upto Bhavar, Nainital, Almora and Binsar. He was greatly pleased at the administration of Bhavar.

Mr. Ramsay was in favour of revenue police not civil police there and even now except in a few big towns, mostly there is revenue police.

17. Mutiny of 1857 A.D.

When Ramsay took charge there was mutiny in Northern India. There was all peace in the hills. Still Mr. Ramsay imposed martial law there. Whosoever spoke something against or on whom there was any suspicion, was either thrown into prison or shot dead. The *Fansi-gadhera* of Nainital is since then famous by that name. The rebels were hanged there.

In Garhwal, the rebels being lined up on a high *tibari*, on the bank of the Ganga, were gunned down. Only one man being wounded fell into the river and having crossed the river managed to escape.

In Kali Kumaun there came a confidential letter on behalf of *nawab* Wajid Ali Shah addressed to Kalu Mahara that if the hill people joined the mutiny, they would get as much wealth as they desired. The term laid down was that the hilly regions will go to the hill people and the region of plains to the *nawab*. Kalu Mahara was the chief leader of Visung. He made a secret plan that some should side with the *nawab* and some with the English. They would divide among themselves whatever they got from whence.

So Kalu Mahara, Anand Singh Fartyal and Bisan Singh Karayat went to the Nawab at Lucknow. Madho Singh Fartyal, Nar Singh Latwal and Khushal Singh Julal remained with the English.

The first three were caught in Awnakheda. Kalu Mahara was not shot dead but was put, one after the other, in 52 prisons. Anand Singh and Bisan Singh were killed. The younger brother of Kalu Mahara, afraid of being caught by the English, hanged himself.

Madho Singh, Nar Singh etc. got *jagirs* in Bareilly and Pilibhit. Jaman Singh Dhek told me about all these things.

When the news of this mutiny spread, Mr. Ramsay was in the snow-covered part of Garhwal. He first came to Almora and then went to Nainital. On June, 1, fugitives seeking shelter from Bareilly came to Haldwani and some from Moradabad came to Kaladhungi. From June 6 news from the plains stopped coming. In Kota-Bharar and Tarai traitors made plunders. Mr. Ramsay could save Haldwani only as he had no much forces. The *tahsil* of Kota was plundered by the residents of Rampur. Some soldiers and the commander of the English army Dhan Singh were killed. Many of the plunderers were hanged. This made the hooligans panicky. The English-men, who having fled from the plains came to Nainital, were provided maintenance by the government. The *nawab* of Rampur was on the side of the English but apprehending mutiny in Rampur on the occasion of Id and their attack on Nainital, the English ladies were sent to Almora. On September 17, 1000 traitors captured Haldwani. On 18th Captain Maxwell defeated them. On 16th October 500 traitors again came and again captured Haldwani. Later on the English conducted raids which compelled both the *sawars* and traitors to flee away. Fazal Haque, the leader of the Mutiny for independence of India, with 4500 men and four guns came via Sanda and Kelakhan with 4000 men and 4 guns via Bahedi. But having suffered repeated defeats they had to go back and in hills nowhere the mutiny could take place. Any body doing anything anywhere was shot dead. So nothing could happen.

During the days of mutiny, coolies were hardly available. In June Mr. Ramsay set free the prisoners and took the work of coolies from them and they were assured that if they worked properly they would be set free for ever. There was a fight between these coolies and the dacoits at Kaladhungi. They killed many of them. Some say that there hooligan prisoners were made soldiers who greatly plundered the people.

18. Land settlement

The king has the right to realise tax for administration of the country. Manu says — “The king should take annual revenues from subjects bit by bit just as a leech, calf and black bee extract blood, milk and honey and eat it slowly and gradually. The king should exact one fiftieth part from the profit of cattle and gold. In

the same way he should take one-sixth, one-eighth or one-twelfth of the grains. There is option to realise this tax on the basis of fertility, barrenness and less or more labour employed in ploughing. The king should take one-sixth part as tax from the income of these seventeen items, viz. tree, meat, medicine, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, medicine, juice, flowers, roots, fruits, leaves, vegetables, straw, leather, pots of bamboo, clay and stone.”

The Hindu kings followed the ideal of the Marathas and levied one fourth as tax. But the policy of the English in this respect is still flexible like rubber. There is no permanent settlement policy. From Bengal to Banaras permanent settlement was made. Later on the policy changed. It became the policy of the government to enhance the tax at every settlement. In plains people are great sufferers even though there is one settlement, the Kumaunis in the hills are crushed under two settlements (1) land settlement and (2) forest settlement—more severe than the former.

The kings of Kumaun were plain and simple rulers. Their rights were limited. They were not unilateral. Their policy was modcrated by the people of the old factions of Maharas and Fartyals of this place. Near the capital a part of the land was allotted and specially set apart for the *bhandar* of the king and it was cultivated at the personal cost of the king. This fact has been mentioned by Mr. Traill himself. It is clear from this that the Hindu kings regarded themselves as the guardians and not the owners of the land. But the English changed this policy.

Here Bauras, Boharas and Bishts were regarded as *thatvans* but the English said that the government was the owner of all the land. In view of this policy all the unmeasured land--*ghat*, *gad*, forests, *ijar*, barren and river—was regarded as belonging to the government. People practically became *khaykars*, though they should have been the owners of all types of property lying within the village. Following this policy the government confiscated all the forests and unmeasured land of Kumaun by gazette-notification.

Some facts about the settlement

The correspondence which takes place between the king and the subjects relating to dealings in respect of land, is called

settlement. Settlement means management. The paper in which detailed description about each village in respect of its yield, canals, nature of land, quantity of measured and unmeasured land, nature and location of names of boundaries, sharers, tenants, *sirtan*, *khaykar*, the names of things produced is recorded is called 'Vajibul Arz'. In hills these things are mostly entered in *fant*. The remaining details are displayed when settlement is to take place, there the settlement officers first prepares a report (*Ibtidai* report) and submit it to the government. When approval is received from the higher officers, the settlement begins.

Maps of the land are prepared and the plots are allotted numbers. Later on *khasaras* are made. In *khasaras* the names of the sharers, *khaykars* and *sirtans* along with the number of plots falling to the share of each of them is recorded. Later on *muntkhibs* are prepared. In it are recorded the names of every sharer—*Khaykar* and number of plots and also the numberdar who are the possessors of the plots. Formerly *tehrijos* also were prepared in which the area of land in every village as well as of every sharer and *khaykar* was recorded. In *fants* the total area of the land belonging to every sharer along with his name and total revenue is recorded. In Kumaun the land has been divided into the following categories : (1) *talaun*, (2) *abbal*, (3) *doyam* and (4) *ijaran* or *katil*. The method of calculating *zarab* had laid down by Mr. Bikett whose settlement is known as the eightieth year settlement.

Suppose, Devdatt in his name has 50 *nalis* of land which is allotted as follows :

<i>Talaun</i>	<i>Abbal</i>	<i>Doyam</i>	<i>Ijaran</i>	<i>Total</i>
30	10	5	5	50
3	1½	x	½	
90	15	5	2½	= 112½

Then the revenue shall be fixed on 112½ *nalis*. *Talaun* land is trebled, *abbal* one and a half, *doyam* the same and *ijaran* half. It is called *zabar bisi*.

The rate of revenue ranges from 50 *paise* to Rs.3/- per *bisi*. *Bisi* is equal to 20 *nalis*. i.e. one acre of land.

In Tarai Bhavar there are villages where 45% of yield goes to the cultivators and 55% to the state. In the days of the Chands 1/6 of the yield was realised as the state tax.

The *malguzar* or *padhan* collects the revenue from the village and gives it to the *patwari* and the latter deposits it in the treasury. The *malguzar* gets 5% of the revenue as his commission. In Tarai Bhavar at some places he gets 10%. *Thokdars* are given 3% of the revenue of these villages whose *thokdar* they are, but in the Mahara villages of Nainital the *thokdars* commission is 10%. This was due to the special favour of Mr. Ramsay. At places *thokdarship* has also been confiscated.

All the proceedings of the settlement are published in the provincial gazette. Then objections are heard and then the papers are submitted in the Council and on getting approval from there the settlement is taken to be final.

The term of the settlement ranged from one year to thirty years, now it is fixed at forty years. The rate of revenue has been fixed at 35% to 40% instead of 55%.

The list of words related to land and settlement used in revenue is given below :

1. *Talaun*—Land where irrigation is done.
2. *Sera, Sira, Kulono, Pankhet*—Irrigated land. In *sima* or *simar* water is produced and only *kharif* crops are produced. This type of land can also be called slough.
3. *Uparaun*—High land which can not be irrigated.
4. *Chaurun*, tapped—Good plane land.
5. *Tit, Ukhad*—Barren Land.
6. *Sar, Tok, Tano*—Arrangements of cultivation named separately.
7. *Bado*—Field.
8. *Gado, Khet, Kayanlo, Puchhado, Hango*—Fields small and big.
9. *Gair*—cultivation in valleys.
10. *Kamun*—Prepared field.
11. *Banj*—Field without cultivation.
12. *Relo*—Sloping land.
13. *Sir*—Self cultivated land.

14. *Tailo*—Sunny land.
15. *Selo*—Shady land.
16. *Malla*—Upper.
17. *Talla*—Lower.
18. *Valla*—Of this side.
19. *Palla*—Of that side.
20. *Bichalla*-Middle.
21. *Pagar, Bhid*—The mounds between two fields.
22. *Pair*—break of mountains or walls.
23. *Izar, Khil, Katil*— Virgin forest land which has been ploughed.
24. *Thula*—Big.
25. *Nana*—Small.
26. *Utar, Ularo*—descent.
27. *Ghat*—water mill.
28. *Okhal*—Mortar.
29. *Khalo*—Barn.
30. *Khod*—Cattle house.
31. *Goth, Kharak, Gvad*-cowpen.
32. *Dhara*—Spring.
33. *Naula*—Large well with flights of step
34. *Chhida*—water fall
35. *Avval* — Types of land
Doyam
36. *Bisis*—20 *nalis* or 1 acre land (approximately)
37. *Kool, Gool*—Water canal
38. *Jhanata*—Massty land in Tarai
39. *Van*—Forest
40. *Dano, Dhura*—High mountains.
41. *Dhar*—Back side of the mountain
42. *Dak*—Broad hilly tract of land.
43. *Kot Bunga*—Fortress or fortress-like mountain.

44. *Kant, Tibari, Tiba*—Small peaks.
45. *Khaud*—Tree less mountain.
46. *Bhyol, Kufad*—Valley.
47. *Karal*—Hilly sloping land.
48. *Sain*—Plain field.
49. *Bagad*—Open field on the bank of a river.
50. *Gad, Gadhera*—Hilly rivulets.
51. *Rau*—Deep part of the river
52. *Khal*—Small ponds.
53. *Khval or Bakhali*—Lines of village houses.
54. *Tal or Talau*—Tank.
55. *Pokhar*—Small tank.
56. *Phulai*—Flower garden.
57. *Nali*—a pot weighing about 2 seers, made of wood or metal. In villages corn was measured in it. The part of land in which 1 nali corn can be sown is also called *nali*.
58. *Patha or Mana*—These are small weights.
59. *Mutthi*—Corn that can be taken in a mutthi. (handful)
60. *Ana, Gall*—Corn.
61. *Koot, Adhiya or Adhyol*—Taxes in terms of grains that a farmer pays to the owner of the land.
62. *That*—Piece of land where man lives from time immemorial.
63. *Thatvan*—Land owner.
64. *Raut*—Piece of land granted in recognition of valour.
65. *Maraut*—Piece of land which the family members of a man get when he has been killed in war.
66. *Bant, Ansa*—The portion of the land allotted to one's share.
67. *Hissedar*—Associate owner of the village.
68. *Zamindar*—Rajput farmer.
69. *Pal*—Land set apart by the king for themselves.
70. *Rath*—Family.

71. *Dhuda*—Faction.
72. *Anbata* or *Sanjayat* —Unpartitioned land.
73. *Mau*—Family
74. *Bandhak* —Mortgaged land.
75. *Dhal Bhol*—Sold out land.
76. *Akar*—Free land
77. *Gunth* or *Vishnuprit* —Land offered to a temple.
78. *Sankalp*—Land given in charitable donation.
79. *Padhan* (*Pradhan*)—Malguzar or lambardar
80. *Patta Padhanchari*—The order of appointment that a padhan gets from the state.
- 8.1 *Haq* or *Dastur Padhanchari*—The share that a padhan gets from the revenue, somewhere in form of cash, somewhere in form of land.
82. *Thokdar*—A village officer over a number of villages who helps the police in discharging state-duties; he is also called Sayana, Kamin or Buddha.
83. *Pargana*—Part of a district
84. *Patti*—Part of a *pargana*, group of villages.
85. *Khaykar*—Hereditary tenant who can not be ejected.
86. *Sirtan*—A tenant who is not hereditary, he can be ejected.
87. *Sirati*—Things that a *sirtan* has to give to his master.
88. *Pay kasht*—A *sirtan* who prepares land for sowing in other villages.
89. *Rakam* —Revenue.
90. *Panghat*—Water place.
91. *Gauchar*—Pasture.
92. *Nayabad*—Unsurveyed land brought under cultivation. Till settlement it is called nayabad.

In hills very little land remains for cultivation. Much land is covered with forests. Population is growing. So powerful persons occupy pastures and quays also. Petitions are filled for Nayabad,

objections are raised. Strict rules have been framed. A number of suits arise. The strong win and the poor lose everything.

19. Settlement (District Nainital)

	<u>Hilly region</u>	<u>Total collection</u>
First settlement	— In 1815, in the time of Mr. Gardner	Rs. 15887.00
Second settlement	— In 1817, in the time of Traill	—
Third settlement	— In 1818,	—
Fourth settlement	— In 1820,	Rs. 19454.00
Fifth settlement	— In 1823,	—
Sixth settlement	— In 1828	Rs. 21089.00
Seventh settlement	— In 1832	Rs. 21384.00
Eighth settlement	In —	—
Ninth settlement	— In 1842-46	Rs. 23342.00
Tenth settlement	— In 1863-73 (Viket)	Rs. 34883.00
Eleventh settlement	— In 1900	Rs. 50314.00
<i>Bhavar</i>	<i>Bhavar</i>	
	<u>Revenue</u>	<u>Rent</u>
1815	Rs. 1185.00	—
1820	Rs. 4174.00	—
1828	Rs. 6924.00	—
1833	Rs. 7710.00	—
1843	Rs. 12654.00	—
1889	Rs. 51366.00	—
1903	Rs. 56592.00	Rs. 145000.00
At present	Rs.211625.00	Rs. 185478.00

Tarai

	<u>Revenue</u>
1703	Rs. 48000.00
1815	Rs. 92000.00
1843	Rs. 70263.00
1885	Rs. 69556.00
At present	Rs. 249854.00

Pargana Kashipur

1839	Rs. 102367.00
1879	Rs. 105388.00
Presently	Rs. 112097.00
Revenue of district Nainital	Rs. 604687.00

District Almora

In Almora since the beginning upto the present day the following settlements have been made.

	<u>Revenue</u>
First Settlement — 1815-16 (by Gardner)	Rs. 70699.00
Second Settlement — 1817 (by Traill)	Rs. 73359.00
Third Settlement — 1818 "	Rs. 79930.00
Fourth Settlement — 1821 "	Rs. 87320.00
Fifth Settlement — 1823 "	Rs. 96425.00
Sixth Settlement — 1829 "	Rs. 104980.00
Seventh Settlement — 1832-33 "	Rs. 107044.00
Eighth Settlement — —	— —
Ninth Settlement — 1842-46 (Batton)	Rs. 112264.00
Tenth Settlement — 1863-73 (Viket)	Rs. 226700.00
Eleventh Settlement — 1899 (Goose)	Rs. 279086.00

It is said that in district Almora the revenue is not more than 91 *paise* per *bisi*. The bureaucracy says that in hills the revenue is less, but the people here say that they are not able to pay more

revenue. In the plains the Agra Tenancy Act, to a some extent, grants some relief to the tenants there but that act is not operative for Kumaun. Here there is a different system established by Stowell. Administration is done here according to it. It has now become out of date. The government had promised to enforce new system but has not done so far.

The settlement of Almora is incomplete. The boundaries, maps and papers here are not correct. The settlement was begun in the year '28 but owing to paucity of funds, the work stopped half-way.

The demand of the people is that the settlement should be permanent and operated under a permanent policy.

19. The Forest Policy

In 1917 A.D. the former commissioner Mr Stiffe, who was then the forest settlement officer, wrote in his report that this forest settlement was for the purpose of protection and proper exploitation of the forest produce of Kumaun by an expert agency. He also tried to show that in the forests there was much wealth for exploitation, and if not exploited properly it would be destroyed. Kumaun had no right to spoil the forest in this way. In this region it was only the forest which by its income could prove beneficial for the region and the state-exchequer. He also informed if any Kumauni suffered owing to the forest policy, it should get no consideration.

In Kumaun the dissatisfaction that was or still exists in respect of this forest policy, was owing to the fact that every thing was done according to the policy of Mr. Stiffe, irrespective of the consequences and the sentiments of the people. There was no question of rights as in a bureaucratic empire no right exist.

The English also blamed the people of Kumaun that they spoiled the whole forest, but in fact the forests were mostly cut by the Gorkhas. The English have themselves written. "The Gorkhas in their turn were much impressed by the natural security of their stronghold, and they proceeded to denude the hill-sides of any trees that might afford cover to a besieger." (See *Almora Gazetteer* by Walton, p. 209).

It is evident that the Gorkhas cut the trees of the high mountains for the protection of their forts. The Kumaunis cut very little.

In the days of the Chand and Katyuri kings the administration was carried on according to the *Manusmriti*. Tanks, wells, ponds, temples and trees were regarded as public property, every body having his right over them.

The Gorkhas levied *ghee-kar* and taxes on bamboo and catechu. In the rest of the forests any body, without any restriction, could cut grass and trees and graze his cattle.

The English introduced the policy of the protection of the forests according to the *Sampatti Shastra*. But the forests from time immemorial were the property of the Kumaunis. They could not be all of a sudden seized under the pretext of loss. Then the theory of sovereign right was evolved and on the basis of this theory the rights of the simple and innocent people were seized.

Mr. Traill was the first man to decide in 1826 to maintain the forests. He stopped cutting of sal-trees with *thapals* in Bhavar. Till 1855-61 forests were heavily cut-contractors cut large number of trees for railway sleepers. In 1861 Mr. Ramsay made settlement of forests and rules were framed for the protection and safety of the forests. In 1868 forests in place of civil officers were placed under the forest officers, but till 1912 many of the forests were under the jurisdiction of the deputy commissioners. Before the reservation in Almora there were forests in an area of 2,90,55,727 acres *i.e.* 4540 square miles. In 1914 in Almora one division was divided into four divisions. Now only two have remained. In the following places fresh forests have been planted :

Baldhauti	493 acres	1875
Kalimat	470 "	1894
Sitauli	618 "	1904
Devalidanda	34 "	1905
Chilakabita	6 "	1905
Ghuradi	23 "	1905
Chausall	40 "	1905

Matena	91	"	1911
Surabarsimi	12	"	1912
Chitai	54	"	1911
Manila	759	"	1908
Chakraon	445	"	1912
Kapoli	290	"	1912
Bamatathon	90	"	1918
Chadag	539	"	1909

First Stage

Since 1858 A.D. preservation of forests started in Madras and Bombay. In 1865 forests were preserved hither and thither. Then the rules for the preservation of forests were framed. In Kumaun forest guards were deputed in the forests of Syahidevi, Binsar, Bhatkot, Gagar and Aidadyo etc. Since then also the forests of Bhavar were preserved. In 1863 a conference was held in Nainital in respect of forests. In 1868 major Piperson was the first conservator to be appointed in U.P. In 1875, 3700 square miles were brought under the jurisdiction of forests and in Kumaun a forest officer was appointed. In 1882 the forest from imperial became provincial subject. For the whole of Kumaun also a forest officer was appointed. In 1905 eastern circle was formed. In 1893 forests were preserved and in 1912 they were taken away from the civil and handed over to the department of forest. From 1811 to 1817 Stiffe and Nelson made settlement of the forests. Many rights of the people were curtailed. The right of the tenants within the boundary of the villages which had been maintained in eighty year settlement by Mr. Traill, were all ruined.

In the first stage from 1815 to 1878 the people of Kumaun did not suffer any trouble. From 1818 to 1828 Mr. Traill gave in Bhavar the contract to carry bamboo-wood and catechu. This contract continued upto 1858. From 1858 to 1868 Sir Henry Ramsay was also the administrator of forests. In 1868 the forest of Bhavar was preserved and in 1877 it was reserved according to the law of 1865 and it began to be governed by the forest rules. In 1878 the forest law was again amended. According to it 638 square miles of land was declared as reserved forest in Kumaun. In 1879 the forest of

Nainital, in 1873 those in Ranikhet and in 1875 those in Baldhauti were reserved. From the forest of Baldhauti 6-7 compartments were given to Almora-octroi-board.

Second Stage

The period from 1878 to 1893 should be regarded as the second stage of forests in Kumaun. From 1885 to 1890 some forests were handed over to the iron company. Some forests were given for tea-gardens also. In 1890 the forests of Gagar, Niglat, Dalmar and Mora were reserved.

In between 1886 and 1890 Machhod, Batraunj, Syuni, Syun, Villekh, Kathlekh, Ganiyadhyoli, Karchuli, Chiliyanau, Chaubatia, Padhauli, Dvarsun, Syahidevi, and Aidadya etc. in the district of Almora and China, Bhudhalakot, Nalena, Bhawali, Jakh, Ladiyakanta and Kuria etc. in Nainital were preserved and in between 1893 and 1910 they were converted from preserved to reserved.

Third Stage

The third stage extends from 1893 to the present day. This stage was the most painful. In 1893 some great men issued a royal order from Nainital that in addition to the surveyed land, all the unsurveyed, barren, snowy land, rivers, tanks, stony regions, *gad*, *gadhere*, forest and *nazul* land belong to the state, and the subjects have no right over them. It is said that in the promulgation of this forest policy the three — Sir John Hewett, Sir John Campbell and Sir P. Clutterbuck — played the major role. These three were friends and hunters. They went on hunting together. They managed to get income from the forest, and also the hunting grounds were preserved.

In the mean time the forests were divided into three categories A.B.C. In 'A' no rights were given to the people. In 'B' some rights were granted, 'C' were the open jungles near the villages. In 1894 the trees of *fir*, *chid*, *kail*, *sal*, *sisu*, *tun* and *khair* etc. were declared as reserved. They were called royal trees. In survey cutting them without prior permission was forbidden. Detailed rules as to what people could do or what they could not, were framed. Hunting in forests and angling in the ponds without prior permission were stopped. Many were fined and many put behind the bars. God knows what troubles the *Patrauls* gave to the people.

In the settlements of forests made from 1811 to 1817, all the forests belonging to the people were seized. The pillars of the forests extended upto the boundary of villages. Even for plucking leaves fines were imposed. People launched many movements against this settlement, but no attention was paid. Not to say of unmeasured land, even measured land was acquired for jungles on quite a nominal compensation.

Not to say of those who were opposed to the government, even its supporters raised their voices against it but no attention was paid to it.

People could not understand why to cut the forest which they had been doing for so many years for their benefit was a crime and for the government to do so was a virtuous act. None of the Chand, Katyuri, Gorkha and Khas kings had implemented such a policy of selling grass, wood and charcoal.

In 1921 a formidable movement was launched against *Kuli-utar*. There was drought and people suffered from the scarcity of food-grains. Owing to drought fire broke out in forest at several places. The officers were displeased at the discontinuance of *Kuli-utar*. They said that the fire, was set by the people on the advice of non-co-operators. So a number of people — who were quite innocent were imprisoned for long terms.

The then commissioner Mr. P. Wyndham, though against political movements, was favourable to rural farmers and labourers and sympathised with them. Though he did not stop the practice of *Kuli-utar* in the province yet he during his tours did not take *begar* from the coolies. As a farsighted man he thought that people in Kumaun actually suffer a lot on account of forests. On his request an enquiry committee was set up. He went all over the places and took witnesses. He enquired into the troubles of the people and wrote out a report which was a liberal one. In it he recommended to the government to grant more rights to the people and open some forests for them. He also wrote that no pillars were to be put upto half a mile in a village. The government accepted a number of his proposals. Later on many forests were opened and strict rules were somewhat relaxed. But at some places the things remained as before.

A separate Kumaun circle was formed. For its management a committee consisting of some elected and some nominated members and government officers was constituted and named Kumaun Forest Committee. In it matters relating to the forest in Kumaun were discussed. Here also the government heard every thing but acted according to its sweet will. The policy of making forests public was very much proclaimed but whether or not it was really beneficial for the people can not be said because till all the administrative policies of the government are not popular and responsible to the people, the Indians can not rest in peace.

Though a separate Kumaun circle was formed yet the government did not gain much by it. This circle existed only on the strength of *lisa* and some wood, but the expenditure was more and income less. There is some profit from the forests in Bhavar but they are outside the jurisdiction of Kumaun Forest Committee.

The forests, not of only Kumaun, but of the whole province, are managed by the governor with the help of the Home member as this department was not transferred during the reform of 1921. The executive administrator was Chief Conservator who acts under the orders of the Home member. Under him there are many conservators, one of whom looks after the Kumaun circle. Under him there are many deputy conservators, rangers, deputy rangers, foresters and *patrauls* looking after the management of the forests.

Forests are the glory of mountains and are national wealth. They purify the climate and are, as it were, the life of the farmers. There are no two opinions with regard to their preservation. But the forest should exist for the happiness of the people not the cause of their misery. Forests should exist for the benefit of the people, people should not be sacrificed for the forests. If the forests are reserved and preserved and also the rights of the people; then alone people can get real happiness and peace in the world. After citing only one example in respect of policy we shall close this chapter. When Stiffe came here as the commissioner, he was also made the president of the forest committee. No rights were granted to the people in the forests of Sitoli and Kalmatia. The writer, when he was a member of the Kumaun forest committee, submitted a petition that the villagers should be given rights in those forests. Opposing that Mr Stiffe said that those forests were built neither

by the Chands nor by the Katyuris but by the English. So rights in these could not be given to the people.

In 1930 when people convened a meeting in Sitoli and decided to launch 'Satyagrah' the deputy commissioner of Almora Babu Hirasingh summoned the people and granted them rights over *pirul* and dry wood. The *Satyagrah* movement cooled down. The simple people of villages get satisfied only with a little.

Income from the forests

Income from the forests in the beginning was as follows :

In 1817-18	-	Rs. 2481.00
In 1818-19	-	Rs. 3200.00
In 1828-29	-	Rs. 4025.00

This was the income from the whole of *Kismat* Kumaun and most of it was from Bhavari region.

The English say that in the days of the Gorkhas and other kings a tax named *ghee-kar* was realised. In the days of the Gorkhas there were taxes like *ghee-kar*, *gobar* and *puchhiya*. Hedi Mewati in Bhavar collected a tax named *doniyan*. In it they realised one leaf-cupful of *ghee* and four paise. The English on this basis levied pasturage in Tarai. They said all the above taxes were levied on cattle. In 1822-23 this pasturage yielded an income of Rs.2077/-. In 1823 the cattle of *kamins*, *sayanas* and *thokdars* were exempted from pasturage. In 1826 the boundary between Kumaun and Rohilkhand was fixed.

In 1912 Kumaun circle was separately formed. Now in it there are four divisions. (1) Garhwal, (2) Nainital, (3) Eastern Almora and (4) Western Almora. From 1912 to this day the data of income and expenditure received is given below :

<u>Year</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Saving or</u>	<u>Loss</u>
1912-13	224745.00	249032.00	+	24247.00
1913-14	239007.00	371929.00	+	132922.00
1914-15	157588.00	794630.00	+	637042.00
1915-16	609147.00	1063997.00	+	454850.00

1916-17	1376689.00	1460578.00	+	83889.00
1917-18	2219303.00	1722546.00	496757.00	+
1919-20	1818220.00	2360952.00	+	346670.00
1920-21	2288437.00	2118088.00	170349.00	+
1921-22	1205057.00	1263121.00	+	58064.00
1922-23	760135.00	1007815.00	+	247680.00
1923-24	767495.00	887995.00	+	120500.00
1924-25	943214.00	977901.00	+	34687.00
1925-26	780374.00	651659.00	128715.00	+
1926-27	919127.00	882903.00	36224.00	+
1927-28	1068218.00	1060147.00	8071.00	+
1928-29	—	—	—	—
1929-30	764185.00	735011.00	—	+
1930-31	—	—	—	—
1931-32	—	—	—	—
1932-33	862405.00	744816.00	117581.00	+

This shows that expenditure is more than the income. Income-yielding divisions are Haldwani, Ramnagar and Kalagarh-which though located in Kumaun are outside the Kumaun circle. The details of their income and expenditure for 1927-28 is as follows :

	<u>Income</u>	<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Savings</u>
Haldwani division	Rs. 801232.00	Rs.251136.00	Rs. 550096.00
Ramnagar division	Rs. 498450.00	Rs.167408.00	Rs. 331044.00
Kalagarh division	Rs. 230584.00	Rs.161535.00	Rs. 69060.00

These divisions have been included in United provinces. Kumaun circle is actually equal to a division.

Forests shall exist, they should exist, but for the happiness of the people, they should not be administered by the policy of exploitation. *Patrauls* harass the villagers very much. Mr. Wyndham, the commissioner realised the fact that *Patraul* harasses the villagers and so he had reduced his control over them. Now in democracy the forests shall be managed for the happiness of the people.

20. Excise Department

There existed no excise department in the days of the Chands and the Gorkhas. There was no octroi duty on *charas*, *chandu*, *afim*, *bhang* and wine.

In his report of April, 6, 1823 Mr. Traill wrote that barring the brahmins of the upper caste who smoke charas, tobacco is consumed by all. The people of upper caste and others also chew *surati*. In Kumaun none except the *doms* drink wine but in Garhwal excepting a few brahmin families, people feel no hesitation in taking wine, all consumed home made wine. Hindus consumed wine prepared by *Kalvars*, and not by others. Smoking tobacco in Almora was started by Mr. Gujlala.

The separate excise department of Kumaun was established in 1822. The total income of Kumaun from wine, *charas* etc. was Rs.534.00. Bhavar was included but not Tarai. The administration of Tarai was under the collectors of Pilibhit and Bareilly.

Till 1837 there was no more than Rs.1300/- income from excise but in 1891 it rose to Rs.46548.00. In 1891 in the district of Almora there were 8 wine-shops which yielded an income of Rs.22757.00. In 1891-92 there were 41 shops of native wine and 13 shops of English wine. Now Tarai has also been included in it. That year the income was as follows :

From indigenous wine	— .	Rs. 42062.00
From <i>charas</i> , <i>ganja</i>	—	Rs. 7690.00
From opium	—	Rs. 7070.00
From foreign wine	—	Rs. 1904.00
		Rs. 58726.00

In 1890-91 in Tarai the income from wine was Rs.22465.00, from *charas* Rs.3160.00 and from opium Rs.3550.00; 85 maunds of *charas*, 14 maunds of opium and ... gallons of wine has been consumed every year. In 1902-03 the total income in Nainital was as under :

From indigenous wine	—	Rs. 69900.00
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From foreign wine	—	Rs. 13959.00
From <i>ganja-charas</i>	—	Rs. 17548.00
From opium	—	Rs. 5895.00

In the year ending on March 31, 1929 the total income from the excise department was as follows :

Nainital	—	Rs. 179344.00
Almora	—	Rs. 58303.00
	Total	<u>Rs. 237647.00</u>

Indigenous wine consumed was like this :

In district Nainital	—	36001 gallons
In Almora	—	13157 gallons

(one gallon is approximately equal to four seers)

In Almora (Ranikhet) 9374 gallon beer wine was prepared.

The data of foreign wine were like this :

<i>District</i>	<i>Licence</i>	<i>In shops</i>	<i>In hotels</i>	<i>and dak-bungalows</i>
Nainital	10	6,214 gallons	14	1971 gallons
Almora	6	4,079 gallons	4	53 gallons

In Nainital two licences—282 gallons.

In Almora and Ranikhet cantonment—34,573 gallons.

From indigenous wine income was like this :

Nainital—Rs.109528.00, Almora Rs.40980.00

	<i>Total income from opium</i>		<i>opium consumed</i>
Nainital	—	Rs.12191.00	<u>122½ seers</u>
Almora	—	Rs. 2905.00	30 seers

Bhang, charas, ganja—

<i>From Sale</i>	<i>Charas</i>	<i>Bhang</i>	<i>Charas licence</i>	<i>Bhang</i>
Nainital	Rs.24,000.00	Rs. 136.00	Rs.19,154.00	Rs. 75.00
Almora	Rs. 5,143.00	Rs. 12.00	Rs. 4,631.00	Rs. 13.00
		<i>Charas</i>		<i>Bhang</i>
Nainital		422 seers		182 seers
Almora		111 seers		seers

The policy of the Congress is that intoxicants should be neither manufactured nor sold. Money earned by selling intoxicants, according to Mahatma Gandhi, is sinful; nation should not be made drunkard. But the government says if excise duty is not realised, people get prone to illegally manufactured many types of wine and other intoxicants. Antt-intoxicant councils and Rashtriya Mahasabha have been launching movements against intoxicants but until the nation is educated in virtuous conduct from the beginning, reform is difficult. The government earns 1.5 crores from intoxicants in United Provinces. The question how this is to be reduced, shall come before the democratic government.

In Lohaghat, Pithoragarh and Dharchula wine is not imported, but is locally made. But now the wine shops in Dharchula have been wound up. In Johar Darma Bhotias are permitted to produce wine. They pay no tax. But they can not make wine outside the region of Bhot. Till 1906 A.D. *charas* was manufactured in Kumaun also but now manufacturing and selling hilly *charas* is a crime.

Wine is mostly consumed in the regions of Nainital, Almora, Ranikhet, Pithoragarh, Bageshwar, Bhavali, Haldwani, Kashipur, Ramnagar and Tarai. Thadus and Boksas consume it in excess. In cities English reading and lover of gentility consume English wine. Soldiers, servants of the Whites and artisans of the cities also drink excessively. In villages wine is less prevalent, there *charas*, tobacco, cigarettes and *bidis* are highly prevalent among the people. At some places women, specially of low caste, smoke tobacco. In Bageshwar, Katyur and Pithoragarh wine is being sold in good quantity.

21. Licensing Policy

People of Kumaun have always been lovers of arms and have proved their valour in the army. It shall be evident from the history of Chand rule. Here people themselves manufactured *lambchhada*, guns, spears, scimitars and swords. Hill-people have ever been lovers of hunting and meat. They have been hunting various types of animals in the forests. They hunted wild deer by getting them rounded up by dogs. But now it has been stopped by the English law.

Kumaunis greatly helped the English during the 1857 mutiny. Mr. Ramsay himself accepted it, but when after the mutiny, the government order for seizing arms came there, Ramsay wrote to Lord Canning that his thousands of subjects have been peaceful and loyal, should he reward them for their loyalty by not confiscating their arms which they used in the battle, when the English were in trouble. Ramsay's strong argument bore fruit, arms of the highlanders were not confiscated.

But again in 1888-89 under the pretext to see who possess how many guns and swords, the arms of all the people were got brought in the court. There it was said that they needed licence. Those who took licence, their arms were returned, but the rest were broken down. Some people themselves broke them in their own houses and prepared sickles with them.

In mountains scimitars are in prevalence. Even now this is found in the house of everyone, but owing to the evoked licensing policy the poor hilly people are quite unhappy. Wild beasts spoil their crops but they can not do anything. As in England, until each Indian has the right to keep guns and other arms by depositing some amount in the post office, till then people shall neither be free from the troubles nor the sense of self-respect created in them.

Police

During the golden rule (*Ram Rajya*) of the Katyuris there was no need of the police. In the days of the Chands the police administration was in the hands of *thokdars* and *padhans*. In Tarai Bhavar Muslims of Mewati and Haidi communities were the *chaukidars* or policemen. In the days of the Gorkhas there was military rule; all officers and soldiers discharged the duties of the

army and the police both. It is said that they themselves committed theft. But during the beginning of the English rule Haidis and Mewatis enjoyed this right. Their leader Ainkhan Haide got a *jagir* of Rs.3000/- in the region of Kalyanpur and Turap Khan and got four villages. In 1817 Ainkhan was given the contract to look after and protect Bamauri (present Kathgodam), Kota, Dhikuli, Rudrapur, Chilkiya passes of Kashipur, and Ainkhan Mewati was the administrator of Kali Kumaun, Brahmdeo, Chaubhensi, Bilari etc. Under the terms of the contract they were to check theft and dacoity there, and if they happened there, they would make up the loss. They paid Rs.8881/- to the government and realised taxes from the people. It is evident that they might have realised heavy tax. The police outposts, as it were, worked on contract. This custom was stopped at the request of Mr. Shakespear, the deputy superintendent. Soldiers of the Kumaun battalion were posted in each and every pass. Some were appointed *chaukidars*. In 1823 Mr. Traill reported that all the roads in the plains were closed. A number of thefts and dacoities were taking place in the region of the plains, so in 1823 this custom was stopped. The family of Ainkhan was granted pension and in Bazpur, Jaspur, Badhapur, Kotdwar etc. police outposts were maintained. In lust for prize Mewatis and Haidis caught thieves and decoits, but dacoities were not reduced. Rudrapur was a big town but was ruined on account of dacoits. Owing to this the region of Thakurdwara, Jaspur, Bazpur, Kashipur were conferred to Moradabad. Rudrapur, Kilpuri and other regions of Tarai were included in Bareilly and Pilibhit. It was also ordered that no hill man should be summoned in any case in the plains from April to middle of November. In Tarai Bhavar demarcations were made across the forests which were guarded by horsemen. Later on in 1872 the region of Tarai was included in Kumaun.

Formerly there was no regular police in hills. The districts here were not regarded criminal. In 1816 Mr. Traill had written that owing to scarcity of crimes there was no need of regular police; no one has heard of murder here, thefts and dacoities rarely take place. Since the establishment of British rule here upto the present day there have never been more than 12 prisoners most of whom were residents of plains. In 1822 the commissioner wrote that last year there were only 66 persons in Almora jail out of whom 6 were

murder convicts which was nothing for such a big district. Thefts and dacoities are committed in mountain valleys, but only by the persons of plains. Most of the deaths occurred here owing to wild beasts, serpents and suicide. Cases relating to women were more in number. In 1824 the custom of selling male and female slaves came to an end and in 1829 the custom of *sati* also was legally stopped.

The police station of Almora, established in 1837 is the oldest in the hills. The police stations of Nainital and Ranikhet were established in 1843 and 1869-70 respectively.

Some police is stationed in *yatra-line* also. There are police outposts in Nainital, Bhawali, Bhimtal, Jyolikot and Khairna. In district Almora in addition to police stations in Almora and Ranikhet there are police outposts in Bhikiyasaina and Ganai. Since 4-5 years on Kathgodam-Almora cart roads also police outposts named traffic police have been established at Jyolikot, Majkhali, Katarmal etc. In Lohaghat also a police station was established on account of non-co-operation, but now it has been wound up. Some armed police is stationed in Pithoragarh for the protection of the treasury. In hills even now there is no civil police, but revenue police. Here *patwari* and *peshkars* perform the duties of the police with the help of *thokdars* and *padhans*. Recently in Almora a few *pattis* have been put under the police but the hill people do not like civil police. Mr. Ramsay wrote, "I understand that our rural police administration is the best in India. It shall not be wise to bring change in it. This rural police is least expensive as the government has to spend nothing (except the Bhavar police) over it and also the worries and troubles resulting from the expenditure of salaried civil police are non-existent. These facts are in its favour."

The statement that Mr. Ramsay made in 1858, is even today applicable to the shut-up villages of Kumaun hills. Many a times the government thought to post police here also in remote villages, but it could not be implemented. In 1921 at the time of *Kuli-Utar* movement there was a public notification to open police stations but it could not be materialised. The headquarter of Kumaun police is Nainital. Police is deployed from there. Like the London police if the Indian police be honest and dutiful the people shall be happy, if the police is despotic and bribee, all the people shall be in trouble.

The people here are mostly illiterate, simple and ignorant about the recent rules of modern civilization. *Patwari*, *peshkar*, *padhan*, *panch* and *patraul* harass them very much. If the police is posted it will add to their troubles. With the advancement of civilization crimes also grow and with the growth of crimes police comes up. Police and army are the strong, powerful and effective pillars of the English rule. Their rights are innumerable and their powers vast. None dare say anything against the police. In the face of the police even highly powerful, competent and learned men are at their wits end, what to say of the weak, rural people.

The police administration of the whole of the province is in the hands of the Inspector General. Under him in every district there are police superintendents under whom are deputy superintendents, inspectors and sub-inspectors. For the whole of Kumaun division there is only one police superintendent. Owing to its being a *gairaini* district there is quite a few civil police here. The police administration generally lies in the hands of police officers, but the governor, the commissioner, the deputy commissioner and magistrates, when necessary, can call in the police and can give all types of orders for the suppression of riots and other government works.

Now the government is in favour of keeping civil police in these regions also. In the report of 1925 the government has written this note :

“The duties of *malguzars* or *padhans* have been considerably lightened by the abolition of *Kuli-utar* in 1921. The result is that coolies are no longer to be supplied except voluntarily. The non-co-operation movement has affected the position of *padhans* as well as of *thokdars* and their authority has somewhat weakened. The swaraj movement has resulted not only in an increase of independence amongst people, but also in some contempt for authority and lawlessness.”

Later on in the appendix of the *gazetteer* of 1925 is written, “Now there should be moderation in the opinion of Mr. Ramsay. As the result of the non-co-operation movement of 1920-22 some difference has appeared in the position of *patwari*. Now the people of Kumaun have not remained so simple and owing to their growing independence, the *patwari* finds it difficult to realise commission on

kuli, nali, house and old claim. The power of *patwari* is now diminishing and his influence in his *patti* has decreased. It is possible that at some places the system of rural police might be changed.”

Presently there are the following police stations in Kumaun.

- | | | |
|---------------|---|---|
| Almora | — | 1 Station officer, 5 head constables, 40 constables (armed police is also included in it) |
| Ganai outpost | — | 1 head constable, 3 constables |
| Bhikiyasaina | — | 1 head constable, 3 constables. |

Nainital

Police Station—Mallital, Tallital, Haldwani, Ramnagar, Jaspur, Kashipur, Bazpur, Gadarpur, Kichchha, Sitarganj, Khatima, Bhavali.

Police outposts—Kathgodam, Lalkuan, Kaladhungi, Sultanpur, Gadappu, Kelakheda, Tanakpur, Majhola, Khairna, Bhimtal, Birbhatti. In Kashipur and Jaspur there are village *Chaukidars* also. In the whole of Kumaun there are about 24 *thanedars*, 65 head constables, 700 constables, 130 village *chaukidars* and 20-30 traffic police constables. The head office of the Kumaun police is at Nainital. There is one police superintendant for the whole Kumaun.

22. Prisons

There were prison houses during the days of the Chands. But in prisons there was not such strictness as during the English rule. Prisoners worked in the gardens, and fields of the kings. They were also called *banban*. They were also permitted to go home giving representatives. They went home and even performed marriage and also religious performances. Prisoners carrying on cultivation in bad climate were practically exempted from ill treatment. Pt. Ramdatt Tripathi writes that in the days of Katyuris the jail *daroga* had resigned as there he had no work, no criminal was given jail.

Till the beginning of the English rule the number of criminals here was quite insignificant. Mr. Traill writes that in 1816 there were only 66 prisoners in the Almora jail. Even now the average number of criminals here is less. In 1815 Almora prison home had been

established. Formerly it was located at the place where now the hospital exists. Probably it was housed in a room of the royal palace.

Presently the jail is located on a 5439' high locality near Hiredungari. It is not exactly known, but it is presumed the jail was established in 1822-23. Nainital jail was established in 1902-03. At Haldwani also there is a jail. During winters the Nainital jail is shifted to Haldwani and brought back to Nainital during summers. In Ranikhet there is a police lock-up. Even now hilly prisoners are rarely found in jails. By requisitioning the services of *bhangis*, *nambardars* and *karigars* in the jails in the plains the work of these jails is done.

Almora jail is a fourth grade jail. It has capacity for 141 prisoners, but the average presence is below 60.

Nainital jail is a fifth grade jail. It can accommodate 100 prisoners. Mostly under-trial prisoners are kept here. After conviction they are transferred to Bareilly. Here the daily attendance is approximately 80.

23. Judiciary and executive

There are three divisions in the government of developed nations : (1) legislative, (2) executive and (3) judiciary.

Legislative division frames laws relating to local administration and lays down policies. An executive works according to those laws, rules and policies. Judges impartially see to it if or not the executives are properly following the rules and laws made by the legislators. If any where the people are oppressed or they themselves deviate from prescribed rules and indulge in viciousness, the offenders are punished. In developed nations these three institutions independently exist. In India all these are under the foreign rulers. In Kumaun, a *gairaini* district, the condition is still worse.

District Kumaun (which in 1892 was divided into two districts of Almora and Nainital and in which till 1838 Garhwal also was included) came under the English rule in 1815 and in 1816 was brought under the board of commissioners at Farrukhabad.

According to Act 10 of 1838 the said districts came under the jurisdiction of *sadar* civil court, *sadar* criminal court and *sadar*

board of revenue of the North Western province. On July 10, 1837 under the order of the government the *pargana* of Kashipur was annexed to Moradabad. Tarai also was annexed to the collectorate of Rohilkhand.

Till 1864 the districts of Kumaun and Garhwal remained under *sadar* civil court, *sadar* criminal court and *sadar* board of revenue. That very year these districts went out of the jurisdiction of *sadar* civil court.

The *parganas* of Tarai came in 1858 under the jurisdiction of Kumaun division, but in 1861 passed under the jurisdiction of Rohilkhand division. Again that very year as per Act 14 of 1861 the said *parganas*, having been separated from legal courts and their administrative system, were placed under a special officer.

Board of revenue was made the presiding institution in matters of revenue of this place. According to the said regulation all the cases related to land revenue were heard only in the revenue courts. In such suits the appeal was filed first in commissioner's court and then in *sadar* board of revenue. Now also it is so.

Till 1894 the commissioner of Kumaun had the full right even to award capital punishment. There was no provision for appeal in High court against the hanging. The High court only confirmed the order of hanging. From 1894 to 1914 the commissioner of Kumaun was as it were the sessions judge for this place. In 1914 separate judge's court was started here and since then direct relation with the High court has been established.

Civil Justice

For civil cases from 1815 to 1829 there was only one court of commissioner. All cases were filed and heard there. No suit continued for more than 12 days. There were no lawyers. The copy of the decree could be had on a 8 annas stamped paper. The first *munsif* was appointed in 1829; later on seven *quanoongos* were given the rights of *munsif*. The *sarishtedars* of the commissioner were appointed as *sadar amin*. In 1838 this post was abolished. According to Act 10 of 1838 two districts of Kumaun and Garhwal were formed. In each of them one senior assistant commissioner and *sadar amin* were appointed. The *tahsildars* also were given the right of the *munsif* as here no independent *munsif* has been

appointed till now. *Tahsildars*, deputy collectors and deputy commissioners discharged the duties of the munsif and the subjudge. Even now the executive officers look into the civil cases also.

24. Education Policy

The people of Kumaun have been educated since the time of the Katyuri and Chand rule. I have already mentioned it in their administrative policy.

In 1823 Mr. Traill wrote. "In Kumaun there exist no general schools and in private schools only high class children get their education. Teachers are brahmins who teach reading, writing and arithmetic. Sons of respected brahmins study Sanskrit and for this they are sent to Kashi and there they are taught in Hindu system of education.

Mr. Barron, who acquired Nainital by threatening Narsingh in the boat, writes in 1840 A.D. in his book *Himmala*, "Although during the period of the Gorakha rule education greatly declined yet at the time of the arrival of the English there were 121 Sanskrit and Hindi schools in Kumaun. These were housed in personal houses. Here and there the *pandits* taught in their own houses. Out of these 121, 54 *pandits* taught their students without charging any fee and 67 *pandits* earned some income which did not exceed Rs.9.50/- or Rs. 10/- per month. In 1850 A.D. Mr. Thorton writes that in these schools there were 522 students out of which 80% were brahmins and 20% others. Besides these, there was another school in which 10 students were taught Urdu. In 1840 A.D. the English opened a school in Srinagar. Rs.5/- was given per month to teachers. This Rs.5/- was given from unclaimed fund. Later on, on the recommendation of the education committee of Calcutta two more schools were opened : one in Kumaun at the monthly expense of Rs. 20 and another at the monthly expense of 15/- in Garhwal. In 1841 commissioner Lushington opened a Sanskrit school which later on was closed down.

In 1857 A.D. education department named as Kumaun Circle was established in Kumaun. In September 1858 schools were opened in Someshwar, Dhamad, (Dhalad ?) Satrali, Dwarahat and Nirai. In these five schools there were 225 students.

In March 1859 schools were opened in Champavat, Pithoragarh Gangolihat, Syalde, Ganai, Bhikiyasain, Deghat. The number of students rose to 900. In 1867 there was 32 schools and in 1872 the number of students was 1815. In 1871 A.D. there were tahsil schools in Someshwar, Dwarahat, Berinag, Darma, and Devalthan, Chaupakhiya. Out of these the schools at Berinag, Darma and Dwarahat were transferred to Syalde, Khetikhan and Bagwali Pokhar.

In 1871 Pt. Buddhi Ballabh Pant was appointed the inspector of schools in place of Major Gordon. The details of the progress of education during his time should be known from the following data.

In 1871 A.D. when Mr. Pant assumed the charge there were 2 village middle schools and 116 primary schools with 8488 students.

In 1888-89 when he left the place then in Kumaun there existed 1 college, 3 high schools, 17 middle schools and 204 village schools in which studied 10927 students. It was Mr. Pant who struck deep the root of education in Almora.

In 1844 was opened a mission school which was in 1871 converted into Ramsay college but again, when F.A. class was abolished, converted into a high school. It is the school that started English education in Almora.

In 1874 A.D. Mr. Ramsay wrote in his report, "It will be difficult to educate all. We should rather impart working education to many, instead of giving higher and expensive education to a few. If an intelligent student wants to go in for higher education he will be given scholarship. The teachers of municipal schools get Rs.5/- per month. At this amount men capable of giving ordinary teaching are available. Though our educational set up is not upto the mark yet the number of educated persons in Kumaun is more than the average."

The state of education in Kumaun on March 31, 1928 was as under :

<i>District</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Male students</i>	<i>Female students</i>	<i>Total</i>
Nainital	276875	9541	1521	11062
Almora	530338	23593	1587	25180

Rural primary school

<i>District</i>	<i>Total schools</i>	<i>Total students</i>	<i>Total expenditure</i>
Nainital	190	7915	72505
Almora	360	20773	154959

Middle schools in the district of Almora

At present there are 14 Hindi middle schools in the district of Almora. Details of their names and the year in which they were started are as follows :

1.	Kanda	1902 A.D
2.	Pali	1902 A.D.
3.	Pithoragarh	1902 A.D.
4.	Khetikhan	1906 A.D.
5.	Almora Town School	1907 A.D.
6.	Someshwar	1920 A.D.
7.	Gangolihat	1924 A.D.
8.	Berinag	1926 A.D.
9.	Didihat	1926 A.D.
10.	Manila	1927 A.D.
11.	Jayanti or Jainti	1928 A.D.
12.	Bageshwar	1928 A.D.
13.	Devalikhet	1928 A.D.
14.	Kapkot	1929 A.D.

From 1923 Swarajists began to join the board. Not to say of small schools, they within 6 years opened 8-9 middle schools. They made good progress in the spread of education. The School at Jainti is a memorial to patriot Ramsingh Dhauni of Salam. He was its member and also its chairman for sometime. In opening middle schools the people of 7 to 14 schools also showed great enthusiasm. So they too deserve thanks. In Almora the educated class is fairly good. In villages also people in relation to the provincial average, are educated in good number. The urge for knowledge is growing,

yet the average number of the educated people in villages is not more than 10%.

In 1832 the number of rural schools in Almora was as follows. Their management is in the hands of the district board.

<u>School's Name</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Number of students</u>
Middle Zila Board	10	1036
Middle Imdadi	3	224
Middle Niji	1	54
Primary Zila Board	274	1814
Primary Imdadi	91	3127
Training	2	15
Badhi	1	22
Ratri Pathshala	1	32
Sanskrit	3	81
Kanya Zila Board	5	203
Kanya Zila Imdadi	14	355
Kanya Niji	2	28

Nainital

The details of education in the urban area of Nainital have already been given in the description of Nainital. The district of Nainital was created in 1891 A.D. Then there was only one sub-divisional school at Jaspur, as well as 13 rural schools, in which 309 students got their education. There were three girls schools, two of them were administered by the American Mission and the third ran at the expense of the state government. All the 15 students who appeared at the Vernacular Middle School examination failed, except one. There were 13 schools in Bhavar and 8 schools in Tarai. Their condition was still worse. The management of the schools at Bhavar was in the hands of the missionaries and those of the Tarai in the hands of the superintendent. There were neither good teachers nor the system of inspection.

The management of education in Nainital has been weak from the beginning. First, the condition of schools in hilly and Bhavar regions is not good. Secondly, people suffering from malaria do not

go to schools. Thadus, and Boxas do not go to schools at all, though now some, Thadus have got educated.

In Nainital rural middle schools are located in Kashipur, Khatima, Lohali, Bhimtal and Jaspur. Here the number of educated people is not more than 5%.

In Nainital there are two high schools and one high school in Kashipur also. Within municipal area primary education is free and compulsory. In Haldwani there is an English middle school. Now English is taught also in rural schools.

The policy of the nationalists in respect of education is that primary education should be free and compulsory everywhere; there should at places be provision for higher education also. Along with general education training in arts, industries and business management also should be imparted. There should also be provision of military training in each and every school. Not only books on hygiene, agriculture and health be taught but practical training also should be imparted. So that no child, whether male or female, be deprived of education. Gymnasiums should be opened every where so that no body might remain weak. The people of the country trained in different types of arts and crafts be able to spend their wordly life in a smooth and honourable way, they should be proud of their country, community and society, they should treat the country as their favourite deity. They should be ready to make sacrifice for the mother land. This is the duty of the state to see that no child is being deprived of education and is weak, he on the other hand should be neat, clean and healthy, he should be able to earn his livelihood himself, he should not be miserable in point of food and clothes, should be devoted to the service of his country, society and religion. This is the aim of education.

25. Formation of Councils

In 1858 the unjust rule of the East India Company came to an end. Queen Victoria took the reins of the administration of India into her own hands and through a royal declaration consoled the Indians. But, on the contrary, the bureaucracy which carried on the administration on behalf of the British emperors actually by unarming the Indian people, rendered the declaration null and void. In 1857 Indians launched an armed revolution for country's

independence but could not succeed owing to their internal rift and mutual treachery. The bureaucracy to rule out all the possibilities of rebellion disarmed all the people of India. Arms were seized. Only those who got licence or were legally exempted or were loyal were entitled to possess arms. So owing to the seizure of the arms the doors of armed revolution of independence for Indians were closed for ever. For getting independence there remained only two courses : (1) Revolution through newspapers (2) Deliver speeches in the meetings and bowing head before the officers. The government also found out one more way. This was creation of councils; formation of councils with the nominated representatives of the people where they could give vent to their ideas. Except these legal methods of revolution all other illegal and anti-government revolutions were crushed by the government. Criticism was done in mild language. Now there was no place for outspoken and truthful persons. In 1833 law councils were formed, in 1853 amendments were made therein but upto 1861 in these councils only the officers framed rules and they alone ruled the country. In 1861 a fresh law was passed under which a few non-government members also were to be included in the councils. They were not elected by the people but nominated by the government. In United Provinces the governors council was opened in 1886. In 1892 the number of the members was fixed at 15. In 1886 there were 6 to 12 members, in which one third were non-government members. Some institutions were given the right to select members. In 1912 in the United Provinces council in place of 15 members 50 members were appointed of which 21 were elected by the people. They were organized as follows :

Nominated members—20 government, 1 representative of Indian trade corporation,

Other non government	26
Nominated specialists	2
Selected	2
From big tolls	4
From small toll and district board	9
From Prayag University	1
Among the <i>zamindars</i>	2

Muslims	4
Upper India Trade Corporation	1
	—
	49
Governor or Chairman	1

But Kumaun owing to the attitude of Mr. Curtis and Sir James Meston was deprived of these reforms as they had said that it was a *gairaini* district, let it remain as such, it did not deserve to get representative. He even declared Kumaun as uncivilized.

There was a great agitation in Kumaun against it. The Almora Congress passed highly strong resolution, then anyhow in 1916 Kumaun got a nominated member. That year honourable Taradatt Gairola was selected by the government as the member of the provincial council. Kumaun got the right to select its representative actually in 1921. According to the 1919 reforms (known as Montague-Chelmsford Reform) the three districts of Kumaun got the right to select one member each for the provincial council. The Muslims of Kumaun were attached to Pilibhit, and Kumaun and Pilibhit jointly got the right to select one Muslim member, but for the main assembly it was attached to Rohilkhand.

The Electorate

The following persons were given the right to select representative.

- (1) Electors were to be of 21 years and the candidates for member-ship above 25.
- (2) Who hired in the town or township in houses of Rs.36/- annual rent.
- (3) Who paid tax on annual income of Rs.200/-
- (4) Who paid Rs.25/- as revenue.
- (5) Who are *khaykar* and pay Rs.25/- as annual revenue.
- (6) Who are *sirtan* and pay Rs.50/- as annual revenue.
- (7) Who are partner, *khaykar* or *maufidar* residing in this hilly region of Kumaun.
- (8) Who pay income tax
- (9) Who is a pension-holder soldier or Sepoy.

According to the census of 1921 the number of voters in Kumaun was as under.

In Almora	—	about 1.25 lacs.
In Nainital	—	about 14 thousand.

In Almora the number of voters is more and it is also a big district, so it should have had two members, but it was granted only one member.

The reforms that took place between 1905-1909 are connected with the names of Morley and Minto. But they proved insignificant. In the course of the war India rendered great help to the empire, then Montague and Chelmsford, two big diplomats, were appointed to prepare the draft of administrative reforms. In 1917, with a view to encouraging the Indians to render special help in the war, it was declared to establish responsible government.

This system was implemented from 1921. In respect to it, it was decided to have 123 members in the provincial council : 23 appointed by the governor and 100 elected by the people.

Number of the members

(1) From Agra, Kanpur, Allahabad Lucknow, Banaras and Bareilly	1 member from each city	6
(2) From Meerut and Aligarh		1
(3) From Moradabad and Shahjahanpur		1
(4) From Meerut, Bulandshahar, Aligarh and Gorakhpur districts	2 members from each district	8
(5) From other 44 districts including Almora, Nainital and Garhwal	1 member from each district	44

Muslim Members

From 6 cities		4
From Pilibhit and Kumaun		1
From 44 districts		24
The representative of the English		1
From the <i>zamindars</i> of Agra		2
From the <i>talukdars</i>		4

From India trade company	1
From English trade company	2
From the Prayag University	1
	100

Among the 23 nominated members 16 were government officers and the remaining non-government members appointed by the government were generally loyalists.

The Congress regarding these reforms negligible not only opposed them but in 1921 also boycotted them; but in 1923 the Home rule party with a view to creating obstacle decided to go there but when the Satyagrah movement started, they gave it up. When the moderate and the loyalist members of the councils started passing a number of anti-people and anti-policy proposals and laws, then the Congress also in 1933 again decided to send a section of its party to the councils to oppose these things there.

In the present provincial assembly there are 228 members. These members shall form their own cabinet. Almora should have got two seats but as yet has only one. One seat has been given to artisans.

The national claim in respect of the house of representatives is like this : Each and every person (male and female both) above the age of 18 should have the right to select the representatives. The party commanding majority should have the right to form the cabinet. The governor should carry on the administration according to rules. Except only during the time of national revolution when he would have the right to interfere, the popular cabinet should have the right to carry on the administration and the cabinet should be responsible for its actions to the electorate.

On the assembly consisting of 228 members, Kumaun got very few members :

Garhwal	—	2	
Almora	—	2	1 artisan
Nainital	—	1	

Injustice was done to Almora, if not 3, it must have got 2 members as the number of voters there is more; about 1 lac and 35 thousand voters in the whole of the district. The district is about 100 miles long and 150 miles wide. The Muslims also did not get a separate seat. The Muslims of Nainital and Almora were included in Bahedi. As in Bahedi, the number of Muslims is great, so it was difficult for the Muslims of Kumaun to get a set. In the same way Garhwal was included in Bijnor. The artisans have got one seat in Almora. This seat should have been given alternately to Garhwal and Nainital also.

In the provincial council (upper house) Kumaun has got one seat and on it Lala Mohan Lal Shah has been elected.

The names of the persons selected members up till now are under :

Old Council

Almora

1. Raja Anand Singh—1921-23 (belonging to Almora)
2. Pt. Hargovind Pant—1923-26
3. Pt. Badri Datt Pande—1926-29
4. Thakur Jang Bahadur Singh Bisht—1930-36

Nainital

1. Rai Pt. Narayan Datt Chhimwal Sahib
2. Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant
3. Thakur Indra Sing Nayal
4. Pt. Prem Ballabh Belwal

Garhwal

1. Rai Pt. Tara Datt Gairola Bahadur (nominated)
2. Babu Mukundi Lal
3. Sardar Narayan Singh Bahadur

*Members of the new assembly selected in 1937
(for 5 years)*

From Almora

1. Pt. Hargovind Pant.
2. Ramprasad Tamta (representative of the artisans)

From Nainital

1. Prince Anad Singh Kashipur (unanimous)

From Garhwal

1. Thakur Jagmohan Singh
2. Pt. Anusuya Prasad

In U.P. Council
(for 9 years)

Lala Mohan Lal Shah, *rais* and banker

In Indian Assembly

In the Indian Assembly Raja Shivraj Singh was the first nominated member.

In 1933 Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant was selected. In 1937 when he joined the provincial assembly, Pt. Badri Datt Pande was unanimously selected as a member of the Indian assembly.

In 1937 the Congress had the majority but there was much discussion regarding the forming of cabinet. It was decided in Delhi that ministership should be accepted only when the governor gave the assurance that he would not interfere in the daily duties of the minister. The discussion continued for 3 months. At the end on July 7, 1937 Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha allowed to accept ministership. It is an honour to Kurmachal that its respected leader was appointed the chief minister of this province on 16.7.37.

The rights of the cabinet are limited. The provincial governor is lawfully all in all. He could promulgate ordinances without consulting the ministers, but after discussion it was decided that governor should exercise his right when : (1) there was disorder in the province, (2) the rights of the minority were violated and (3) *haq talafi* of high I.C.S. officers.

26. The wave of nationalism

It has been described above that in 1857 the Indians launched a strong struggle in North India for national independence. They

showed great valour and also demoralized the English but lost in the end. The English came out successful. They crushed the Indians and disarmed them.

In 1858 queen Victoria ended the rule of the Company and took the administration into her own hands. She made a royal declaration where it was written that hence forward there would be no discrimination between the black and white subjects of India and all would get jobs according to their merit. This gave peace to the people and they cherished high hopes, but all this proved to be a mirage. The facts on the paper were all right but not to say of those days, even today they have not been put into practice; even if put into practice, nominally so.

In 1875 *Maharaja Gayakwad* was dethroned. The allegation against him was that he poisoned to death an English resident. A commission was appointed to enquire into it. Its Indian members (*Maharaja Gwalior, Maharaja Jaipur, Sir Dinkar Rao*) declared *Maharaja Gayakwad* innocent. But the English convicted him as a culprit and dethroned him. This led to great ferment. Lord Lytton was not a good administrator. People were displeased with his policy. When there was enmity between Russia and England, Indian papers sided with Russia. Lord Lytton to put a check on the agitation passed the Vernacular Press Act, which deprived the Indian newspapers of their freedom. In 1880 Lord Rippon, who was a liberal ruler, repealed this act. He has also laid down local self district board and octroi boards.

Though between 1757 when the battle of Plassey was fought and 1857 when there was an armed rebellion for independence of India, newspapers and public meetings criticized the administration, yet the credit of expressing public opinion in an organised way for the first time goes to British India Association of Bengal. It was founded in 1857 A.D. It was an association of big *zamindars* and capitalists of Bengal, yet it always raised its voice in favour of the people. In the meantime in Bengal, Bombay and Madras also in about one-two years associations were formed, which in an organised way highlighted the public opinion in the respect of administrative problems relating to the people.

In 1833 A.D. Mr. Elbert, who was the law-member of viceroy's cabinet, presented a bill, known as *Elbert Bill*. As yet Indian

magistrates or judges had no rights to try the cases of a White accused. The aim of this bill was that the Criminal Code be uniform for all — whether White or Black. On this the English and other Whites were highly displeased. They opposed this draft tooth and nail. Educated Indians also admonished the English and meetings were held in support of this bill. In Almora also a meeting was held under the presidentship of Pt. Buddhi Ballabh Pant. The government withdrew this bill but it resulted in spread of strong tension between the Indians and the English. On this account Lord Rippon had to resign in 1884. At the time of his departure Indians gave him hundreds of welcome addresses and requested the English government to extend his period. From Calcutta to Bombay he was given such an honour as no viceroy was given till then. By this movement the Indians also came to know about their position.

When from the time of Macaulay the publicity of English education grew in India and many highly educated Indians reached England. They imbibed new ideas. The ideals of freedom, equality and fraternity spread among the people. They got an opportunity to compare English system of administration with that of India. In 1828 A.D. Raja Ram Mohan Roy founded Brahma Samaj in Bengal. His new religion broke the shackles of caste and supported nationalism. In 1875 A.D. Swami Dayanand founded Aryasamaj. Both of them laid stress on social reforms also and persisted on removing social evils. Those who had taught and studied in universities English literature, history and science began to see the golden dream of establishing English administrative system in India also. In the beginning many people believed the English had come to India under the command of God for its welfare. In 1870 A.D. a law was passed that the Indians should get civil service without examination. But its result was not satisfactory. In the time of Lord Dufferin, a Public Services Commission was appointed for the enquiry into the services. According to its report the services were divided in three grades :

- (1) Civil Service
- (2) Statutory Civil Service
- (3) Provincial Administrators

As regards Statutory Civil Service Mr. Ramsay wrote that in Kumaun none was fit for it.

Even then the Indians could not get the position of equality. From Universities many educated persons passed out who could efficiently carry on discussion in English. But till then all the high posts in the government were given to the English alone. Their behaviour towards the educated Indians was not good. Owing to these factors difference between the rulers and the ruled went on increasing. They began to see each other with suspicious eyes. The Theosophical Society also founded by Col. Olcott and Mrs. Annie Besant spread the ideas of equality and fraternity.

John Stuart Mill, the reputed writer on nationalism and freedom, while discussing communalism and nationalism has written that it is the mixture of so many things, such as :

- (1) Identity of blood and breed
- (2) Identity of country.
- (3) Identity of language
- (4) Identity of government
- (5) Identity of culture

For about 200 years these ideas were spreading in Europe. These things were discussed in India also. Though in India people of different castes, colour and sects are found, yet they are inhabitants of the same country. Their pleasures and sufferings are one. From the point of motherland they are tied together in a single thread. With these ideas in mind, and to giving vent to the discontentment of the whole of the dependent Indian people, Indian National Congress, the first national organisation was founded. Among the founders of the Indian National Congress, Mr. A.O. Hume, benevolent and worshipper of freedom, is named first. He summoned a few main leaders of India to Poona for social freedom. It is said that Lord Dufferin, the then viceroy, secretly wanted that this organisation should along with social reforms also criticise the administration owing to outbreak of cholera in Poona the first session of the Congress was held in Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College of Bombay on December 28, 1885. Then only 28 representatives could be present there. Their names are : Sarvashri (1) Diwan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, (2) Mahadev Govind Ranade, (3) Baijnath, (Agra), (4) Teacher K. Sundaram, (5) Ramkrishna

Bhandarakar could not be the representatives owing to their being government servants.

These gentlemen were among the representatives :

Sarvashri (6) Hume, (7) Umesh Chandra Bannerji, (8) Narendranath Sen, (9) Vaman Sadashiva Apte, (10) Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, (11) Ganga Prasad Verma, (12) Dadabhai Naoroji, (13) Kashinath Tryambak Tailang, (14) Firoz Shah Mehta, (15) Dinshaw Vacha, (16) Narayan Ganesh Chandawarkar, (17) P. Rangaiya Nayadu, (18) Subrahmanya Aiyar, (19) M. Vir Raghavacharyya, (20) Keshav Pillai. Besides, 7 editors of the reputed newspapers were there.

The Congress that started with their 28 gentlemen has now grown into a desire fulfilling tree (*kalpavriksh*) sitting comfortably under whose cooling shade all the Indians can talk about the freedom of their motherland.

The names of these Englishmen who had sympathy for the freedom of India shall ever be remembered respectfully :

Sarvashri John Bright, Henry Fasset, Hume, Sir William Wedderburn, Charles Bradlaugh, W. Gladstone, Lord Northbrook, Duke of Argyll, Lord Stanley, Nartan, General Booth, Mr. Montague.

In the History of Congress the names of these Indian political elders shall be ever remembered with respect because they kept the tree of Congress fresh with their blood and bones :

Sarvashri (1) Dadabhai Naoroji, (2) Anand Charlu, (3) Dinasha Vacha, (4) Gopal Krishna Gokhale, (5) Subrahmanya Ayyar, (6) Badaruddin Tayyabji, (7) Kashinath Tailang, (8) Umesh Chandra Banerji, (9) Bal Gangadhar Tilak, (10) Surendra Nath Banerji, (11) Lajpat Rai, (12) Firoz Shah Mehta, (13) Anand Mohan Basu, (14) Manmohan Ghose, (15) Lalmohan Ghose, (16) Ayodhanath, (17) Raja Rampal Singh. (18) Kali Charan Banerji, (19) Nawab Sayyad Mohammad Bahadur, (20) Daji Abbaji Khare, (21) Ganga Prasad Verma, (22) Raghunath Narsingh Mudholaiakar, (23) Shankaran Nayyar, (24) Keshav Pillai, (25) Bipin Chandra Pal (26) Ambika Charan Majumdar (27) Bhupendra Nath Basu (28) Vishan Nayaran Dar, (29) Ramesh Chandra Datt, (30) Subbarao Pantulu, (31) Muralidhar, (32) Sachchidanand Sinha.

Among these elders honourable Malaviyaji and Shri Vijaya Raghavacharya are still alive.

The aim of the elders was then full of loyalty. They had faith in the English rule. They wanted some reforms in the administration and desired that their services be accepted by the government. These things changed in the Gandhian era. Now the Congress claims complete independence for the country.

Among the worshippers of Indian freedom, the names of Maharana Pratap, *Chhatrapati* Shivaji, Guru Govind Singh, Rani Jhansi shall ever be remembered with respect, faith and devotion. But *Lokamanya* Tilak was the incarnation of the present nationalism. He was the political preceptor. After him in Gandhian era the names of those leaders who sacrificed their everything for nationalism shall ever be written in golden letters in the history of Congress. :

(1) Tayagmurti Motilal Nehru, (2) Deshbandhu C.R. Das (3) Deshpriy Sen Gupta, (4) Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, (5) Abhayankar (6) Shri Muhammad Ali.

These gentlemen are still devoting themselves to the service of Congress : Mahatma Gandhi, respected Malaviyaji, Sarvashri Rajendra Prasad, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Govind Ballabha Pant, Satya Murti, Rajgopalachari, Nariman, Bhulabhai Desai, Ballabh Bhai Patel, Asaf Ali, Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

Mahatma Gandhi has practically brought tremendous change in the Congress. He has tried to raise it to the highest ladder of patriotism.

Since 1885 A.D. the sessions of the Congress have been held regularly. In 1935 A.D. its golden jubilee was celebrated all over India with great pomp and show. In the initial session resolutions regarding proposed reforms in administration were passed with loyalty and humbly. The government also adopted the policy of providing high posts to almost all those Congressmen who were highly critical and thereby making them its supporters in various ways. Some were entrapped, some were not. Among those who were not entrapped were Lokamanya Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, and Lala Lajpat Rai. This trio was known as Lal-Bal-Pal. Lokamanya Tilak,

was the strongest national leader. The section of Seditious was first of all applied on him. From the very beginning he had firm conviction that English had not come for the deliverance of India, but for serving their self-interest, the Indians would have to decide their fate themselves. Leaders equal to Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das are rare in India.

In 1905 the movement for division of Bengal took a serious turn. Many leaders of the *Naram Dal* became the followers of *Garam Dal*. In 1906 A.D. sage-like Dadabhai Naoroji said that home-rule was India's national ideal. From the very beginning the Indian politicians were divided into two groups : (1) *Mriduni-tijna*, (2) *Ugra nitijna*. Some moderates had firm faith that the English were sent to India by God for its welfare. The party of *Loka-manyu* Tilak was against these ideas. In 1907 dissension took place in Surat. The ditch between these two groups became wider and deeper. Since then these two parties came to be called *Naram Dal* and *Garam Dal*. The government has been patronising the leaders of the *Naram Dal*, but turning out those of the *Garam Dal*.

The fire of the partition of Bengal grew furious. In protest meetings were held all over India. This grew to this extent that in 1912 A.D. the emperor himself had to come to India and establish peace.

In Kurmachal

In Kurmachal the Congress was established in 1912 and its sitting was held in Prayag. Many a people from here had gone there as representatives. They are Pt. Vachaspatti Pant, Pt. Jwala Datt Joshi, Pt. Hariram Pande, Munshi Sadanand Sanwal, Sheikh Manulla, Pt. Madhav Gururani and Badri Datt Joshi (*Raibahadur*). These persons can be called the founders of the Congress in Kumaun. These were moderate politicians. But they often thought over the political question of the time. Like today there were no well organised offices of the Congress in districts. Only one in a year the Congress was talked about. In Lucknow Dr. Hari Datt Pant had turned a Congress man with the efforts of Munshi Ganga Prasad. For some time patriot Pt. Shri Krishna Joshi also was a Congressman.

In 1916 a number of people of Kurmachal had gone to Lucknow as Congressmen. In 1913 Swami Satyadev came here. Here he opened a society named Shuddh Sahitya Samiti and preached national message to the youths.

In June 1913 Pt. Badri Datt Pande himself edited *Almora Akhbar*. The magazine came out on national pattern. Meetings were also held in Nanda Devi.

In 1914 there was boom of Home-rule. Here also men like *Sarvashri* Mohan Joshi, Chiranji Lal, Ayyar Hemchandra, Badri Datt Pande etc. founded the Home-rule league.

Later on in 1916 Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant, Pt. Prem Ballabh Pande, Lala Indra Lal Shah, Thakur Mohan Singh Dadamwal, Pt. Hargovind Pant, Lala Chandra Lal Shah, Shri Badri Datt Pande, Pt. Laxmi Datt Shastri etc. at their own initiative opened a political organisation named Kumaun Parishad. A number of its sessions were held :

In 1917	Almora	President	Pt. Jaidatt Joshi (Galli)
" 1918	Haldwani	"	Pt. Tara Datt Gairola Raibahadur.
" 1919	Kotdwar	"	Pt. Badri Datt Joshi Raibahadur.
" 1920	Kashipur	"	Pt. Hargovind Pant.
" 1923	Tanakpur	"	Pt. Badri Datt Pande.
" 1926	Ganiyandyoli	"	Babu Mukundi Lal.

The branches of this *parishad* were spread all over. This launched sufficient movement in respect of *Kuli-Utar*, *Jangalat* Licence, *Nayabad* settlement etc.

After 1923 it was merged in the Congress itself. The moderates had left this *parishad* when in the meeting in Kashipur the resolutions for not paying *Kuli-Utar* and non-co-operation were passed.

In Kumaun the initial credit of bringing the Congress in the fold of Satyagrah system of Mahatma Gandhi, goes to the following gentlemen : Thakur Ram Sharan Singh, Pt. Ram Datt Joshi, Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant, Deshbhakta Mohan Joshi, Pt. Hargovind Pant, Pt. Harshdev Oli, Lala Chiranji Lal, Dr. Hem Chandra Joshi, Thakur Gusain Singh, Shri Badri Datt Pande, Swami Satyadev, Shri Madhu Sudan Gururani. None can recount the names of thousands of patriots who sacrificed themselves.

In between 1914 and 1918 Great War took place in Europe. Indian leaders (even Mahatma Gandhi and Lokmanya Tilak) gave much help to the government. But when the time for getting reward

came, a black law, called Rawlett Act was passed. It meant that any body launching movement for home-rule was to be arrested. The main characteristic of this law were : 'No appeal, no argument and no lawyer'. In protest Mahatma Gandhi started Satyagrah Movement in 1919. Everywhere general strikes were observed. In Punjab, in Jalianwala Bagh, people in thousands were killed. The situation turned violent. There was a great change in the policy of the Congress. Till today the aim of the Congress was to give loyal support and to procure Home-rule under the British Empire by legal means. Now the policy of non-co-operation was adopted. It was thought better to go to jail by violating the repressive and unjust laws of the government. Thousands of men gladly went to jail in 1921-22 A.D. Meetings were held all over to boycott schools, courts, councils, titles, and foreign clothes. The nation decided to achieve the deliverance and freedom of the country by means of renunciation, self-mortification and *self-sacrifice*. Mahatma Gandhi showed the path to achieve freedom by means of truth and non-violence.

In 1921 the wave of non-co-operation spread in Kumaun also. In Kashipur a resolution was passed to launch Satyagrah against *Kuli-Utar*. In Bageshwar on the bank of the sacred Saryu 40000 gallant men of Kurmachal swore by the water of the Ganges in their hands that they would not pay *Kuli-Utar*. The whole of Kurmachal rose up and meetings were held at places. Though the movement was everywhere peaceful yet many patriots were thrown into prisons. Their names are : *Sarvashri* Thakur Mohan Singh, Mehta, Katyur, Pt. Harikrishna Pande Okali, Vaishnav Bandhu, Pt. Badri Datt and Pt. Motiram Vaishnav, Pt. Motiram Tripathi Katyur, Pt. Kedar Datt Pant Shastri, Lala Nathulal Shah, Pt. Shiv Datt Joshi (Pali Pachhaun), Pt. Prayag Datt Pant (Pithoragarh), Shri Badri Datt Pande, Pt. Ganga Ram, Prem Lal Verma, Ram Lal Verma, Nar Singh, Shiv Datt Joshi, Ganga Ram Verma, Khima Nand, Padma Datt Tripathi, Kishori Lal, Devi Lal Verma, Shyam Lal Shah, Tej Singh, Hira Singh, Bansidhar Joshi, Gopal Datt Bhatt, Mohan Joshi, Dr. Chandra Datt Pande (arrested from Ballia) Dharma Nand, Shish Ram, Bhagirath Khulbe.

From Kashipur Pt. Ram Datt, Lala Ram Sharan Singh Mehrotra, Gudiya went to jail.

After *Kuli-Utar* there was drought. Owing to heat, fierce fire broke out in forests. Its responsibility was laid at the doors of the Kumaon Parishad. A number of Kurmachalis were sent to jails.

Later on Mahatma Gandhi suspended the Satyagrah Movement on account of the mishap of Chaura-Chauri. Deshbandhu and Moti Lal Nehru decided to participate in the Councils. The Swarajya Party was formed. For 6 years the policy of hindrance was adopted. But in 1930 A.D. in the Lahore session of the Congress, complete independence was placed as the aim of India. There in London the government summoned the Round Table Conference.

Salt law and also other laws were violated and thousands of people went to jail. From Kumaun also hundreds went to jail. Hundreds of *padhans* and *thokdars* submitted their resignation. Here in Kali Kumaun and there in the Salt *pattis* of Pali Pachhaun the voice of stop payment of revenue was raised. The government deputed the police and realised the revenue twice as much. In 1931 A.D. there was a pact between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin. Political prisoners were set free. Mahatma Gandhi went to the Second Round Table Conference but as soon as he came to Bombay he was arrested. Arrests were also made in Kumaun. In 1932 A.D. Satyagrah Movement was declared illegal. Policy of crushing the Congress by ordinance was adopted. Everywhere policy of severe repression was adopted.

Mahatma Gandhi fasted for the harijans. He was set free in 1933 A.D. Later on a meeting of the Congress leaders was held in Poona. There it was decided to write to the viceroy to hold dialogue with Mahatma Gandhi. But the viceroy said that until Gandhiji gave up the policy of Satyagrah and civil disobedience, no dialogue with him was possible. Mahatmaji postponed mass Satyagrah. He left his beloved *ashram* and ordered for individual Satyagrah. On Aug. 1, 1933 A.D. he was again jailed, but when he started hunger strike for the cause of harijans he was set free. Mahatmaji wanted an honourable pact. The bureaucracy says that it will hold dialogue only then, when the Congress giving up its sense of honour and also its illegal movements came to an end. Indians want such a Home-rule in India also, as it exists in England i.e. the representatives elected by the people should form their own cabinet and rule

according to the desire of the Indian people. Indians want political and economic freedom, so that they might decide their fate themselves.

The bureaucracy has divided India in groups such as Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Persian, Sikh, Harijan (untouchables), Anglo-Indian, and European. Such leaders were sent to England, among whom no unanimity was ever possible. Almost all the representatives who went to the Round Table Conferences and joined Parliamentary Committee, (excepting some Muslim members who can have no difference with the government officials) came back dissatisfied. The leader of civil movement Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru leaving his beloved colleague Sri Jayakar cut off his connection with politics, as the Tory Party was in power in England. Sir Samuel Hore, the Secretary of State for India, is such a accomplished politician that he taking Lord Willingdon with him practically suppressed all the national movements. He has prepared such an administrative fraud in which he claims to have given freedom to the Indians, but in fact gives them nothing. Sir Samuel Hore and Lord Willingdon neglecting the cause of the people have tried their level best to enhance the power and pomp of the British empire in the eyes of the world. They did not want to give anything through legal movement. Branding the other movements as illegal he wanted to cursh them.

In the movement of 1920-21, the Muslims worked together but later on the Hindus raised the banner of the *Suddhi Sangathan* and the Muslims that of the *Tanjeem Tabigh*. They fought with each other and this proved greatly harmful for the country.

The administrative reforms of 1892-1909 and 1919 brought in a bit change in the arbitrariness of the bureaucracy but as yet responsible government has not been established in India. Kumaun even now is a *gairaini* district. In this century a new era has started. The wave of nationalism is spreading all over the country. But organisations and social reforms both are badly needed in India, specially in Kumaun. The aim of India is Home-rule. The moderates want Dominion Status. The Congress wants that in India, Indians should be free in all respects but the bureaucracy wants its hold. Yesmen want the rule of the English to exist so that they might be getting titles, fiefs and services. In this condition only

God can save India. He may give strength to the degraded country so that it might get freedom.

The draft of Home Rule prepared by Sir Samuel Hore is a regressive one for India.

1. Viceroy and the Secretary of state for India shall be all in all.

2. The representatives selected from the people have the right to criticise. No period has been fixed for Indianisation of the army. The rights of the Indians in navy and air force are quite insignificant.

3. On the treasury and the mint the Governor General shall have his right. The Reserve Bank has been formed and its administration has been put in the hands of bureaucracy. The politicians surmise that in the new Constitution of India 20% expenditure shall be in the hands of the representatives of the people and 80% in the hands of the bureaucracy.

4. The management of the Railways has been put under the Railway Board in which the people should have ordinary right.

5. Federal government shall be formed if 50% native states agree to participate in it.

6. The Governor General has the full right to promulgate ordinance whenever he likes. He can, if he so wants, annul even the law framed by the Federal governments. He can, if he wants, violate the rules of administration. His rights are uncontrolled.

7. Foreign policy and the native states also shall be under viceroy.

8. The Secretary of States for India shall appoint high officers in bureaucracy and he alone shall be competent to remove them.

9. Trade and commerce are also controlled.

10. Election will be on sectarian basis and the services also shall be allotted according to that.

The frame of the Federal government is such that the majority of any particular party is difficult. In order to check the majority of the national party the sectarian policy has been adopted.

Indian freedom movement is continuing irrespective of so many hurdles and difficulty. It is God alone who shall grant it success.

Vande Mataram

Provincial Administration

The provincial administration shall be in the hands of the ministers elected by the people but here also the rights of the governor are generally like those of the Governor General. They were free to accept or reject the advice of the members. They would also have their separate advisers.

The compromise between the Muslims and the Hindus has not materialised. So both shall have separate electorate.

The politicians, not only of India but also of Europe, say that the scheme of the reform of Indian administration of 1935 is a hook. Its implementation is difficult. Let us see what happens in future.

History of Kumaun

PART SEVEN

Castes, People, Religion
Rules & Rituals, Temples, Festivals etc.

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1. The people of Kumaun

Who can say when was the earth created ? When was the first man born ? Who made him and who were his parents ? Who were the original inhabitants of the earth ? Who came after them ? All these things are hidden in the past. The God or that gigantic hidden power has not told (expressed) these things, or say man has not understood, these mysteries properly. Evolutionists say that from water to vegetation, then animal and from these man—is the order of creation. But who is the creator of water, vegetation and animals ? *Brahmavidya* and *Vedanta* too have put forth several logics but the root questions, When was the earth created ? Who created it and why ? have not been decided as yet.

Some people say that this earth was created 9 crore years earlier. Some express a longer or shorter period in respect of the creation of earth. There are the opinions of many seers and ultimately the imagination came to a stop. Then an omnipotent was considered as the regulator of this world or universe and it was said that he alone knew all these things. The surmise about God is the most gigantic in the aesthetic world. God has been described as greater than knowledge, (intelligence) and the mind, but the philosophers and scientists have denied the existence of God and conceived the earth, sky, birds, animals, man, the animate and inanimate world as being made by the assimilation of elements. Even then the doubt arises as to who created these elements, when and why ? No answers have been found for these subjects (questions) as yet and there is no such hope in the future.

The *Vedas* are our old scriptures. They are most respected (Universally accepted). The thoughts of ancient scholars called sages and seers are compiled in them. The struggle between the deities and demons in them is regarded as the conflict between the Aryans and non—Aryans. The deities have been described as Aryas or superior beings. They have been stated to be educated, atheists (God-fearing), charitable, benevolent, gentle and fair-skinned. The other word that is the nomenclature of the demons, giants or

robbers means uncouth, uncivilised and persons devoid of *dharma* or moral character. The people who did not accept the Arya *dharma* would have been called by this name. When there is competition, abusive language is used for each other.

So be it (however), the *dasyus* have been considered to be two aboriginal inhabitants of this land whom the self-conceited (haughty) writers of yore have called by such names as *doms*, *chandals* untouchables, *shudras*, *shwapachas* etc. but now by the kindness of Mahatma Gandhi all these poor brethren of ours are called *harijans*. Who inhabited this land prior to these people can not be said. Even this is not known whether these people were actually the inhabitants of this land or migrated from elsewhere. The original inhabitants of the whole of India are considered to be *doms* or *shudras*. The aboriginals of Kumaun too were these people. Among these not all were unlettered or unwise. Many people were educated and were even philosophers and have been revered as saints.

The *Rajis* or *Rajya-Kirat* castes came after the *Dasyus*. After them the *Khasa* caste and in-between the Naga, Shaka, Huna and *Yavans* (Moslems) have invaded this tract. Later all these castes were defeated by the Aryans and then all these began to live together.

But Atkinson writes in *Kumaun*—"Two castes are prominent at present—The *doms* and *khasas*. Other sub-castes which continued pouring here assimilated into the huge bosom of these two big castes."

The names of these castes dwelling in the hills have occurred viz, *gandharvas*, *kinnars*, *nagas*, *vidyadharas*, *siddhas*, *danavas* and *daityas*.

According to Atkinson—"Gandharvas are the inhabitants of Gandhara region. The *Kunaitis* dwelling in Jaunsar, Bhavar and Nahan to the west of Kumaun have been called *Kinnaras*. The *Pauranic Yakhshas* and modern *khasas* are of the same caste, although the word *khasa* occurs in the *Puranas* several times. The people of Sindh and Hindukush have been taken to be *Vidyadharas*. The Naga caste is scattered throughout India. It lives

in Nagpur (Nakuri) in Kumaun. The *Danavas* live here in Danpur. *Dairyas* are old *Dasyus*.

The names of the countries of Northern India have been stated thus in *Varah Samhita* —“Kailash, Himvan, Vasumangiri, Dhanushman, Kronch, Meru, Northern Kuru, Kaikeya (Near Jhelum), Bhogprastha (Haridwar), Trigarta (Kot Kangra), Kashmir, Darad, Van Rashtra (probably near Kalsi and Yamuna), Brahmpur (Katyuri kingdom), Daru Vana, Amar Vana, Rajya-Kirat, Khasa (in Kurmachal), Ek Karna (Nepal), Swarna Bhumi (Tibet), Cheen...etc.”

Besides these castes have been stated to reside in the northern hills: 1. Darad, 2. Kashmir 3. Kamboj, 4. Gandhar, 5. Chiee, 6. Shaka, 7. Yavana, 8. Huna, 9. Naga, 10. Khasa, 11. Kirat.

Of these the first five are not here now. The last six castes are supposed to live in Kurmachal. Cunningham, Atkinson, Father Oakley and other writers have accepted the migration of these principal castes here as Dom, Kirat, Tharu, Boksa, Nag, Khas, Hun, Yavan and Arya. As such I have ventured to write some history of these castes, I have compiled the opinion of various writers from here and there. I have only added a part of my experience and research in brief.

Atkinson and the writers preceding and following him say that the main dwellers of Kumaun are of the Khasa caste. Although their rites and customs are a bit different from the Hindus coming from the plains they are Hindus and they are full of religious bigotry. The Khasa is a sub caste of the Aryans. A full description of them will follow later. In the north some people are of main Tibet. They are called *Huniyas*. They are also called as Khampa or Lama. The rites and customs of these people are quite different. After them are the *Bhotiyas*. The English writers consider them as the progeny (descendants) of the Tibetans because they look somewhat like them. Some of their rites and customs are similar to those of the Tibetans because of their proximity to them, but some people from here have also assimilated with them. They are stated to be of the Mughal or Shaka castes but the *Huniyas* say them to be of the *Khasa* caste, but these people consider themselves to be superior to the *Huniyas*. They too describe the dwellers of the lower regions to

be of the *Khasa* caste. Besides these, there are some people of the *Rajya-Kirat* or *Raji* caste here, who are the old residents of this region. They have been dwelling in Askot, near Jageshvar, and in Darma Vyas. The Tharus and Boksads live in Tarai-Bhavar. They state themselves to be the *Ranas* of Chittorgarh and the Panwar Rajputs of Dhara Nagari, but they are considered to be of the Mughal caste. The *Naga* caste, although it may have been different at some time, is now merged into the *Khasa* caste.

Barring the *Shudras* almost all the castes migrated into India from the centre of castes, viz, Middle Asia (Asia Minor). They spread everywhere from here.

The original inhabitants of this place have been considered to be *Dasyus* or *Shudras*. The *Rajis* or *Rajya Kirats* came probably after them. Later the brave and powerful Khas clan drove away all of them and made them their subjects. The Vedic Aryas came and conquered these both—Khasas and Shudras, and considered them to be lower than themselves, as the concept of political superiority or inferiority between the victors and the conquered is but natural. The Aryas or Hindus called the other castes non-Aryan, Yavana, Mlechcha, Brishal or such other words. The Musalmans addressed them with such despicable words as *kafir*, slave etc. After this the best rulers and very powerful Britishers after conquering all the castes gave them the abominable name 'native'. The conquering nation always imposes its supremacy over the weak. Even the mighty have to bow before the conqueror and have to bear to some extent the loss of their sovereignty, culture and civilisation and the scorn and contempt of the most valuable worldly possession, the loss of independence. Subjection is very contemptuous. It degrades man and forces him to bear the scoff to his caste.

Leave aside the rulers of kingdoms, politicians and conceited people, there have been great expounders of *Vedas* and followers of *Vedanta* in India as also many propounders of equality and fraternity but in actual world the *dharma* of the *Shastras* is found to differ from that of deportment or behaviour.

The old writers and historians have divided the different castes into the categories which have been described herein. The principles have changed in the modern times. Now the ideas about high and low, mode of eating and drinking and mutual behaviour

have undergone change. Now people say that all mankind is the same. No caste is either high or low. Among Hindus the four categories which have been acknowledged, viz, *brahmana*, *kshatriya*, *vaishya*, *shudra* had no such sharp differences in ancient times as is found in them now. All these categories are all branches of the same trunk. All the Hindus are tied in one string. There is no high or low among them. Whosoever should have whatever prowess or valour will receive accordingly the post of respect in society. One who shuns society will himself receive disrespect or slight. Hence the words *dasyu*, *dom* and *khas* wherever they have been used in this book is only in the form of historical description (investigation). These words should not to be taken to depict disrespect because now the caste is not recognised by religious or social principles but by mutual love, amity and goodwill alone. One dress, one language, one thought and one country are the signs of communal feeling. Now no person will be considered as high or low on the ground of being of a particular caste. He will be deemed to be high or low on the basis of his qualities, actions or nature.

Now Parsis, Musalmans, Jews and Britishers too are our bradhren. So the basis of nationality to consider all the communities to be tied together into a single string will not be a mockery. All the communities which have settled in Kumaun are found in a bond of fraternity. The motherland of *harijans*, *khasas*, *kirats*, *rajya kirats*, *shakas*, *huns* and *aryans* is now one and the same. Their rights are identical. There is no fissure (disunion) among them. All are the progeny of the same mother and motherland. May God grant that this feeling may be present in the heart of everyone.

2. The influence of climate on mankind

It is the opinion of Atkinson, Cunningham and other scholars investigating into the behaviour, thoughts, mode of living, qualities, actions and nature of the castes that there are three main divisions of the castes residing in the Himalayan region. There was interconnection in places where there were facilities of the means of communication but in places where these were inadequate the fissure between the castes was less.

(1) The region beyond the Himalayas is purely Tibetan. The rules, customs, and language etc. there are Tibetan. The produce there is very scant. The position there is the same as it was hundreds of years before.

(2) Below that the climate and produce of the Bhot region is different from that of the lower plains. There too there is heavy snowfall. The cold there, if not more than Tibet, is in no way less. The vegetation is ordinary and the produce of the plains is not grown.

(3) The region towards this end and below Bhot area is ordinarily akin to that of Bharat. The population (habitation) is generally found in the hills lower than 6000 feet. The climate here is cold in winter, hot in summer and of ample rains in the rainy season. Agricultural produces are the same as in upper India.

The qualities, actions and nature are formed according to climate. In places of heavy cold Tibetan rites and customs are prevalent. There is Indian mode of life where cold is less. In higher and upper regions there is no such emphasis on purity, bathing, eating and drinking as in the lower tracts. There is less intermingling in castes in the upper regions while it is more in the lower parts. The rites, customs and thoughts too keep on changing but in the upper region it is less.

3. Brief account of the Principal Castes (Shudras or Harijans)

The Shudras have been addressed by such names as Doms, Demons, Daityas, untouchables, Chandals, Shudras and what not. Now they are called Harijans. They were first defeated by the Khas caste and then by the Aryans. Those who accepted the Aryan religion in any way were counted in the Shudra caste. Those who did not were connoted with foul adjectives. In a way they continued to be the slaves of the Khas Rajputs, Brahmins and Rajputs. During the Gorkha regime if any untouchable touched the *hukkah* of any twice-born, or slayed a cow or broke the bonds of the caste, he was sentenced to death. There are many kinds of sub-castes among the Doms too and in them too caste differentiation is followed as also the difference of high and low. These people have been described to be of black colour and ugly in history. Their beards and moustaches are scant, but in the hills many castes designated as untouchable are clean and beautiful. The Shudras used to eat the meat of cow also. They did not kill them but ate the meat of the dead animals. The abstinence of meat and liquor too was less. They followed the Aryans in a less degree, but now improvement is visible. The

untouchables of Kumaun became alert with the coming of Lala Lajpat Rai in 1913.

The purification was held in village Sunkiya. They were called *Shilpkars* (artisans). Many of them wore the sacred thread. They assumed the mode of living of the twice-borns. Many of them took the part of civilisation and education by abstaining from evil practices and customs. At present their problem is in the fore due to the grace and kindness of Mahatma Gandhi. He has made a universal appeal for 5-6 crores of untouchables that by eradicating untouchability from India the Harijans should be deemed as Hindus in every way. They should be given the rights of temple entry and the use of water ponds. The twice—borns may keep the restriction of food and marriage but should not consider them to be untouchables. He has made such request to the Hindus. In 1934 Pandit Hriday Nath Kunjru and Seth Jaman Lal Bajaj preached in Nanda Devi that the Harijans should be treated with love. The Murali Manohar temple was thrown open for them. A meeting was held in Sri Badrishwar and a resolution to eradicate untouchability from the Hindu society was passed. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant not only passed the resolution of communal eating and drinking of the untouchables with the twice-borns but himself acted on them. It is the pure wish of all Hindus that whatever behaviour towards the untouchables may have been in the past, they should be owned in everyway now.

4. Kirats

Atkinson says that *Kirat*, *Khas* and *Nag* castes came to India through the same path by which the Aryans came. The *Kirats* came first of all, then the *Khasas*, *Nagas*, *Hunas* and *Yavans* in succession. The *Kirats* are known to have settled in the Yamuna Valley in the 1st century. In Nepal it is said that they were the rulers there at some time. Mr. Wright has found out the names of 29 Kirat kings in his *Nepal History*. In Kumaun 8 generations after the Chand kings, the strange names of 14 rulers occur (as Jad, Jeejad, Jajad etc). They are considered to be Khas kings but Atkinson calls them as Kirat kings. The description of Kirat caste is found in the *Puranas*. God Rudra appeared before Arjun in the form of a *Kirat* near the river Ganga. In *Ramayana* they have been described as golden in colour and amiable. It is said in Nepal that in the *Dwapar Yuga* (age) the

Kirats ruled for 10 thousand years. When emperor Ashoka went to Nepal he found the rule of the Kirats there. This was in the 3rd century B.C. The Kirats now live in abundance in the region between Sikkim and Nepal. Now they are called *Limboo* also there. They are short statured, with flat face and nose and swollen eyes. They are very powerful. Their religion is Buddhism. Kirat and *Kiranti* are of the same nomenclature. Some British scholars call the Katyuris too to be of the *Kiranti* genealogy but there is no proof. It is only an assumption.

It is difficult to assume any difference between the *Kirats* and *Rajya Kirats*, but they were strong like the Tibetans and were like the *Khasa* castes of Aryan texture and form. It is said that the *Rajis* of Askot are the progeny of these people who have settled in the forests or have been forced to do so. The land of the *Rajya Kirats* has been stated to be situated between Amar Vana and *Cheena* province, which is at present considered to be the region between Jageshsar and Tibet. The Rawat kings of Kumaun are also said to belong to the Kirat stock. Atkinson says that the *Rauts* of Talla Desh, *Lool* in Bhabhar and in the proximity of Jageshvar are also of the *Rajya Kirat* caste. It is said that earlier the *Lools* had a small principality there. Even now they are rich land-owners. They live in the hills of Dhyaniarau, Agar and Chhakhata even now. Mr. Croke writes, "The Rajis are of savage caste, which is considered to be inferior even to the *Tharus* who dwell in the forests. They make wooden pots. They claim themselves to be of the clan of Raja Kutpur Neel Kapal. The God of the Rajis is Bagnath. They consider the *Kark Sankranti* as a festival. They are Hindus. They perform *shraddha*."

The ancient writer Ptolemy says that the Kirats lived in Kiradia which was situated between Pentepolis city (modern Meerkan Sarai) and Toksan (Arrakan) river. In the *Puranas* they are supposed to have been living near the tract of the Lohitya and Brahmaputra river. The name of their country was Kirrdehi or Kirodehi also which now probably has become Giridih.

It is not impossible that the *Rajya Kirats* may possibly be some people of Darma, Byans, Chaundas. They are of the Mughal clan. They resemble the Nepalese. Now the Raj Kirats mostly dwell in Nepal, Sikkim, Darjeeling and other places.

By accepting this version of Ptolomy and the *Universal Encyclopedia* the theory of Atkinson that the Kirats too came from Asia Minor through the Khaibar pass does not seem proper and authentic. These people are said to have come from Nepal, Sikkim and the passes of the eastern border. This fact is readily acceptable because these people mostly live towards those areas. Not much difference has been accepted between Kinnars, Kirats, Rajya Kirats and Rajis, but some people even the Kols among the Kirats. Goswami Tulsidas also says :

मिर्वाहं किरात कोल बन्धारी ।
वैपानस बटु गृही उदासी ।।

(You) will meet Kirats and Kols-dwellers of forests, as also hermits (anchorites), religious students, house holders and retired sects).

5. The Rajis of Askote

The Rajis who live in Askote at present claim themselves to be the aboriginals of Kumaun. They say that they were the very first to come here, others followed. *Raji* means dwellers of the forests. They are found in Nepal also. Now they are very few in number, but earlier they were said to be in good figures. Their arms are the bow and arrow. They say that the claim to be the rulers of the world was theirs because their ancestors were the real elder brothers of the kings of the world and the Kshatriyas.

The Rajis say that when the world was created, there were two Rajput brothers. The elder brother was very fond of hunting. He began to live mostly in the forest. For this reason the younger brother got (assumed) the throne. When the younger brother was firmly established in the kingdom he said to his elder brother that as he was very fond of hunting he should permanently reside in the forest and consider himself to be the lord of the forest and not come to the city. Since then the elder brother began to live himself in the forest and call himself Raji. His progeny too lived in the forests. They spent their lives by eating the fruits of trees, flowers and roots. Besides the meat in the forests they began to eat everything like household (pet) poultry, pig, buffalo and the meat of *gooni* (langoor) or ape. In place of clothes they wear the apparel of the bark of a tree. They consider the whole nature as their God.

They also pray to Mahadeo, Devi, Ganga besides the ghosts and demons of cemetery. They regard the doms as untouchables. If a dom enters the house of the Rajis they besmear it by bringing water from 22 places. They clean their pots and dry them. Their women folk observe *purdah* before the people of cities and villages. They consider theft and debauchery as evil. They do not marry among themselves upto three generations, later they do so. They do not spend any amount on marriage. Keeping of a few hair on the scalp alone is said to be the sacred thread or *vratbandh* (taking of sacred vow) ceremony. If a death occurs they cremate the dead body. For 10 days every evening they keep some rice and water in the name of the dead outside the house. This they consider to be salvation. When any of their *pradhan* (chief) goes to the king, he sits near the royal throne. He will address the king as younger brother and queen as a sister-in-law. The king has to address him as elder brother (*dajyu*).

To some extent these people are now found in Askot. They make good wooden pots. Now the Rajis have taken to agriculture also. They also clean gold ore near the coasts of rivers. It is said that the Rajis live in the plains also. They are found in Nepal also.

Many Rajis have assimilated with the Rajputs after becoming civilised. They have become tenants and sowers also by residing in the villages. In Kumaun they live in Looltyura, Chhyol, Bashtiya and other villages and in Chhakhata by the name Raut in Fatehpur, Haldi and other villages.

There is a story of king Ven of the Moon clan in the *Puranas*. He opposed the *Shastras* and the *Vedas*. So the subjects killed him. There was none in his family worthy of becoming king. Then all the courtiers gathered and churned his dead body. A dark, small-eyed, dwarf man came out of his arm. He was ugly. The brahmins, declared on seeing him that the man was born out of the sins of king Ven. As such he is unfit to be a ruler. When the man stood up for receiving order, the brahmins said, 'Sit down', He sat down. For this reason he was called Nishad (sitting). By the churning of the right hand a beautiful, well-built and elegant person was born, Prathu by name. After him the world or earth was named as 'Prithvi'. Prathu became the king of the earth and Nishad of the forests. It is possible that the Rajis may be from among these Nishads because their story too tallies with this Pauranic lore. The

dialect of these Rajis is different from that of the people of Kumaun. Rajis also say that the dialect of the Rajis of the hills and the plains is the same. There is no difference between them. A few examples of their dialect are given hereunder :—

<i>Raji Dialect</i>	<i>Kumauni Dialect</i>	<i>English</i>
Hitlo	Yath Aa	Come here
Kotaghat	Uth Ja	Go there
Gwatha Man Cheepeeyan	Kan hai Aachha	Where have you come from ?
Gwatha Jigar	Kan Janchcha	Where do you go ?
Day	Aaj	Today
Keelay	Bhol	Tomorrow
Neewak	Porun	Day after tomorrow
Na Bayan	Main kan diy	Give(to) me
Ninna	Too Lay	You take
Nee	Too	You
Na	Mein	I
Dey ham Chijani	Aj Ke Khachh	What did you eat today ?
Chhwai	Baith nai	Sit down
Ya key	Uth	Stand up (Get up)
Bhatt Ja	Khan Kha	Take food
Bhatt Kai Jani	Khan Khachai	Have you taken food ?
Tee Tung	Pani pay	Drink water
Dhadi Kin	Thad hun	Standing up
Ees	Say Jai	Go to sleep
Yogun	Bato	Path
Neek Chikunai	Bhal Chhau	Are you well ?
Mhey Vayan	Aag Diy	Give fire.
Nimkyanar	Tuman dicchu	I give to you
Han Vayan	Nee Dinyu	I do not give
Thakan Kai Puwan	Sans padige chh	It is evening
Gajirau Kai Khoan	Rat beyai gechh	It is twilight
Lapa	L.yau	Bring
Teela Patrya	Pani L.yau	Bring water
Tatuwan hoye	Pinchha	Do you want to drink ?
Noa too auor	Pin chchu	I drink
Chu Jawre	Khanchhu	I eat
Kai is jiyar	Sayjanu	We go to sleep'
Ning paya Kinauhiyan	Tero chelo kab bhauchh	When was your son born ?

<i>Raji Dialect</i>	<i>Kumauni Dialect</i>	<i>English</i>
Na wari gun	Hum thul chhun	We are elders
Nee chi chanjingun	Tum nan Chhau	You are younger
Nee hank Chiwiyan	Kilai aachha	Why have you come ?
Nee hunk chibharkar	Ke mang chha	What do you want to get ?
Ei Kahan Chiga	Kelai ni jana	Why do you not go ?
Nin may tang kunile	Teri je chhanai	Chh is your wife alive ?
Halanagn ayo chiviyan	Hal jot aye ho	Have you ploughed ?
Ni siyan	Too mari jalai	You will die
Hanon chigunir	Marunl ke kar lai	If I beat, what will you do ?
Nikuchya Hanawani	Kilai mar chhai	Why do you beat ?
Bhayar bhatt piya	Bhair baman airo	Brahmin has come outside.
kunas hum bayer	rochch ke dinu	what should we give ?
Ise hunk taihana pausyan	Inal kilai mangachh	Why have they demanded it ?
Ichain Katai hana posya	Etuk kai huni Mangain	For whom have so many been demanded ?
Scepan	Marno	Dying
Hiyan	Huno	To be
Atar	Ail	Now
Chibhirai	Unchha	Do you (want to) come ?
Weeyar	Unchhun	(I am) coming.
Kina chi vipar	Kab aalai	When will you come ?
Hun ghaila chigunecr	Kcy karan chhai	What are you doing ?
Akhu wipan	Ko achh	Who has come ?
Whai sp Kauni	Pachhyan	Recognition/identification.
Hung chya hamawani	Kilai mar chhai	Why do you beat ?
Ningaha namak	Taro nam ke chch	What is your name ?
Han waye	Ni dinai	Do you not give ?
Atar agra kai Hin ki	Ail aber hai gechh	It is late now. We will
lek gahin	bhol joonl	go tomorrow.
Nicheh raikoki	Tum pachhyan chha	Do you (recognise) ?
Nairya Karlam	Hum pachhyananu	We (recognise).
Gajiro taghat wagho	Rat bhair na ja	Do not go out in the night.
Tijari	bag khalo	The tiger will eat (you).
Dev lago koner	Dyo lagnochh	It is raining, come in,
bheetar lau	bheetar aa	
Nee Khot chhuja	Bhali kai bhaija	Sit at ease (properly).
Gara	Dhan	Paddy
Daro	Chawal	Rice
Ghumad	Gyun	Wheat

<i>Raji Dialect</i>	<i>Kumauni Dialect</i>	<i>English</i>
Man akhoo	Mansh	Horse bean
Pitta	Rainsh	Bean
Cheeina	China	China
Mandidro	Maniro	Sawan
Manduwa	Maduwa	Millet
Chaana	Chan	Gram
Tildu	Teel	Sesamum
Kapaukh	Kapas	Coton-plant
Makhoor	Mashur	Lentil
Badhar	Bhat	Bharat etc.

Numbers

<i>Raji</i>	<i>Kumauni</i>	<i>English</i>
Ga	Ek	One
Nee	Dwi	Two
Khud	Teen	Three
Pari	Char	Four
Pan	Panch	Five
Turkau	Chhai	Six
Khatt	Saat	Seven
Aatth	Aath	Eight
Nauv.	Nau	Nine
Dakh	Das	Ten
Dak	Sau	Hundred

Names of Days

<i>Raji</i>	<i>Kumauni</i>	<i>English</i>
De	Aitwar	Sunday
Kilek	Somwar	Monday
Neev	Mangal	Tuesday
Kuna	Budh	Wednesday
Pareekh	Bipai	Thursday
Panch	Shukra	Friday
Khatrav	Chhanjar	Saturday

It cannot be exactly said to which languages their dialect is similar.

Atkinson writes "Rajis are Puranic Rajya Kirats. This fact is indisputable. The name of one of the gods of the Rajis is Khudai. It has no relation with the Khuda of the Musalmans. These people do not marry within three generations. They do not pay for the bride even. The Rajis of Askot accept money for the worship of their family or titular god. For this reason of the Rajis of Chaugarkha deem the Rajis of Askot inferior to them. They keep pig tails. They do not salute (wish) any other person than the king, because they call themselves the descendants of the royal family. They call the king as younger brother and the queen as sister-in-law and in turn wish to be addressed as elder brother (*dajyu*). The Lools inhabit many villages above Brahmdeo Mandi. The Rauts or Rawats who speak of themselves as belonging to the royal family reside in not many villages of Chhakhata. They are taken to be the descendants of the Kirantis, which word occurs in the Baleshwar copper-plate. The Lools have started wearing the sacred thread, but the Rawats do not do so. Both call themselves Rajput. These lools may possibly have been the inhabitants of Laul country which word occurs in the *Varahi Samhita*.

6. Huns or Huniyas

The name of the tribe residing near the snows or Himachal is Huniya or Bhotiya. The local name of Tibet is Bodh i.e. the country of the Bauddhas which has been converted to Bhot in Bharat. The country lying to this side of Tibet is called Bhot in Kumaun, which is situated near the snow clad region. It denotes that country where the Bhotias live. The Shauks are also designated as Bhotiya. The Kumaunis call the inhabitants of Bhot as the Huniyas and their country as Hun Desh. Moorcraft, who went to Tibet in 1812, has traced its origin, to *Oun Desh* (wool country). His companion Wilson has accepted to it to be called *Hyun + Desh* or the land of the snows. But its actual name in Hun Desh which purports to describe it as the habitation of the Huns. Atkinson considers them to be different from the historically famous Huns but in Sanskrit books the word Hun occurs at many places and this noun denotes the Huns or Lamas of the North.

Huns or Huniyas are considered to be one in India. The *World Encyclopaedia* writes that these people came to Europe and India

simultaneously. Some people consider them to be Turks. They were furious fighters. In Europe king Altila and Balameer were their chieftains. He has been designated as Balmir or Balambar also and these names appear to be Indian. Hungarian and Magyars both have been treated to be of the same clan. In 1st century the Chinese defeated them and drove them west and southwards. They annexed some part of Europe and India.

Kalidas has referred to the Huns in the conquest of the world by Raghu in canto IV of *Raghuvansha*.

विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य सिन्धुतीर विचेष्टनैः ।
 दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धान् लग्न कुंकुम केसरान् ।।६७।।
 तत्र हूणावरोधाना भर्तृषु व्यक्त विक्रमम् ।
 कपोल पाटलादेशी बभूव रघु चेष्टितम् ।।६८।।

So the Huns had come to the coast of Sindhu during the reign of Aja. In some books there is a variant version and the word Oxus has been used in place of Sindhu which seems to be correct.

In 425 A.D. the king of Persia defeated the Huns, but later his son Firoz was defeated by Khushniwaz. This denotes that the Huns had become Persians. After conquering Persia they ran towards India. Their army marched like a swarm of locusts. The Huns killed the Gupta emperor Kumar Gupta. In 499. A.D. Torman or Turmanshah established his empire in India. His empire was in western India. His son Mihirgul *alias* Mihirkul was a Buddha at first but later became a bigot *Shaivite*. He was a tyrant. He was subdued in 532 A.D. by the Gupta emperor Nar Singh and the king of Malwa, Yashoverman. He fled to Kashmir, Himalaya and Kumaun. Since then the Huns were considered to be in the Kshatriya caste. Some scholars opine that like the Shakas, the Huns too spread into India through the passes of the Himalayas. There they live in the northern part of the Himalayas. Lamas are also known as Khampas. They are of a strange nature. They are all mostly **Buddhas**. They keep on revolving a musical instrument by chanting ओइ मानी पद्मे हूम

Rags or strips are tied to it. The Lamas sit in the monasteries in penance all through the day and night and keep on chanting the secret incantation. It is said that among them the Lamas practising black magic drink blood in the skull of the dead. They perform violent and terrible dances. Among them several brothers have a

common wife. Who can say that they are the same Huns who in ancient times had been the rulers of either India or Europe, and they may have reigned in Kumaun too for some time.

7. Shakas

In *Mahabharat* it is stated that this clan inhabits the area between Vakrataps and Videha. The Vidch clan lived in Tirhut (Bihar). At one place it has been stated that this clan dwelled between Jamuna hills and the land of the Nishad or in Paropanis country towards the west of river Sindhu (Indus). Then it has been said that these people lived in the land between Shalvanshi and Konkan region. In *Vayu Purana* it is stated that this tribe lived in Tusharaj which was the end between Piti and the Antachar or frontier people. It surmises from these facts that in the Puranic period their dwellings were scattered here and there, throughout India. The Greek writers have described them as Sacks and Ptolemy has called them Indo-Scythians. Their language was known as Shakari. This language is of the region between Barar and Bahrihak provinces. This is known as Prakrit or Vibhasha (subsidiary language). Like Shavari, Abhirak, Dravidian and Utkali this subsidiary language too is called Chandali.

In Mc Crindle's *Ancient India* the traveller Ptolemy and the ancient Greek scholars have identified Scythia with the land of eastern Asia, west and middle Asia but in the map it is shown to be in the north of the Ganges. The land near the origin of the Ganga has been named Klaingain which might most probably be the present Kedarkhand. It is also written there that in earlier times Baltistan or the minor Tibet province was called Shakai. The Shaka tribe migrated to India from there. The *World Encyclopaedia* states that the Shaka tribes migrated from Asia Minor. The Chinese texts describes them as herdsmen and sellers of wool, who lived near the hills of Kashgar and Khasgiri. They migrated there in about 130-140 B.C. The Chinese defeated and drove them away southwards in 160 B.C. Then probably some of them spread in India through Tibet via Kumaun. The name of Afghanistan was Shaksthan or Shaka Dwip (island) also. The Persian writers have called it Sejistan also. Their rulers or kings were called Chhatraps. Emperor Vikramaditya defeated them in 57 B.C. Both the Parthavya and Malavya castes jointly defeated them. Emperor Vikramaditya was designated as Shakari

(enemy of the Shakas). Some people call them Scythians but some writers consider them to be different from the Sythian race of Europe. The Greeks have called them Sakais and the Chinese Sake or Sauk. The original home of the Scythians was between the Carpathian mountain and the Don river. They were Iranians and worshippers of animals and nature. Their graves are still found.

In the *Puranas* their descent has been traced from king Narishyant. King Sagar deprived him of the throne and deported him. Like the Khasa, Yavana and Kirata tribes this caste too was designated as *Mlechchha* (of low birth or Barbarians). The modern scholars hold the opinion that Asia Minor was called Shakadwip also. The Greeks called it Syria also. This tribe was very powerful in 200 B.C. in India. They had subdued the area from Kashmir to Mathura and Maharashtra. They ruled over India for about 200 years. Their emperor Kanishka and Havishka were very powerful and illustrious.

The archeologist Cunningham writes on the basis of some old documents which he received from Kumaun and Garhwal about Delhi, "It is said that the last ruler of the Maurya dynasty Rajpal was killed by Shakaditya, the king of Kumaun. This ruler had invaded Delhi. It can not be said whether Shakaditya was the name of the king or his designation (Shaka+Aditya = The sun of the Shakas). This is not the name of Vikramaditya because he was called Shakari because of his victory over the Shakas." Cunningham has quoted and narrated these facts from the manuscript *Rajavali* which he obtained from Kumaun. Thus it is implicit that the Shakas ruled over Kumaun in some unknown period. But I could not find any name from Johar of a Shaka king barring that of Shakia Lama, in spite of vigorous search.

Some people of the Shaka tribe have been stated to be living in Johar and Darma, but in modern times some people from here have intermingled with them.

8. The Nagas

There is ample reference to the Nag caste in the *Puranas* and ancient scriptures. These people worshipped the serpents, particularly the hooded ones. They were found both in the hills and the plains. Their ruler Takshak vehemently opposed the

establishment of Indraprastha but the Pandavas defeated him. It is said that the Nagas belonged to the other side of the Himalayas, who adopted the *nag* (snake) as their natural symbol. In the *Puranas*, the Nagas have been described as men at some places and as snakes on other occasions. There is such admixture about them that it is difficult to find out the truth, but it is famous that once the Hindus tried to subdue, nay eradicate them. The Nagas were mercilessly slain in Khandava Vana. The Pandavas defeated them in Magadh. Janmejaya performed the oblation or sacrificial ceremony of serpents. The Lord Krishna too drove them away from near the Yamuna river and forced them to seek refuge in Kumaun. At times the Aryans have performed *gandharva* (secret) marriage with Nag girls. There is a lake named Naghrad (lake of Nagas) in Nepal near Kathmandu. The Nag king Karkotak lived there. A fair is organised in his name every year even now. The Tibetans call themselves the descendants of the Nagas and their dialect as Nag language. It is narrated in the *Puranas*, "There was a war between the Aryas and Nagas at first and later a truce between them and Vishnu. This treaty was enacted through the efforts of Bodhisatva Arya, Avalokiteshwar." It is clear from this that at sometime there was a truce between the worshippers of Vishnu, the Hindus; serpent-worshippers Nagas and the Buddhas, which exists even now. Some rites and rituals of the Buddha religion have crept in Hinduism and Buddha is considered as an incarnation. The worship of the snakes is prevalent almost throughout India. The festival of *Nag Panchami* is indicator of the Nag caste. The Nagas used to dwell in Nagpur *patti* and Urgam between the Alakhnanda valley in Garhwal. At present too the worship of Shesh Nag is held in Pandukeshwar. The Bhikhali Nag is worshipped in Ratgaon, Sangal Nag in Talor, Vanpa Nag in Margaon, Lohandeo Nag in Jilam and Pushkar Nag in Nagnath. Among these Nagasiddh or Nagchal mountain is reminiscent of Vaman Nag. There are several Nag (serpent) temples in Kumaun also, viz, (1) Shesh Nag is in Bastadi village of Mahar Patti. There are 8 Nagas in Beninag and Pungraun *pattis* - Beni Nag, Kali Nag, Pheni Nag, Dhaul Nag, Karkotak Nag, Pingal Nag, Kharhari Nag and Athguli Nag. All of them are worshipped. The Karkotak Nag is in Pandegaon and Chhakhata also, Vasuki Nag is in Danpur. In Salam there are Nag Dev, Padmagir and several other temples. It is said that the Ashok edict in Kalsi was the demarcating line between India and the empire of the Nag tribe.

Some writers hold both the Nag and Shaka tribes to be of the Scythian clan. The Nags had migrated to India long ago. The Shakas came after them. Mr. Croke says that the Nags were in *Patal*. They numbered 20 crores there. There were many precious stones in their country. They were of non-aryan descent. They faced the Aryans very gallantly. Some writers say that the struggle between the Aryans and Mughals is called the war between the Arya and Nag tribes. At present the Nags reside in Assam. They are mostly aboriginals now. These Nags were civilized to some extent. That is why the Aryans married the Nag girls. Arjun had performed *gandharva* marriage with the Nag girl Ulomi. In Garhwal there are some Thakurs of Naga descent. It is possible that they may have been of the Nag tribe because the Nagas have been considered to be Kshatriyas.

Some scholars speak of the Nagas as being a branch of the Shaka tribes. They ruled between the years 150 to 250 of the *vikram samvat* (era). The country from Mathura upto Bharatpur, Gwalior and Ujjain etc. was in their possession. The rulers of the Gupta dynasty defeated them. It is inscribed in the *stupa* inside the Prayag fort that emperor Samudra Gupta defeated Ganpati Nag. This tribe too belonged the Trans-Himalayan region. The Arya kings of Puru clan were inimical to the kings of the Naga clan. It is narrated in the travelogue of Sikandar (Alexander) that the Nag king of Taxila had reared many serpents which were worshipped. There is neither any distinct and separate Naga caste in Kumaun at present nor reference to any king of their dynasty is found. It is found from the *Manas Khand* that the Nagas lived between Patal Bhuvaneshwar and Nakuri (Nagpur). There is no doubt that this tribe may have assimilated or been amalgamated into the Khasa tribe at present. According to the *Varaha Purana* the Nagas procreated through the (sage) Kashyap and his consort Kadru. They begot 8 sons Anant, Vasuki, Kambaj, Karkotak, Padma, Maha Padma, Shankha, Kulik and Aparajt. All these were called the scions of the Nagas.

Yavans—Some scholars say that the people of the Yavana clan migrated here. At present the word Yavana indicates the Musalmans too, but in ancient times the inhabitants of Greece were called Yavans. Earlier there was a country or island named Ayonia in Greece. In earlier times they had close relations with the eastern countries. The Indians called them Yavans at that time. Later this

word had a vast connotation. The Romans, Turks, Parsi and other foreigners came to be designated as Yavanas. Later the word 'Yavana' came to mean Mlechcha (or low birth) also, but the 'Yavans' and the Mlechcha were too separate castes during the Mahabharat period. In the *Puranas* their origin is traced from the vagina (*yoni*) of Kamdhenu (celetial cow) of sage Vashishtha. This word came to be used for the Musalmans from the period of Shivaji and Aurangzeb. The name of the Greek scholar, Raulmi, was Yavanacharya (preceptor of the Yavans). He was an astrologer of world renown and has been referred to by Varahamihir also. The grammarian Panini had written that the script of the Yavans was called Yavanani. The Mlechcha king, Kala Yavana fought many times with Lord Krishna. Atkinson states that some Yavans migrated to Kurmachal also. It is difficult to demarcate them at present.

9. Khasa Tribe

The *Vedas* were not reduced to writing. *Shruti* (heard scriptures), *Smriti* (remembered scriptures), *Upanishads* (knowledge gained by sitting near preceptor), *Puranas* (Hindu mythology) etc. were all hidden in the lap of future. People lived an unobstructed life. They did what they liked and ate what they wished. Matrimonial alliances were too made as were deemed proper. The archaeologists say that at such a time huge and powerful tribe migrated towards India from the original home of all great tribes, the Caucasius mountains. They established their dominion over the land from Kashgir (Khashgiri) to the Khasia hills.

There is a story, as most mythological stories are, about the origin of this tribe in *Mahabharat*. It is stated there that once King Vishwamitra went to the sage Vashishtha. He was pleased on seeing the Kamdhenu, the celetial cow there. When the Kamdhenu was not received on begging from Vashishtha, he began to take it by force. Then Nandini was infuriated. The following Kshatriya clans emerged out from her body:

असृजन् पल्लवान् पुच्छात् प्रश्नवाद् द्राविडाज्जकान् ।
 योनि देशाश्च यवनान् शकृतः शवरान् बहून् ॥३५॥
 मूत्रतश्चा सृजत् कांश्चिच्छ्वरांश्चैव पार्श्वतः ।
 प्रौण्ड्रान् किरातान् यवनान् सिंहलान् वर्वरान् खसान् ॥३६॥
 चिबुकाश्च पुलिदांश्च चीनान् हूनान् संकलरान् ।
 ससर्ज फेनतः सा गौम्लच्छान् बहु विधानपि ॥३७॥

The Pallavas from tail; the Dravidians and the Shakas from udders; the Kanhis from dung, the Shabars from hind part, the Pondras, Kirats, Yavans, Sinhals, barbarians (barbers) and Khasa from scum; the Pulinds, Cheens, Huns and Kirats etc. from the chin (vide, *Mahabhart, Adi Parva*, chapter 176).

If the Nandini is supposed to be the earth, these tribes migrated from its different parts or they lived there.

In *Udyog Parva* chapter 160 and 161 *shlokas* 103; 21 it is written that the Khasas supported Duryodhana.

प्राच्यैः प्रतीच्यै रथ दक्षिणात्यै रुदिच्य काम्बोज शकैः खशैश्च
 (श्लोक १०३ ; २१)

In *Drona Parva*, chapter 121 verse 43 it is written:

अयोहस्ता शूलहस्ता दरकस्तरंगणा खशाः ।
 लम्पकाश्च कुलिदाश्च चिक्षिपुस्ताश्च सात्यकी ॥

(Darads, Khasas, Tangans and Lampaks etc. too sided Duryodhana. They fought against Satyaki with stones, javelins and swords).

Among the kings coming to Yudhishtir with presents in the *Rajsuya Yagya* (sacrificial oblation for becoming universal monarch) we have seen that the Khasas too were present (see : Vedic and Pauranic period).

In *Karna Parva*, chapter 8, verse 18 it has been mentioned that Karna too secured victory over the Khasa Desh (country).

“गान्धारान्मद्रकान् मत्स्यासिगर्तास्तंगणान् खशान् ।”

In *Kalki Purana*, part III, chapter 6 there has been a mention of the Khasa tribe:

खश काम्बोज कान्सवोज्ज्वरान् वर्वरानपि ।३२ ।

मरुः खशैश्च काम्बोजैयुधे भीम विक्रमैः ।

देवापि समरे चीनैर्वर्वरैस्तद् गणैरपि ।।४१ ।।

(तृतीयांश अध्याय ६)

I have given a brief account of whatever both the eastern and western scholars have written about this tribe. Atkinson writes "It is said that during the reign of Ashoka, the Khasas were called Yakshas. This very word was converted into Khasa later. In *Mahabharat* the names of the Abhir, Darada, Kashmir, Khasira, Anachara etc. occur. The Greek scholar Pliny has called the Khasiras as Casiris. Another Greek scholar Ptolemy has made a reference to City of Seata in his travelogue which existed in the Khasia country and the ruler there too was a Khasiya. He has named the oldest tribe in the hills as Cesi which denotes the Khas tribe apparently. According to Plinay the Khas tribe ruled probably upto the Khasia hills even beyond Nepal and Kumaun. Some old writers have identified Kumaun as Nishad Desh and accepted Nala and Damayanti as rulers of Kumaun. There is a pond or lake after the very name of these Nala and Damayanti. Some people state the country in the vicinity of Jabalpur as Nishad Desh. The Nishads were actually dwellers of the forest and hills, but they had no relation with Kumaun. Atkinson regards them as the inhabitants of Paropanish country. According to Cunningham this country lay near Kabul in the western border.

Hiuen Tsang has referred to Daru (Daruk) Vana and Amar Vana in his travelogue. This region has been regarded as the land near Jageshvar. He has referred to the Brahmpur kingdom on the bank of Bhagirathi as well. The foundations of Brahmpur have been stated thus in *Markandeya Purana* :- Vanrashtra to one side and Ek pad Khas Desh and Swarna Bhumi provinces to the other. The Vanrashtra has been regarded as the regions of Kalsi and Jaunsar Bhabar by the banks of Yamuna. The Aika tribe belongs to Nepal. They are considered to be alike the Kirats. Swarna Bhumi is the name of Tibet. As such Atkinson says that Khas Desh can not be any other region here than Kumaun.

The people of the Vedic Age were not so much conversant (acquainted) with the Kumaun region as the Aryans of the Pauranic

Age but this much can be emphatically said that these hill regions have been regarded to be sacred and spirited from the very ancient times. Although the Vedic Aryans considered these hill people somewhat inferior in the matter of caste and creed, they were in no way less to these Vedic Aryans in civilization. They may be less spiritual but were too experts in statesmanship. They lived in forts and fortified cities. They were conversant with the use of metals and fought with arms.

The history of the Khas tribe is very vast. At one time it was very powerful in northern India. The name of the daughter of Yaksha is Usha in *Vishnu Purana*. She was the wife of Kashyap and the mother of Daksha and the demons. The western scholars have regarded the Yakshas as Khasas. In the *Puranas* the demons, Yakshas and Nagas all have been considered to be the attendants on the Sun. It is just possible that they may have been sun-worshippers. The Yakshas, demons and Nags were in existence at the time of the churning of the ocean. The king of the Yakshas was Kuber and he lived in Kailas. The Yakshas have been called rustic also. Atkinson writes, "Earlier the Khasas lived along with the Arattas and Vasatis. So the Khasas or Yakshas may have been living somewhere in Punjab. The Yakshas built huge Chaityas (buildings or cenotaphs) during the reign of Ashoka. They enlisted themselves in the army also. It has been stated in *Deep Vansha* that the Yakshas were initiated into the Hindu religion at Him Vana.

In *Vayu Purana* we find, "Khas was a tribe whom king Sagar wanted to annihilate but it was saved by the grace of Vashishtha. Manu has stated the Khasas to be more fallen and inferior Kshatriyas than the Aryan tribe. In *Markandeya Purana* the Khasas have been stated to be dwelling in the region between Ekpad Nepal and Swarna Bhumi."

"In *Mahabharat* it has been stated that the Khasas brought Pipilika (ant-sized moluculus) gold from Swarna Bhumi for Yudhishtir."

"The words Khas and Khoh (cave) have been widely prevalent in almost all the provinces of Asia. The Khokin, Khoas, Khoaspes and other rivers are the denoting symbols of the Khas tribe. The names Hindukush and Kashkara are also said to be related to the Khas tribe."

Colonel Wilford has in one of his articles stated the habitats of the Khas tribe to be scattered from Kashgar, Kashmir and Kumaun to the Khasia hills. Hirotodus has described a certain *Kisia* country and Straibo too has stated the name of Susa province as Kisi Aee. It is said that the Khasiya caste people were in the army of Dara. The Caucasus and Kashiyan mountains referred to by Pliny and Ptolemy are said to be connected with this tribe. The Caucasus mountain has been described as being extended from Kashmir to the river Oxus. The eastern country beyond that has been described as Kashiyan hills by the ancient writers.

In some old documents of Ceylon the people who were defeated by Ashoka, the Khas tribe is also included. The research scholar of Tibetan language Sri Tara Nath has described that event in the words :- "In Champaran Kingdom ruled by the Kuru caste there was a king of the Surya (Sun) clan named Nemit. He had 6 sons from married wives. Besides this, he had a son from a Vaishya wife. The king gave Pataliputra as a reward to this son because he had secured victory over the Nepalese and other hill people of the Khas kingdom." Here the Nepalese kingdom too has been described to be under the subjection of the Khas clan.

The description of the Khas clan is obtained at many places in *Rajatarangini* by the Kashmiri scholar, Kalhan Pandit. It has been stated there that king Jalodbhava subdued (suppressed) the Shaka, Khas, Tangan, Madhav and other clans. During the reign of King Mihirkul, the Darad, Bhotia and other barbarian castes lived in Kashmir while the Khas tribe resided in Narpur. The Khas king forced the king of Kashmir, Kshem Gupta to concede his 46 villages to him. The paramour of the Kashmiri queen Didda was a Khas. His name was Phalgun. He was the sharer (claimant) of Khasalaya province in Kashmir which was situated in the Khalsal valley. He lived in the forest lodge. The Khasas lived in the Vislata province also. They were very brave and once they killed the commander-in-chief of the king. The people of hill states in the vicinity called Kashmiris as Kashiru. Probably the name Kashmir may have been given because of these Kashirus or Khashirus, although some Kashmiri scholars say too that the sage Kashyap established the Kashmir province.

In *Harivansha* it is stated that when Parshuram determined to annihilate the Kshatriyas, the Khasas who lived in the plains fled to the hills. Many of them migrated to Jaldesh and hid in the valleys of the hills. From these articles it is explicit that the Khas tribe had been living in Kashmir province from very old times. Atkinson says, "The Khas tribe was driven from the plains to Himalaya mountains in the north and to Vindhya-chal hills in the south, but they are so abundant in Kumaun as nowhere else. The Kunaitis of Kulu are still divided into two classes—Khasiyas and Raos, but the Khas people are mostly abundant in Garhwal, Kumaun and Nepal. It is said that people of this clan are also found in Vindhya-chal and Bikaner. They are called Khasas and many of them are Musalmans too.

Colonel Todd, the author of *History of Rajasthan* states the Khosa caste to be a branch of the Sehrai. Mr. Hume, the author of *Sindh Gazetteer* says that the dialect of the Khas caste in Kumaun somewhat resembles the Hindi of Rajputana. He states that this dialect is quite different from that which is spoken in Rohilkhand and the plains of the Ganges. He says that Khosas or the Khas people are also found in Sind, Thar, the forest settlements of Parkar and Baluchistan also. They are in preponderance in Bakkhar and Shikarpur but there they are Musalmans. The Khas caste is also said to be found in Chhota Nagpur and Orissa. This writer had an occasion to live in Sarguja state in Chhota Nagpur. The dialect of the hill people somewhat resembles the Kumauni dialect, although there is some touch of Bihari dialect also but the main dialect appears to be one.

Mr. Atkinson says that wherever the people of Khas caste have been found from Kashmir to Nepal, they resemble the Khas caste of Kumaun and the description they give about themselves is almost the same to a great extent. They state that they were Rajputs but they had to go to such places by the decree of fate that they could not follow the tenets of Kshatriya or Hindu religion fully. As such they were considered somewhat inferior to the Rajputs in society. The Khasas of Nepal have mostly intermixed with the Gorkhas, but the Khasas of Kumaun are quite identical to the Aryans. There is no difference between them and the Aryans. This fact has been mentioned and accepted by almost all the writers. The educated Rajputs of the Khas clan are in no way less than the Aryans. The dialect of the Khasas of Kumaun is but a variation of Hindi. It can

in no way be designated as a foreign language. In Tibet there is a marked difference between the Shaka and Khas Caste. Some difference in qualities, action and nature is discernible by residing in different countries and regions but it can be undubitably stated that the Khasas of Kumaun are Hindus in every way. Their language, rites, customs and religion is akin to that of the Aryans in many respects. Only a few rites and customs differ. Their influence can also be seen on the Bhotiyas of Bhot. They too are freely accepting and adopting Hindu thought and manner by leaving those of Tibet.

It has been previously said that the Kashgar province has been given its name by the Khas tribe. This includes the princely states of Chitral, Mason and Mastooj. Their rulers are of the Kataur family. For this reason two scholars, Mr. Thomas and Sir Henry Elliot have identified the Katyuri kings with this Kataur clan and have tried to prove the Katyuri rulers, to of the Khas tribe. The proofs presented by Elliot seem to be really very convincing. He states that the Kataur clan ruled over Kabul from the 8th century. In Kumaun too the capital of the Katyuris was shifted from Joshimath at about the same time. *Jamiyat Tawarikh* states, "Kanak ascended the throne after Vasudevo. He was the last among the Indian emperors ruling over Kabul and belonged to the Kayoraman clan."

He further states that the genealogy of the Garhwal kings starts with Kanak or Kank. The genealogy of the Katyuri kings in Joshimath begins with king Vasudeo. By connecting these facts Sir Henry Elliot has come to the conclusion that the Kataurs of Kabul and Katyuris of Kumaun were one and the same. The Hindu king Kanak of Kabul had a Brahmin minister, Kalar. He killed the king and established his own dynasty. Alberuni describes the Kator dynasty of Kabul as belonging to the Turk tribe. So if we accept the decision of Elliot to be correct we will have to regard the Katyuri dynasty to be of the Turk clan and if the Katyuris are taken to be of the Khas tribe, we get information about many universal monarchs in the Khas clan.

But all these are mere conjectures. The fact is universally prevelant that the Katyuri kings are the Kshatriyas of the Sun clan of Ayodhya. Their language was neither Turk nor Khas but Sanskrit. Their copper-plates were in Sanskrit. They have

proclaimed themselves to be Aryans by descent. It is in no way impossible that kings Vasudeo and Kanak reigned in Kumaun and in Kabul at the same time. The Katyuri kings were Suryavanshis (of solar dynasty) and had migrated from Ayodhya. Their dominion extended upto Kabul. It will be no surprise if they had been rulers of Kabul at some time. Elliot has put forth these arguments also that the Katyuri kings were sun-worshippers. The idol of sun was engraved on their coins and these were the royal symbols of the kings of Kashmir and Kabul also. I am not prepared to accept the theory that the Katyuri kings were of either Turk or Khas clan. They may have been rulers of the Khas tribe, but they themselves belonged to the Vedic Aryan clan. The Katyuris have deemed the Khas tribe to be one among their subjects. (Refer to the chapter on Katyuri reign).

McCordle says that Ptolemy has written that the Kashiya province was in the vicinity of river Oxus and the Khas tribe has continued to live in the Himalayan region from very ancient times.

Emperor Babar too has described the Khas tribe to be living in Khoh and Kashgar; Kashgar has been described as Khasgiri in Sanskrit. The word Khasaghari occurs in Zend Avesta.

Sir A. Bryne writes in his book *Sects and Castes*, 'In Nepal the Khasas after Rajputs, then Gurangs, then Magars and finally Sunwars are counted superior. The Khas caste of Nepal is wholly Hindu. He has stated in his *Tribes and Castes in Punjab* "In Punjab the Khasas of the hilly regions are called Kunaits. There are two sub-caste- Rahu and Karan too there. The Khasas marry their girls but do not give their own daughters to them in marriage. There are merely two castes in them—priests and Kshatriyas."

Mr. Croke writes, "The Khasas were of Aryan caste. The later Aryans drove them to the hills. The Khas Rajputs of Kumaun are their successors. They call themselves as Rajputs who were degraded in the eyes of people for reason of not complying with the higher traditions of the Aryan religion. For reason of their being different from the Aryan castes of the plains a marked difference was discernible in their religious behaviour and thoughts, but now due to the facility of means of communication they have again started to know and accept the tenets of the Hindu religion."

Mr. Croke further writes that the Khas people of Nepal are the best followers of the Hindu religion. There are army officers also from among them.

Mr. Kirkpatrick, the historian of Nepal, too has described them to be of a powerful caste while referring to the Khas caste.

The deputy commissioner of Almora, Mr. Sherring, writes, "Most people of Almora and Garhwal districts are of the Khas caste and they speak such Hindi which resembled the language of Rajputana. The derivation of the words *Khas* and *Kho* is from Khafini, Khoas, Khoasapes and other rivers of Kabul and the Greek scholars have referred to this fact and is also found in words such as Hindukush, Kashgara (Khashgiri), Kashmir (Khashmir).

The Khasas are Aryans and are a part of that gigantic tribe which migrated to India in the Vedic period and spread over the banks of Ganga and elsewhere. Some derogatory words have been used for them in the Hindu scriptures because they did not accept that caste based religion propagated by the Brahmins and deemed proper by the scriptures. They are as much Hindus as their fellow countrymen are and are trying to fully comply with the customs, rites and manners of the people migrating from the plains to eradicate the despicable behaviour towards them.

"A strange fact about the Khas tribe is that it is found in all the parts of India. They are Buddhists at some places, Musalmans somewhere and Hindus elsewhere."

Reverend Oakley writes about the Khas tribe in his *Holy Himalayas*, "The origin of the Khas caste of Kumaun can be derived from that caste which had Aryan or Scythian blood in its nerves and was at one time prominent in north-western India but later its strength was broken. Among their progeny are some Musalmans in the north east and the Buddhists in Nepal and Assam. They have forgotten their origin because of living along with the Hindus in Kumaun. The rulers of Khas caste in Kumaun were of the Katyur dynasty and in Kabul too their rulers were of Katyura or Kator clan. They ruled over the Kho or Khosha tribe there. They are still the main inhabitants of Chitral, Kashgar, Kashmir and Hindukush and the original home of the Khas caste too is stated to be there."

Dr. Rai Pati Ram Bahadur writes, "Earlier the Khasas were in abundance in Garhwal and Kumaun. An old heresay is केदार खस मंडले

(Kedar is in the Khas region)". Now many of them are like the Kahatriyas. Further he writes in his loyal tone, "Two thousand or more Kshasiyas of Kumaun and Garhwal have gone up on the ladder of the Khatriya caste. The British race and western education has helped them a lot in this. Now the Brahmins, who had recognised them inferior to the Kshatriya class, have given them the sacred thread. At present the number of many sub-castes has risen due to including the Khasiyas among themselves."

Rai Bahadur Pt. Dharmanand Joshi writes, "The pure Kshatriya race is not present in Garhwal, but many families claim themselves to be of Kshatriya descent as Bartwal, Aswa Kunwar, Jhinkan, Phanswan, Sajwan, Rawat, Bisht, Negi, Gusain, Bhandari etc. Besides these Kshatriyas and above quoted Rajputs there are some Khasiyas who are the successors of old races, but are not of Kshatriya blood. Their position is higher than that of the Doms. They are generally counted among the Rajputs. They are simple and truthful. They are very powerful."

Francis Hamilton writes in his book *Kingdom of Nepal*, "The western country lying between Nepal and Kashmir where the present rulers have extended their kingdom has been recognised as the Khas country and the inhabitants there were called Khasiyas. This caste is considered somewhat inferior to the Rajputs." He further states, "The Kirats are called Kichak also in Kumaun and Nepal. The Nepal dialect is called Parvati and that of the west, Khas. The offspring of Brahmins from women of low caste is called Khattri in Nepal in spite of being of the Khas caste. Thapa, Gharati, Karki, Maji, Basnat, Bisht, Rana, Khadkas belong to the Khas caste but they wear the sacred thread and live like the Kshatriyas or Khattries. They are officers in the army. Bhimsen and Amar Singh Thapa, who held the post of *kazi* in Kumaun during the reign of the Nepalese, were of the Khas caste. Thapas are of two kinds (1) Khas (2) Rangu; Gharatis too are of two kinds—(1) Khas, (2) Bhujal. In kings too there are two classes—(1) Khas, (2) Magar. The Manjhis and Dhiwars (sailors and fisherman) were too Khasas who were converted to Hinduism. The people of Kumaun and Nepal were called Khasiyas and plain dwellers, but the migrants from plains oppose this theory."

It is evident from the above records that the Khas caste was very powerful. It spread throughout the whole of northern India

after migrating from Asia Minor. Some scholars hold the view that the Khas caste was scattered from Khasgiri to the Khasia hills of Assam, but from a perusal of *The Khasis* by Major Gordon it appears that the Khasi caste of Assam differs from the Khas caste. He writes that Robert Lindsay calls them Tartars but they are Indo-Chinese.

This tribe was very furious and war-like. This was of the Aryan race but it is said that it had migrated to India in the pre-Vedic period. Dr. Laxmi Datt Joshi has proved in his book *The Khasa Family Law* that the Khasas are of the Aryan race, but they came prior to the *Vedas* or the formation of the Vedic rites. The old people of the Khas caste were the followers of a different religion. It is possible that they may not have followed the Vedic religion at the time of its inception and becoming enraged would have migrated to India before the Aryans. The proof of this is the prevalence of the following rites in this caste which did not exist in the Vedic Aryans :-

(1) Ghar Jawain, (2) Jethon, (3) Jhantela, (4) Sautiya Bant, and (5) Tekuwa.

(1) (a) *Ghar Jawain* : Sometimes a person keeps his son-in-law in his own home, after or without marriage. The girl has right over the property, not the son, unless there is a special deed of gift. A widow can also keep a *ghar jawain*, but she can not bequeath the ancestral property to him without the concurrence of the successors.

(b) The rights of the real and the less real are equal.

(2) *Jethon* : In some places the elder brother receives some extra share at the time of the division of property. This is called *jethon*.

(3) *Jhantela* :- If a woman, having a son from her former husband, goes to the house of another husband, the children from the previous husband are called *Jhantela*. Their share is equal, be they real or less real.

(4) *Sautiya Bant* :- In some places it was the custom that in place of distributing the property equally among the sons, the property was equally distributed among all the wives of the person, called co-wives. This custom is not prevalent now.

(5) *Tekuwa* : A certain lady (especially a widow) keeps a man in her house, with or without any rite. The family will not progress with this man, but according to the *gotra* of the previous husband of the woman. The children of this *Tekuwa* will get the rights, but the *Tekuwa* will have no other right over the property besides food, clothes etc.

Some communities keep a married woman or a widow, whatever she may be, in their homes without any marriage ceremony.

Dr. Laxmi Datt Joshi has given a detailed description of these customs of the non-Aryans before the *Vedas* in his book *Khasa Family Law* with his luminous intelligence and skilled research ability. He has enumerated the followers of these customs as of *khas* caste for reason of their not being in the *Mitakshara law* (code).

The aforesaid facts have been compiled from Stowell's Manual, Panna Lal System and the *Khasa Family Law*. Dr. Joshi has given a table on Pages 49-50 in which he has enumerated the differences between the *Khas* caste and *Mitakshari Hindus* thus :

<i>Khas</i>	<i>Mitakshari Hindu</i>
1. A paramour can be kept. The widow of brother taken as wife.	1. Paramour (<i>Tekuwa</i>) is not kept, nor is widow marriage prevalent.
2. Woman is mostly purchased. For this money is given.	2. Marriage is regarded as a sacred ceremony. No money is given for a wife.
3. Marriage can be performed even without religious ceremonies.	3. <i>Kanyadan</i> (bestowing of girl) and <i>Anchal</i> (touching border of cloth) is necessary.
4. The marriage-tie can be broken.	4. Marriage bond is unbreakable. The custom of <i>talaq</i> (divorce) is not prevalent.

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|--|--|
| 5. Dhanti marriage (keep-ing of a concubine) is legal. | 5. <i>Dhanti</i> marriage is considered as improper. |
| 6. The wearing of sacred thread is not necessary. | 6. Wearing of sacred thread is obligatory. |

Dr. Panna Lal, has narrated the following communities as followers of the Mitakshara code in his system :—

(1) *Brahmins*

Awasthi	— of Askot
Bhatt	— of Bishad
Bisht	— of Gangoli
Joshi	— Cheenakhan, Daniya, Galli. Jhijhad, Lataula, Makidi, Masmola, Pokhari and of Silwal group.
Karnatak	— of Kardia Khola
Pande	— Badkhoda, Dewaliya, Manolia, Palyun, Patiya and of Simaltia group.
Pant	— Sharam, Shrinath, Nathu, Bhaudas and of Parashar gotras.
Tewari	— All real descendants of Shri Chand Tewari.
Upreti	— of Almora
Vaidya or Misra	— of Divdiya

(2) *Kshatriya*

The real descendants of the family of the Raja of Kashipur. Raja Anand Singh, scion of the Chand Kings. Kunwar Rai Singh Chand, Thokdar of Jiwi Sor and his real descendants. All Rajbars.

(3) *Vaishyas*

The Vaishyas of all births.

This list does not appear to be correct. There is great room for difference of opinion in this. There would be many other families besides these above mentioned high class families, governed by the Mitakshara Code. In Kumaun there are several other from the real families of Rajputs, who will be described later. Atkinson and other English authors say that they too have established marital relations with the people of the Khas caste. As such they too were included in

the Khas caste, but this will not be applied to those Rajputs who bring brides in the form of *dola* (a close litter) from other Rajput homes but do not give their daughters in marriage to them. They are taken to be Vaishyas.

Both the British and Indian authors have stated the major population of Kumaun to be of Khas caste but now it is very difficult to proclaim or negate a particular caste to be Khas. Atkinson says, "Many educated persons are enraged on being called Khas or Khasiya. The rich proclaim themselves as Rajput or Thakur. In 1872 census 1,24,383 people called themselves to be of Khas caste. In 1881 Khasiyas and Khas Rajputs were all enumerated in the Rajput category."

It is also said that previously the Khas caste did not have the sacred thread. During the Chand regime Khas people too were made Rajput by being given the sacred thread of three strings to wear. Many of the Khas Rajputs do not wear the sacred thread.

Manu too has regarded the Khas caste to be Kshatriya but has pronounced them as *brishals* Vide : *Manusamriti*, chapter X.

शनकैस्तु क्रियालोपादिमाः क्षत्रियजातयः ।

वृषलत्वं गता लोके ब्राहमणादशनिन च ।।४३।।

पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्रविडाः काम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।

पारदापह्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ।।४४।।

Substance—These Kshatriyas and sundry castes were degraded to *Shudrattva* by the Brahmins by effacement of *Yajnopavit*, activities (taking of vow ceremony) and the disappearance of the performance of *Yajna*, teaching and non-observance of other religious rites :- Pondrak, Aundra, Dravida, Kamboj, Yavan, Shaka, Parad, Apalhava, Cheen, Kirat, Darad and Khas.

Manu has shown that the Khas people too were Rajputs or Kshatriyas who were regarded to be of low grade for breaking the caste regulations. They did not conform to the Aryan religion. So they were designated as Brishals. Some people opine that Khasiya is not a separate caste but they were Rajputs. They were called Khasiyas or Khas Rajputs for having slipped or fallen down from the row of Rajputs.

The modern writers are of the opinion that these castes settled in India after migrating from elsewhere, but according to the Puranic view they lived in the different islands of India. They were regarded as high or low according to their qualities, actions and nature.

Some people include the Khas caste among the aboriginals of Kumaun, but this is not correct. It would have been evident from the aforesaid historical research as to wherefrom the Khas tribe migrated. They came from the same place, whereas the Aryans subjugated the aboriginal *Doms* here after defeating them. Actually they were the elders of the Aryans as they had migrated here earlier.

The form and appearance of the Khas people is just like the Aryans, because they themselves are of the Aryan race. There is no difference in the outward appearance of the people coming from the plains and the Khas caste of northern India. Both Atkinson and Reverend Oakley have said, "The Khas people of Kumaun resemble the Aryans in appearance. Their language often resembles Hindi. In Garhwal and Nepal there has been some admixture of Mughal blood in them, but in Kumaun it is less discernible." Except for Northern India there is very less difference between the Khasas and Aryans. The Khasas are a bit dwarfish but in the hills the number of tall people is scant.

The people of the Khas caste are truthful and honest, though they too may have become cunning now with the facilities of roads and their connection with the cunning people of the plains. Their truth and honesty is indisputable in the villages. They prove to be brave on getting an able leader. Their bravery has been acknowledged in the armies during all the Katyuri, Chand, Gorkha and British regimes. There have been many brave soldiers among them. Their stories are sung hither and thither. The Khas rulers have been very proficient in hatching *Chalas* (revolts) and making stealthy attacks.

I have compiled whatever the ancient and modern historians have written about this great and brave tribe so that the people in general may know which writer has written what about them, though the government gazette and writers have used the word *Khasiya* for them. No one is called *Khasiya* in the common Kumauni dialect. The people of the Khas caste are called *zamindar*

(land owners). They are called *padhans* because they have been taken to be the *thatwans* (trustees) of the land. It is the result of their labour that they converted the entire land of Kumaun into green pastures and productive fields. The wielders of pen and those proud of holding posts in the royal court may write whatever they like about the conquered race, but we will affirm undoubtedly that the Khas caste was once very powerful whether they may have migrated before the writing of the *Vedas* or *Puranas* or may not be conforming to the theories of the Aryans. Their influence was felt from Kabul to the Khasia hills. They ruled over Kumaun too for 260 years. Their zonal kingdom was still more extensive. They lived in forts and were divided into small principalities. There was sufficient love of kingship among them. At present there is very little difference between them and the Rajputs because they act just in the same way as the Rajputs do. They are now almost all becoming educated and have been adopting good manners and customs by pride on the feelings of self-respect, civilization and virtuous conduct.

It is written in canto II chapter IV of *Shrimad Bhagvat*

किरातहूणांधपुत्तिन्दफल्कसा आमीरकंकायवनाः खसादयः ।
येऽन्ये च पापा यदुपाश्रयाभयः शुद्ध्यन्ति तस्मै प्रयविष्णवे नमः ॥

All the castes attain salvation even if they may be devoid of sacraments by veneration and worship of God.

Tulsidas also has said

स्वपच सबर खस जमन जड़ पाँवर कोल किरात
राम कहत पावन परम होत भुवन विख्यात ॥

Even the low castes like Shabar, Khas, Yavan, Jad, Kol, Kirat and many others become very pious and universally known by chanting the name of Lord Ram.

The history of the Khas caste here is full of chivalry. The Chand kings too elevated them to the rank of *dvij* (twice-born) Rajputs by *Yagvopavit Sanskar* (wearing of sacred thread ceremony). These people follow the Hindu religion in every way. Like the Hindus they take their food by putting off the clothes. They worship the Hindu god and goddesses along with the village (local) deities. It's not mere imagination but a firm belief that this

caste will again become powerful by education, civilisation and good behaviour.

10. Tharus

The people of this tribe have been living in the Terai of Kumaun and Nepal from very old times. They are the only people who have subdued the malaria of Tarai. They are afraid of going to the plains for fear of the heat. They have subdued the adverse climate of the Tarai. The Tarai would not have been so populous if they and their brother Boksas would not have settled here. They are merry and whimsical people. They are cheerful and good natured people. They are very hospitable. Their women folk regard the males as inferior to themselves. They do not allow the males to enter the kitchen. They serve food for them outside. They call the husband to be of less breed and claim royal descent for themselves. Mr Elliot states, "The Tharus claim to have migrated from Chittor. They are very much afraid of ghosts and spirits. They close the doors of their homes as soon as it is dark and open it only in case of hearing about a fire being burst. He does not even walk over a pile of vegetation without throwing a leaf, stone or twig in it. The people of the plains describe them as sorcerers. They help in elephant chase." Mr. Croke says, "There appears to be Mughal and Dravidian blood in their veins. We can not vouch for the Dravidian but can affirm the presence of Mughal blood in them."

The Tharus mostly live from Tehsil Kichcha to the banks of river Sharda in the Nainital Terai though on the other side they dwell in the Nepal terai also. In Kumaun they live in Kichcha, Khatima, Rampur, Satarganj, Kilpuri, Nanakmata, Chandani, Banbasa and other places. Their region is called Bilari. In the south they are found up to Majhola and not beyond.

The *gotra* or family among them is called Kuri. These Kuris are prominent among them—1. Badawayak. 2. Battha, 3. Rawat, 4. Vrittiya, 5. Mahto and 6. Dahait.

The Badwayaks are considered superior among them. There is a proverb "बढ़ गये तो बड़वायक, नहीं तो यादू के थादू" "Badwayaks, if gained superiority, otherwise mere Tharus." The Badwayaks are a sort of *thokdars* (big land owners). Some of them are big landlords. They keep elephants also. They perform *panchayats* among them,

make alliances or expunge ex-communication proceedings. There are two other *Kuris*, viz :—

(1) *Sausa Kuri* : They are Tharus actually but considered a bit inferior as they extract oil.

(2) *Gusain Giri or Girinama* : They are like the Tharus and live among them. They do not marry among them, though they may entice each other's wife. It is said about them that they were called *Girinama* as they fell in battle. Those who fled or hid under the corpses were considered inferior to them.

The Rawats call themselves as the Panwars of Dharanagari. They are called *Dhangda* also. They do not eat rice cooked by the Tharus but are like them.

(3) *Gadaura* : They wear the sacred thread. They are shepherds and are called *Thakurs* also. They do not marry even among the *Dhangdas* and *Rawats* but entice each other's wife.

The Tharus themselves are unclean and dirty, take bath or wash clothes rarely but keep their homes and courtyards clean. They keep them neat by smudging and besmearing. The cow-shed also is kept clean. They clean it every day. The cow shed is called *Shal*. Every house has an assembly hall which should be called a guest-house. This is their drawing room also. They do not allow any one to enter their house.

The place for storing grain is called *Kotiya*. An airy, basket-like thing made of bamboo to keep *ghuiyan* is called *bakhari*. The place for keeping water-pots is called *Ata*. Clay pitchers, brass-jars and mugs, tumblers etc, are kept clean and placed here with lids. They do not allow anyone to touch them. In the event of anyone touching them, they break the earthen pitchers and clean the brass utensils with mud or clay. There is a separate place for keeping straw and is called *bhusandi*. Women are called *bayyarbani*, girls *lalli* and boys *launda*. So long as it is known they do not marry among relatives but there is no abstinence or prohibition. They build their houses themselves and do all their errands themselves.

They have some brahmins from the plains, while some of them have hill priests also, but they do not get any other work done by them except recitation of a religious discourse. On bearing a son,

the woman is purified in 6 days but they do not observe any rite of the 6th day or *namkarma* (naming ceremony) on 11th day. They give whatever name they like to the son or daughter. They do not observe any defilement or contagion during the menstrual period of a woman. The woman does all the errands during these days, only she unties the hair of her head. There is no usage of *Vratbandha* (taking of vow) or *Janeoo* (sacred thread) among them. They only keep *chutiya*. Some of them now wear the sacred thread and remove it also. Marriages are settled during childhood by the parents. There are four modes of marriage—(1) *Apna paraya* (2) *Bat Kahi*. (3) *Vivah* and (4) *Chala*.

(1) *Apna paraya* (own and alien) is betrothal—In it the bridegroom's people carry a lump of molasses or sweets and some fish to the house of the girl. If the bride's people accept it, the marriage is settled by pronouncing *Ram Ram Samadhi* before the father-in-law of the son. Molasses is distributed then.

(2) *Bat Kahi* (narrating of talk)—When the boy and girl grow up, the bridegroom's people go to the house 5-10 days before the marriage and settle or fix the date. On this day also sweets, *peda* or *gud* (molasses) is distributed. Wine is also drunk. This will happen on a Sunday or Thursday. It is called *Pichhauncha* also.

(3) *Vivah* (marriage)—The marriage is performed mostly in the month of *Magh* (January-February) or on *Phulaura duj* (second lunar day of *Phul* or flower *sankranti*). It is held on Sunday or Tuesday. The marriage procession proceeds. No gods or goddesses are worshipped, neither any brahmin is called. Five clothes, fish, curds and a pitcher of water is kept in a basket. Above the pitcher a lamp is placed. This is kept in the house of the bride. The man and the woman circumambulate 7 times around this lamp. After marriage the girl goes to the house of the bridegroom and then returns back.

(4) *Chala* (movement)—Two or three months later the bride goes to the house of the bridegroom in the month of *Chait* (March-April) and *Vaishakh* (May-June). This is called *Chala*.

These people do not partake food from the brahmins. Out of reverence they give their daughters to them in marriage. They say that they do not acknowledge *Veda* or *Purana*, (any rubbish in their

dialect). The betrothal is held in very young age but the marriage is performed in advanced age. In the case of any disharmony, the marriage tie is even revoked.

The Tharus do not know theft or dacoity. They are simple and honest but very adept in enticing women away. They do not look at adultery with contempt. As such there is less debauchery, though a woman sometime goes to even 15-20 houses. The Tharu women do not elope or indulge in adultery with any other person than a Tharu.

Though the Tharus worship ghosts and spirits, yet they are *shaktas* (worshippers of Devi) also. They worship Shiva also but only on one day *i.e.* *Shivaratri*. They keep fast on that day and go to the fair of the nearby temple. They partake of fruits on this day. On *Kartiki Purnamasi* (full moon of *Kartik* or October-November), they go to Melaghat of river Sharda for a holy bath.

The Tharus worship their elders. On the terrace near every Tharu house a god is established. It is called Kalika, Nagaryai, Devi, Bhuiyan, or Budhe Baba. They offer coconut, goat, hen, wine and pig to it. The pig is mostly offered to the Budhe Baba. They worship these village deities in the month of *Magh* or *Ashadh*.

The Tharus do not perform *Jagar* but get *Ganat* (divine calculation) done. The god descends on them but *Jagar* is not performed. The *Bharade* gets some customary remuneration.

They denote their salutation by chanting *Ram-Ram* mutually. The younger women touch the feet of elders. The brahmin is called *bamana* and he also receives salutation in the form of prostration. *Saro* (brother-in-law) and *Sasur* (father-in-law) is their favourite talk. They address everyone as *Saro*. The women say *Natiya* or *Lago*.

They let the creepers of pumpkin, *petha* (gourd) and lentil go up on the roof.

When available, the Tharus drink wine excessively. They smoke tobacco almost every time. They prepare it at home. They love hen, egg, wine, meat and fish. Previously they used to rear hens in plenty. Now the usage or practice has diminished. They are very fond of pork. They consume milk and curds less. Even the children are given rice-gruel or scum in place of milk. If someone drinks

milk, is of the buffalo. *Ghee* (clarified butter) is also used less. Ample use is made of oil, pepper, onion and garlic. Some Tharus have 300 to 400 cows but they are left in the forest. They become wild and are caught with difficulty by rounding them, throwing ropes or nets. They do not care to drink milk but want that the race of oxen should grow rapidly and they may get facility in agriculture. They call the pastures and meadows, *Gaudi*.

They hunt wild animals with *khobar* which is a strange net of ropes. There are many ways of catching fish. They kill them with net, *dhinwari*, *godri* etc. The net is made with string, *diwari* and *godri* with the bark of bamboo. The Tharu is very fond of fish, rice and wine.

The Tharus do nothing during the Dussehra or Diwali festivals, but they observe Holi with gaeity. They start singing Holi from the *Purnamasi* (full moon) of the month of *Magh*. From *Phalgun* they sing it in the day. They observe *Dhulendi* (first day of the month of *Chaitra*) eight days after the Hindus do it. They sing Holi upto that time. Men and women both dance and drink wine immensely. Men and women dance together too. They dance in circle one man followed by a woman alternately. This is called *Khichdi* (composite) dance or Holi. Banjara Holi is sung mostly. Wearing one *bhiguli*, one turban and peacock-feather they dance in tune and rhyme.

There is a singing and dancing boy in every village, who dances in the guise of a woman and is called *Nachaniya*. He gets some customary money too from the village. The dance of these people somewhat resembles with those of the Nepalese.

Almost all their disputes are settled in the *panchayat*. The *padhan* is highly honoured. The *padhan's* assistant is called *bhale-manus* (gentleman). Earlier he used to get 8 *annas* per *bigha* as *dasturi* (honorarium). This is now stopped. The *padhan* gets 10 per cent from the land-revenue, and the tenants of the village help him in his personal cultivation. There is ample land in Tarai, as much as one can plough. Bumper crops are grown. Rice of many kinds is grown in plenty. Hansraj and Basmati are superior kinds of rice. Wheat, gram and lentil too is grown in abundance. Per *bigha* product of paddy is 7 *maunds*, of wheat 3-4 *maunds* and of lentil and

gram upto 4-5 maunds. Revenue is fixed after measuring the produce. The land revenue is from 7 *annas* to 1 rupee per *bigha*. Every Tharu ploughs 50-60 and sometimes upto 100 *bighas*. They plough every field 7-8 times and cultivate it by rotation.

The Tharu is a whimsical or care-free person. He is the king of the Terai and forest. He does not care for the coming day. If a Tharu becomes poor, he goes into the employ of his brother. The wealthy merchants and the money-lenders, taking advantage of his simplicity, plunder him a lot. All kinds of vendors reach their homes. The Ollis of Kumaun are mostly their money-lenders. They extract interest at the rate of Rs. 2 per month, per cent. They owe the debts from the time of their fore-fathers. The poor Tharu can not repay it. He gets tired in paying off bare interest, but, being honest, never negates it. The money-lenders even exact compound interest.

The government has now opened some co-operative banks with the capital of the Tharus. In it 8 *annas* per cent interest is granted on deposits and 1 rupee per cent is taken on loans. Recovery is made very harshly. Sometimes even the bullocks, utensils and the cattle are put to auction.

Now the Tharus are getting educated to some degree. Some Tharus have become teachers or priests, *patwari* and *peshkar* even. But there is very much illiteracy even now. The Tharu grows much produce but at the same time he is a care-free person. On getting opportunity he also rollicks immensely. When he smokes tobacco sitting in his courtyard, he deems himself to be the emperor of the world. If some one does not speak properly to him, he does not care a fig about him.

The men wear a long tunic, shirt, *dhoti* and cap or turban but the females are very fond of jewellery and rosaries. They put on *hansuli* (collar-bone ornament or necklace) and the rosary made of 2, 4, 8 *annas* or rupee coins. They have *chutta* on their heads and on the nose a ring of gold. Their garments are petti-coat or gown, mantle and bodice or chemise which are of black colour.

Though the *begar* (forced labour) system has been eradicated from the commissionership of Kumaun, the *thanedar* (the sub-

inspector of Police) and other officials keep on taking *begar* from them. The Tharus help each other less at the time of distress. As such the governance of wicked officials, over them is much in vogue. The old British officers respected them highly but now the coloured, native officials take little notice and care of them.

They generally look like the Nepalese. There is no doubt that they are of Mughal breed. At least there is much of Mughal blood in their veins. It can not be said with what proof Mr. Croke wrote about the presence of Dravid blood in them, but they call themselves as the descendants of Rana Pratap. Mr. Batton states that the Tharus say about their being called by this name because their ancestors went from Chittorgarh in the invasion of Ceylon. There they began to tremble with fear, so they fled to the Tharus. When their kith and kin laughed at them for this, they fled to the Tarai.

The Tharu is very fond of bullocks and carts. He looks after the bullocks with great care. Every Tharu would certainly have a cart. They call the cart by various name, *viz.*, *Lehru*, *tonga*, *rahl*, *chakra*, cart etc. (The Boksas call the small cart as *raiki*). The Tharu is extremely happy when he goes to the fair with the members of his family, himself driving the cart.

11. Boksa

These people are somewhat like the Tharus. There is some description of these people in the geographical section of Kurmachal. They are found from the Terai-Bhabher area of Pilibhit district to Chandpur in the east. They are settled upto the banks of river Ganga in the west and to some degree in Dehradun also. They call themselves as Panwar Rajputs. Mr. Elliot writes about them : "Their leader Udai Jeet fought with king Jagjit of Dharanagar. Losing in the battle they settled in Banbasa by the banks of river Sharda. They say that the king of Kumaun sought his help on Udai Jeet's coming there. The Panwars were victorious in that battle. The king of Kumaun was pleased and gave them the land called Buksad in *Jagir* (rent-free grant of fief). They settled there leaving Banbasa. The Panwar Rajputs are Aryans and are Kshatriyas of famous clan. It is just possible that they would have been Panwar Rajputs at some time. But Mr. Elliot writes—"At present there are absolutely

no signs of Rajputs in them. They too appear to be of non-Aryan race. There are no traces of migrants to Kumaun in them. These people too look like the Tharus. No signs of royalty were visible in them as the persons degraded from the high castes. These people generally follow the customs and manners of low caste Hindus". There is a reference to their region in *Ain-i-Akbri* which was very vast and populous sub-division (*pargana*). There are some Sikhs too among them. Probably they may have been converted Sikhs under the influence of *Gurudwara* at Nanakmata.

These people appear to be quite ignorant and are lazy. They subsist on some cultivation and savage meat. They immensely like the meat of wild boar. For this reason they repeatedly change their rural settlements. In some places they collect forest products, but there is not any particular rule. These people neither engage themselves in any industry nor do they know about anything. These people change their habitats occasionally and repeatedly. Some times they extract gold by cleaning and weeding the sands of river Sona.

I went and met them in their villages and on enquiry they ascertained that they were Panwar Rajputs. They now refute the rumour about themselves that they were conversant with witchcraft and turned a man into an animal. The *jagarias* (propitiators of gods) say **बोगसाइ की विद्या मारूँ** (I impose the knowledge of Boksad on you) and these people ridicule at it. They say that they are ignorant of these old things. Their women-folk do not observe the *purdah* (drawing of veil) system. They worship Balsundari Devi of Kashipur. They go to Kashipur for her worship in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April) and if they have vowed to offer *minnat* (entreaty) at some time they pay a visit on other days too. They worship Shiva and Vishnu also but do not perform *Jagar* (propitiary worship). They sacrifice goat before the goddess. They do not rear hen and pigs. Like the Tharus they too consume fish in large amount. On the fishing-day the entire villages goes to the bank of river, no person can be found at home. They do not consume meat every day but when available partake of it in large quantity.

All of them keep the *chutia* but do not wear the sacred thread, though some of them have started to do so. Their *gurus* (mentors) or *purohits* (priests) are Gauda Brahmins. Thual and Chhimwal

brahmins also act as such. In marriage etc. all act are like those of the Tharus mostly. But the Tharus do not erect *mandap* (canopy), whereas they do so. The marriage is celebrated both among the highers and the lowers. They do not perform it within the same *gotra* (lineage) or among relatives. They do not enact marriage with the people of the hills. They observe the Hindu festivals. They worship *pirs* (saints), *naths* and *padhan* (Buxa god) also. They offer *puri*, *prasad* and flowers to them. They call the platform of the *pir* as *Tharap* or *Thrapna* (establishment). They do not have relations with the Tharus. The Tharu will give his *nariyal* (hubble-bubble) and tobacco to sneeze, but not its *nigali* (mouth-piece). There are no educated persons among them. They perform the *shraddha* (offering in honour of the dead) but only in the *Kanagats* (*shraddha* fortnight). The women folk dance and sing during the festivals. They are very fond of meat and wine. Some of them do not drink. The women draw pictures of elephant, peacock, horse, etc. in the houses which are called *chinha*. Their dwellings are of clay and straw.

They are very honest and truthful, and seldom speak false. they do no bear the threat or rebuke of any, be he the land-owner or the government. If someone says something in indecent language they become enraged. If the land-owner behaves harshly they all leave the village and go astray.

They generally keep the house and courtyard clean but outside, it remains dirty. They throw away the manure carelessly and deposit it outside the cow-shed, but do not put it into their fields. They live mostly in Bugsad which is situated between Kashipur and Gularbhoj. Now their number has decreased very much, only a few thousand have remained.

The dialect of the Boksas too in rural Rohilkhandi.

12. The Aryan Race

It is said that the Aryans migrated from the Caucasus mountains of Asia Minor. One branch went to Europe from there, the other migrated here. The word *Airrya* occurs in the Persian books. Hirat, Afghanistan, Khurasan and Baluchistan too were included in the Airiana province. Iraq has been called as *Aryak* also. Persia is named as Iran also. In Caucasus the name of a place is

Arioi still. The ancient name of Greece was *Argia*, and of the Herman area or zone in Germany was *Aryinas*. Ireland was formerly called *Irin*. It is just possible that wherever the Aryans have migrated from Caucasia, the corrupted form of the word 'Arya' would have been translated into the local language. The original home of the Aryans is said to be Asia Minor, though some scholars think it to be Scandinavia and the North Pole also.

The Aryans are considered to be the earliest civilised persons in the world. These people are fair-coloured, well-built and long in stature. Their forehead is raised, hair dense, nose uplifted and sharp.

The Hindukush and the Khyber Pass alone is said to be the passage of the entry of the Aryans into India, but Prof. Benafi propounded in 1840 that the Aryans lived in Tibet for some time and from thence through the passes of Kumaun and Garhwal came to Indraprastha. Many scholars not only severely criticised it but considered it to be quite opposite. Ample time and money is required for the investigation of this theory. Dr. Joshi too is the supporter of the view that the Aryan race spread in India through the Tibetan passes via Kumaun.

At one place in the *Ramayan* it has been stated that the people of north Kuru were liberal, rich, cheerful and a long-lived. It is neither much hot nor too cold here. There is no fear of disease, sorrow, fear, rain or the sun here. Some people are of the opinion that Kumaun was within the precincts of Kuru province. Some people state it to be the region from Kashmir to Kumaun.

The first settlement of the Aryans in India is said to lie from river Indus to the banks of Ganga. The *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, and later the *Ramayan*, the *Mahabharat* and the *Puranas* were composed here.

13. The Sects of Kurmachal

The people of all the four castes, viz. brhamin, kshatriya, vaishya and shudra live in Kurmachal. Whatever I could know about them is being surveyed and enumerated here. People from different provinces of India have come and settled here.

14. The Brahmin caste (group)

Many classes of brahmins are found in Kurmachal. Even 4 classes of brahmins are predominant here. The first and the second class of brahmins settled here during the reign of Katyuri and Chand Kings. In the third class there are some who have been living from the mediaeval time of the Khas Rajputs. Their manners and customs are somewhat different from the aforesaid brahmins. Some brahmins have come here from Punjab, Nepal and Garhwal also.

(a) Those brahmins are ranked as high-caste who migrated and settled here after 6th to 8th century from the Deccan or eastern India. These people were appointed as *guru* (tutors), *purohit* (priests), minister, teacher, *vaidya* (healer) astrologer, *karmkandi* (performers of religious ceremonies), reciters of *Purans*, religious hierarches etc.

(b) Some from among these very brahmins were called professional brahmins due to derogation in religious observance and behaviour, paucity of money and sometimes from degraded relations began to perform religious rites for money or took to other professions. They were called professional brahmins. They were considered a bit inferior to the brahmins of the first position and were placed in the second category. In spite of differences in matrimonial alliances, eating and drinking habits they establish marriage bonds with the high-class brahmins by dint of increase in their wealth, education and dignity or celebrity or else they both mingle. The codes of conduct and behaviour are almost the same among them. The progeny of a single original ancestor is spread here and there.

(c) Some old brahmin residents of this place who were the royal priests of the Khas Rajputs are known by the names of their villages and their occupations.

(d) There are some brahmins among whom *Karao* (system of *dhanti*), ploughing and such sundry practices are prevalent.

The description of the principal brahmin dynasties here is being given below :

Pant - Pt. Jaideo Pant of Bharadwaj gotra भारद्वाजगिरिस
 बाईस्यत्य इति त्रिः प्रवरः माध्यन्दिनी शाखा came on pilgrimage from the
 Konkan province. He visited the holy places of Gangoli also and

came here in the 10th century during the reign of the Chand kings. He also went to the *darbar* (court) of the then Mankoti king in Gangoli. He received him with honour and respect and kept him in his court. The Rikhari village was bestowed on him as a fief. Later he took the village Upretyada or Uprada from the Upretis and granted it also as a *jagir* (rent-free land). Jaideo Ji begot Ravi Deo and he Ramdeo. Ram Deoji begot Bhanu Deo, later he Shri Dhar and the son of Suri Deo was Balbhadra. Shiv Deo was the son of Balbhadra and he in turn got three sons— Damodar, Shambhu Deo and Bhanu Deo. Damodar's two sons were Sharm and Shri Nath and Bhaudev's two sons were Nathu and Vishwarup. Bhavadas was the son of Shambhu Deo. The Pants are at present divided into four families after the names of these 4 brothers : viz (1) Sharm (2) Shri Nath (3) Nathu (4) Bhav Das. The Upreti family fell in the royal eyes because of its being tyrant and all the aforesaid four brothers received esteem and honour in the Mankoti court (1) Sharm became the royal physician (2) Shri Nath, the royal tutor and spiritual guide, (3) Nathu, the reciter of the *Puranas* and (4) Bhav Das, the commander-in-chief. The first three categories do not partake of meat whereas the people of Bhavdas family do so. The king allowed them to do so on account of being in the army. Vishwarup, the younger brother of Nathu remained in favour of the Upretis, being related to them. The king and his brothers advised him to leave the company of the Upretis but Vishwarup became arrogant and did not comply with the orders of his brothers, and for reason of his obstinancy came to be called *hathwal*. Some scholars say that he started living in *hat* (market) after being extrovert with the court and as such came to be called Hatwal Pant.

The royal court of Kumaun shifted to Almora about the year 1565 A.D. The Gangawali (Gangoli) kingdom of the Mankoti kings merged with the Chand kingdom. The esteem of the Pant went on increasing in the court of the Chand rulers too. Many excellent scholars, well versed in the Shastras, eminent poets and renowned *vaidyas* (physicians) were produced by the Pant family at different times and they received several villages in the form of *Jagirs*.

Sharm Pants : The descendants of this family live in Almora, Uprada, Kunalta, Barsayat, Baraon, Jajut, Malera, Aghar, Chhakhata and Malauinj villages.

Shir Nath : In Tilari, Pandekhola and Agraun villages.

Nathu : Live in Dumalkhet, Khoont, Jyoli and Sitauti villages.

Bhav Das or Bhaudas : In Pali, Syunarakot, Garaun, Bhatgaon, Dhanauli, Khantoli etc.

The Pants are from Maharashtra region, but here they inter-marry with the Tewari, Joshi, Pande, Bhatt, Pathak castes. Their wives too can not take meat even if they may have come from any *gotra*. Their daughters can eat meat if they wish to do so in the case of being married elsewhere but it has been generally observe that the Pant girls abstain from meat.

Parashari Pants: Pt. Dinkar Rao Pant of Parashar *gotra* too had accompanied his brother-in-law, Pt. Jai Dev Pant from the south. The Mankoti king granted Jogyuda village in *Jagir* to him. His descendants live in Kalshila, Piplet, Chitgal and the other villages of Gangoli and eat meat. Some people say that their progenitor was Neelmani Pant.

Vashisth Gotri Pants: Besides these two there are some Pants of the Vashishtha *gotra* who live in Balna and Kurkoli villages. They inter-marry with the Parashar and Bhardwaj Pants and eat meat also.

Pandey (1) Mandaliya Pande: Shri Chaturbhuj Pande, Saraswat brahmin of Kharota came to Kali Kumaun along with Kunwar Som Chand. Kunwar Som Chand gave him the post of *mandaliya* (regional officer) and Manali village as *jagir* when he himself got the kingdom of Kali Kumaun. He was called by the name of Malla (upper) mandaliya. Their progeny lives in Manaji and other villages. Mandaliya means that king Som Chand was a small or minor kings of Kali Kumaun. The rulers owing allegiance to the *maharaja* of Doti were called mandaleshwar kings (rulers of principalities), therefore king Som Chand divided his small kingdom into two parts—(1) Malla (upper) mandal, (2) Talla (lower) mandal. The officials of these Mandals, who were called *kardars* then, were known as Mandaliyas.

Chaturbhuj was an official of Malla Mandal and the official of Talla Mandal, Shri Mool Deo Pande Sharma, was a Saraswat brahmin. He too had accompanied Kunwar Som Chand. The descendants of these both are now called Mandaliya *alias* Manaliya Pandes. They mostly live in Kali Kumaun. A few houses are in Almora also.

(2) Devaliya Pande (of Gautam *gotra*): Atkinson says that the Gautam *gotra* Pande came from Kangra during the reign of Thohar Chand. They live in Pande Khola, Chami, Hat and Chhachar.

Pt. Rudra Datt Pant writes that Shri Jayanti Dev Pande Sharma came to Kunwar Veer Chand in the *tarai* of Doti from west Jwalamukhi. When Veer Chand ascended the throne he appointed Pandeji as his priest and granted Deval or Dyaul villages as *jagir*. His descendents were called Devaliya or Dyaulia. They are called Bhojaks also. The Malla Mandaliya and Devaliya Pandes both are counted in the same category. Devaliya Pandes live in the villages of Dyol, Chhana, Palyun, Sangrauli, Pandekhola, Bilkot, Chhachar, Bansbhida, Jhijhar and Patiya etc.

Pt. Ram Datt Jyotirvid writes that the progenitor of the Pandes of Gautam *gotra*, Pt. Bal Raj Pande came here from Jwalamukhi in Kot Kangra. Besides the above places their descendants live in Bari and Dautai village (Garhmukteshwar).

It is engraved in the copper-plate of the Pandes of Palyun :

कल्याणचन्द्रसुतं रुद्रनरेन्द्र सूनुः ।
श्रीलक्ष्मणेन्द्र तनयेन धुरन्धरेण ।।
भूमिर्मनोरथ भगीरथ पण्डताभ्याम् ।

They were granted lands by king Rudra, Son of Kalyan Chand, his son Shri Laxmanendra and later his son Dhurandhar.

(3) Pandes of Vatsa Bhargava *gotra*: The progenitor of this *gotra* who came to Kumaun was Shri Bhrahm Pande. He came from Kangra and became the physician of king Sansar Chand. He had four sons. (1) Badri. (2) Kaldhar, (3) Dashrath, (4) Devaki Nandan.

(1) The descendants of Badri (Atkinson calls him Balmik also) lived in Nayal or Parkot. They are called Parkoti Pandes or the Pandes of Nayal. (2) The descendants of Kaldhar are *vaidyas* in Sira. (3) The family of Dashrath lives of Anupshahar and they are famous *vaidyas* (4) The family of Devaki Nandan lives in Majhera (but Atkinson says that the descendants of Dashrath lived in Majhera and the offspring of Devi Ballabh migrated to Anupshahar. All of them were the sons of Magh Pande after the fifth generation of Brahm Pande). They were the royal priests also.

(4) Simaltiya Pandes: Kashyap *gotri* Shri Harihar Pande had accompanied Raja Som Chand, so writes the late *Jyotishacharya*

Pt. Manorath Shastri, but Pt. Rudra Datt Pant has stated Shri Dhar Pande Sharma to have migrated from Kanauj. He met kunwar Veer Chand in the Tarai of Doti. He made him his *guru* (tutor) on becoming the king and gave Rasipaula village in *Jagir* which was later named Simaltiya. Later the Chand kings appointed a certain Simaltiya Pande, thinking him to be reliable, as his cook, on deception by his cooks and asked all persons to take food prepared by him. Atkinson says the derivation of the word Simaltiya or Simalatiya is from superior zone or department which means the kitchen. In his words, "They are also called Semaltiyas or Shimaltiyas from the village of that name, which is derived from Shresthamandala, the kitchen, their office being that of *rasoiya* or purveyor and cook. "They now live in the village Dholigaon, Simalta, Kumaun, Salam, Champanaula, Pachar, Chami. Bijauri, Manili etc. They were called Semaaltiya or Simaltiya Pande after Shresthmandali Pandes. Some one misguided or misinformed Atkinson that the word '*Shresth manda*' connotes the kitchen. As a matter of fact Simaltiya Pandes are from the oldest and exalted family which probably accompanied the Chand or Katyuri kings. They appear to be the first royal gurus. They are looked upon with special respect in Kali Kumaun even now.

(5) Pandes of Kashyap *gotra*: They are also called the Pandes of Barkhora. The Kanyakubja brahmin, Sri Mahati Pande migrated to Kumaun from Kanauj. He begot two sons—Sinha and Nrisinha. They stayed and settled in Batokhari. This place is near Kathgodam. Earlier there was a fort and a market there. The king made them *gurus* also. The descendants of Nrisinha live in Bairati, Bhatkot, Giwad, Khargoli, Peepaltanda etc, and of Sinha in Pandeghon, Silauti, Badakhedi, Nahan, Nepal etc. They are rajgurus in Nepal even at present.

(6) Pandes of Bharadwaj *gotra*: Pt. Shri Ballabh Pande Upadhyaya, Kanyakubj brahmin, had come from village Khor in Kanauj during the reign of Chand kings.

श्रीखोर ग्राम वास्तव्य कान्यकुब्ज कुलाग्रणी ।
श्रीवल्लभ समायातः कूर्मादोगण पर्वते ॥

There were four brothers in village Khor : Dev Datt, Hari Datt, Shambhu Dev and Shri Ballavh. It is not properly ascertained whether

they came during the Katyuri reign or in Chand regime, but it appears that they acted as *rajgurus* to both. Shri Ballabh Pande was also called as Upadhyaya as he was an erudite scholar of Sanskrit.

Below is quoted some portion of what has been written about him in Atkinson's Gazetteer :-

"Shri Balabh Pande Upadhyaya was a Kanvaja. (Kanyakubja) brahmin of Kanauj. He was *rajguru*. It is alleged that he made oblation of iron from the royal store in the sacrificial fire when wood was not available in the Kalimati hill. The *selkhana* (armoury) of the king was in the Kalimati hill. Pandeji demanded wood, reaching there in the night. The ministers handed over iron-bars to him in joke. Pandeji was an adept in *Tantra-shashtra* (scripture of the *tantras*). He sacrificed the iron-bars in fire. Since then the clay there is said to have become black in hue. The branch that made the oblation of iron was called *Lauh Homi* or *Lohani*. Those dextrous in the *Vedas* were called Kandpal or Kanyal because they were the protectors of the cantos or verses of the *Vedas*. At first they got Lohana, Thapla, Satrali etc. in *jagirs*. Water was very remote from the place in Satrali where Shri Ballabh resided. His wife had to fetch water from a great distance for his worship. On a certain day, being tired, his wife brought water keeping the pot over her head instead of in the hands. Shri Ballabh said that the water for worship had become polluted by keeping it over the head. The wife got enraged at this and said if you are such a great *tantrik pandit* either fetch the water yourself or produce it here. At this Mr. Pande said that he will pray to God that the water may emerge here itself, but do not be astonished at the appearance of water. Then Pandeji pulled up the *kusha* grass; water emerged. The Panditani (consort of *pandit*) started uttering no, no, in surprise. The water diminished. That stream is still famous after the name of Shri Ballabhji", (*Gazetteer*, Vol XI, pp. 425-426).

Later the king appointed the members of this family as *rajgurus*, and granted Pandiya *alias* Patiya village in *jagir*. The people of this family live in Patiya, Kasoon, Pilikh, Bareilly, Anupshahar, Meerut, Patelkhet, Bhainsodi, Okali, Baldgad, Bhagauti and other places. The Lohanis and Kandpals are scattered over in Lohana, Kande, Kota, Kumalta, Lachampur, Thapla, Kantli, Bheta, Panergaon, Bharkot, Khadi, Bantgal, Kafda, Kotalgaon, Takula, Manar, Almora and other places.

Joshi

Joshi, Jyotishi, Jyotirivid are all words of the same nomenclature. One who has knowledge of the science of astrology is called *Jyotishi* or *Joshi*. In old copper-plates we find the word *Joisi*. In Central Provinces and the South the Joshis are great scholars and hold honourable posts but they are considered common (or second-rate) in the United Provinces. In Kurmachal they are regarded quite honourable and esteemed. Though there is sufficient heresay or rumour against them for their high handed and prominent role in politics. The Joshis of the plains are mostly Samvedis. In the hills the Joshis are mostly Kanyakubja brahmins. They are among the Shatkuli (of six leading lineages) brahmins. They were called Joshi for being astrologers. They gained much superiority and dignity as the reins of government were in their hands. In the beginning they were addressed as Joshis for being *joytishi* (astrologer).

Their wisdom, meritoriousness and political dexterity is indubitable. They have, for several centuries, moved the kings and people of Kumaun like ruddles. The entire political power mostly remained in the hands of Joshis of Jhijar, Danya and to some extent of Galli. During the British regime now the Joshis of Cheenakhan and Makidi have also progressed.

Joshis of Jhijad: Pt. Sudhanidhi Chaubey (Sanadhya ?), Kanyakubja brahmin, resident of Dyodiyakheda in Unnao, had examined the horoscope of kunwar Som Chand and prophesied that according to astrological calculations he was to get a kingdom, towards the north soon. Then kunwar Som Chand assured Sri. Sudhanidhi that in case he acquired the kingdom, he would appoint him as his minister. When king Som Chand came to Kumaun, Sudhanidhi accompanied him. On getting the kingdom he was made *wazir* or *diwan* (minister). On being a resident of village Selakhola in Champawat he was called the Joshi of Selakhola. On setting in Almora in village Jhijad *alias* Jhusiar he was called the Joshi of Jhijad also. Besides this he received the villages of Amoli and Dungrakot in patti Chalsi also. Sri Heramb Joshi came to Almora during the reign of Raja Laxmi Chand. His sons Shri Vishnu Das and Narottam Joshi got Jhijad. He was the minister of king Trimal Chand and his son Shri Jai Deo received the villages of

Deshalata and Bajel. His son Pt. Shiv Deo Joshi was a renowned minister during the period of Raja Kalyan Chand and Deep Chand. Sri Shiv Deo Joshi had two sons (1) Jai Krishna (2) Harsh Deo Joshi. They astonished every one with their political dexterity. They became government pensioners also. Pt. Madan Narayan, Guj Lala and Pt. Badri Datt Joshi were his sons who were the last political pensioners. The son of Jai Krishna was Laxmi Narayan. He is called *bakshi* because he was an army leader also. Shri Vishnu Das's son was Rishikesh whose sons were Manorath, Padmapati, Jai Krishna, Bal Krishna and Damodar. Manorath had five sons : Ram Krishna, Laxmi Kant, Dayanidhi, Veebhadra and Balbhadra. Ram Krishna got Kalaun village. The renowned scholar Hari Datt Satshashtri (*Shastri* in 6 subjects) was born in his family. Laxmi Kant got Kotalgaon. His sons were Jaya Nand and Narottam Joshi. Dhar Jiu, Ratanpati Jiu, Jeev Nath Jiu were his sons and Ratanpati's son was the famous politician Gauri Datt. One brother got the Balia village also. His descendants are Ganga Datt, Bala and others. The son of Heramb Joshi who got Selakhola was called the Joshi of Selakhola. All of them were called Malla Joshis. Among the sons of Sudhanidhi, Vijay Das Joshi got Digauli village. Those of Degauli are called Talla Joshis. They are still called Diwans. Now they live in Selakhola, Jhijar, Degauli, Naieegaon, Baliagaon, Barakot, Kalaun, Kotalgaon, Almora and other places. They belong to the Mahar group. All of them are Garga *gotri* Joshis.

Joshis of Daniya: Shri Niwas Dwivedi of Upamanyu *gotra*, resident of Jairaj Makau near Prayagraj, came to Kali Kumaun in the 14th century during the reign of Raja Thohar Chand. The king gave the title of Pande and classed him among *Chauthani* (4 high classes) brahmins and gave Chowkigaon to settle in. After some generations one brother from among them went to Nepal and became an honourable courtier there. Some brothers became *vaidyas* (physicians). The brother who came after studying astrology at Kashi, was called Joshi. In the 16th century Sri Raghunath Joshi got village Danya in Chaugarkha as a *jagir*. He was called the Joshi of Danya and acted as the manager of Jageshvar temple. When the royal court was shifted to Almora, Sri Bharat Joshi became a government official and began to be called *diwan*. Jai Dev Joshi was minister during the regime of Raja Baz Bahadur Chand and Udyot Chand, and Sir Veer Bhadra Joshi during the reign or king Jagat

Chand and Devi Chand. During the reign of king Kalyan Chand Shiv Datt Joshi, Bhawanand and Hari Ram Joshi acted as ministers. Jaspur town was named after Yashodhar Joshi. He was the officer of Tarai. Among the descendants of Shiv Deo, Trilochan Joshi was *diwan* (minister) during the Gorkha reign and *sadar amin* in British rule. His son Pt. Badri Datt Joshi was a gigantic politician during the period of Ramsay. Among the descendants of Bhawanand, Krishna Deo Joshi remained a minister from the period of king Deep Chand right upto the reign of Mahendra Chand. During the Gorkha reign also Sri Krishna Deo and Shri Jiwanand Joshi were *kardars*. Among the sons of Hari Ram Joshi, Ram Krishna was a *diwan* during Gorkha rule and later in British regime, a *munsif*. Now these people live in Danya, Almora, Chaugarkha, Sor, Kanda and other places. They are also called *diwans*. During the period of the Chands they belonged to the Fartyal group. The *gaddi* of Jhijar was called *malli* (upper) and this *gaddi*, the *talli* (lower).

Joshis of Galli: Two brothers, Shri Nathu Raj and Vijay Raj Jyotishacharya of Angiras *gotra* came here from Kanauj. They stayed in Kartikeyapur town during the reign of Katyuri king. They received Sedhe (Senu) village near Katyur in *jagir* and were appointed as royal astrologers. They were called Sedhyal Joshis. Atkinson writes that they describe themselves to be from the family of the Pandes of Khor. One of the brothers got Pala village in *jagir*. The people of this family are astrologers even upto the present day and are called the Joshis of Mala. Pt. Rudra Deo Joshi composed his work *Jyotish Chandrark* during the reign of Baz Bahadur Chand.

The descendant of one brother got *jagirs* in Sarp and Palyuda also. There too have been many able astrologers. A member of this family got the post of *danadhyaksh* (president of gifts) in the Gwalior court. Sri Ramapati had been a wonderful astrologer. The people of this family are *dharmadhikari* (religious officials) in Nahan also. Shri Padma Nidhi Joshi received the village of Galli. Since then they were called the Joshis of Galli. In 1626 A.D. Shri Dinkar Joshi was appointed as the officer of the accounts of the brahmins and was called deputy diwan. Since then they started taking part in matters of the court. These people live in Galli. The Joshis of this *gotra* live in Chauda, Kapkot, Khakholi, Haneti, Khadi, Gankot, Sarp, Palyuda, Mala, Katyur, Galli and Mahinari and some people live in Musmauli and Garhwal also.

Joshis of Bherang: Shri Hari Sharma, Kanyakubja Brahmin of Kaushik *gotra* came to Gangoli from Piuthana in the Doti region during the reign of Manikoti king. He got the village of Pokhri for his dexterity in astrology and since then came to be called as Joshi of Bherang or Pokhri. Sri Manorath Joshi was granted a *Jagir* during the regime of king Baz Bahadur Chand. During the reign of king Udyot Chand Sri Rishikesh Joshi was given the Seloni village by a copper-plate. He was an astrologer in the royal court. He was a helper (contemporary) of the Mala people. There are four families among them also. The descendants of Madhav Ji live in Chhakhata. Pt. Ram Datt Jyotirvid states Pt. Krishna Nand Joshi to have come to Gangoli. It is also stated that his progenitor had drawn water by piercing a dagger. The name of this water-source is Roorkie Mangru.

Lataula Joshis: Pt. Rudra Datt Pant says that Shri Shashi Sharma came to Kali Kumaun from Kanauj during the period of the Chand dynasty. Pt. Ram Datt Jyotirvid states the coming of Shri Pacharad Dubey, Shukla brahmin to Kumaun on a pilgrimage to Badri Narayan. His wife was pregnant. A son named Ramakant was born to her in Joshimath. In Gangoli the Manikoti king made him to stay and bestowed Lataula and other village in the *jagir*. He was called Lataula Joshi. Pt. Rudra Datt says :— "The brahmin was learned, but he stammered. For this reason he was called *lata* (dumb) Joshi and because of this the village that he got in *jagir* became famous as Latowala or Lataula". These people live in Latauli, Urg, Bheta, Patiya, Bhainsodi, Tilari, Saktauli, Jajut and other villages.

Shilwal Joshis: During the reign of Raja Som Chand, Trivedi Lankraj of Bhardwaj *gotra* came for pilgrimage to Kumaun from village Asni near Kanauj. There he received Shilgram in *jagir* and was called Shilwal Joshi. Sri Prithvi Raj Joshi came to Almora. Pt. Shri Chand Tripathi gave his daughter in marriage to him and also donated one third part in his land in Kumaun. The king also bestowed priesthood on him. Prithvi Raj had three offsprings (1) Rudhakar, (2) Dayadhar, (3) Bhaskar. All the three showed good talent in astrology. The persons of Rudhakars family were called Shilwal Joshi and live in Joshi Khola in Almora. One of the brothers accompanied Raja Lal Singh to Kashipur and became a priest there.

Joshis of Sainj: The descendants of Bhaskar got Sainj, Anui and some other villages in Patti Bisaut on coming to the capital town, Almora. They are called the Joshis of Sainj and live in Almora and Bisaut.

The Joshis of Makidi and Kherd: In the above family the sons of Dayadhar got the villages named Kherd and Makidi from the royal court by the profession of astrology. The residents of Makidi are called the Joshis of Makidi and the rest of Kherd.

The Joshis of Cheenakhan: A genealogy is made of the time of Leela Nand. Therein is written that Haru and Varu, two astrologers, were existing during the reign of *Maharaja* Gyan Chand. Of them the sons of Japkar got Srihat in *jagir* and they were called the Joshis of Selakhola. Prabhakar received Silgram in *jagir*. The descendants of Narottam settled in Bisaut. Vishnu Ballabh and others, the sons of Deo Nidhi went to Makidi. The son of Rudhakar, Pt. Chandra Mani Joshi, became a *faujdar* during the Gorkha rule. He received village Dhura in *jagir* and was called Dhuryal. Later, he was called the Joshi of Cheenakhan by living in Cheenakhan. Mr. Walton has written that these Joshis oppose having relation with any other Joshi family of Almora. They affirm that their family started from three brahmins of Kanauj.

Tripathi: Also called Tewari. (Some people write themselves Trivedi also). They are of Gautam *gotra* and Samvedis. Pt. Shri Chand Tewari, resident of Amlabad. Badnagar in Gujrat came during the time of king Udyan Chand along with his son Pt. Shukdeo Tewari. The king honoured the son instead of the father. The son met the king, but the father did not. Shri Chand (people called him Saijand Tewari also by mistake) got annoyed and came towards Almora. At that time Almora had not settled, the capital was in Khagmara Kot. A feudalic Katyuri king reigned there. The gardener of the king was carrying a basket of fruits. Shri Chand Tripathi enquired of the gardener as to where he was carrying the basket. He replied that he was taking it for the king. Then Tripathi Ji said, "Do not give these fruits to the king. There is another fruit inside. If the king will look at or eat this fruit the result will be inauspicious (disastrous)". The gardener narrated this to the king. When the king cut open the lemon, out of curiosity, another fruit was found inside. The king was astonished, the king called for that

brahmin. He asked him where did he belong to. The brahmin described his country, caste and *aspad*. The king then said with salutations that the particular fruit was just as he had described. What should be done about that ? The brahmin then said that the land where that fruit had grown, the garden should be given in charity to a brahmin. The king said that he alone was the fit person to receive the gift. He replied that he was a foreigner, what would he do by acquiring land here. But when the king persisted he agreed to take the place. Then the king gave almost the entire land of Almora by charitable donation to Shri Chand Tewari. There was paucity of water in Almora. Tewari Ji was an adept in *tantra* knowledge, he produced water by sprinkling some with a *kusha*. His descendants were called the Tewaris of Almora. When the Chand king, Balo Kalyan Chand established Almora, it is said that he gave him ten times more land in Nandi Gram of Chhakhata, but no trace of this village is available in the present time.

Shuk Deo, the first son of Shri Chand Tripathi, got the village of Binda in Kali Kumaun in *jagir*, his descendants are called the Tewaris of Binda. After coming to Almora Shri Chand Tripathiji had three sons (1) Devanand, (2) Jagannath (3) Jai Ram Tripathi.

(1) Devanand had two sons (1) Maghi (2) Ganga Tripathi. The descendants of Maghi live in Kholta. The descendants of Ganga Tripathi live in village Nishani and Jakh and also in Ijar, Cheenakhan, Dharanaula, Kungadkhola, Shail and Paniudyar near Almora. In Khairna and Majedha villages too the Tripathi of this very family reside.

(2) Pt. Jagannath Tripathi had three sons, viz, Mani, Mahanand and Jai Sharma. The descendants of Mani, live in Tyunera Mohalla of Almora and in village Chitair of Chaugarkha, also in Rampur and Kashipur. The people of Mahanand's family live in Talli Chausar, Kharkot, Dubkiya (Almora). Laxmipati Tripathi of Dubkiya received the village of Karas. These people are *Dharmadhikaris* (religious officials) also. Jai Sharma had three sons Santakar, Rakhmi, Bhikha. Narayan Tewari was among the sons of Santakar, who protected Baz Bahadur Chand and received *jagirs* in reward thereof. His name became immortal. The king included them among the *Chauthani* brahmins also. The temple named after him still exists in Almora. His descendants live in Malli Chausar,

Soop, Bareilly, Chaupur, Chandausi, Hathras and other places. King Baz Bahadur Chand also gave Supai, Lohsyal and other villages. Rakhmi's son Neel Kanth got village Bagad in Kairarau. They are called Tewaris of that place. In this very family some people are called Agnihotris also, who live in Chausar.

Dayanand was one among the sons of Rakhmi. His descendant live in Pokharkhali. The descendants of Bhikha live in Jyoli. Among them, Kamlapati's son Sri Ganga Ram Shastri was very famous. During the Gorkha regime he received many villages in Malla Syunera in *jagir*, and Lohali, Majedha, Hartola, Sel, Tuna etc. in Dhaniyakot. They also received the ancestral title of Shastri.

(3) The descendants of Jai Ram live in Thapaliya.

It is said that the Tripathis of Timali, Ramada, Dora, Dairi etc. have come from Garhwal. They too are of Gautam *gotra* and are *Sam Vedis* and declare themselves to be among the descendants of Shree Chand.

Bhatt—The progenitor of the Bhatt brahmins of Bishad, Sri Vishwa Sharma came to Sor from southern Dravida Desh during the reign of Brahm *alias* Bam king. The Bam kings gave them shelter knowing that they were *vedapathis* (readers of the *Vedas*) and awarded Vishwad *alias* Bishad village in *jagir*. Later made them governmental officials also. Now these people live in Bishad, Palyun, Khetigaon, Pandekhola, Kashipur, Ramnagar and other places. These Bhatt do not take meat. Pt. Ram Datt Jyotirvid says that Achyut Bhadra Sharma Bhattacharya came from Telang Desh (province) during the regime of Mankoti kings.

Besides the Bhatt of Bishad, Bhatt of some other kind are also found. The Brahmins Bhatt of Deccan came from Banares to the court of Raja Bishma Chand. Seeing them to be pure brahmins, the king made them confectioner (*halwai*) in the royal court. The people of this family live in Almora.

The Bhatt of Bishaut (Bhatkot) declare themselves to have come from Kashi.

Mishra or Vaidya :—Sri Niwas Dwivedi of Upmanyu *gotra* came to Kali Kumaun from Prayagraj. From habitation with Pandes

they were counted among Chauthani brahmins. Being adepts in medical science were called *vaidya* or Misra. His descendants are in Kali Kumaun, Divadiya, Kunj, Chhakhata and Almora.

Kothari :—Kothari Nagar brahmin, Shri Surya Dixit came to Kumaun from Kothar city of Malabar. The Mankoti king of Gangoli knowing the brahmin to be learned made him to stay in his court. He made him the keeper of *kothi* or *bhandar* (store). For this reason he was called Kothyali *alias* Kothari. Their village also was named Kothyara. Now his descendants live in Kothyara.

Pt. Ram Datt Jyotirvid says that the Kotharis came to village Kirat from Konkan province in the south. These people were also called Pants, but by virtue of getting the work of *kuthar* (*bhandar*) were called Kotharis.

During the Chand reign Bisht Dadya, Patani, Kuleta, Gural, Rasyara were all considered to be brahmins of the same category; but according to their engagement they were placed in separate classes by the king.

Dadya Bisht :—The Saraswat brahmin Shri Deonidhi came to Kali Kumaun along with kunwar Som Chand. When the kunwar got the kingdom (throne) of Champawat, he made Devnidhi brahmin his *kardar* (official). By getting appointment in the army and office he got distinguished or Bisht title. Since then he and his descendants were called the Bishts of Dadya.

Patani :—The brahmin whom the Chand kings sent across the Kali river to the king of Doti as an ambassador and who acted as a *vakil* (pleader) or *elchi* (ambassador) in disputes and strifes, was called *parttarani* (going across), Patani or Patni brahmin. The village also was named Patana or Patan. When his family grew, Bam king made him his *divan* (minister) also. His descendants live in Majheda (Sor) village. On the close of the kings of the Bam dynasty, a Patani was regularly present in the Chand court.

This service was also given to this Patani caste when the Simaltiya Pandes etc. prepared the food; Patanis and Punethas tasted it so that the thing not prepared properly may be cooked rightly.

Kuleta Pande :—These people were the *gurus* (tutors) of the queen during the Chand rule and also cooked food. Later were probably called Gururani.

Gurela Pande :—They were priests of the queen in Chand regime and also cooked food.

Rasyara :— This family did not get the post of Pande. It only prepared the food. Their descendants live in Kali Kumaun and Risyar gaon of Baurarau.

Saunjyal Bishts of Saunjay : Shri Chandra Dhar, Saraswat brahmin, come to Kali Kumaun along with kunwar Som Chand. When he became the king, Chandra Dhar got appointment in the army office. He got *vishisht* (distinguished) or Bisht title and by living in Saunj village was called Saunjyal Bisht.

Upadhyaya : The Upadhyayas of Kholi in Sor and Saunjyal Bisht are brahmins of the same category. Being teachers were called Upadhyay. They are devotees of Devi.

Pathak : Shri Janardan Sharma Saraswat brahmin, came from Thaneshwar, Kurukhetra to the Mankoti king in Gangoli. The king appointed him to recite prayer in the temple of Kali. Since then he was called Pathak. The place where the Pathak brahmin made his abode (which is called *Kuda* in hill dialect) was called (Path+Kuda), Pathkyuda. Pt. Ram Datt Jyotirvid calls them the descendants of Kanyakubja Narotlam Vedpathi (scholar of *Veda*) of Shandilya *gotra* who lived in village Sandi-Pali of Oudh.

In Dasauli, Karala, Jyoli and Pathykuda too there are some Pathaks, who have probably come from elsewhere.

Atkinson states - "The progenitor of the Pathaks of Kashyap *gotra* was Shri Kamlakar. He had come from Sanaran Pali village of Oudh and lived in the court of the Mankoti king. The progenitor of the Pathaks of Shandilya *gotra* was Janardan, who came from Thaneshwar. The Pathaks of Palyal family live in Pali."

Upreti : Pt. Rudra Datt Pant writes :— "During the reign of the Katyuri king Shambhu Sharma, Kanaujia brahmin came from village Chowki of Doti to Kali Kumaun. The place where the brahmin lived was of the name of Preti or Peti village. So he was called Upreti. These people live in Peti, Kungaon, Supakot and other places".

Pt. Ram Datt Jyotirvid writes, "Shiv Prasad, Bajpai Maharashtraian brahmin of Dravida province came during the reign

of Mankoti kings. The Mankoti king gave him Upretyada village. They are divided in four families :—Simha, Shridhar, Deo and Prithvidhar. They were *wazir* of the Mankoti king but they killed the king by deceit. The queen became *sati* (burnt herself in fire). She left her son in the custody of Pants. The Upretis were derelicted from authority in the court. Later they served in the Chand court too. They live in Khetidhura in Chaugarkha, Kafalni : Supakot, Patia and Alay in Baramandal; in Kumaun in Bankubinda and in Phaldakot also. In Sor they live in Hudeti and other villages, and some to the north of Bageshwar also. There have been good scholars among them also, from time to time. During Gorkha rule, Pt. Jai Krishna Upreti was the commander-in-chief. His descendants, live in Almora.

The Upretis of Patia, Jhijar and Supakot call themselves to be of one family and the other Upretis of another. Pt. Ganga Datt Upreti states the Upretis to be Maharashtrian brahmins.

Awasthi or Osti :—Maithil Brahmin came in the time of Uchhab Pal, Rajbar of Askot. His name was Pt. Vidyapati Awasthi. Pt. Rudra Datt states them to be Kanaujiya brahmins. They live in Askot only. They have been working as *diwan*, *guru*, writer, official, priest and cook to the Rajbars.

Jha or Ojha :—Pt. Rudra Datt Pant writes - "The Maithil Brahmin, Ram Ojha came to Kumaun during the reign of the Chands. The king deputed his descendants as priests to perform worship of Devi (goddess) in village Askot near Didihat. Their descendants live there even now. Pt. Ram Datt writes, "The Ojhas reached Askot from Tirhut or Mithila via Nepal and Doti. They received honour and respect from the Rajbar family." They now live in Askot, and some across the river Kali also.

Upadhyaya :—They are brahmins from Nepal across the river Kali. Their ancestors were scholars of the *Vedas* and ceremonial brahmins.

Adhikari :—Two brothers, Shri Jai Ram and Parashar of the Bhatt family came to Kumaun from Mewar. Previously they were officials of the Katyuri kings. By residing in Rantgal village were called Rantgali. The king made the Rantgali caste his official. They were called Adhikari (officer) by virtue of being officials in the Tarai. Kashi Nath Adhikari founded the town of Kashipur.

Bhaat : Shri Kali Sharan Rai *alias* Bhat came to Kali Kumaun from Jwalamukhi. His descendants reside in many villages of Kali Kumaun.

Durgapal or Dugal :—These brahmins are of the Bhardwaj *gotra*. They state that they came from Kanauj during the period of the Katyuri kings. Some people say that they were the protectors or priests of goddess Durga; others state that they were the protectors of *durg* (fort). They were narrators of the *Vedas* and *Puranas*.

Mathpal or Madhpal :—They too are of Bharadwaj *gotra*. They say that Madhu and Shyam, too Bhattas, came here from the South. They were so experts in astrology that they described the signs of the child in the womb. When it proved true, the king gave Ghusila village in *jagir*. Some became Joshis, the rest remained Bhattas. Raja Trimal Chand gave them the post of priests after ousting the Budhha brahmins from the Badri Nath temple of Dwarahat. Since then they were called Bhatt and live there. Being officials of the monastery (*math*) were called Mathpal.

Vaishnava :—Mahant Sewa Das came from Khairagarh. The king called him to perform worship in the Vaishnava temples. They are still there as priests. The Mahant has no right to marry. These people live in Almora, Katyur and Baurarau.

Bhatt :—Atkinson says, "The Bhattas are of Bharadwaj, Upmanyau, Mitra and Kashyap *gotras*. These people say that they were Bhattacharya. Some people state having come during the time of Abhaya Chand and others during the reign of Bhishma Chand. Some say that two brothers—Shri and Har—came and took the service of the king. They were called by the names of the villages where they settled as Badwa, Kapoli, Dhankota, Dalakoti, Mathpal. All of them inter-marry. Some of the Bhattas do the work of Maha Brahmins (acceptors of donations in cremation ceremony) of the plains. They also accept the alms in eclipses. They receive buffaloes, goats and sheep too in charity. They accept donations in marriage, thread and naming (baptism) ceremonies also."

Some priests also mostly call themselves Bhattas.

The Pandas of Jageshvar :—"These people are called *baduas* but they call themselves as Bhattas. They state to have come from Banaras during the period of king Udyan Chand, but the more

prevalent story is that they are the descendants of the Bhattas of the south who came with those *jangams* (moving ascetics) whom Shankaracharya appointed in all the monasteries and temples. Bhatt married a brahmin lady of the hills, whose children were called *batuk alias barua*.

Pt. Ram Datt writes. "Kumaril Swami came in the time of Shankaracharya. The Bhatt Brahmin from south was with him, who married the daughter of a hill brahmin. Barua was the name given to her children. They are priests of the Jageshvar temple."

Mantaniya :—Came from the south. Got Mantan village and were called Mantaniya since then, Sri Chand Tewari patronised them a lot and gave a portion of the land in Almora also. Since then they are present in every work of the Tripathis.

Dumka :—Previously they were residents of Pali Pachhaun. Narayan Tewari kept them in his *ashram* (hermitage or abode). Since then they live in Almora and are called Dumka.

Paneru :—Ganesh Paneru had accompanied king Som Chand to Kumaun. His family was called Paneru.

Others Brahmins

Pt. Rudra Datt Pant writes, "Many brahmins are called the old brahmins of Kumaun. Their *aspad* is mostly with the name of their village.

During the reign of the *rajas*, bazar was called the hat, e.g. Dwarahat, Tailihat, Selihat, Gaonhat, Sitalahat, Badahat, Dindihat, Gangolihat, Bagadihat. etc. The old residents of these *hats* were called *hatwals* also.

The old brahmins of village Chahaj were called Chahaji *alias* Chaudasi. These people live in Chahaj, Datwali, Tapada, Kholi, Chiparthada etc. The Chaudasis do the work of astrologers, hence they are called Joshis also.

Guranis	—	of village Guran
Chhimals	—	of village Chhimi
Mantanas	—	of village Mantana
Kapolis	—	of village Kapola

Dugalas	—	of village Dug
Banaulas	—	of village Banauli.
Sanwals	—	of village San.

These castes are also famous after the names of their villages—

Bagadwal, Selakoti, Manauli, Neuli, Raigni, Papnai, Shivnai, Jankandia, Jukandia, Gahtyadi, Chausal, Kafadia, Kafalia, Dharwal, Mungali, Matoli, Nayal, Adhai, Kanaudia, Bataula, Chamdyal, Belal, Sati, Khatya, Mankunya, Manoli, Agarwal, Chinala, Khonia, Sunal etc.

"The Budhanins, coming from Garhwal, live in Chaugarkha Budhmanya. The people bearing titles of Garhwal *alias* Garawal live in village Bhaina of Chaugarkha. The Dumka Brahmins coming from Nepal live in Kotauli. The above mentioned brahmins have relations with old brahmins.

Pt. Ram Datt Jyotirvid writes - "There are many castes here after the names of villages or professions, as, by doing worship, Pujaris by doing *bhakti* (devotion), Bhaktas; by singing concert in court, Harbolas, the suppliers of flowers Phularas. The protectors of monastery, Mathpals; the protectors of forts or temples, Durgapals, by giving *mantra* (charm) to the queen, Gururanis; by blessings *with* bel fruit, Belwals etc. In this way the brahmins are divided into more than 300 castes. Some of them are the descendants of Pants, Pandes etc, while the others settled alone after coming from the plains. Of these some minor castes, who have become known, are enlisted here :—

Kapilashrami, Durgapal, Mathpal, Bhakta (claim to be descendants of Joshis of Galli), Haidia, Padhalani (claim to be descendants of Silwal Joshis), Sati, Sunal, Bijraula (are brahmins of abode in Brij), Kanwal, Lwesali (descendants of Tripathis), Bilwal, Kaini (in the race of Pathaks), Guni (Gunwant), Upariya, Dumka (spread from Pali Pachhaun), Suyal, Balutia and donyal Baneta (say to be Tripathis).

Harbola, Paladia, Sunri, Kapudi, Ratkhaniya, Garjala, Naulia, Tolia, Andola, Podia, Budhalkoti, Masal, Badhniya, Padandia, Chhimval, Garwal, Bilwal, Kholia, Dani, Bakhaliya, Dal, Kokala, Mungali, Kumatia, Naugai, Kakdakhania, Dunthalia, Petsali,

Chupdala, Nagarkotia, Balyadi, Ruwali, Madyani, Bhatgain, Garjaula, Nagarkoti, Dhaunyal, Sangudi, Laundari, Phaldhadi, Melkania, Tilara, Phapati, Dhamswani, Harsholia, Wokhalia, Kirmoli, Aicharia, Nicpahadia."

16. Atkinson's Research

The modern Vyas Atkinson says (vide: *Gazetteer*, Pages 428-29-30 Vol. XII), "He has received a list of 250 brahmins most of whom are agriculturists and wield the plough. They worship Shiva and Vishnu, especially Bhairav. It is not proper to give their list. They are called after the names of villages. Some people say to have descended from the brahmins of the plains. Sarnis, Dobhals, Gahtoris, Katyanis, Garwala speak of the themselves as Tewaris, Mungalis claim to be Chaubes. Papnais claim to be the Upretis of Doti. Chaunals speak of themselves as the Chaubes of Mathura who became Pandes by residence in Mainoli and by going to Chauni were called Chaunals. Kutharis call themselves Pants.

Gosyudis, Daurvas, Sanwals and Dunilas claim to be Pandes. Lamadaris, Chhimvals, Phulaurias, Olis, Naunipals, Chaudasi, Dalakati, Budhalakoti, Dulari, Dhurani, Pacholiya, Banarias, Garmolas, Balonias and Bidias call themselves as Joshis.

Kapulis, Dhankholas (Dhankholas call themselves Joshis), Bhagwals (Bhagwals call themselves Bhatts of Benaras) and Mararis call themselves Bhatts of Doti. Jalis, Nakhyals, Thapliyals and Haribolas say that they are Upadhyayas. Bhanautias call themselves Gaud brahmins, and Masyals, Kanyakubja brahmins. Patasis say that they were Pathaks. Baraniyas say that they came from Benaras and were royal astrologers. The castes which do not try to call themselves to be of another aspadwalas are these—Kholia, Kanwal, Lwesali, Kafadiya, Bitharia, Melkaniyan, Nainoliya, Melti, Tararia, Hatwal, Pokhariya, Chhatgulia and besides these 150 others. They do not know anything about their *shakha* (branch) and *prawar* (descendance) and many of them are unaware of their *gotra* (lineage) even. Kanseris are *pujaris* (priests) of Vibhandeshwar, of which name there is no other temple. Akarias say that they did not use to give *kar* (tax). So were called Akariya. Baladias are priests of goddess Punyagiri. Ghungatyals are Rajputs of Syuni who were brahmins, but having committed some crime were made Kshatriyas.

Rasyaras were cooks to the kings. Phularas used to offer flowers to Nanda Devi. Gairbhanarians were the performers of the last rites of the issueless, Panerus used to give water to drink and the Dobals of Doba are *Jagarias* (propitiators) of gods. On falling the shadow of ghosts and spirits they alone were taken to be the protectors and were invited for *jagar*. The Olis protect from hail-storm and take their *dastoor* (customary honorarium) from every village in the month of *Kunwar*. Chilkotis are the priests of Saim in Chaugarkha. In the census of 1872 out of 108283 brahmins 44122 could not give their *aspad* and introduction. The rest about 50,000 would be Khas brahmins.

There were four classes of brahmins in Kali Kumaun during the period of the kings (1) Four Chauthanis (2) Panchbidiya (3) Khatimana or Khatkwala, (4) Kuleman.

17. The classification of king Rudra Chand

I have received a document from Pt. Parashuram Joshi of village Saknauli. It is declared to be of the time of king Rudra Chand. I am publishing it in its original form. It is written in history that in the period of king Rudra Chand a council was summoned in which a list of all the brahmins was prepared. It is just possible that it may be the same document. At present it would be controversial. I give it a place for its historical importance because it is a calculation study and compilation of the old times. Therein, all the Kurmachali brahmins have been divided into three categories :—

LIST OF THE BRAHMINS OF KURMACHAL

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) Pant 4 families | (8) Bheta Joshi |
| (2) Jogyudiya Parashari | (9) Kasaun, Patiya, Wool |
| (3) Acharya | (10) Sinai Joshi (Galli) |
| (4) Hatwal Pant | (11) Chhana Pande |
| (5) Upreti 4 families in all | (12) Bishad Bhatt |
| (6) Joshi Jhijad | (13) Patanigaon |
| (7) Pathak Hat | (14) Silwal Joshi |

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (15) Shri Chand Tyadi-all | (37) Pathak Dasauli, Dasa |
| (16) Bhatt Khetigaon | (38) Mandali Pande |
| (17) Joshi Latolo | (39) Kheti Upadhyay |
| (18) Boosti Askot | (40) Bichhral |
| (19) Ojha Sor | (41) Parkoti Pande |
| (20) Jat Lohani Kanyal | (42) Nayal Pande |
| (21) Kothyari Kothera | (43) Baidati Pande |
| (22) Joshi Bherang | (44) Punetho, Kuletho |
| (23) Pande Majhera | (45) Bayala Pande |
| (24) Kholi Upadhyaya,
Sira Pant | (46) Garhwal Tyadi |
| (25) Pande Khole Pande | (47) Sira and Pal Joshi |
| (26) Belkot Pande | (48) Dholigaon Pande |
| (27) Saujyal Bisht | (49) Simalatiya, Dewaliya |
| (28) Dada Bisht | (50) Urg Joshi Sor |
| (29) Rasyargoan Rasyara | (51) Kardia |
| (30) Pande Palyun | (52) Dhuriyal Joshi |
| (31) Diptia Misar | (53) Bisaut Joshi |
| (32) Pande Chhachar | (54) Dhunga Kanyal, Joshi
and.Pant |
| (33) Joshi Danya | (55) Kana Kumayan |
| (34) Joshi Digauli | (56) Pathak Pathkyuda
Danpur |
| (35) Pande Patelkhet | (57) Upadhyay Dug |
| (36) Joshi Syunari | (58) Gaukhuri Pant |

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|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (59) Naini Joshi | (80) Jakhnyal Joshi |
| (60) Dadholi Tyadi | (81) Nahargi |
| (61) Kudkoli Pant | (82) Nagilo |
| (62) Thapliya, Baurarau
Satrali | (83) Mulgadi |
| (63) Barakoti | (84) Gaulharadia |
| (64) Kharahi Pant, Tyadi,
Joshi | (85) Dadhmaulon |
| (65) Kharahi Kanyal Joshi | (86) Bhadariya |
| (66) Posaliya | (87) Devkholiya |
| (67) Hubenia | (88) Sauja Pathak |
| (68) Samkunan Chanolo | (89) Dhungasila |
| (69) Patadiya Joshi | (90) Chilwal |
| (70) Melti Pande | (91) Bilwal |
| (71) Dhauladi-Jal,
Baurarau | (92) Maltaniyan |
| (72) Achariya | (93) Phularo |
| (73) Tureda, Pokal | (94) Gairkheti Joshi |
| (74) Shiv Nani | (95) Mantolia |
| (75) Gurani | (96) Katyar Joshi |
| (76) Dugal | (97) Hichodi Pande |
| (77) Mathpal | (98) Pothing Garhmaulia |
| (78) Ultaniyan | (99) Chaudasi, Chausaji |
| (79) Sanwal | (100) Hatwal |
| | (101) Chanaulo |
| | (102) Halchanaulo |

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|----------------------|---------------------|
| (103) Paukal | (127) Soto |
| (104) Jhirautiya | (128) Bahediya |
| (105) Biraudya | (129) Kafadi Kanyal |
| (106) Sangraulia | (130) Syankoti |
| (107) Chimariya | (131) Tankholo |
| (108) Dyaukholia | (132) Bajedia |
| (109) Kotgado | (133) Pasdev |
| (110) Kapadi | (134) Sirolia |
| (111) Selauto | (135) Khunaulia |
| (112) Bediya | (136) Puthaniya |
| (113) Bilwal | (137) Baltodi |
| (114) Pootho | (138) Idakoti |
| (115) Dhagaulo | (139) Duniyal |
| (116) Phutsila Bhatt | (140) Phulpatiya |
| (117) Bajkheti | (141) Chimariya |
| (118) Kankheti | (142) Konakheti |
| (119) Rainodi | (143) Mabhiwal |
| (120) Newaliya | (144) Sainja Joshi |
| (121) Mangolo | (145) Tatradi |
| (122) Selia | (146) Khunaulia |
| (123) Bhatgain | (147) Khusaulia |
| (124) Pokhariya | (148) Ghaghaulo |
| (125) Teliya | (149) Khaderi |
| (126) Akural | (150) Puthaniyan |

18. Pt. Ganga Datt Upreti's opinion

Pt. Ganga Datt Upreti has stated these brahmins to be capable of the army and thus of superior category :—

Joshi Galli	Kanyakubja	Brahmin	came	from	Kanauj
" Jhijar	Chaube	"	"	"	Prayag
" Latoli	Jyotishi	"	"	"	Kanauj
" Pokhari	"	"	"	"	Nepal
Joshi Danya	Jyotishi	Brahmin	came	from	Prayag
" Silwal	"	"	"	"	Kanauj
" Cheenakhan, Dhura	"	"	"	"	
" Dafaut	"	"	"	"	"
" Masmoli	"	"	"	"	Deccan
" Khatkeeni	"	"	"	"	Kanauj
" Badwe	"	"	"	"	Jhansi
" Paithan	Gaur	"	"	"	"
" Chahaj	Kanyakubja	"	"	"	Kanauj
" Negeela	Upadhyaya	"	"	"	Jhansi
" Daina	Jyotishi	"	"	"	Nepal
" Railkot	"	"	"	"	"
Pant Hatwal	Bhatt	"	"	"	Benaras
" Uprada Jogyuda etc.	Maharashtra	"	"	"	Deccan
" Agau	Kanyakubja	"	"	"	Nepal
" Sangdi	"	"	"	"	Kanauj
" Upreti	Maharashtra	"	"	"	Deccan
Tripathi Almora	Gujrati	"	"	"	Gujrat
Karnatak "	Deccan	"	"	"	Deccan
Pande Barkoda	Kanyakubja	"	"	"	Kanauj
" Dewali	panda	"	"	"	Punjab
" Parkoti	"	"	"	"	"
" Majeda	Upadhyay	"	"	"	Nepal
" Simaltana	Kanyakutiya	"	"	"	Jhansi

" Patiya	Upadhyaya	"	"	"	Banda
" Bayala	Bhatt	"	"	"	Benaras
" Belkot	Kanyakubja	"	"	"	Kanauj
" Gadauli	"	"	"	"	"
" Soopi	"	"	"	"	"
Pande Lezam	Pande	Brahmin	came	from	Deccan
Bhatt Khetigaun etc.	Dravida	"	"	"	"
Pathak Pathkyuda	Kanyakubja	"	"	"	Kanauj
" Dasauli	Bhatt	"	"	"	"
Punetha	Kanyakubja	"	"	"	Jhansi
Vaidya Seera	Upadhyaya	"	"	"	Nepal
" Anupshahar	"	"	"	"	"
Bisht Dadya	Upadhyaya	Brahmin	came	from	Jhansi
" Gadera	"	"	"	"	Kanauj
" Pathani	"	"	"	"	Madhya Pradesh
Upadhyay Kholi etc.	Gaud	"	"	"	Jhansi
" Kheti etc.	Upadhyaya	"	"	"	Nepal
Kulethi	Bhatt	"	"	"	Deccan
Sangetha	Kanyakubja	"	"	"	Kanauj
Damtha	Bhatt	"	"	"	Deccan
Gauria	"	"	"	"	"
Gurelo	"	"	"	"	"
Ojha	Upadhyaya	"	"	"	Nepal
Osti	Mishra	"	"	"	Maithil or Patana
Lohani	Upadhyaya	"	"	"	Banda
Kanyal	"	"	"	"	"
Thapaliya	"	"	"	"	"
Paneroo	"	"	"	"	"
Kothari	Bhatt	"	"	"	Deccan
Gautodi	Gaud	"	"	"	Jhansi
Pande Wasail	Pande	"	"	"	Jhusi
Bhatt	Bhatt	"	"	"	Benaras
Gurani	"	"	"	"	Nepal
Haribola	Upadhyaya	"	"	"	Deccan

19. Other Brahmins

Pt. Ganga Datt Upreti has placed these brahmins in the second category :—

Caste	Aspad	Where from came
1. Dugal	Bhatt	Deccan
2. Dumka	"	Nepal
3. Mantaniyan	Upadhyay	"
4. Kapuli	Bhatt	"
5. Kafalati	Mishra	Kanauj
6. Pundula	"	"
7. Jakholi	"	"
8. Charmyal	Joshi	Agra
9. Kapdi	Bhatt	Benaras
10. Bagoli	Goud	Jhansi
11. Gothalia	Joshi	Garhwal
12. Dhauniyan	Tewari	Deccan
13. Balia	Joshi	Kanauj
14. Batgali	Bhatt	Benaras
15. Kanyal	Kanyal	Kanauj
16. Sarani	Tewari	Gujrat
17. Nain	Pathak	Kanauj
18. Dhaila	Dhaila	?
19. Budhani	Budhani	Garhwal
20. Basgai	Basgai	"
21. Kabadwal	Kabadwal	"
22. Upadhyaya	Upadhyaya	Jhusi
23. Binwal	Binwal	East
24. Selia	Selia	Oudh
25. Suyal	Sunyal	"

(Contd.)

Caste	Aspad	Where from came
26. Chauthiya	Chauthiya	Nepal
27. Bagauria	Bagauria	"
28. Dhariyal	Dhariyal	"
29. Ghildiyal	Gaud	Garhwal
30. Kargeti	Jyotishi	Pilibhit
31. Kaneli	"	Kanauj
32. Malsuni	"	"
33. Syuri	"	"
34. Karsariya	"	"
35. Kathaulia	Tewari	Gujrat
36. Aswada	Tewari	Gujrat
37. Chaunal	"	"
38. Basoti	Mishra	Kanauj
39. Dhaulkhani	"	"
40. Ghugtyal	"	"
41. Chhimwal	—	—
42. Kanyani	Bhatt	Benaras
43. Dhurki	"	"
44. Sitaula	Mishra	Rohilkhand
45. Basaula	"	"
46. Digaria	"	"
47. Chauniya	"	"
48. Chinkhola	"	"
49. Bimli	"	Deccan
50. Bagaunia	"	"
51. Dalakoti	"	Kanauj
52. Rathaniya	"	"
53. Nainwal	"	"

Caste	Aspad	Where from came
54. Naulia	"	"
55. Sailia	"	"
56. Syuria	"	"
57. Silphodi	"	Nepal
58. Guni	"	"
59. Phulara	"	Benaras
60. Kaneli	"	Deccan
61. Nauriyal	"	"
62. Bhabwal	"	"
63. Kuletha	"	"
64. Takwal	"	Nepal
65. Manaulia	Mishra	Kanauj
66. Melkania	Mishra	Kanauj
67. Chandola	"	Garhwal
68. Naugai	"	Benaras
69. Kharkwal	"	Kanauj
70. Nadolia	"	"
71. Ramak	"	"
72. Kargeti	"	Nepal
73. Laukoti	"	"
74. Padalia	"	"
75. Kashmiri	"	Punjab *
76. Dadmwal	"	Garhwal
77. Kanseri	"	"
78. Hateli	"	"
79. Manyutia	"	"
80. Gadmaulia	"	"
81. Kumaya	"	Nepal

Caste	Aspad	Where from came
82. Kukreti	"	Garhwal
83. Gwalkoti	"	Kanauj
84. Dungariyal	"	Garhwal
85. Nautiyal	"	"
86. Ratkhania	"	Nepal
87. Taladia	"	"
88. Ghanela	"	"
89. Dadhula	"	"
90. Mashyal	"	Badayun
91. Sati	"	Nepal
92. Saulia	"	Kanauj
93. Nagai	"	"
94. Garwal	Mishra	Kanauj
95. Ruwali Bartola	"	"
96. Dolia Bhatt	"	Oudh
97. Ijata	Mishra	Kanauj
98. Madhyoli	"	Nepal
99. Wachhami	"	Not known
100. Gadiyal	"	Bihar
101. Aghoi	"	"
102. Guni	"	Madhya Pradesh
103. Binwal	"	Kanauj
104. Manaulia	"	Oudh
105. Naulia	"	Kanauj
106. Kharal	Upadhyaya	Chitrakoot
107. Madhwolia	Jyotishi	Kanauj
108. Gadiyuda	Bhatt	Jhansi
109. Anraula	"	Benaras

Caste	Aspad	Where from came
110. Chaudiyal	"	Nepal
111. Kumaya	Upadhyaya	"
112. Raiguni	"	"
113. Pacholia	"	"
114. Dhaskodi	"	"
115. Chahali	Bhatt	Benaras
116. Oliya	Upadhyaya	Nepal
117. Sunauli	"	"
118. Bainai	"	"
119. Kimadi	Kanyakubja	Kanauj
120. Badua	Bhatt	Benaras
121. Gauli	Pande	Kanauj
122. Gautadi	Chaube	Nepal
123. Bagoli	Gaud	Jhansi
124. Barakoti	Joshi	Kanauj
125. Belwal	Brahmin	Deccan
126. Chilwal	Jyotishi	Jhusi
127. Bajkheti	"	Nepal
128. Balsuni	Budhana	Garhwal
129. Khali	Joshi	Nepal
130. Bartola	"	"
131. Chauleta	"	"
132. Bediya	Karnatak	Deccan
133. Golanaseti	Bhatt	Benaras
134. Quairala	"	"
135. Dungrakoti	Gaud	Jhansi
136. Atwal	Agnihotri	Lucknow
137. Bhat	Bhatt	Benaras

Caste	Aspad	Where from came
138. Dantolia	Upadhyaya	Nepal
139. Pachauli	Gaud	"
140. Sangwal	Gaud	"
141. Muradi	Bhatt	"
142. Chaulya	Chaube	Mathura
143. Gadiyuda	Bhatt	Benaras
144. Papnai	"	"
145. Rikhadi	Pant	Nepal
146. Waste	Bhatt	"
147. Mungali	Brahmin	"
148. Sanwal	Pande	Deccan
149. Budhana	Brahmin	Garhwal
150. Kapuli	Bhatt	Benaras
151. Chandola	Mishra	Garhwal
152. Sulyal Joshi	Joshi	Kanauj
153. Dhankhola	Bhatt	Benaras
154. Kargeti	Jyotishi	Garhwal
155. Bagadwal	Brahmin	Deccan
156. Hatwal	"	"
157. Chanhaji	"	"
158. Chaudasi	"	"
159. Charmal	Joshi	Agra
160. Oli	Pande	Kanauj
161. Melkania	Upadhyaya	Jhansi
162. Chhimwal	Chaube	"
163. Garwal	Brahmin	Kanauj
164. Badhani	Bhatt	Benaras
165. Sati	Gaud	Kanauj

Caste	Aspad	Where from came
166. Chhatguli	Ojha	Patna
167. Bamanpuri	Gaud	Garhwal
168. Mathwal	Maharashtra	Deccan
169. Dumuka	Upadhyaya	Nepal
170. Manariya	Bhatt	Deccan
171. Backhheti	"	"
172. Badsichi	Gaud	Jhansi
173. Kapadi	Bhatt	Benaras
174. Kotgada	Upadhyaya	Nepal
175. Gadmaulia	"	"
176. Thapliyal	"	"
177. Nagila	"	"
178. Budhani	"	"
179. Barakoti	Upadhyaya	Nepal
180. Dangwal	"	"
181. Patadia	Upadhyaya	Nepal
182. Himgchudia	"	"
183. Kapkoti	"	"
184. Naurgi	Joshi	Deccan
185. Chapadwal	"	"
186. Vishtal	Bhatt	Benaras
187. Bhatt	"	Jhansi
188. "	"	Nepal
189. Chhimwal Negi	Chaube	Jhansi
190. Chhupka	Adi Gaud	Jhansi
191. Padaula	Jyotishi	Nepal
192. Banguni	Gaud	Janakpur
193. Anarani	Upadhyaya	Nepal
194. Mautodi	Joshi	"
195. Bagauli	Gaud	Jhansi

20. Kshatriya and Rajput class (group)

Rajputs of Sun clan : About 2 to 3 thousand years back the Katyuri kings had come from Ayodhya. Later they came to Karbirpur *alias* Kartikeyapur. The most exalted and honoured among their descendants, at present are :

(1) The Rajbars of Askot: Their genealogy has been given elsewhere. This is the only old family, which can proudly claim to be the residents of Kurmachal 2,500 years ago. They are from the clan of god Ram Bhadra. Now they own a very small *taluedari* (are petty landlords). They hold the title of Rajbar. Their state can not be divided. The eldest son gets the throne. They are treated as kings. The women of the Rajbars are called *bahuranis* (daughters-in-law). The remaining description will be found in the chapter on Askot.

(2) The Rajbars of Jaspur.

(3) The Manurals of Salt, Sainmanur, Kahedgaon, Tamadhaun, Udaipur, Bhaltgaoni, Hat and Chachrauti. They are of Sankashyak *gotra* and *panch pravar*. Baz Bahadur Chand snatched the principality of these all and reduced them to the status of ordinary *zamindars* (landlords).

(4) The Bishts of Sawali, who are also called Sawaliya Bishts, and whom the Bangaris of Bangarsyun call Rauts too, call themselves the Rajputs of the Sun clan. Atkinson says, "They now marry among rich and high class Khas Rajputs, because they have been called Sayanas from ancient times. Some people who are poor have to resort to labour for their livelihood. The Rajbars of Chaukot are among the Katyuri kings. They now enlist in the army. The women of the Rajbars are called *bahu-rani* and those of the Manurals, Rajai. Neither the Manurals nor the Rajputs take food prepared by the women, but there is no abstinence in *sem*, *palak*, brinjal, pumpkin, cucumber, yam and in some other vegetables if curd is put into it. These prepared by their wives, they will take. The women eat millet, but the men do not. Both the men and women do not take onion, garlic, radish, turnip and meat of the wild boar and sheep. The Rajputs worship their ancestors and are devotees of *shakti* (goddess of power and consort of Shiva). They marry with Rautelas, Bishts, Sahus and Bangaras. The poor people marry with ordinary Khas Rajputs also, but these things have now undergone a tremendous change.

Bisht : These people are of the Kashyap, Bharadwaj and Upmanyu *gotras*, belong to the *Madhyandini shakha* and both are of *panch* and *tripravar*. The proper word for Bisht is *Vishishta* (exceptional or distinguished) which means exalted and honourable. Though it has become a caste now, in reality it is a title. Rawat, Rana and Negi too mean high and distinguished. These people state that they have come from Chittorgarh. The people of Upmanyu *gotra* came to Sawali (Garhwal) from Ujjain and thence to Kumaun. These people marry with Manurals, Kalakotis, Katyuris, Negis, Rautelas, Latwals, Kharkus and Mahras etc. and avoid the *gotra* alone i.e. do not marry in the same *gotra*. The Bishts are found in these sub-divisions—Bora, Darmwal, Saun, Gaida, Bisaria, Khasku, Kathi, Khandi, Ulsi, Bhilaula, Chilwal, Dahila, Bhainsoda, Chamyal, Bani, Dhaniya and Bagadwal. The Saun Bishts of Chhakhata call themselves the Thakurs of Behedi.

The Bishts have played a very prominent role in the history of Kumaun. They were local rulers in Champavat since the days of Som Chand and were powerful during the time of Rudra Chand also. Baz Bahadur Chand brought the Gaira Bishts. Among them Agar Gaida Purana Mal and the Manik Chand Gaidas spread awe and terror for some time. They were all in all during the time of Devi Chand.

Kalakoti : These people call themselves the descendants of the Katyuri kings of the Sun clan and live in Dug, Danpur.

Karakoti : Are Rajputs of Sun clan and mostly live in Kaklasaun.

21. Other Rajputs of the Sun clan

(1) **Raikals** : are the descendants of king Raika Mall who was sometime the ruler of Doti and Sor Sira. They are found there.

(2) The Manurals of Udaipur.

Padyar : The Padyars of Chaugarkha are of Bharadwaj *gotra*. The branch is Dhanushi and Vipravar. They call themselves the progenies of the Mall king of Doti. They were called by this very name in Garhwal but Bishts in Kumaun; but since the time they settled in Padyarkot of Chaugarkha have been called Padyars. Elsewhere they are called Bishts. These people have been soldiers

and commanders in the army and were very famous fighters. Their name is recorded in history. They take to agriculture but Atkinson says that they will prefer to become peons rather than wield the plough. They live in Malla and Talla Katyur also.

Brahm alias Bam : The descendants of the old king of Sor, are now very few in number. Probably are in Nepal. They too belong to the Sun clan.

Karki : These people call themselves to have descended from the family of the Rana of Chittorgarh. They are Rajputs of Sun clan. They came here during the time of the Katyuri kings.

22. Lunar clan

Rajputs of lunar clan : Some scholars say that Raja Som Chand came from Jhusi, while the others say that people brought them. Still others say that he had come on pilgrimage to Badrinath. He was Chandela Rajput. The emperor of Kanauj was Chandela Rajput at that time among whom Raja Jai Chand, who was the contemporary of Prithvi Raj, is famous. But Elliot says "The Chandela Rajputs are not found towards Prayag. They are in abundance in Chanderi or Chandeli in Bundelkhand. It is possible that Som Chand would have come from Jhansi and not Jhusi. "But in Kumaun it is wide-spreadly said that he came from Jhusi town near Prayag. The detailed description of them is given elsewhere under the caption "Chand Rule". Now their descendants are (1) Raja Anand Singh in Almora. (2) Raja Udai Raj Singh, Kunwar Anand Singh and Kunwar Bhupal Singh etc. in Kashipur (Nainital). The Chandela Rajputs were called Chand on ascending the throne in Kumaun. This became the name of the dynasty.

Rautelas :- They are the descendants of the Chands. Among the Chands the title of the eldest son was Gusain. He had the right to the kingdom. The younger sons were called Rautelas. Atkinson's opinion is "Among these are included all—real and the fake". The Rautelas are spread everywhere, and the known among them are given below :-

- (1) In Patti Kharayat of Pargana Sor and in village Jiwi and Salmora.
- (2) In village Parewa in Kota.

- (3) In Patti Malli Rau and Pargana Dhyani Rau in villages Jamradi and Rautelakot.

Atkinson says, "These three Rautelas consider themselves to be the most superior. Raja Shiv Singh Rautela, had come from Januradi. These three families marry with Rajputs of high caste and in royal families. The residents of Jiwi and Salmora marry with the Vaishya kings of Doti also, and also with other Khasiyas and Vaishyas."

- (4) In Villages Bantgal, Salla, Raigel, Kabla and other villages of Patti Tikhun, pargana Baramandal.
- (5) In village Pithauni of Patti Uchyur.
- (6) Patti Athaguli - Village Chhana, Chhabisa, Umvadi.
- (7) Patti Baurarau - Village Khadli.
- (8) Patti. Rithagad, Pargana Chaugarkha :- Naugaon, Chhauna, Bilauri, Matela
- (9) Patti Silor, Pargana Pali - Village Tipola. Serna,
- (10) In Sahumi and Masau in Patti Talla Dwara.
- (11) Village Saboli in Patti Naya.
- (12) In Phalsaun and Shirkot in Patti Kaklasaun.
- (13) Village Bachkot alias Bachkande.
- (14) They live in village Hartap and Simalkha and several other villages of Dhaniyakot as, Syalgarhi, Dadima, Airadi, Naroli, Pindauli, Dangyuda, Badnauli, Pattapani, Begawali, Pilsaz etc.

They all call themselves of Kashyap *gotra*, Madhyandini branch, and Vipravar and are mostly Shaktas (devotees of Shakti). They do not eat rice cooked by their wives and even millet. These people become soldiers, some do service and the rest are agriculturists but now all the old things are being annihilated.

Kharku : The Rautela Gusains state themselves to belong to the Katyuri family. Formerly they had great influence. Shri Sukh Ram Kharku had been a very influential fauzdar during the reign of Vijay Chand.

Others of lunar clan : The descendants of the Mankoti Raja lives in village Piuthana of Nepal area. Now they are few in Kumaun. Some Rautelas of their family are somewhat hither and thither in Gangoli.

23. Others Rajputs

Bora : Some people state the Boras of Baurarau and Kaidarau to be among the Bishts. Their *gotra* and *shakha* (branch) too is akin to that of the Bishts. They say that their progenitor Danukumar or Kumbhkarna lived in Kotalgarh of Kali Kumaun. He helped Raja Kirti Chand a lot in subduing the Katyuri kings. He received the country from Devidhura to Koshi in *jagir*. They are found in Dhyanirau of Kali Kumaun but Atkinson says that their manners are, "Like those of the Khas Rajputs. They worship the Shakti of Shiva as also the village deities Haru, Bhairav and Bhumia. They are agriculturists and soldiers. They were the people who inhabited the Baurarau Patti." Six families of Boras are in Baurarau. The thokdar of Beluwakhan in Nainital writes himself as Bohra.

Kuthaliya Bora : In Gangoli and elsewhere some Boras prepare the *kuthalas* (large bags) and sacks of *bhanga* (intoxicating hemp). They cut stones of water-mills also, and say they are considered to be inferior, but they too claim to have come from district Kangra of Punjab and state themselves to be the descendants of the money-lender, Hamir Bohra. The Bohra caste in Punjab is still usurers, but it is not known why they are counted among the untouchables.

Kaida : The Kaidas live in Kaidarau. Their *gotra* is Krishnasan. They too are like the Boras. They call themselves Chauhan like the Maharas and Mers. When the Boras settled in Baurarau, Kaidas inhabited Kaidarau. They also live in Patti Dhyanirau of Kali Kumaun. They state themselves to be the descendants of the family of Jeet Raj but Atkinson says that they are Khas Rajputs.

Baseda : The Rajput of this caste came from the east and defeated the Raika king of Sira and ruled for three generations. Later Raika king established his kingdom again after defeating Baseda. Now their descendants are residents of Sor, Sira.

Rawat : These Rawats are old inhabitants of Kali Kumaun. They were kings of Daunkot. When Som Chand became the ruler of Kali Kumaun, Vir Singh Rajput who had accompanied Som Chand,

included the Daunkot area into the Chand kingdom after defeating the kings of Daunkot. Their descendants live in Salligaon and Gumdesh of Patti Charaal.

(Atkinson and other writers describe them as Rajya-Kirat. Some writers call them Khas - Rajput).

Khati : These people ruled in Phaldakot. Raja Kirti Chand snatched the area of Khati king. They are now in Silor and other places. They call themselves Rajputs of the Sun clan.

Panchpurviya : The undermentioned five castes are called Panch - purviya. King Ratan Chand had brought them along with him from Doti :-

Deopa : From village Roba, Garkha, Paspas.

Serari : From village Sangor, Sorari Talli Malli.

Puruchuda : From village Rundakot Garkha Purchudi.

Chiral : From village Chhawati Chiral.

Paderu : From Garkha Paderu.

He settled them after bringing them here and granting *jagirs*. They had relations with the Chand kings. After some time the people of Chiral family returned to Doti again. As such the descendants of other families barring the Chirals, are still present in Sor. Some of them are in Kali Kumaun also.

Tadaki alias Tadagi : Thakur Veer Singh came to Kali Kumaun along with king Som Chand. Due to loyalty he got the title of *Tadit alias Taditi* (Tarit means lighting). His descendants are present in Kali Kumaun, Almora and other places. Some people call them Kayasthas also. Later they were called Kshatriyas due to having relations with Rajputs.

Butaula, Rawat, Bagdi : These people say that they came during the time of Katyuri king but the correct information is not known.

Mahta : The people of Mahta family are found in many places. In some places they called Kholia Mahat also. They say that they are Panwar Rajputs and came from Dhara Nagari. They came during the period of the Katyuri kings.

Aswal, Bartwal : are said to be from Panwar family and had come from Dhara Nagari during the time of the Katyuri kings.

Rana : They state to be the scions of the Rana of Chittor and some say to have come during the time of the Katyuri kings, but their *gotra* and *shakha* is similar to those of the Bishts. Some people say that one Mathpal brought them here during the time of Baz Bahadur Chand. They worship one deity, are Shaktas (devotees of Shakti) and marry in Sahu, Chaudhari and Bisht castes, who are of a different *gotra*. They are agriculturists.

Waldia : The people of Waldia family call themselves Rajput of Kather. They came here in the period of the Katyuri kings.

Basnal : They state to be Chauhan Rajputs and coming from Delhi. They came in the period of the Katyuri kings. By getting Basi village in *Jagir* were called Basnals.

Kathayat : These people say that they are Katheria Rajputs of Kather and came here during the reign of the Bam king of Sor. Some say they are Chauhans of Kashyap *gotra*. Bhim Kathayat was the famous minister of the Katyuris. Nilu Kathayat was a great commander of the Katyuris. Later his descendants acted as *darogas* (suprintendents) of the kitchen. This is a historical clan.

Rawat : The Rawats of Dungrakot state their post to be that of *payak* which means a *pahalwan* (wrestler).

Miral : The Mirals of village Mirai in Patti Malla Dora state their progenitor to have come from Rajputana and themselves as Rajputs of Rathor family. They came during the time of the Katyuri royal family. Likewise Rauna, Vijaipurias also say they are from the family of the Ranas of Udaipur.

Adhikari : Adhikaris too are among the Bishts. They are devotees of Kali of Punyagiri. Four families state themselves to be Adhikaris; Syunia, Nenia, Mulia and Maun or Mahat. They are of Bharadwaj *gotra*.

Mahra : Mara, Mahara or Mahra, pronounced in three ways, are of the same caste. They are of Bharadwaj and Kashyap *gotras*. The people of the Bharadwaj *gotra* say that their ancestors were Chauhans of Mainpuri who on coming to Kali Kumaun settled there in village Sirmoli. They were called Maras because their war -

cry was, 'kill-kill'. The progenitor of the people of Bharadwaj *gotra* was Jagdeo, who had been also stated to be Panwar Rajput of Dhara Nagari. Of them, the descendant of a brother were called Mahra, and of the other Fartyal. These two groups took a prominent part in the history of Kumaun, reference to this will occur from time to time. They are Shaktas but worship the village or local deities also. They are agriculturists, some rear the cow and some are soldiers. Some are big landlords also. Those in good conditions marry among Rana, Rajbar, Bisht and Tadagi castes, the poor in Khas-Rajput families. They are *thokdars* in Kumaun, as also in Chhakhata. The Mahara of Kot in Kali Kumaun had two sons—Chanda and Samar. Samar had six sons. One settled Ladakabunga, three in Kodyal and two in Kandadeo. The sons of Chanda settled in Thuwa Gaon, where formerly Thuwal brahmins used to live. As such they were called Thuwa Maharas.

Negi : There they are of four *gotras* : (1) Kashyap, (2) Bharadwaj (3) Gautam and (4) Shandilya. They are of *Madhyandini Shakha* and *Tripravar*. Some people say that they came from Dhara Nagari, others state that they are Chauhans of Mewar. They will be referred to elsewhere. There are many kinds of Negis.

Barhinkundi alias Bhakundi or Bhakuni : They state themselves to be Panwar Rajputs and to have come here during the reign of the Katyuri kings. They were enlisted in the army. The name of the village became Bannikundi alias Bhakundi which later became Bhakoon. They were probably gunners. During the time of the Chand king they were *jhandebardar* (flag-bearers) in the army. Now they live in many villages.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) Jambuwal (Jambal or Dogra) | The Rajputs of these four castes |
| (2) Nagarkotiya | came during the time of the Chand |
| (3) Puraniya | kings from the towns of Jambu, |
| (4) Guleriya | Nagarkot, Puranpur and Guler and |
| | were soldiers in the army. They |
| | are scattered here and there. |

Panwar : Panwars and Prammar family Rajputs of many *gotras* are also found here, eg. Saunak, Kashyap, Bhaum, Bharadwaj. Their *Shakha* is *Madhyandini* and they are of *Panch Pravar*. They state that their progenitor Narendra Singh came here from Ujjain during the Katyuri period and took the service of the king. Some people

say that they came from Dhara Nagari during the time of the Katyuri king Baital Deo. Now the people of their family are known after the names of the villages in which they settled. Shalani, Shurani, Aida, Basheda, Mer—all of them call themselves Panwar Rajputs. They are Shaktas and worship their arms during the festivals.

The worship of Shakti is held every third year. They bear the expenses by collecting funds by subscription. At this time eight sacrifices are held. They resort to agriculture and service. The high-class families marry with Rajbar, Manral, Bisht or Adhikaris whereas the poor with Negi, Bhojak and Bajeta.

Takuli : They state themselves to be Rawats of Garhwal. The *gotra* is Bharadwaj but they do not know about their *shakha* and *prawar*. They say that one of their ancestors went to collect taxes during the time of king Purna Chand. He was so successful that he got a village in *jagir* on the mere condition of supplying ice to the king. But Atkinson says that Raja Purna Chand went to Danpur very late, as such this story is baseless. Some Takulis wear the sacred thread, others do not. Their women weave blankets. They resort to agriculture, become soldiers and rear cows and goats. They marry with Khas-Rajputs which they themselves are. They worship Haru, Chharmal, Kalchand and Latu. In Malla Danpur they are considered to be more celebrated than others. They were feudal kings there.

Bhandari or Bhanari : People say they are Chauhans. Their progenitor was the store keeper to the king in Champavat town during the time of king Som Chand as such he was called Bhandari. At first he settled in Wazirkot near Champavat. Later on transfer of the capital to Almora, they were given land in Bhanargaon and they also constructed the Bhanari *naula* (water - spring). Another rumour is that they came from Doti. There are many people of this family there. The Bhandaris of Kumaun marry with all the Rajputs. They worship Shiva and the Shaktis, as also Saim, Haru, Gwall, Kalsaim, Nagmal and Hurmall. At present they are mostly agriculturists.

Khadayat : They are old Rajputs of Kali Kumaun and were in the army during the period of the Chands. They were warriors of a brave clan. They won victory gloriously and very bravely in Phaldakot and drove away the Kathi Rajputs of that place.

Nayal : had been soldiers of the Chand kings and state to have come from Rajputana.

Miyan : Two brothers, Daljit Singh and Ajab Singh came to Almora from western Naulagarh during the time of the Chand kings. The Chand king enlisted both of them in the army. At first they had no sacred thread, they put it after coming here. The descendants of both are found in Kumaun.

Bauras of Phungar Chowki : They call themselves the oldest *thatwans* or inhabitants of Kumaun and the descendants of the *dairyas* (demons). When, during the reign of the kings, any decision about land was made by divine ways, these Bauras, considering it to be their *that* or ancestral property exacted some customary fee from every respondent. Now this custom is not in vogue. They still possess the largest thokdari in *pargana* Kali Kumaun.

Other Rajputs : Pt. Rudra Datt Pant writes, "The following castes came here from Nepal. Formerly the king of Doti had authority over some part of Kumaun. Later, after fighting, the Chands took that province of Kali Kumaun under their suzerainty. Watching the increase in the valour of the Chands, some Rajput clans secretly maintained cordial relations with the Chand kings. Whenever the Chands went out for war, they used to supply *kumak* or the news of war to them. On learning this, the *shahi* king of Doti, extraminated these castes from there. The Chands gave shelter to the following castes :

- (1) Dotiyal (Dotyal) - having come from Nepalese area.
- (2) Rodiyal - having come from village Rodi, *Pargana* Neta.
- (3) Dharni - having come from Bajangya Garkha.
- (Castes (2) and (3) are counted as Thakurani Rajputs).
- (4) Bhandari - from Jurayal Garkha of Doti.
- (5) Bisht - " " " " "
- (6) Gunpal Raul - from Gunpal Garkha of Doti.
- (7) Bohra - from Gunayal Garkha of Doti.
- (8) Naulpa - from Gunayal Garkha of Doti.

(9) Saun - from Doti. They are *Thokdars* of Saun Patti in Kali Kumaun. The Saim Bisht *Thokdars* of Chhakhata call themselves Thakurs of Jam Bahedi.

(10) Kuchyal - from Kuchyal Garkha of Doti.

(11) Rikhalya - from Rikligarkha of Doti area.

Jangalia - call themselves Padyar Rajputs.

Madh Rajputs—are mostly in Almora district. They state to have come from Jhusi, write Varma after their names and do the work of gold-smiths. Some of them are engaged in service also. Some of the gold-smiths have been entered as Kunwar Rajputs in British *phants* (land-records) also.

24. Still other Rajputs

Atkinson writes: "There are about 280 class of Rajputs in my list but, they are Khas Rajputs. They are said to be Rajputs of Bharadwaj *gotra*, but they neither know the meaning of *gotra*, nor the connection of one *gotra* with the other. Some put on the sacred thread of six strings, and some of three only. Their profession is agriculture, service, trade or physical labour. Some rear cows and sell clarified butter and milk. Barring the Rajputs of their own village, they marry in the families of all Rajputs of other villages. They worship Shiva and all the deities of the village. They take rice prepared by the people of their own caste or by the priest. They are simple, frugal and industrious. They are ignorant about matters outside their village and attend the party of the worship of the village deities with great pleasure - Some people give their introduction in a special way as noted below :-

Mer- Say they used to prepare *pattal* (plate made of leaves) for the kings.

Baria - prepared baskets.

Bhojak - say that they came from Kangra.

Pajain - are potters.

Shauka - are sacrificers of goats.

Mahaut - were riders of elephants.

Saun - some wear *janeu* (sacred thread), some do not.

Dadmwal - used to give pomegranate to the king.

Machchua - fishers.

Chhalal - decorators of homes.

Tharwal - jesters.

Rajkoli - weavers to the king.

Batanis - Weeders of the king's grain.

Jatwani - heaters of water.

Ghoka - children of *devchelis* (dancing - girls).

Tapasi - offsprings of *jogis* (mendicants) and hill women.

Samal - call themselves Rana of Nepal.

Naunia - call themselves Bisht.

Ghumgutia - call themselves Chauhan.

Chaudia Kala- Bhuniyan Harkotiya. They are Bhotiyas who were given the title of Rajput.

Binsaria - They belong to Binsar, where the worship of Bineshvar Shiva is held; Some are from Danpur (they will be referred to elsewhere). Bhatraulas are so ugly as the bird of that name.

Kala - are so called because their ancestors were *kala* (deaf).

Dosandh - inhabitants of Dosan frontier of Kumaun and Garhwal.

Chakana - so called because their ancestors were quarrelsome.

Some people are called after the names of villages. eg. (1) Sutara of Sutar village, (2) Neria of Neri. (3) Surani of Surna (4) Chaumwal of Chaumu. (5) Dafauti of Dafaut, (6) Garholi of Garhwal, (7) Jakhwal of Jakh, (8) Banaula of Banaulikot etc.”

Khas –Rajputs

Pt. Rudra Datt Pant writes “Even in Khas—Rajputs two distinctions are made (1) old, (2) new. Old *thatwan* of Khas Desh or old inhabitant. New is the one who came from some other country from time to time. Some have sacred thread, some have not. Both have assimilated now due to relation with the old. Now they are considered as one and the same.”

Khas –Rajputs of Danpur

“Danon - They state their progenitor to be demon or giant.

Takutis etc. also describe their progenitor to be demon after whose name their pargana was called Danpur.

Kuranga, Soragi, Wachchimi, Pano, Karki, Takuli, Danon etc. all these say that they came from Garhwal, Baramandal and other places and settled here. Now they are all enumerated among the Khas-Rajputs. Many of them do not even have sacred thread round their necks, but relations are established between both the sacred thread-wearers and the *janeu* - less (without sacred thread.) The procedure of marriage too is like the Khas - Rajputs. There is no difference, even then the Khas - Rajputs of the lower regions keep a difference in relation and footing with them, because they know less about the manners of the Danpur people. It is said, they smoke the hubble - bubble of the Johar people."

Khas Rajputs of Talla Danpur

The manners of Garhia, Dithala, Kapkoti, Aithani, Dotyal, Bafila, Bhaunkal etc. is similar to those of Malla and Talla Danpur.

Khas Rajputs of other varieties

Raji Rawat : The Rawats of Fatehpur, Chhakata say that they were the Rajas of Tanakpur Bhavar. They call themselves Rawat and now put on the sacred thread also.

Syanniya : Live in Kali Kumaun and are considered as the old inhabitants of that area. They have been classed and taken to be in the category of the Rajis.

Raji : Old inhabitants of Kumaun in Chaugarkha and Askot. Full description will be found elsewhere.

Sanwalia (or Sammal) : These 26 live in Dumola, were Rajas of the vicinity of Maluwa Tal, and are land-lords now.

27. Determination or Examination by Pt. Ganga Datt

Pt. Ganga Datt has classified the Rajputs in three categories in his monograph *The Martial Races of Kumaun* :

Of the first class :-

	<i>Caste</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Wherefrom come</i>
1.	Chandra	Lunar	Jhusi
2.	Rajbar	Solar	Ayodhya
3.	Manarwal or Manral	"	"
4.	Miyan	-	Punjab
5.	Rautela	Lunar	Jhusi
6.	Padyar	Miyan	Punjab
7.	Sorari	Deo	Nepal
8.	Bashera	Rajput	Jhansi
9.	Bum	-	Nepal
10.	Gulariya Negi	Miyan	Punjab
11.	Purania Negi	Solar	"
12.	Shahi	-	Nepal
13.	Oyoba	Dev	Sindh
14.	Dyola or Dyan	"	Nepal
15.	Dev	"	Nepal
16.	Kunwar	Solar	Ayodhya
17.	Baitara	Dev	Nepal
18.	Rodiyal	"	"
19.	Kumwar	Solar	"
20.	Kunwar Gautam Gotra	"	"
21.	" " "	"	Jhansi
22.	Kumuan Rautela	Rajput	Oudh
23.	Bashera	Bashera	Nepal
24.	Kunwar	Kunwar	"
25.	Aswal	Nag	Garhwal
26.	Khawas	Kunwar	Jhansi

One branch of the Kunwars is known by the name 'Kunwarbi'. They are settled in Pali Pachchaun. He has called these 26 catagories of *kshatriyas* real or *jangakari rajputs*.

The Rajputs of the second category

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Where from come</i>
27. Syontari	Rajput	Dhara Nagar
28. Mahori (Muhari)	"	"
29. Ghugtyal	Rajput	Nepal
30. Pachhain Rawat	"	Dhara Nagar
31. Jinaula	"	Jhansi
32. Salauna	"	"
33. Heet	Kuru	"
34. Mishar	Marhata	Deccan
35. Karakoti	Katyuri	Oudh
36. Tadhiyal	Rajput	Garhwal
37. Kathait	"	Punjab
38. Bisht	"	Garhwal
39. Panwar Rajput	Panwar	"
40. Bahnal	Chauhan	Delhi
41. Negi	Raghu	Jhansi
42. Kathait	Rajput	Nepal
43. Mangachari	"	Jhusi
44. Pahta Negi.	"	Punjab
45. Raj Panwar	Panwar	Dhara Nagar
46. Jaulara	"	"
47. Machhar Bhendani	Rajput	Nepal
48. Machhar Badela	"	"
49. Machhar Bagets	"	"
50. Lad	Thakur	"
51. Patdi	"	"
52. Kotanai	Bisht	"

(Contd.)

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Wherefrom come</i>
53. Parewa	Rajput	"
54. Mahta	"	"
55. Rithal	Panwar	Deccan
56. Rawat	Jharkhandi Kunwar	Jhansi
57. Basani	Mahta	Nepal
58. Majila	Rajput	"
59. Bankoti	Rana	Chittorgarh
60. Dano	Dano	Bombay
61. Dhatri	Kunwar	Nepal
62. Metwal	Rawat	Garhwal
63. Kesyari	Solar	Nepal
64. Patalia	"	Garhwal
65. Aitarati	Rautela	Nepal
66. Dahewa	Dahewa	"
67. Kapkoti	Rajput	Deccan
68. Mahta	Mahat	Benaras
69. Mahra or Mara	Panwar	Mainpuri
70. Karki	Rana	Chittorgarh
71. Phartyal	Solar	Rajputana
72. Chaudhari	Panwar	Jhansi
73. Mahar	Rana	Chittorgarh
74. Lodiya	"	"
75. Bhakuni Khatru	Budhathoki	Nepal
76. Paithani	Chauhan	Delhi
77. Talot, Ghatari	Panwar	"
78. Seldar	Rajput	Dhara Nagar
79. Ramolba	Chauhan	Garhwal

(Contd.)

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Wherefrom come</i>
80. Bajeli	Rajput	Plains
81. Sila	"	Garhwal
82. Nagarkoti	Nagarkot	Punjab
83. Gadia	Solar	Garhwal
84. Gestha	Danav	"
85. Kanauji	Danav	Garhwal
86. Negi	Rana	Chittorgarh
87. Rawat	Rawat	Garhwal
88. Khati	Rathaur	Jhansi
89. Dotiyal	Rana	Nepal
90. Dosad Bisht	Panwar	Dhara Nagar
91. Kaira	Rajput	Rajputana
92. Takuli	Panwar	Dhara Nagar
93. Kumlania	Rana	Chittorgarh
94. Basnyal	Chauhan	Delhi
95. Khyunsal	Rajput	Garhwal
96. Mirwal	Rana	Chittorgarh
97. Taragi	Kayasth	Jhansi
98. Karki	Rana	Nepal
99. Bawara	Danav	Punjab
100. Chaudhari	Panwar	"
101. Mahta	Panwar	Mainpuri
102. Phartiyal	Rajput	Rajputana
103. Karayat	"	"
104. Dev	Dev	Nepal
105. Dhek	Rajput	Jhansi
106. Ladiwal	"	"

(Contd.)

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Wherefrom come</i>
107. Mauni	"	"
108. Kakirwal	"	"
109. Dhaini	"	"
110. Mahata	"	"
111. Mawal	Kunwar	Nepal
112. Kadwal	Rajput	Jhansi
113. Mateda	Rajbar	Oudh
114. Jina	Rajput	Rohilkhand
115. Bhojak	Panwar	Dhara Nagar
116. Malsuni	Sacen	Nepal
117. Patwal Gusain	Thakur	Punjab
118. Dangi	"	Garhwal
119. Phartyal	Rajput	Oudh
120. Bora	"	Nepal
121. Bora	Jat	Jhansi
122. Karakoti Harnauli	Rajput	Garhwal
123. Kapkoti	Shahi	Nepal
124. Dhanki	Thakur	Rathaur
125. Gurang	Thapa	Nepal
126. Magar	"	"
127. Thapa	"	"
128. Mala	Mala	"
129. Kafalia	Rana	Chittorgarh
130. Gaira	"	"
131. Dasila	"	"
132. Bisht	Chauhan	Delhi
133. Kathaula	Katheria	Pilibhit

(Contd.)

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Wherefrom come</i>
134. Bisht	Rajput	Punjab
135. Khanwari Negi	Chauhan	Garhwal
136. Dhek	Rajput	Punjab
137. Saun Kala	Bum	Nepal
138. Saun Gora	"	"
139. Limwar	Kunwar	"
140. Bajeli	Thakaur	Oudh
141. Dhauni	Panwar	Jhunsi
142. Bora	Jat	Nepal
143. Kathait	Rajput	Oudh 'Rohil- khand'
144. Digari	"	Punjab
145. Karayat	"	Nepal
146. Khawas	Karki	"
147. Kanwal	Rajput	Kanauj
148. Mankoti	Thakur	Oudh
149. Baura Jainta	Baura	Nepal
150. Baura Peeta	"	"
151. Kothyal	Kunwar	"
152. Kharayat	Pal	Oudh
153. Gairha	Rana	Chittorgarh
154. Bhanari	"	"
155. Karki	"	"
156. Dotyal	"	"
157. Bora	Danav	Bombay
158. Mahar	Rana	Rajputana
159. Nayal	"	Chittorgarh
160. Jaun	"	"
161. Katheria	Katheria	Pilibhit

(Contd.)

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Wherefrom come</i>
162. Kulaula	Kulaula ?	Garhwal
163. Patni	Patni	Patna
164. Dhanui	Rana	Chittorgarh
165. Dangwal	Rajput	Rajputana
166. Dhungsil	Yadav	Punjab
167. Sinagauna	"	"
168. Nauniya	"	Dhara Nagar
169. Kulaula	Rajput	Oudh
170. Tipaula	Rautela	Jhansi
171. Mangehari Bisht	Solar	"
172. Unini Bisht	Lunar	Karnatak (Deccan)
173. Gaira Bisht	Solar	Chittorgarh
174. Vijaipuri	Rana	"
175. Basnal Negi	"	"
176. Basnal Negi	"	"
177. Miral	"	"
178. Bangari	Panwar	Dhara Nagar
179. Basnal	Chauhan	Delhi
180. Dangwal	Rana	Chitrakoot
181. Panwar	Nag	Dhara Nagar
182. Rankuni	Kashmire	Benaras
183. Baghari	Rana	Chittorgarh
184. Dhayara	Rajput	Garhwal
185. Saun	Rajput	Nepal
186. Bhandari	"	"
187. Salauna	"	"
188. Neet	Kuru	"

(Contd.)

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Wherefrom come</i>
189. Nauniya	Yadav	Dhara Nagar
190. Bhanari	Panwar	"
191. Queera Bisht	Rajput	Punjab
192. Paita Rawat	"	"
193. Adgari	"	"
194. Jalal	"	Rohilkhand
195. Bedhula	Rana	Chittorgarh
196. Tadhyal	Rajput	Nepal
197. Bhujani	Panwar	"
198. Talota	"	Garhwal
199. Dhanik	Kunwar	Dhara Nagar
200. Syuntari	Rajput	"
201. Mahori	"	Oudh
202. Gurau	Gorkha	Nepal
203. Ghugtyal	Rajput	"
204. Jinaula Rawat	"	"
205. Bisht Jimali	Bisht	Garhwal
206. Thait	Rajput	Nepal
207. Panwar	Panwar	Garhwal
208. Bahual	Chauhan	Delhi
209. Pahla Negi	Rajput	Garhwal
210. Bagh Rajput	"	Oudh
211. Rachhode	Thakur	Rachhor
212. Kumya Bisht	Bisht	Punjab
213. Narnwal Negi	Chauhan	Garhwal
214. Phedari	Rajput	Punjab
215. Ramola	Chauhan	Garhwal

(Contd.)

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Wherefrom come</i>
216. Sejali Rajput	Rajput	Oudh
217. Satyal Rajput	"	"
218. Mulya	Rana	Chittorgarh
219. Nayal	Panwar	Dhara Nagar
220. Karanga	"	"
221. Bafila	Rautela	"
222. Dhapaula	Deo	"
223. Kotaula	Bisht	Nepal
224. Patwal	Thakur	Punjab
225. Banain	Rautela	Nepal
226. Chauna	Rajput	"
227. Khasai Bisht	Thakur	Oudh
228. Khani	Rajput	Nepal
229. Rabal	Rawat	Ajmer
230. Tapsi	Bhanari	Benaras
231. Dungariyal	Rajput	Punjab
232. Naik	"	"
233. Chakana	Jat	Badayun
234. Musyauni	Rajput	Nepal
235. Dohia	"	"
236. Suyal	"	"
237. Besariya	"	"
238. Sclakoti	"	"
239. Balia	"	"
240. Chathiya	"	"
241. Jhingaria	Rajput	Nepal
242. Pajain	"	"

(Contd.)

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Wherefrom come</i>
243. Purnia	"	"
244. Almuian	"	"
245. Kanwal	"	"
246. Banaula	"	"
247. Bhat	"	"
248. Bedhula	Rana	Chittorgarh
249. Ghurdaura	Rajput	Garhwal
250. Dangsil	Rajput	Punjab
251. Bhainsora	Panwar	Dhara Nagar
252. Bangari	"	Dhara Nagar
253. Digari	Rajput	Oudh
254. Saun	"	"
255. Bhat	"	"
256. Anar	"	"
257. Jantal	"	"
258. Jalal	"	"
259. Dhatola	Thakur	Madhya Desh
260. Kotaliya	"	"
261. Dikua	"	Oudh
262. Banalo	"	"
263. Bagadwal	"	Nepal
264. Champal	Bahadur	"
265. Gailakoti	Rajput	"
266. Malara	"	Oudh
267. Nailia	"	"
268. Dungariyal	"	"
269. Khanwari Negi	Chauhan	Delhi

(Contd.)

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Wherefrom come</i>
270. Bhulani	Panwar (are Jats ?)	Garhwal
271. Talota	Panwar	Delhi
272. Kolota Rawat	Rajput	Oudh
273. Munar	"	Punjab
274. Chawak	Bora or Jat	"
275. Baira	Rajput	Oudh
276. Panwar	Nag	Dhara Nagar
277. Dhayara	Dhayara	Garhwal
278. Bedhula	Rana	Chittorgarh
279. Adgari	Thakur	Banaras
280. Paneta Rawat	"	"
281. Queera Rawat	"	"
282. Tania	Rajput	Badayun
283. Besaria	"	Oudh
284. Boldia	"	Nepal
285. Seti	"	"
286. Shaun	Panwar	Dhara Nagar
287. Biroori	Thakur	Oudh
288. Siral	Rajput	Garhwal
289. Dadhari	"	"
290. Badhari	"	"
291. Rawal	Rawat	Ajmer
292. Karaula	Rajput or Negi	Garhwal
293. Bilwal	"	Kanauj
294. Bahrain	"	"
295. Garsera	"	"
296. Garkhwal	"	"

(Contd.)

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Wherefrom come</i>
297. Pokharia Saun	Rajput or Negi	Nepal
298. Tari	"	Garhwal
299. Nagarkoti Negi	Rana	Chittorgarh (Punjab)
300. Panda	Panda	Rohilkhand
301. Jhunial	Rajput	"
302. Tarsal	"	"
303. Thaplyal	Rawat	Garhwal
304. Kulsyal	Rajput	"
305. Dyosal	Rajput	Garhwal
306. Raktola	"	"
307. Jamanal	"	"
308. Kandari	"	"
309. Dasauni	"	Nepal
310. Chhuraula	"	Kanauj
311. Talat	"	"
312. Saini	"	"
313. Goldar Negi	"	Punjab
314. Basari	"	"
315. Palani	"	"
316. Bairia	"	Rajputana
317. Kopal	"	Kanauj
318. Dogra	"	Punjab
319. Bhandari Negi	"	Kanauj
320. Digaura Gusain	"	"
321. Bohra Bisht	"	"
322. Asgola Rajput	"	"
323. Queera	"	"
324. Naugharia Negi	"	"

(Contd.)

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Wherefrom come</i>
325. Ninaula Bisht	Rajput	Rajputana
326. Bhawari	"	"
327. Satpola	"	"
328. Newai	"	"
329. Patyal	"	"
330. Kanaunia Bisht		(Kanauj)
	"	Rajputana
331. Chaudhari	"	"
332. Gudyal	"	"
333. Kanyal	"	"

Rajputs of category III

It is not known about them as to from where these Rajputs came :- Sirari, Kotyudi Nagolia, Bokar, Sila, Duniya, Kanwal, Gauni, Khatri, Negi Danav, Dhaila, Belwal, Bahro, Jhunival, Dhanik, Garsera, Thakur Thathola, Teesna, Kuyunsali, Siruri, Agnoik Chhupka, Deoli, Tarsalla, Kumalta, Chornei, Palni, Basher, Adhikari, Melwal, Saun-Bisht, Satyal, Bokhara, Dunya, Karmyal, Gauni, Saun, Hararia, Balaulia, Baria, Selia, Naik, Chanra, Mahat, Lamaroti, Suyal, Kotalia, Dharmyal, Champal, Pilkhwal, Chilwal, Dangsari, Ulsai, Ghilot, Bani, Nagolia, Kamsal, Bhukani, Harnwal, Dahila, Tatrari, Silbasi, Dhangola, Nyaulia, Malara, Chchaji, Kararka, Dasamni, Wolta, Dadit, Chaunal, Latwal, Salal, Syani, Bargai, Jaral, Salia, Jina, Salone, Jinaula, Nagolia, Gauni, Dungsyal, Basauli, Gangola, Bhanari, Baraulia, Chanar, Lamakoti, Bodulia, Champat, Jhiyaria, Purania, Almiyan, Pajain, Phool, Kharkwal, Janautis, Bagadwal, Raun, Airi, Char, Ghoodal, Kupal, Rafal, Asyal, Kanari, Siral, Chalyuri, Dhauyari, Dadhari, Budora, Nakuria, Ijaral, Kotiya, Saladia, Kulsyal, Taripal, Bhauriyal, Birariam Harada, Rautyari, Babila, Kanwal, Bora, Jwal, Garia, Kansauji, Metwal, Kosyari, Pataliyan, Dhokari, Baghari, Tari, Vachchani, Danpuriya, Tangania, Chhutaula, Raul, Rawat, Dharkoti, Aithani, Damo, Bisariya, Bhanaula, Banaula, Holariya, Khetola, Kunsaiyan, Garim Gukhwal, Dhimwal, Dhokati, Baghari, Kunmalta, Bairaka, Adkariya, Saldia, Gutpari, Kumdal, Chaubia,

Bagoli, Mautori, Khari, Bajela, Bijepuri, Budhani, Bak, Kanauli, Nailwal, Kolsara, Baria, Kapadi, Jival, Dev, Kafalia, Chautar, Kotalia, Kotgari, Jhinjaria, Chauthia, Bania, Takwal, Patani, Dani, Lad, Pokhariya, Kotmai, Metwal, Patalia, Aitari, Dahaita, Dhokati, Banauli, Charinyal, Gailkoti.

30. Rajputs of Category IV

Pt. Ganga Datt Upreti, has placed these Rajputs in the fourth Category :- "Seti, Til, Bhandari, Syanila, Jolyal, Dhuriyal, Bajalia, Dadewal, Saun, Agari, Dani, Nayal, Pokhariya, Rawat, Mahar, Khatgiriya, Look, Diwara, Burmyal, Bakauriyal, Gaur, Baidwal, Lodiya, Mataliya, Jagari, Naik, Dingariyal, Pandrbiryia, Nai, Dhobi, Thathera, Naik Baria, but has described them to be capable for army their being very strong and robust.

31. Vaishya Community

Vaishyas are very less in number in Kumaon. In villages they are even more less. Mostly they live in Almora, Nainital, Ranikhet, Bageshwar, Bhawali and other places, but they are very assiduous. They consider themselves to be higher than the Kshatriyas. They bring their daughters in the form of *dola* (a closed litter), but do not give their own daughters in marriage to them. They all are called Sah here, which word is derived from Sahu (banker), *Setli* (wealthy person), *Sahukar* (Money-lender) or *Mahajan* (capitalist). Almost all the *baniyas* (traders), eat meat. The *Sahs* mostly do trade, business or such sort of work. Some of them are in service and a few have resorted to agriculture also.

Agrawal : They state themselves to be the descendants of Raja Ugrasen of Agroha, which is in Siras district of Punjab. The boy who married in a wrong *gotra* by mistake is said to be in the *Gaul gotra*.

Some Agrawals call themselves Rajput, but when Shahabuddin Gori conquered Agroha they could not oppose him, they took to the profession of the Vaishya. The Agrawals do not eat meat, but they do so in Kumaon. Their eating and drinking habits among themselves are the same.

Thulgharia Sahs : Whenever the Chand kings started accepting grains, oil, salt etc. instead of land revenue, the house they erected

for storing it was called the *ganj* (heap or granary) of houses or *thula ghar* (big house). The Sahs who became security officers of these big houses were called Thulgharia Sahs. They were treasurers during the reign of the Chand king and are still doing this job. They are counted among most celebrated men in Kumaon and state themselves to be of Garg *gotra*.

Gangola : These people were formerly in Gangoli during the Mankoti rule and are still there. Those who came to Almora on the foundation of this town became famous by the surname of Gangola.

Salimgarhia : One or two families came from Salimgarh, and they are called Salimgarhia Sahs. Salimgarh is near Delhi. These do not have marital relations with the Gangolas, so some people state them to be from among the Gangola Sahs.

Kumayyan Sahs : The Sahs who came from Kumaun to Almora on the establishment of Almora during the Chand reign, were called Kumayyans. These were Sahs of the old capital of Champavat. These are the oldest Sahs.

Tola : The Sahs who used to do the work of weighing during the period of the Chand kings were called Tola. Out of the meal or flour which remained from the unadulterated pulse, half was received by the store-keeper of the heap and the other half of the Tola Sah.

Jakati or Jagati : During the Chand rule, the Sah who used to realise Jakat or tax from the market was called Jakati.

Kholbhiteria : During the time of the Chand Kings that Sah was called Kholbhiteria who went inside and worked in the palace or fort of the king. The official within the Kholi or entrance door was called Kholbhiteria.

Chaudhari : The officer of the market was called Chaudhari, whereas the inspector of the market was known as Chakurayat. These people are even now called by this very name. The Chakurayat used to take all the news from there to the court besides the supervision of the market.

The Chakurayats are also found in Kota and Chhakhata Balynti. These are Vaishyas from the plains.

The Chaudharis of Dwarahat : These people state to have come from west Jwalamukhi. Maisi Sahu from among the descendants of them was commander in the army of Udyot Chand. He was killed in the battle of Badhan and was a brave warrior.

For his loyalty, Maisi Sahu's son Arjun Sahu received Riwari and other villages in *jagir*. Their descendants are present still now. They are called Chaudharis now but the word Datt is appended in their names. During the period of the kings they were clerks, accountants and *naib diwans* (deputy ministers), for this reason two posts of Qanoongos are also ancestral in this family. Rewari town is in Punjab. Possibly these people would have come from that place and they would have named their village by the same name for this very reason. They are of Vatsa Bhargava gotra. Sir Chinta Chaudhari was an eminent courtier during the reign of Baz Bahadur Chand.

The ancestor of the famous wealthy resident of Nainital Lala Moti Ram, Sah, Sri Gusain Sahu was a Kshatriya of Doti Nepal. Their descendants call themselves Kshatriya, though they are now called Sah in Kumaon.

The Sahs of Dhungsil in Chhakhata and Ranibagh were Chaudhari and Sah in Barokhari Sitlahat. Some live in Saukhola village of Chhakhata.

Tamboli: These are Vaishyas and sellers of betel-leaf, but they have taken to other professions also now as is done by the other betel-leaf-sellers. In the hills there are two or three such families, but they live mostly in Terai Bhabar.

Khattri: In Kumaon, the Khattris have migrated from the plains. They reside in Pithoragarh, Gangoli and other *parganas*. Their *gotra* is *Vatsa Bhargava*. They are divided in eastern and western groups. They wear the sacred thread and call themselves Kshatriya. Here they establish relations with Khas - Rajputs. They do not give their daughters but take the girls of Khas - Rajputs.

The Khattris of Kashipur, Jaspur and Haldwani are especially wealthy and celebrated. The cloth trade is mostly in their hands.

Kayastha :- They state themselves to be the descendants of Chitragupta. In these hills a few Kayasthas had come, who, according to Atkinson, have merged in the Khas-Rajputs.

The Kayasthas of the plains are divided into 12 *gotras*, they have made their existence felt there even now and they are considered to be adapts in service and politics.

32. Some other communities

Patwa : During the reign of Raja Indra Chand a silk factory was started in Champawat, Nanau Patwa was called from the plains and his descendants are found here. They make *anant*, *dora*, *rakhi*, etc. and weave ornaments and rosaries.

Nai : Some of them are local residents from among the Khas Rajputs. Some are the descendants of Sudhana Nai. Sudhana Nai (barber) had come to Kali Kumaon in the time of Raja Som Chand. They too are of Chanwal Kashyap and Bharadwaj *gotra*. They are very clever.

Thathera : Kundan Thathera (tinker) had come to Kumaon during the reign of Raja Baz Bahadur Chand. His descendants are present here.

Dhobi (washermen). Some came from the plains, while others are from among the Khas caste here.

Saun - Agari : They were miners and smelters of metals. Agar Patti in Ramgarh valley is famous after their name. They were 806 in number in 1872. Being wealthy they have started emulating the members of high category Hindus. Formerly they used to work in the *rudakiyos* of iron but now build roads, take contracts and plough. They are wealthy too.

Sir George Elliot Says : "It is written in the Vayu Purana that some Gandharwas were called Agneya (igneous). Their work was to extract metal from the earth." They may have become Agari from Agneya. They are all handsome. Some of them call themselves - Gaur. The *Dharmadhikari* (religions official) of Chhakhata, Pt. Mahadev Pant gave the decree that they are authorised to have the *brahma sutra* (sacred thread). Since then they wear the sacred thread, and put on sandal paste on their fore-head. Bachi Gaur has been very renowned among them. He constructed many inns, temples and *naulas* (tanks or springs).

33. The Castes of Tarai Bhavar

The following castes are found specially in Tarai Bhavar and are enumerated among the untouchables :-

Ahar : They live in Tarai, Some are agriculturists and some resort to theft and robbery.

Ahir : They rear cows. It is their ancestral profession, they live in Tarai Bhabar.

Gadarias : They tame sheep and goats and live mostly in Tarai.

Bhangis : Everywhere they are mostly found in towns - They call themselves descendants of Balmiki. When the Musalmans, came, some sweepers became *Sheikh*, others remained Hindus. They are called Lalbegi. They address their priest as Lal Guru. *Bhanwar* (circumambulation of sacrificial fire) is held among them. They work as sweepers.

Bhat : They say they are bards and singers but in reality they are beggars.

Dhanak : They live in *tarai* and keep hens. They are like hunters and bird - catchers.

Gujar and Jat : These castes too mostly live in Tarai Bhavar.

They tame cattle.

Kachchi and Kahar : They too are mostly in Tarai Bhavar some are found in the towns. There are many sub-castes of the Kahars. Kahars mostly used to carry *dandi* (chair-conveyance) and palanquin. Nawars carry palanquin. Bhiwars catch fish. Mallahs ply the boat. Baris prepare baskets, Bathams dry the grain. They take food prepared by Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya. Some eat from defiled leaf-plate also. They worship *Panch* (five) *Pandavs*, Narayan. Shakti, Guru Ram Rai, Budhia Siddha and Hamuman. Their four families or *gotras* are :- Khani, Dhanik, Garra and Khasiwara.

Kalivar : Some of them sell wine in cities and some live in tarai. They distil wine.

Khatik : They tame pigs and hens and are found in Kashipur and Jaspur area.

Kori : are mostly found in Tarai and are farmers.

Kurmu and Lodh : These people too live in the tarai. They work as coolies (porters). Some are farmers. The Kurmis work in the mines as well.

Mali (Gardeners) : They work in the gardens. They do farming as well and sell fruits and flowers. They mostly live in the plains.

Pasi : The people of this caste too mostly live in Tarai Bhabar.

Bhurja or Bharbhujia : They roast the grain and parch the oven. They prepare parched rice and some take to agriculture.

Banjara : This is a nomadic caste. They carry grain in carts, horses, asses and mules and are shop-keepers. They are both Hindus and Musalmans. The Hindus are of two categories (1) Lamdan, (2) Ladani. Lamdans take to agriculture and Ladanis carry loads.

Sansiyas : This is a savage tribe which subsists on wild meat and tuber roots. They commit thefts also. It is said that they eat even dogs, snakes and rats.

Nats and Kanjars : They dance, sing and play on musical instruments along with their owner and exhibit pantomimes. They live in Tarai Bhabar. They are native brethren of *Badis* and *Hurkias*.

34. Scheduled Castes

The caste called Shudra, Dom or Untouchable in old times is now called *Shilpkar* (artisan). With the grace of Mahatma Gandhi they are now called Harijans (God's men). They were 104936 in number in 1872. The feeling of high and low exists among them also.

(1) The Koli, Tamta, Car, Lohar are classed in the I Category :-

Koli : They were 14209 in 1872. They weaved cloth. They worked on spinning wheels, and bobbins. Kolis prepared cloths. It was called home spew. With the introduction of machines they have lost their employment and have now become farmers and rearers of cattle.

Tamta : Is the corrupted form of the word *tamrakat* (cutter of copper). They make pots of copper and are like tinkers. In 1872 they were 140 in number. Formerly there were some evil customs or bad habits in them, but now they have played great role in social improvement. Many of them have acquired high posts after becoming educated.

Oar : They are masons who erect buildings. In them are included carpenters, craftsmen, brick—layers and stone-extracting *baras* also.

Bara : The kings named the place of the sacrifice of buffalo to the worship of goddess as *Bara* and its responsible official was called *Barey*. The people of this caste extract stones from the quarries also.

Oar : Oar or craftsmen. In the hill dialect the wall is called *ora*. So the erector of wall or builder of house was called *oar*.

Lohar : Lohar or iron-smith. In the hill dialect they are called *Lwar* also. They are found in almost all the villages. They get land to plough and grain also in the villages.

Jiruwa : The maker of arrow. Now they are *Sikalgars*. They too are of the iron-smith class.

Dhari : “Were Khas Rajputs, made Shudra after extermination from caste”. Atkinson.

(2) The *bhool rueria*, *chimariya*, *agari*, *pahari* castes are taken to be in II category.

Bhool : The extractor of oil from sesamum, *lahi* and rape—seed and the plier of *kolhu*. They work as silmen. The *barias* are also included in them. They tame pigs and hens.

Reuria : They make all kinds baskets from *ringal* (a grass of bamboo family) and bamboo. They also make *dala* (flat basket), *soop*, (winnowing basket), *Koranga*, and mats besides farming.

Baruri : They too are included in Rudis and make baskets.

Bansfor : The breakers and peelers of bamboo too are included among these. They are called *bairis* also.

Chimariya : These people are charitable. They make wooden vessels, *theki*, *pala*, *faruwa* etc.

Pahari : He was the messenger of the *chaukidar* and *pradhan* of the village, as in the plains. He used to do all the jobs, of the *pradhan*. He collected porters as well as provisions for him. He used to get land free. He could not sell this. The land which was given to the *shudras* in lieu of personal service was called *Khandela* and its claimant *Khandelwal*.

(3) The Shudras of IIIrd category are *Chamar*, *Mochi*, *Bakcharia*, *Dhuna* and *Hankiya* :-

Chamar : They clean and colour the leather. **Mochi** does the work of leather and makes shoes. They call themselves *Waishuwa* also.

Bakcharia : They were syces of horses during the time of the kings. Now they are very few in number.

Dhuna : They clean cotton and are found in some cities only.

Hankia : They are potters and make pots of clay but are very few in number.

(4) In the IVth category are *Badi*, *Hurkia*, *Darzi*, *Dholi*, *Dumyogi*, *Bhand*, *Pahari*, *Halia* etc.

Badi : He is the singer, player and juggler of the village. He begs alms from village to village. The entire family goes from one village to the other. This word is the corrupt form of *Badyi* (player of musical instrument). He asks for things spontaneously of the villagers and not getting, abuses them. He captures fish and birds and rears hens and pigs also.

Hurkia : He makes his women to dance by playing on the *hurka*.

Dholi : They also beat drums. Some beg money and grains by making their womenfolk dance. Among them are included both the *bajania* (*badyania*) or beaters of drum and *bazdar* (*badyadar*) who carry the load of the musical instrument.

Darzi : They are called *Aiji* (*Ajjuk*) also. They are called *Dholis* also. They narrate stories and make the *devi* dance by beating the small drum. Some of them are farmers also.

Dumjogi : are beggar Doms. They have started to plough the land also. In Pali Pachchaun, The Nanakshahi Joshis too are famous by this name.

Pahari alias Jallad : This word is the corrupt form of Prahari attacker or killer. These people were hangers, stuckers of cane or severers of heads. They do the work of the sweeper also.

Halia : He wields the plough and cleans the land.

Baguri : Killer of deer or wild animals.

The place where the Doms live is called Dumgela, Dumaurea or Gulyura etc.

The plough-man was called Halia, and upto 1840 A.D. he could be sold along with the land or without it separately. The *chhyora* slave could also be sold, even if he was of the Khas caste. Other shudras could not be sold.

Marriages can take place between the untouchables of the first and second grade and also in those of the second and third, class although restrictions somewhere are a common feature. Anyone could do the work of breaking stones. The stone-breakers were called *Dhung Phod*. Every *shudra* had to do the vocation in accordance with his profession, the villagers could lodge a complaint on his not doing so. Atkinson writes—"Some *shudras* declare themselves to be the descendants of the *brahmin*, Gorakh Nath but were considered fallen because of eating beef." They worship these village deities : Ganganath, Masan, Khabis, Gwall, Kshetrapal, Saim, Achari, Kalbisht, Kaluwa, Chaumu, Badhan, Haru, Latu, Meleyan, Katyuri Raya, Roonia, Balchan, Kalchanbhausi, Chhurmall etc whose description will be found elsewhere. The people on whose bodies they incarnate the gods, jump, leap, shout, throw ash and burnt coal and strike themselves with the prickly *bichchu* (scorpion) plant. They chew sesamum and rice. They appear like complete mads. Then the Dholi and Badi are summoned. Some of them are *Puchchiar* (These to whom questions are put). They tell things about the god and offer these things to him :- unground horse-bean and rice, cooked rice and pulses, the orbicular dung of goat, powder and vermilion. White, yellow, red and blue clothes are separately offered to gods. Porridge, semi-spherical sugar cakes, nut, spices, cowries, copper piece, cocoanut,

nails, trident, milk, curd are offered and young buffaloes, goats, hens and pigs are sacrificed. The temple or of the god called Devathan stands on a mound. It is made of 10-12 stones and a flag is placed there. There is a simple or trimmed stone which is worshipped. This stone is sometimes placed on the *dhuri* (top of roof) of the house. This god is worshipped on the occasions of birth, marriage, entrance to the house or at the time of going into a newly erected house.

The shudras formerly had shikha (top knot) but no thread. Now the reformers have started wearing the sacred thread. They put on roli (turmeric lime powder) during festivals, but from the tip of nose to the forehead. Dwijas (the twice-born) put it only on the forehead. They perform the shraddha (offering in honour of manes) only on the fag dark night day of the shraddha fortnight. The nephew or son-in-law is their brahmin. He gets the dakshina (donation). The shudras used to eat the meat of a dead cow but did not kill it. All others eat meat. Now the group of reformers is eradicating the custom of beef-eating. They too observe defilement by touch of the sweeper, Christian and Musalman. He further observes "There is no fixed or stipulated time for marriage. They perform it whenever they like to do so. The younger brother keeps the wife of the elder. There is a Kumaoni proverb

"माल भिड़ उधर बेर ताल भिड़ ऊंद"

purporting to say that the upper wall comes down on crumbling. When the elder brother dies, the responsibility of the family falls on the younger. The elder brother does not keep the wife of the younger brother in his home. If he does so, he is defamed. He gives her to someone else among his kith and kin. She can go to any other house, if she wishes so. The price has to be paid for this. The prohibited families are those of daughter, sister, uncle, aunt and brother or of those with whom they can not eat or drink. Many people make their daughters, prostitutes."

35. Who were what during the reign of the Chand Kings

Pt. Rudra Datt Pant writes :- "There are some such families in this region, whose *Aspad* (the name of their family) is after their vocation or service. There are many such names prevalent upto the present day, a brief description of which is given below :-

Pande : This title was conferred only on that brahmin during the time of the Chand kings, whom the king appointed as his tutor or priest. At that time the honour of the royal tutor was so great that if he arrived in the royal court when the king was holding it, the latter would stand up and go to welcome him. All the courtiers would also stand up. When the king had seated his tutor towards his right, only then he would himself sit and then the courtiers used to sit in their respective places. Whenever the king went on tour or on travel, the conveyance of the king and his tutor was of the same kind. On the growth in the number of children of the royal tutor or royal priest, he used to receive villages in Jagir for their maintenance but they were not considered to be among the service class people.

Simaltiya Pandes were formerly tutors to the Chand kings, but later some of them were appointed to cook food also.

Rasyara : The people with this title cooked boiled food in the *harem* during the Chand reign.

Pathak : There are three kinds of brahmins with this title but the work of all of them is similar. They recited scriptures in the temples of gods.

Patani : In the Chand reign these brahmins acted as royal ambassadors.

Vishisht alias Bisht : When Raja Som Chand established his kingdom in Kumaun, the superior officer above the army and local minor officials was called Vishisht alias Bisht.

Dadya Bisht : They had more rights in country's administration. They were called Bishts inflicting punishments or exacting fines and the corrupt form of this word became Dandiya alias Dadya.

Saunjyal Bisht : They had more rights in the army and so were called Sainyal alias Sainjyal Bishts.

Bishtalia alias Bisht : The smaller officials under the Bisht officer were called Bishtaliya alias Bishts.

Bishtaliyas : They were clerks or workers in the Bishtali court where administrative and military *panchayats* were held. Now Bishtalias of both the classes are called Bisht.

During the last years of the Chand rule, the kings awarded the title of Bisht to the old Khas Rajputs also. They were even made minister or Baksi. As such the village of which the Khas Rajput became an officer, all the residents of that village began to call themselves Bisht.

Negi : The person on whom the Chand kings conferred the right of realising *neg* or fixed tax (*wazibulada*) was called Negi. He might be a Brahmin, a Rajput and Khas Rajputs.

Negi : The person taking work from Marharria, Harnwal etc who were soldiers in the army was also called Negi.

Bahadur Negi : The person doing a work of valour during the reign of the Chand kings was called Bahadur Negi, and he used to get some *dastur* (customary fee or remuneration) in a village pertaining to the state.

Rantgali : The Katyuri Raja awarded the Rantgal village in *jagir* to Shri Jai Ram, Mewara Bhatt of Parashar *gotra*, as the old Rantgali family had no scion left. For this reason they were also called Rantgali. During the rule the Chand kings, the Rantgalis were appointed on the post of clerks (writers) in the royal court.

Adhikari : The person whom the king gave the right of administration in the Rantgali family was known as Adhikari.

Pataria : The person posted for reading the almanac to the king every day.

Dagi Joshi : They used to keep awake in the court at night. When at night the king asked about the passage of a particular hour or moment, they used to tell him so.

Ghadyali : The assistant of Dagi Joshi who stroke the bell or a big gong. He had also studied astrology like the Dagi Joshi and at times worked in his place or in his absence.

Haribola : The person who walked all round the court of the king uttering 'Hari Bol, Hari Bol' when the duration of one pahar (Three hours) was left in the night was called Haribola. They are still called by that name. Pt. Ganga Datt Upreti states them to be Upadhyaya brahmins of the Deccan.

Ganga Vishnu : The person uttering 'Ganga Vishnu' all round the royal court before the rising of the king was called Ganga Vishnu.

Khaukia : A brahmin preparing sweets from curd (which is also called *Khua* or *Khuak* in the hill dialect) was called Khaukia.

Phulara : Those who brought flowers in the royal court. There are Phularas of three castes here (1) Those coming from Garhwal. (2) Those from Doti (3) Old residents of this very area. There were many kinds of Phularas (1) Madai Phulara (2) Phoolic Phulara, (3) Retia Phulara, (4) Belpatria Phulara, (5) Kushia Phulara. In Pandegon Koti there are Panch Pallaviya Phularas also, or so to say, whatever kind of thing one brought, he was called Phulara.

Semjyali : The place for keeping clothes, *dushalas*, *shiropas* or articles of *khillat* was called *Sanjyal* and the employee thereof was called by the same name.

Sunar : Goldsmiths or makers of golden tassel. This is no caste, but only a profession. Papdev Sunars live in many places in Kali Kumaun. They have come from Doti. They are of four kinds. (1) Rajputs of Champawat (2) The goldsmiths coming from the plains, (3) Those coming from Garhwal, (4) Dotals, who came during the Chand reign.

Those of Almora call themselves Mer Rajputs: Verma writes—"These people were employed in the mint of the Chand kings also. Their names too were incorporated in the copper plates".

Atkinson writes this about the *goldsmiths*: "In 1881 there were 2211 goldsmiths in Kumaun, and 922 in tarai. These people make ornaments and are defamed for pilfering gold. Some of them are farmers. They are of Bhaum, Kashyap and Bhardwaj - gotras. Some of them state themselves to be *bania* (traders) and some Rajput. They establish relations with Khas - Rajputs and some of them have started marrying their daughters also to them. They worship Shakti and the village deities.

Kothyali : The place for storing grain was called Kothi and its employee Kothyali.

Bhandari : The place for keeping articles of festivals, the income of Mal or Tarai and the receipts from Kumaun was known as Bhandar and its superintending officers were called Bhandari.

Thathaula :—The name of the place for keeping cattle was Thath and the superintendent thereof was called (Thath + Wala) or Thathaula.

Rora :—The stamp was called Rori in hill dialect and the person who affixed the stamp on documents was called Rora. Later he was called Chhoppea also.

Balgaunia :—‘Wolug’ is a sort of present, which all the subjects of Kumaun and the artisans of all kinds took to the king on *sankranti* day of Bhadon. The person presenting them before the king was called Balgaunia.

The person who presented gift or present brought for the king on any day besides the Wolgia Sankranti, was called Balgaunia. Wolg was a kind of exhibition and the person bringing it received reward from the king.

Jagi :—Some night remaining, the person awakening the king and the courtiers by striking a big bell was called Jagi.

Sutara :—When the king went out on tour to any place, the person going ahead and measuring the camping place with thread and making it habitable was called Sutara.

Walal :—When during tours the Sutara had set right the camping place adequate, the overseer examining its accuracy was called Walal i.e. one who would not keep a hair-length of land oblique.

Pharkundia :—The maker of Phar or the roof of the kitchen as also the roof for the encampment was called Pharkundia.

Mahra alias Mer :—During the Chand period those catching fish and carrying loads were called Mer.

Selkhania :—The name of the place for storing gun-powder and bullets etc. was Selkhana and its employees were called Selkhania.

Paraulia :—The persons serving the queen-consort (called Patauli Rani in hill dialect) were called Pataulias. They served within the court and also in camp.

Sanka :—The place for keeping the goats (Helwan or Bokia) of the king was named Sikar. The keeper of this place was called Sikara alias Sanka.

Sarana :—The carriers of loads from the cluster of houses or *Thula Ghar* (large house in the granary inside the court was called *Saranas*. (Carrying is called *Sarana* in hill dialect).

Tabelia :—The manager of *tabela* or the stable.

Chakuwa :—When the king ordered some person to be whipped or caned, the person carrying out this order was called *chabkua* alias *chakuwa*.

Palyani alias Pajain :—The bakers of brick and other workers in the kiln were called *Pajains*.

Patara :—The person carrying leaves for the kitchen in the royal court and the maker of leaf-plate was called *Patara*.

Kundia :—The person bathing the elephants in the pond or tank and bringing grass for it was called *Kundia*.

Kundyali :—The keeper of the pond or the bathing-place of the elephant was called *Kundyali*.

Tataria (Jagara ?) :—He was one who praised *Nanda Devi* in the hill ragas or songs. This work was done by the *Tataria* for six months and for another six by *Kundyali Pataulia*.

Kandiwalo :—The gold and silver utensils used for the eating of the kings were kept in a *kandi* (basket) or a chest. The person taking them to the *thau* or the place of the kitchen was called *Kandiwalo*.

Kamthana :—The superintendent or inspector of the store of timber was called *Kamthana*.

Panaiwalo :—The person responsible for betel-leaf, nuts, fragrance or perfume and cardamum or a sort of seller of betel leaves.

Bamanjai :—During the tour of the king, the carrier of pots and idols for the prayers and worship of the guru (tutor) or priest was called by this name.

Chalsiya :—Whenever any animal was slaughtered at the place of the king, the large leathern bag and fat was in the custody of this employee. He supplied it whenever any one required it. So he was called *chalsiya* or *charsiya*.

Dhatea alias Dharaiji :—When the king gave orders for some person to be present in the court, the man calling him by crying was called Dhatia alias Dharauji.

Chaukanni :—The player of kettle—drum or one making people cautious or alert. They were enlisted from the Bohra caste.

Bulel :—The officer of the employees inside the royal court. He used to take work from all the employees. As such he was called by the post or position of Butel alias Bul. *Buti* connotes daily routine. Often this post was entrusted to the Kathayat caste.

Parsujia :—The person igniting the wick or lamp was called Parsujea.

Bardari :—One who informed the inside employees in the court about their pari (shift) or the time of patrolling or entrusting duty to them was called Baridar or Bardari. This work too was mostly the responsibility of Kathayat Rajputs.

Chaura :—All the end of the dinner, the person present at the time of the cleaning of utensils, so that they may not be stolen, was called Chaura. He also entrusted the utensils to the custody of the Bhandari. The person keeping watch over the utensils was called Chaura.

Chor Mandaliya :—One who kept watch over the Selkhana or magazine and observed whether the officials of the magazine are adept in their service or not. When he found anyone lethargic or absent, he reported the matter in the court, so he was called Chor Mandaliya (C.I.D. ?)

Kandiyal :—Lukewarm water is called 'Kandilo' in the hill dialect. Therefore the person washing the limbs of the king by bringing lukewarm water, was called Kandiyal. They were also called Panerus.

Chananiyan :—Those who rubbed sandal paste, saffron and camphor of the kings were called Chandaniyan or Chananiyan.

Devatia :—The one who gave ashes of *hom* (burnt offering), ashika, flowers and the ambrosia of the feet to the king was called Devatiya.

Pujyali :—The person keeping watch over the utensils of worship and oblation was known as Pujyali. When the *Yajna* or *hom* was held, the things remaining in the *Aryasthali* (utensil for keeping articles of *hom*) fell to his share.

Sagia :—The man presenting all kinds of vegetables in every season in the court was called Sagia.

Chalasia :—During the time of the kings the duty of one employee was to inform the king that the food was ready, after the simaltiya Pande had cooked and the Patni Punetha had tasted it. When the king had come and sat in the kitchen he seated the guru, priest, minister, baksi, diwan and other major and minor official besides the Brahmins, Rajputs, Sahun, Chaudharis etc. according to their posts or positions. If any one changed his row he would instantly re-seat him in his own row. The surveillance of seeing that there may be no chala or deceit in sitting in the row was in the authority of the chalosiya. If for any reason the chalasia made a person of inferior rank sit in the row of superiors, or any superior in the line of inferiors he received harsh punishment. Sometimes his eyes were taken out. The order of the seating in the kitchen was at first, the guru to the right side of the king, then the priest, ministers etc. To the left sat the king's princes, Rautelas and Rawats etc.

Matyani :—The person bringing clay to the court for besmearing or smudging was called Matyani.

Dangara alias Dangra :—It was the custom during the period of the Chand kings that when the king went to tarai bhabar after the rains, cows oxen, buffaloes and other cattle were sent to crush the grass. When the grass had been so pressed, the procession of the king passed.

Chakana Harnwals were also enlisted for this job. They were in the form of a platoon of sappers and miners and were called Dangra. It is possible that this work may be the corrupt form of Dongra (author).

Bariya :—The name of the gardens was *badi* during the reign of the kings. There were seven *badis* in Almora. The responsibility for their safety was on the Bariya. They were like gardeners and wore sacred threads.

Devcheli alias Dyaucheli :—Raja Baz Bahadur Chand conquered Badhangarh in the Garhwal region and brought along with him the golden icon from there worth two hundred sovereigns. He also captured and brought with him all the male and female attendants of the goddess along with their children and the idol of the goddess. After coming to Almora he erected a temple in Malla Mahal and installed that icon in it. Later Mr. Traill shifted the temple from Malla Mahal (where the courts are located at present) to its present place. The attendant women serving in the temple were called Devcheli (Devcheris) or Dyauchelis. They did not marry. They used to freely offer their beauty and youth, here and there.

Harnwal :—The offspring of the Dyaucheli was called Harnwal. The marriage of the daughter of the Dyaucheli was not performed and she was appointed to the role of her mother.

Rajcheli alias Racheli :—During the time of the kings the women serving in the ranwas (female apartment) were called Rajcheli alias Racheli. These women were called from hither and thither from among the low castes. Only those who were good looking and young were called. Some of them learnt singing and dancing after rehearsals. They alone danced and sang in the harem. Those who did not sing or dance, did all the chores of the king and the queen. The work of the kitchen was to knead the flour, cut the vegetables, keep the kitchen properly, cleanse rice and the pulses and wash them etc, for this reason they were given different names, as (1) Racheli (2) Soona Maida Cheli, (3) Maida Pani Cheli and (4) Maida Cheli.

When Shri Shak Ram Karki killed Raja Vijai Chand by the ill counsel or conspiracy of Shri Saruli Rajcheli, Raja Trimal Chand issued order that half of the Rajchelis should be from Kumaun and the other half from Garhwal so that they may not conspire. They were not permitted to go out of the court.

The offspring of the above mentioned Rajchelis were also called Harnwals. Harnwal means brought by snatching or plunder. These Rajchelis were brought by capturing or by force. Their daughters were not married.

The Rajchelis of Sheuk alias Shyauk :—On the event of the king's going out to some place on tour, the maid servants going with

the encampment for royal service, were called by this name. Their position was lower than that of the above quoted five categories of Rajchelis. They too did not marry.

Chakana Harnwal :—The offspring of the Shyauk Rajcheli were called Chakana Harnwals. They were sent out when the revenue in the village remained unrealised or *dastur* of cloth had to be collected in Kashipur or other towns. If the realisation could not be made easily, they exacted revenue from the tenant by disgracing him.

Chaudhari or Sau (Sahu) :—When he worked in the office of the royal court or enlisted in the army, he was called Sau. When he became officer in the fort by showing loyalty in battle, he was called Chaudhari.

Chauthani :—The person doing the business of lime was called Chauthani. These people brought lime to the court from Munsyari.

Dagi :—The bearers of sticks of gold and silver, and mace and staff in front of the royal procession were called Dagis. The carriers of dak (post) and runners were also called Dagis.

Chobdar, Naqqarchi etc :—Raja Baz Bahadur chand had brought some Musalmans from Moradabad and made them chopdar (mace bearers) and Naqqarchi (drummers) etc. Their leader was one, Maula Bakhsh. During the reign of Raja Ajeet Chand Mrs. Bijuli Khawasan' (personal family attendant) made friends with Puran Mal Gaira 'Bisht'. Later she begot a son from him. He was handed over to the Musalman chopdar. He became famous by the name of Gumani chopdar. His descendants remained installed in the post of chopdars.

36. Jogi Jangam (Ascetics and Moving Mendicants)

There are many ascetics or hermits in Kumaun. They are called Gusain, Jogi, Bairagi, Udasi or Sadhus.

Gusain (Go + Swami) :—Shankarcharya had four disciples (1) Padmapal (2) Hastamalak (3) Sureshwar or Madan (4) Jootak.

Padmapad had two disciples (1) Jirath (2) Ashraya; Hastamalak had two, (1) Van (2) Aranya; Sureshwar or Mandan three (1) Saraswati, (2) Bharati, (3) Puri; Trotak had three (1) Gir

or Giri, (2) Parbat, (3) Sagar. All of the them were called Dasnami Dandi Swami. They have Dasnami akharas. They carry a staff also and so are called Dandi Swami also. Some of them marry now, others do not. The Akharas (congregations) are called Math (monastery) and their leader Mahant (monk). On the death of the Mahant, the disciple, if shaven, is enthroned, otherwise all assemble and elect a Mahant. Formerly the mendicants were not permitted to marry, but now almost all of them do so.

Jogi Kanphate (Split-eared mendicants) :—They are priests of the temples of Bhairav. Their original habitat is in Kutch region, which is called Danodar. They put on saffron clothes and wear large ear rings of horns in their ears, which are called Mudra. They are in abundance in Kumaun. They are Vam-margis and follow the Tantrik mode of worship. They comply to the Bhairavi Chakra (assembly) and the five Ms (1) Matsya (fish), (2) Mans (meat), (3) Madya (wine), (4) Maithun (copulation) and (5) Mudra (posture).

They worship the naked woman. It is written in their Tantras (treatises) that the dancers, prostitutes, maid servants, washerwomen or barber's wives are appropriate for worship. All their practices are secret. They are called Jogi Kanphatas in Kumaun. Here they do worship Bhairav but the followers of Bhairavi Chakra are only a few, or if we say there are none, it too would be proper.

Jangams :—They are also called lingdhars (bearers of the phallus symbol) because they wear a small linga on their chests or arms. They consider themselves to be the prime and purest worshippers of Shiva. They follow the Vedas and the tenets of Shankaracharya, but consider the Mahabharat, Ramayan and Bhagwat to be the false chatter of the brahmins. They are the followers of the Vasab Purana. They neither recognise the gods and goddesses, nor consider any fast, penance, sacrifice, rosary or the Ganges water as proper. They look upon all the beings with equanimity or neutrality. They do marry, but are antagonistic to child marriage and are in favour of widow marriage. There are differences among them too :—

(1) *Veer Shaiva* :—They are worshippers of the incorporeal form and are opposed to the Puranic dogma.

(2) *Aradhya* :—They recognise the Vedas, wear sacred thread and worship the sun but the Jangams denounce them by calling idol-worshippers. They call themselves Vedic and them (The Jangams) as Ved-Vahya (outside the Vedas).

The Jangams are the worshippers of Shiva or Sadashiva, who is invisible but ubiquitous and whose form is present in Kedarnath. For them the *linga* is not the manifestation of impure thoughts. They do not succumb to Maya or Kali. They consider virtuous conduct and behaviour to be upper-most. They accede to the view of getting salvation by conquest over passion, anger, covetousness or greed and infatuation. They follow the rules of marriage, birth, death etc. They have their disciples. They are calm, serious and credulous. They bury their dead and do not burn them. They do not make the brahmins their priests.

Udasi :—They are Sikhs who are of the sect of Guru Ram Rai of Dehradun.

Saadh :—They are of the same manner and conduct as the gurus of the cobblers and sweepers. They are adherents of the sect of Veerbhan. They do not smoke but lay emphasis on cleanliness and purity.

Pir :—The Pirs live in Kaya in Patti Kairarau. They are of the Nath sect. They are not allowed to marry. They are elected by the Panchayat. Shri Panna Lal writes that the Pirs of Kaya have began to keep concubines but their sons to not get the throne, though it is being given now.

Aughar :—The mendicants with unpierced ears are called Aughars and are farmers.

Sanyasi :—They are of the Shaiva cult and like the Gusains are sub-divided into many sects.

Vairagi :—These are of the Vaishnava cult and are priests of many Vaishnava temples in Kumaon. Many of their practices are similar to those of the Gusains. Among them too there are many sects, as Ramanand, Radhaballabh, Nityanandi, Ramanuj.

Aghor Panthi :—They are the followers of the basest cult. It is alleged that they eat excreta and human flesh as well, and drink wine and water in the skull of the dead. They worship ghosts, spirits, jackals, dogs and the tiger.

Nath :—The mendicants of three cults are mostly found in Kumaun (1) Kanphata (pierce—eared) (2) with unpierced ears, (3) Nath. Atkinson has written: “The Naths mostly serve in the temples of Khas-Rajputs or are devoteers of Bhairav temples. Among the Naths, some become Kanphata by getting their ears splitted and wearing large, coiled rings Gusains ; Jangams, Vairagis and Naths sometimes inter-marry among themselves and take to agriculture as a profession. There are eighteen sects of the Naths—(1) Dharmanath, (2) Satya Nath, (3) Vairag Nath, (4) Kaflani, (5) Darayava Nath, (6) Mast Nath, (7) Rawal, (8) Gudar, (9) Khantor, (10) Ram Nath (11) Aipanthi, (12) Niranjani, (13) Kankai, (14) Bhusai, (15) Mundia, (16) Man Panthi, (17) Pawo Panthi and (18) Muskimis.

The priests of Someshwar are Bharati and those of Baijnath, Puri. Both of them inter-marry. The eldest son becomes the Mahant, but if he is incapable, the Panchayat elects another Mahant. The Mahants of Gananath and Peenath are Giris. They are not allowed to marry.

37. Shauk and Kiranti Castes

The castes inhabiting the northern parts of Kumaun are called Shauk, by the residents of the lower regions. They are called Bhotias on the basis of residing in Bhot. Among them some are actually of the Shauk or Mughal race, but some people of the Aryas and Khas community came and settled there, who later were assimilated in them.

Among these, those living in Johar alias Jowar are called Joharis.

Milmwal :—They state themselves to be Kshatriyas of Panwar family of Rajputs of Dhara Nagar. Sri Dham Singh Rawat and Hiru Rawat came on pilgrimage to Badrinath. They were called Budaula Rawats in the beginning because of living in Budaulgarh near Hardwar. Later they came to Milam from Garhwal and were called Milmwals by virtue of living in Milam.

In this family two persons, Sri Nain Singh Rawat. C.I.E. and Rai Bahadur Kishan Singh have been very renowned. They earned great name and fame during the invasion of Tibet. (I have compiled

the facts written in this portion from Sri Nain Singh Pandit's manuscript-Author).

Tolias :—Two brothers, Gelu and Sama Kunwar accompanied Sri Dham Singh from Garhwal and on the basis of settling in village Tola of Johar were called Tolias.

Jangpangi :—Burfal Jangpangi and Charakh Miyam Jangpangi of Burfu state themselves to be from the Nag race.

Lwanl :—The inhabitants of village Lwanl are old residents of this place.

Martolia :—They state themselves to be descendants of the Bhattas of Kashi. It is written in the *bahi* (account journal) of the *Pandas* of Badrinath that Purushottam Bhatt came to Badrinath from Kashi. He was the priest of God Nrisingh in Garhwal for three years. He had two sons (1) Narayan Bhatt, (2) Shibu Bhatt. Narayan Bhatt lived in Martoli in Johar and was called Martolia. Shibu Bhatt settled in Danpur and his children were called Chauriyals. The Martolias worship the God Nrisingh.

Hrishpal :—They call themselves Gamshali of Garhwal. Their descent is traced from Machchindra Nath.

Dhupwal :—They state themselves to be the descendants of Pant brahmins.

Mapwals, Rilkotias and Biljwals call themselves to be Karkis of Doti Aachham.

Dhamsakta

Pangti

Budharath

These three communities state that they came from Garhwal. They are said to be among the Rawats of Butaulagarh. It is alleged that in the beginning they all were one. Later they became separated. Some other old castes of Johar are :—Shumdyals of Shumdu, Gangharias of Ganghar and Pachchwals of Pachhu.

The Joharis speak the Kumaun dialect. They express the things they want to keep secret in the dialect of the Hunias, which is as under :

<i>Hunia dialect</i>	<i>English rendering from Hindi</i>
Dya	Mule
Syank	Come
Doji	Walk (start)
Telhong	Will come
Tel kana hod	Wants to come
Chifila Telmi Ho	Why does he not come ?
Wamo	Daughter
Ajyo	Elder brother
Me	Man
Ani Mo	Woman
Chhiu	Water
Tagaro	Bread
Huma	Milk
Dara	Butter-Milk (whey)
Kana Talhun	Has come from where ?
Sajya Sahunge	(You) take food.
Khangna Kana Hot	Where is (your) home ?
Jyathug	Take tea
Chhan yung	Do (you) drink ?
Kha Rang lag Pala chi Hol	What have you in your hand ?
Achara	Mendicant
Marti	Oil
Bagfe	flour
Kheen	Dog
Song	Go
Telchhar	Has come
Telmi Hong	Will not come

(Contd.)

<i>Hunia dialect</i>	<i>English rendering from Hindi</i>
Telkanmed	Does not want to come
Tugu	Boy, son
Tiyansingmo	Sister
Nau	Younger brother
Mangbu	Men
Mehlu	Fire
Chhalma	Rice
Pak	Vegetable
Syo	Curds
Ta	Horse
Kana Do	Where have (you) to go ?
Dod	Sit down
Cherang Suhida	Who are you ?
Syasa hunge	Do you (want to) eat meat ?
Hagot Kari Sahung	We took bread
Damje	Brahmin
Mar	Clarified butter
Da	Rice
Seeng	Wood
Bung	Donkey
Lugn	He-Goat

The Tibetans call the Joharis, 'Kyonba' In this dialect the name of Johar and Kumaun in Kyonum. They call the residents of Darma as Shyoba ; of Byans, Jyanlbu ; of Garhwal, Gattia ; of Almora, Rongba (dweller of town or city), the Englishmen, Gyafiling Pheebe and the Musalmans, Khaji.

The Joharis do not call themselves Bhotias, though the Kumaonese do so. There was no Rang Pang in the castes migrating from outside, but the old residents of that place observed it. Now this practice has been abandoned in Johar.

Almost all the ceremonies of the Joharis are held according to the Hindu religion. They observe all the ceremonies, as sixth day after birth, naming and the sacred thread ceremony. Panta, Pandes and other brahmins act as their priests. Generally all the ceremonies among them are held by the Rajputs of the plains. They were considered a bit inferior because of their liberty and laxity in following habits, matrimonial alliances and partaking food with the Tibetans. The bigots or hard-cores of the plains hesitated to drink even water touched by them, though they were not considered to be untouchables. They have made great progress in the past by education, business, and civilisation. Now they form a part of the privileged classes in the Kumaoni society. Their women too are making great progress after getting educated.

The Tibetans extracted three kinds of taxes when the Bhot province was under their suzerainty—(1) Sinhathal (land revenue), (2) Yathal (take an taking sunshine) and Kyunthal (profit in business). Later the Hindu Rajas realised taxes in the form of gold-*filings*. The Gorkhas imposed tax on barrage, herbs, oak, musk, honey and agriculture also.

It is said that presently Brahmins, Rajputs, Khas—Rajputs and Shilpkars (Harijans), all groups of people are present in Johar.

The old dialect of the Johar people was like this :—

Old Johari Dialect	English rendering
Yo	Come
Chham	Come on (start or walk)
Acharyan	Will come now
Ran Ni Hini	Wants to come
Me	Man
Kuchechai	Woman
Seri	Son
Aya	Mother
Dee	Go
Chengras	Has come
Mara	Will not come
Ranmanili	Does not want to come
Meejan	(To) Men
Dook Kuchchai	(To) Women
Chimai	Daughter

Apa	Father
Men	Fire
Kalpa	Bread
Tee	Water
Chhaku	Rice

38. The residents of Byans—Chaudans

Hyanki family:—They say that previously Chaudans was uninhabited. A man fell from the sky in that region. He inhabited the whole region. His progeny grew immensely. For many generations, milk oozed out from their bodies instead of blood inspite of wounds. They say that they are descendants of them. Here too the Aspads (family—names) are after the names of villages :—

Kutyal	—	Dwellers of village Kuti
Gunjyal	—	„ „ „ Gunji
Nabyal	—	„ „ „ Nabi
Nawalchhayo	—	„ „ „ Nawalchchal
Garbyal	—	„ „ „ Garbyang
Budyal	—	„ „ „ Boodi
Teinkari	—	„ „ „ Teenkar
Digral	—	„ „ „ Dyagur

The inhabitants of Darma are often called Darmiyan, but have become of different kinds after the names of villages.

Gwal	—	Residents of village Go
Tilmal	—	„ „ „ Tilam
Bonala	—	„ „ „ Baun
Datwal	—	„ „ „ Datu
Gunjyal	—	„ „ „ Gumji etc

39. The customs and usages of the people of Byans—Darma, Rang Pang

These people play Rang Pang also. Rang Pang is a sort of dance and music. The men and women assemble in a house at their pleasure or according to their whim. They drink wine, get intoxicated, dance and sing much there and make merry. Sometimes

matrimonial alliance too is established there. The westerners feel very pleased at this custom, but just as the Johar welfare society has eradicated this vice from Johar, likewise the social reformers too are in favour of uprooting this system from this area. This custom is regarded as contrary to Indian civilisation and culture.

The compiler of local gazetteers and Mr. Batton have written in their report that the people of this place are the heirs of the soldiers of the army of king Taimurlang, who did not return to China and Tartar but settled here. It is alleged that Ata Beg had conquered this country coming through Tibet. Some bricks, tombs have been found in Bageshwar and Dwarahat which the archaeologists declare to be of these Mughals, but locally they are regarded to be the graves of ascetics.

Birth and Marriage

When a son is born to them, they give the same name to the eldest of them as of his grand-father. They name the other sons according to their caprice. At the time of the sacred thread ceremony, only the head is shaven. They take meat, rice, drink wine and do nothing else. The custom of marriage is such that womenfolk from the side of the bride-groom go to the house of the bride's father for betrothal. They take a pitcher full of wine and bread of *fafar* (*Kotu*) which the bride's father takes, and after feeding the ladies who have come for betrothal and his kinsmen with meat and rice and offering them wine, accepts the proposal. On the day of marriage also, the women take the groom to the bride's place with them and bring her back along with women folk, members of her house and kinsmen and satisfy them by giving meat rice to eat and wine to drink. The usage was that men neither went in the marriage procession nor did the bride's people accept any money or article in lieu of the girl. But both the conditions are not accepted now. After marriage, when the groom goes to his father-in-law's house, it is the custom that he puts 20 rupees in cash, a piece of white cloth and a pitcher of wine on the latter's head. He in turn, does not keep these things for his own use but distributes it among his kinsmen.

Formerly, the people of this *pargana* were the owners of their respective villages. Later this *pargana* came under the authority of Hun Dosh or Tibet and was with them for a long time, although

these people are now following the Hindu customs to some extent. Their features, statures, language, singing, dancing, customs and manners are all like those of the Tibetans. This region was for some time under the Jumla kingdom and for the last some centuries is included in Kumaun, though they are Kumaunis now by living within the boundaries of Kumaun. They are not of the Aryan race, but are spoken of as belonging to the Mughal, Hun or Shaka or Kiranti race.

Cutting the thread

These people perform marriage with the daughter of the maternal uncle or the father's, sister. If such girl is not available, they marry the daughter of someone else. In the event of death, the elder brother marries the wife of the elder and vice-versa.

When a woman becomes pregnant, in her father's or husband's house, by adultery with someone else fine is realised from such a paramour. The woman lives in her husband's house as usual, but when the paramour brings someone's wife to his house, the husband does not take back such a woman to his house. Thread is cut in the panchayat by realising the expenses of marriage from the paramour. When a *panchayat* is convened about a woman, the *panchas* fix the amount of marriage expenses and it has to be paid by the adulterer. Some sweets and wine is distributed in the Panchayat. Thread is brought and cut with a knife. This thread is a symbol of relation. The cutting of thread means that the relation has ceased, and since then the woman is regarded as the wife of the second husband. Neither such woman or her paramour face the previous husband nor the children born of such union is accepted in the kinship till the thread is cut. The thread is cut in the Panchayat to make these things explicit.

Smearing of Intestines

When there is animosity among the inhabitants of the region, for some reason, and they have to renew friendship or relation, the custom of smearing of intestines is followed, after which friendly ties are established again. The Panchayat assembles, food is cooked, wine is brought, goat is slaughtered and its meat is cooked, its intestines are taken out, cleaned and these are smeared into the bodies of the two parties among whom animosity had grown for

some reason. It seems that they are informing that both came clung in one intestine. Afterwards they throw away the intestines, talk mutually as brothers, take wine and meat with the Panchas, sing and dance and become mutual friends again.

Dhorang

When a person dies, the mode of Dhorang or Dhurang is adhered to for his emancipation.

On the death of a person, his dead body is burnt. On the third day (now sometimes in a fortnight or month) all the kinsmen bring wine from their respective houses. They slaughter the goat and eat meat and rice. At the expiry of a year, they perform Dhorang, within this period only in the month of Kartik (October-November). The kinsmen gather together and after killing a whisk-cow make a figure resembling a man, but it is said now that they do not slaughter this cow, they only drive it into the forest. They kill a goat and put on ornaments on the meat according to their financial capacity. Later they seat him, over a live whisk-cow and make it go round. Afterwards they bury the costly ornaments and clothes in the soil. The less costly articles they throw away in the name of the dead. The people of low castes carry it away. For three days, they eat meat and rice, drink wine and getting intoxicated, dance. They express grief or mourning also. The kinsmen too bring goat and wine on their own behalf. They too eat, drink and weep for three days. In this way they think that the dead soul has acquired emancipation. Their dialect too different from the Kumauni as :—

Cheem	—	House
Bachachai	—	Salutation
Nanu	—	Younger brother
Pyaman	—	Father-in-law
Halo	—	Friend
Meena	—	Mother
Chumai	—	Daughter
Pupu	—	Elder brother
Sigsyan	—	Younger sister
Bheenchi	—	Sister-in-law (brother's wife)
Syangati	—	Raja and padhan

Puchcham	—	Rice
Tee	—	Water
Mei	—	Fire
Chham	—	To walk
Khui	—	Dog.
Ba	—	Tiger
Lang	—	Ox
Baina	—	Cow
Mala	—	Goat
Chha	—	Salt
Mar	—	Clarified butter
Bas Kachme	—	Woman

The inhabitants of this side resemble the Lamas in features, or so to say, nose thick, small and flat, colour fair, face round, eyes too small and pressed inside and appear swollen, but they and especially their women are beautiful. Their dialect is very pleasing and attractive. They often remain unclean, but if they start to be neat and clean, they would in no way be less fair than the Europeans. They are very assiduous and strong. They are simple people.

40. The Nayak Community

The Naiks are settled here and there in Kumaon. They mostly live in the following places :—

District Nainital :—In the beautiful and attractive valley of Ramgarh. Their villages are also situated in the hot and fertile Bhabar.

District Almora :—In about 30-40 villages in Pattis Giwar and Naya Chaukot.

Katarmal :—Is a village 8 miles away from Almora. They live there too.

Pithoragarh :—In Saun in Sor *Pargana*, in villages, Leclu, Chaupalia, Simchaur, Naini, Naikana etc of Pattis Seti Mahar.

Kali Kumaun—In villages Khilfati and Raul, in Gangol, Waldia and in Malla Pal Bilaun.

Garhwal :—In Pattis Malla, Talla Kalikat, Langoor and in Udaipur Talla.

This evil and despicable custom is prevalent among the Naiks, that they make prostitutes of their daughters. In Malla Pal Bilaun, Waldia, and the Nayaks of Patti Gangol have been marrying regularly. The Naiks of Patti Kaliphat (Garhwal) sell all the beautiful daughters in the market and marry the ugly ones. For some years reformation societies have been established among the Naiks, and so many of the Naiks of the reformatory group have started giving their daughters in marriage, but among many the old custom still persists.

The origin of the Naik Sect :—It can not be accurately said how and when the Naiks originated, but the very first description of the Naik sect has occurred during the time of Raja Bharati Chand. He reigned in Kumaon from 1437 to 1450. Atkinson and Pt. Rudra Datt Pant write—“The army of Raja Bharati Chand kept on fighting for 12 years in Doti. By remaining outside, the soldiers had illicit relations with the women nearby. This thing had never occurred before and was against the tenets of Hindu religious Code. These women were called Katakwalis (of army). Later they formed a separate caste (Naik). This thing was regarded as so despicable that the Rajputs of the hills were too considered to be ordinary, though they may have sometimes been the descendants of high class Rajputs of plains. Their children, if born men, were called Naik (born of Nayika, a Sanskrit word-) and if born girls were designated as Nayika or Patar (fallen) meaning prostitutes.

Rai Bahadur Dr. Pati Ram has enumerated them among the Khas Rajputs. Rai Bahadur Pt. Ganga Datt Upreti has stated the Naiks to be Rajputs of the fourth category called them to be of the Shudra class. Dr. Laxmi Datt Joshi has stated them to be of the Khas community. He writes in his famous monograph. “*Khas Family Law*.” “This theory does not appear to be proper that the origin of the Naiks occurred during the time of Raja Bharati Chand in the battle-field from momentous contact..... and neither this theory that the girls were made prostitutes instead of being given in marriage, may have started from that very time. This fact is also not understandable that if 600 years back the social status of the Khas caste was the same as it is today, that if a girl does not get husband and for this reason she may be compelled to take to the occupation of a prostitute. It is written in the Mahabharat composed a thousand years before the Christian era that the circumstances of

the Khas caste were similar to those of the Naiks. As such it can not be said properly that the Naik caste came into being only 600 years back or that they are the spoiled or fallen offspring of the Khas caste, who did not make proper arrangements of the marriage of their daughters and let them remain in the primitive condition of animals."

The Naiks of Ramgarh say that they originated from the people of the plains during the Chand rule. The Naiks of Katarmal state that they originated from a Upadhyaya brahmin. They say that a brahmin was singing in Gaijol two miles ahead of Katarmal. A girl was also tallying the tune. The Chand Raja passed that way. Hearing the song of the girl he became enamoured of her. The Upadhyaya said, "You are not worthy of a brahmin, but are Naik. Three threads were taken out from his sacred thread. The Naiks of Khilphati state their origin to be from a Devdasi (maid-servant of the gods).

The Naiks of Chaupakhia state that they have come from Assam. They say that they are from the castes of dancers and singers in Manipur. The Naiks of Sinchaur state that they became Naiks from gayaks (Singers). The Naiks of Pali Pachchaun state that they are the offsprings of Devcheli (Devdasi) or Brahmcheli.

The Naiks claim themselves to be Rajputs. They put on sacred thread of three strings and worship the gods and goddesses like the Hindus. They have been bringing their women from here and there after paying their price. Sometimes they bring girls from high class Rajput families also. The girls are married to a pitcher or the *peepal* tree. Even the prostitutes observe fast, do veneration and worship the Tulsi plant and sometimes construct naula (water-shed) and inns also.

Reforms began in the Naik community from 1912-13. The Arya Samaj took a prominent part in this work. A reformist group was formed by its endeavour. Later from 1925 the Prayag Seva Samiti took the reforms in its hands in a detailed and organised manner. The principal leader of the Bharat Sevak Mandal, Pt. Hriday Nath Kunzru toured the whole of Kumaon region, held meetings here and there, established schools and appointed workers. He determined to eradicate this custom by the propagation of and encouragement to education. Pt. Badri Datt

Pande along with Th. Devi Singh and Pt. Krishna Nand Upreti carried the message of reforms by going from village to village. They established reform societies and schools in all the three districts of Garhwal, Nainital and Almora, by which the public opinion was attracted to this attempt. The newspapers of Kumaon (Almora Akhbar and Shakti) also made great agitation against this evil custom.

Now the Naik caste has been altered immensely. Many marriages have begun to be performed here and there. A reform group has been formed in the Naiks themselves, the credit for which primarily goes to Ramgarh itself only because the reform movement initially started from there.

Recently the reformists got a bill enacted in the Council also. In 1924 Rai Bahadur Th. Masal Singh put a proposal in the Provincial Council that the evil practice of turning the girls into prostitutes prevalent among the Naiks should be stopped by legislation, and that a committee should prepare a legal draft in this connection. The government appointed a committee on November 2, 1924 under the chairmanship of Mr. Styke, commissioner of Kumaon. The other members were Masal Singh, Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant, Mr. Mukundi Lal, Babu Brij Nandan Prasad, Captain Chamu Singh etc. Some Naiks like Babu Chatur Singh and Babu Jang Bahadur Singh were made the semi-government members. But the government totally upset the report of this committee and with great difficulty enacted a law in 1929 named 'Naik Girls Rescue Bill' in which a provision was made that neither any girl upto the age of 18 will not be made a prostitute nor will she be permitted to reside with prostitutes. The British government keeps indifferent in respect of social reforms in India, otherwise if the government functions properly the system of making prostitutes among Naiks would cease.

The prostitutes are present every where and will remain so, till blemishes exist in the human society. Elsewhere women are made prostitutes by being way-laid by goondas (scoundrels) and wicked people, but in Kumaon there is a malpractice among the Naiks that instead of making their girls good and useful citizens they turn them into prostitutes. Others may do so, but at least the parents should not make their daughters prostitutes.

The work of these gentlemen is praiseworthy in Naik reform : Munshi Ram Prasad Mukhtar (Swami Ramanand). Mr. Stiffe, Th. Masal Singh. Pt. Hriday Nath Kunzru, Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant.

These Naiks also did excellent work—Late Uday Singh, Late Devi Dass, Shri Chatur Singh, Shri Diwan Singh, Dr. Kishan Singh, Shri Diwan Singh, Th. Lakhan Singh, Shri Hera Devi, Th. Jag Bahadur, Th. Indra Singh (Chinauni), Shri Prem Lata Devi, Shri Subhadra Devi.

Among the institutions, the Arya Samaj, Kumaun Parishad and Seva Samiti, Prayag, have done praiseworthy work in this respect.

41. Arya Samaj

Arya Samaj is not any new religion, it is a part of the Hindu religion. The traditional people have faith in idol worship, Sharaddha (devotion in honour of manes), sacrifice and religious ceremonies, but the Arya Samajists do not believe in this. They do not consider the worship of a *sakar* god proper and state themselves to be the devotees of a formless god. They follow the Vedic religion and denounce the Puranic. Swami Dayanand propagated this path and along with it he refuted child marriage, widow marriage, foreign travel, eating and drinking prohibitions, feeling of high and low, untouchability etc. which were old traditional ideas and affirmed that child-marriage should not be performed. He permitted widow marriage and opened way for foreign travel. He removed the narrowness of eating and drinking and waged a war-like movement against the ghost of untouchability. Just as Martin Luther started a gigantic crusade against the Papal authority and prescribed a separate Protestant faith, likewise Swami Dayanand, being himself a traditional *pandit* earlier, exposed the hollowness of the fake traditional religion and indicated the path of Vedic religion. Arya Samaj was founded in India in 1874 and whenever and wherever its wave came into Kumaun the detailed description thereof is being given here—

Nainital

The Arya Samaj was established in 1882. Pt. Ram Datt Tripathi was appointed as secretary.

Haldwani

Mahashaya Ram Prasad, Mukhtar (Swami Ramanand) established Arya Samaj on 13th November, 1898. He became the president and still is, while Lala Chiranji Lal became the first secretary. The Arya Samaj Mandir (temple) was constructed on 17th November 1901.

Kashipur

Arya Samaj was established in 1881. Mahashaya Vrindaban became the first president and Shri Gauri Shankar Gujrati, the first secretary. The mandir was built in 1913. A house was received in gift.

Ramnagar

Arya Samaj was established here in 1904.

Jaspur

Here the Arya Samaj was established in 1880. Mahashaya Sukh Dev Nagar was appointed as the first president and Mahashaya Kanhaiya Lal, the first secretary. The Samaj Mandir was built in 1927.

Ramgarh

The Vedic religion began to be mentioned since 1919 when Sri Narayan Swami came to Ramgarh. The Arya Samaj Mandir was established in 1927.

Ranikhet

The Samaj was established in 1932. Mahashaya Badri Prasad was appointed as President.

Almora

Lal Chiranji Lal Sah and Mahashaya Ram Prasad established the Arya Samaj. The Arya Bhumi (land) was purchased in 1916. Lala Moti Lal Govind Prasad got the Arya Samaj Mandir built, which was converted into a huge temple in 1929 by Lala Mathura Prasad, contractor. This building was developed with the collection of subscriptions.

Arya orphanage was opened by Dr. Kedar Nath on 23rd June, 1925.

42. The Christian faith

This religion has been nearly 1937 years old. It spread from Jerusalem. Jesus was crucified for propagating this new religion. He was proclaimed as the son of the Lord. Since then the Christian faith got currency. Now it has many branches. The prominent among them are:—Roman Catholic, Protestant, Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican, Communion etc.

Roman Catholics are idol-worshippers, whereas the Protestants are not. The Christian religion spread here from that very time when the Britishers came in 1814. But conversion to Christianity and the system of making disciples started in Almora from 1850 and in Nainital from 1857. In 1850 Reverend Budden started a school and a church in Almora, and in Nainital Rev. Butter and Rev. Nichols did the work of education and propagation of Christianity. The Christians did excellent work in respect of publicity of the creed although in the beginning there were revolts in several places by their policy of conversion. They opened schools, hospitals, orphanages and leprosy mission here and there especially in Almora and Pithoragarh. The Mission centre was started in Dwarahat in 1876 and the school there started in 1881, while work was started in Pithoragarh from 1884-85. From there it spread to Dharchula, Chaudans and Johar. Now they have their centres in Katyur, Ranikhet, Berinag and Lohaghat also, although the biggest congregation is in Almora where they have about a mile-long beautiful and attractive hillock in their possession.

Besides ordinary people many of the Joshis, Pants, Pandes and Sanwals became Christians. Formerly there was the London Mission in Almora, but now it is the American Mission.

43. The Musalman Community

The Musalmans came to Almora during the time of Raja Baz Bahadur Chand. Though the Rohilla made attacks on Kumaun two or three times, they did not establish their habitations here. They were very few in numbers in the hills, but now they have their settlements here and there. They have been living in tarai bhabar from the time of the Nawabs. About 10-12 drum beaters, chopdars and keepers of dogs had come during the time of Raja Baz Bahadur Chand and later some traders also came.

In 1821 there were 75 houses of Musalmans in Almora, of whom 57 belonged to the traders and 18 of household servants. There were 494 Musalmans in 1821 in Almora, Ranikhet, Manihargaon, Kathgodam, Dhikuli and other places. Mr. Traill states that at that time there was no permission to take out the Tazia procession in public. At present the number of Musalmans in Kumaun is as under :

Among them are included all—Sheikh, Saiyed, Mughal and Pathan. In the hills the Sheiks are in large number and they are mostly from Sherkot in district Bijnor. In tarai there are landlords of many wealthy families who are Pathans of Rampur, as the Pathans of Darav.

Mainly Shia and Sunni are the two sects of the Musalmans but in tarai they are divided into many sub-castes, eg. Pathan, Qureishi, Banjara, Turk, Jakir, Rai, Teli, Barhai, Heri, Mewati, Dhuna and Julaha. Their mosques are in Almora, Nainital, Ranikhet, Haldwani, Kashipur, Gadarpur and other places.

In the towns they are traders. The Musalmans believe in Khuda (God) and remember (honour) the Prophet also because he disclosed the path of God. They do not believe in idols, though many of them worship the Tazias, saints and tombs. The Shias do not acknowledge them even, though the Sunnis do so. The Shias observe mourning or lamentation but do not make Tazias (models of the tomb of Imam Hussain). They do not attend the procession. The people of Mirza family of the Shia sect are in Almora.

44. Religions and sects

The Himachal has been the land of pleasure of the gods and goddesses from very ancient times. It has been regarded the special home of Shiva and Parvati. In the Puranic and Vedic ages, Markandeya, Garg, Chyavan, Atri, Bharadwaj and other seers had their *ashrams* (hermitages) in this land of penance. Owing to the existence of the Kailash mountain, the main place of Shiva and the Himalayas the producer of Shakti (energy), devotion to Shiva and Shakti has been prevalent here from the ancient times. Rev. Oakley writes in his "Holy Himalayas" that the idea of the worship of Shiva emanated from the Himalaya mountains. In the Puranic age, original inhabitants of Danpur or Danavpuri and Tibet were both Yakshas,

later they accepted Buddhism. The demon king of Shonitpur, Banasur was a Shaiva ; Shumbh and Nishumbh were the rulers there. Their servants Chand and Mund had seen Ambika taking shetler in Himachal”, such is the opinion of many Pauranic scholars :

“ततोम्बिका परं रूपं विभ्रणां सुमनोहरम् ।
ददर्श चण्डो मुण्डश्च भृत्यो शुम्भ निशुम्भयो ॥”

(*vide : Markandeya Purana*).

The name of Shiva is Bhutesh (lord of the ghosts), the devils are his companions. The name of the presiding deity of ghosts, goblins and evil-spirited minstrels is Bhairav. The Tantra Shastra speaks of him as “Bhairavo Bhut Nathascha” (Bhaivav is the lord of ghosts and other evil spirits). It can not be said whether pure Vedic cult was prevalent here as no proof is available only Kedar is regarded as the seat of formless worship, but at that time there too the worship of Puranic rituals was held. There is no trace of Hindu religion propounded in the high and liberal Vedic works and *upanishads* worship, bargaining and religious bribery is observed there. The higher gods are less worshipped. Minor gods, family deities, home and village gods get worship. Magic, black arts and the corrupt forms of the Tantra science only are given prominent place here. Even though Vedantists, Shaivas, Smartas and Vaishnavas—followers of all cults are present here. Most of the people have faith in inert or material articles, ghosts, spirits, black arts and Jagar etc. Honest, true and virtuous gods are less worshipped but the gods destroying the lives and properties of people by deceit and those causing fear and pain are honoured much.

Before the advent of Shankaracharya the Buddhist religion was prevalent here. This fact is irrefutable because the Katyuri kings were Buddhist formerly, they turned Shaivaites later. It cannot be said which religion was in vogue before the Katyuries, but the cult of the Dasyus of Shudras was devotion to trees, plants and evil spirits which was being accepted even by most of the people here. The Katyuris mostly built the temples of Shiva, but after them the adage— जितने कंकर उतने शंकर “as many pebbles, so many Shankars” proved true. Everywhere the temples of Shiva appeared. During the Chand regime the worship of five gods, viz, Sun, Ganesh, Shiva, Durga and Vishnu became prevalent.

It can not be affirmed since when 33 crores of gods and goddesses came to be acknowledged here. The Vaishnavaites did not come to the hills. Even if they came, they were very few. For this, reason the Vaishnava cult is not much prevalent here. As such the Vaishnava taking initiation into the cult after adopting the rosary, string of beads and perpendicular marking on the forehead are very scarce in Kumaun. Almost all the inhabitants are devotees of gods pertaining to the *Smritis* (codes of law). The temples of Shiva and Shakti are in abundance here. Almost in every village *Bhumia* (the lord of the land or area) or *Kshetrapal* is found established. The villages deities too are established here and there to whom goats are sacrificed.

Those among the Chauthani Brahmins who are Kanyakubjas, Maithil, Saraswat etc. sacrifice animals and partake of meat in the worship of goddess and Bhairav, as in the plains. In the Deccan, Maharashtra etc. Panch Dravida, do not eat meat, hence here too the Pans and Bhattas likewise do not do so, but mutual, matrimonial alliances are established among them. The Chauthani Brahmins who came during the times of Katyuri, Chand and Mankoti kings, formed a separate organisation of themselves. They did not establish relations with the old hill brahmins.

Among the Pachbiri brahmins some castes do not eat meat but most of them are meat—eaters.

Almost all the old brahmins take meat. The Kshatriyas and Vaishyas of all classes are meat eaters.

Worship and Devotion : Shalgram etc Panch Devatas (five gods) are worshipped in every Chauthani Brahmin home every day. The arati (worship with lighted lamp moved circularly) with blowing of conch-shell is done daily in the morning and evening. In every house an altar is made for worship which is called Devthya or Devsthan (place of gods). The women folk decorate it with *Aipan* (alpana), *Swastik*, *Bhadra* etc during fairs and festivals. The elderly and old people have to mutter prayer every day. The old women of the house of those English educated men who do not perform worship every day do so on their behalf. Among the Brahmins and Vaishyas god-worship is a daily routine. The Kshatriyas too generally worship daily but among the land-owners or Khas-Rajputs this

ritual is less prevalent. Occasionally in auspicious or pure days and in festivals a bit of worship of the village deities is performed.

Family deities : The brahmins of Gangoli worship Mahakali ; of Kumaun, Punyagiri ; of Chaugarkha, Jagishwar ; of Satrali, Gananath ; of Dhyani Rau, Varahi Devi ; of Mala. Mallikadevi ; the Dyauliya Pandes, Jwalaji and others Bhairav as their adored deity.

The full description of village deities will be found elsewhere.

Sandhya (morning, noon and evening prayers by the twice-born)

It was the rule enjoined for every dwij (twice-born) to perform sandhya on three occasions—morning, noon and evening. Now the performers of three sandhyas are few, but some people do so in the morning and evening and after worship put sandal-paste on their foreheads. In *sandhya bandan* (prayers), *archan*, *shikha bandhan*, *nyas*, *dhyani*, *pranayam marjan*, *aghmarshan*, *surya argh dan*, and the chanting of *Gayatri mantra* has to be done. The English-educated youth now pay less attention to the performance of sandhya and worship.

45. The Buddhism

Buddhism was prevalent in Kumaun upto the recent past, the 8th century. In the age of the Buddha, people said prayers and recited hymns, sang and danced and offered flowers and scented (*perfumed*) articles to the formless Almighty and prayed for salvation or emancipation. These rituals too resembled the formless and nature worship of the Vedic age.

Later the Buddha priests introduced Tantric practices also in their religion with a view to bring people within its folds. The propagation of animal worship was also made. For this very reason Swami Shankaracharya rebutted this cult. Swamiji went to Badrikashram, removed the Buddha monastery and established Jyotirmath (monastery of light or knowledge) in Joshimath. It appears that Maharajadhiraj Shri Vasudeva Giriraj Chakra Churamani, among the Katyuri kings, renounced Buddhism and adopted the Sanatan Dharma (perpetual traditional religion). It was also the royal religion in Kartikeyapur. Mostly Shiva was worshipped. In this way Sanatan Dharma was revived, although the Hindus adopted many tenents of Buddhism as well, eg. their theory

of *Karma* or one will bear such fruits as his actions are and also that salvation is only attained by right food, right behaviour and right sleep. The Hindus included it into their own religion by acknowledging Buddha as an incarnation, but that religion had to take refuge in countries like Tibet, China, Japan, Burma and Siam etc.

46. The Vedas and the Puranas

Here the four *Vedas*, eighteen *Puranas* the *Shruti* and *Smriti* are acknowledged as the principal scriptures. In every *sankalpa* (vow or resolve) it is said—to gain the fruits recorded in *Shrutis*, *Smritis* and *Puranas*. The science of astrology has gained much currency. Reciters of *Vedas* are very few to be seen. The followers of rituals will be found in abundance but one adept in the *Vedas* will be only one in a thousand. Although the custom of reciting the *Vedas* was very much prevalent here 40-50 years ago, now the volumes of the *Vedas* and the *Puranas* are found in the houses of only a few people.

The names of the four *Vedas* are—(1) Rigveda, (2) Yajurveda, (3) Samveda, (4) Atharva veda. The names of the 18 puranas are—(1) Brahma, (2) Padma, (3) Vaishnava, (4) Shaiva, (5) Bhagvat, (6) Naradiya, (7) Markandeya, (8) Agneya, (9) Bhavishya, (10) Brahma Vaivarta, (11) Linga, (12) Varaha, (13) Skanda, (14) Vaman, (15) Kurma, (16) Matsya (17) Garuda, (18) Brahmanda.

Very few people now read the mantras of the Vedas. Only a few people know the correct pronunciation (intonation) of as many Veda Mantras as are included in the rituals. Among the *Puranas*, *Bhagwat Purana* is mostly recited or read. On the death of any rich person the *Garuda Puran* is read during the ten days.

The followers of the path of the Upanishads and Vedanta are seen less. Though the modern Arya Sanmajists call themselves devotees of the formless, super-natural, imperceptible, omnipresent Brahma, noted and influential scholars of the Vedas—Upanishads and followers of *Jnankhand* (knowledge section) can be counted on finger-tips in India itself, then there are almost none in Kurmachal. Here most people are Shaiva or devotees of Shiva, and some are Vaishnava, but purely Shaiva or Vaishnava too are very few here. Most of the people are Smarta (devotees of several

deities) or those who do not worship only the Panch Devtas (five gods) but worship all gods and goddesses. The devotees of Shiva or Vishnu alone will be found rarely. At present in all the temples generally all the idols are seen and the worshippers of Shiva worship Vishnu also, as well as the other deities. The devotees of Shiva and Vishnu even slaughter goats and eat meat.

In Kurmachal there are more than 350 temples, of which 250 are Shaiva and 35 Vaishnava temples. Out of the Shiva temples 64 are consecrated to Shakti or the female vagina. Only 8 are Vaishnava and 18 are of Kali. The remaining are of Nanda, Durga, Chandika etc. The temples of Ganesh also are many. Some are of Hanuman. Those of the Sun too are 2-3, but the worship of the Sun is performed daily in every Smarta house.

The customary or usual religion of Kurmachal is divided into three principal divisions—(1) Boddha, (2) Worship of ghosts and demous and (3) Santan (traditional) religion.

The Boddha religion is followed to some degree in the upper parts of Kurmachal. The people of Shaka race alone, follow the corrupt practices and rituals of this religion, although some fraction of demon worship has been incorporated in the Sanatan Dharma. One of the attributes is Bhutesh (lord of spirits) also. Ghost connotes the thing which was or is present. "Bhairavo Bhut Nathasch" Bhairava who is the commander of the army of Shiva is visibly the lord of demons.

47. Smarta Deities

The gods and goddesses who are worshipped and recognised by the people of Kurmachal are enumerated here :—

(1) *Shiva or Mahadev*

He is adored in many forms. In the Mahabharat 11000 names of Shiva of Mahadev are enumerated. Daksha Prajapati had uttered 8000 names when he atoned for the wrath of Shiva. In the Kali Age 1000 names of Mahadev have been acknowledged. The names of Shiva are of four kinds.

(a) To be addressed by the names of those gods, who were called Shiva, Rudra or Mahadev in the Vedic period, eg. Pashupati Nath, Kedar, Nath, Rudra Nath etc. but temples with his name are few in Kumaun.

(b) those which depict his qualities, actions or power or those which exhibit his miracles, eg, Kamaleshwar (lord of Lotus) Kranteshwar (God of Kranti or Kirat race) etc.

(c) those famed after the name of some place, eg, Chaur Mahadev, Salt Mahadev.

(d) those which are current after the names of people who, considering Shiva as their adored deity and erected temples in their own names, as :—

Deep Chandeshwar which was built by Raja Deep Chand.

Udyot Chandeshwar which was built by Raja Udyot Chand.

Tula Rameshwar which was built by Lala Tula Ram Sah.

Lakshmishwar which was built by Raja Laxmi Chand etc.

The Mahadevs of (c) and (d) kind are many in Kurmachal.

Jagishwar: The biggest temple, with many goonths (land grants) is in Jagishwar*. It is recognised or credited immensely. It has also been described in the *Manas Khand*. There are many deities here, whose temples are elsewhere also, as Tarun Jagishwar, Vriddha Jagishwar, Bhandeshwar, Mrityunjay, Dandeshwar, Gadareshwar, Kedar, Baijnath, Vaidya Nath, Bhaviav Nath, Chakraitakeshwar, Neelkanth, Baleshwar, Vibheshwar, Vagishwar, Vanishwar, Mukteshwar, Tungeshwar, Kamleshwar, Hatkeshwar, Patal Bhuvaneshwar, Bhairaveshwar, Laxmishwar, Panch Kedar, Brahma Kapal, Kshetrapal or Saindeo. Besides these Shaktis are also worshipped :— Pushti, Chandika, Laxmi, Narayani, Sheetala, Mahakali.

* The names of 14 Jyotirlingas (lighted lingas) are given in 4 Sanskrit verses which is quoted here.

सौराष्ट्रै सोमनाथञ्च श्रीशैले मल्लिकार्जुनम् ।
 उज्जयिन्यां महाकालेहुकारं परमेश्वरम् ॥
 केदारं हिमवत्पृष्ठे डाकिन्यां भीमशंकरम् ।
 वाराणस्याञ्च विश्वेशं त्र्यम्बकं गौतमी तटे ॥
 वैद्यनाथं चिताभूमौ नागेशं दारुकावने ।
 सेतुबंधे च रामेशं घुश्मेशञ्च शिवालये ॥
 द्वादशैतानि नामानि प्रातरुत्थाय यः पठेत् ।
 सप्तजन्म कृतं पापं स्मरणेन विनश्यति ॥

(Here the words 'Nageshwarah Daruka Vane' 'Nagesh is in Daruk forest') connotes Jagishwar, because the Jagishwar temple is acknowledged to exist in Darukvan forest.

Vridha Jagishwar is situated at 4 miles on the top and Kshetrapal at about 5 miles. This temple is situated in the middle of Almora and Gangoli at a distance of 16 miles to the north of Almora. Here Mahadeo is worshipped in the form of Jyotirlinga. The biggest temples are of Jagishwar, Mrityunjaya and Dandeshwar. It is alleged that Emperor Vikramaditya had built the Mrityunjaya temple after coming here and Emperor Shalivahan constructed that of Jagishwar. Later Swami Shankacharya came here, consecrated all the temples again and the Katyuri kings too renovated them. The main *kund* is named Brahmakunda on bathing in which emancipation is attained. The other ponds are named after Narad, Surya, Rishi, Krimi, Retu and Vashishtha. A fair is held on the full moon day of Vaishakh (April-May) and Kartik (October-November)—On the 14th day of Sawan (July-August) the *Parthivas* (earthen lingas) are worshipped. Here the worship is performed with *Panchamrit* (five nectars)—(1) curd, (2) milk, (3) clarified butter, (4) honey and (5) sugar. The bath is done with hot and cold water. As in Kamleshwar, by the worship of this temple hope of begetting a son is entertained. Here women keep standing throughout the night, with a burnt lamp in their hands. There is a silver idol of a king with a lamp in his hand. The images of Raja Deep Chand and Trimal Chand also exist.

The sepulchre (grave) of Riddhipuri Gusain who entered the grave alive is near the temple. It has also been described elsewhere. The *pandas* of this place are called *batuk* (Baruwa). Swami Shankaracharya had entrusted the management of this place to Jangam (moving, mendicant) Kumar Swami. Along with him was a Bhatt from the South, who married the daughter of a hill brahmin. His offspring were called *batuk* (Baruwa).

Maha Rudra :—His temples are situated in Papoli, Danpur and in village Daniya of Patti Rangor.

Trinetra :—The temple of Trinetra is in village Sual of Lakhanpur. Parvati once jocularly closed the eyes of Shiva with her hands. There was darkness throughout the world. Then the third eye of Shiva opened, and light was seen. He had immolated Kamdeva with this very eye.

Trimukheshwar :—The Shiva temple of this name is in Chaukot.

Gorkarneshwar :—A temple of this name is in Madhurai Seti, Sor. Gokarna was the king of Panchal. He erected a Shiva temple in Malabar. From there a temple of the same name was built in Nepal and during the Gorkha rule also in Sor.

Neeleshwar :—Shiva is called Neelkanth (blue-throated) also, because he had swallowed poison. Temples with the name Neeleshwar are also found here and there.

Bhooteshwar :—A temple with this name is in village Seeri of Patti Baurarau and two are in Baurarau. In Gorang there is a temple with the name Asureshwar. There were temples with the name Ekeshwar and Jaraur also.

Bhimeshwar :—The name of Rudra is Bhim also. The Bhimeshwar temple in Bhimtal is in this form.

Pinakeshwar or Peenath : The wielder of Pinak or bow. The temple of this name is in Baurarau.

There are also temples with the name Sitieshwar and Ramacshwar. Rameshwar is on the confluence of Ramganga and Saryu.

Miryunjaya :—The conqueror of death. The temples with this name are in Jagishwar and Dwara. There is one in Karakot also.

Vageshwar : This is an old and famous temple. A description of this occurs in Manas Khand. It is situated on the confluence of Gomti—Saryu in Talla Katyur.

In Kali Kamaon there are temples of Gorakhnath and Dhernath also. Gorakh Nath is the guru of pierce-eared mendicants. He is regarded as an incarnation of Shiva. He was born in the 15th century. His guru is Matsyendra Nath. He is stated to be a Buddha. Later he turned monistic. He is much worshipped in Nepal.

Patal Bhuwaneshwar :—This has been described in Manas Khand.

Pancheshwar :—This temple is on the confluence of Kali and Saryu.

Gana Nath :—He is the Lord of the *ganas* and Chand—Munda. This temple is in a picturesque cave in Malla Syunera.

Baleshwar :—The temples of Champawat are very old and worth seeing.

There are many temples in Dwarahat which too are worth-seeing. Someshwar temple too is in Baurarau. Besides the temples, huge rocks are worshipped, here and there, in the name of Shiv, Bhairav, Goril and Chaumu. Large temples are in the hands of Dasnami Gusains, as Giri, Puri, Bharati and Saraswati. The Nagraj and Bhairav Temples are in the hands of Jogis or Khas Rajputs. Fairs are held in big temples on Shivratri and in the small temples on Sankranti (solstice). There are also many temples of Kapileshwar after the name of Rishi (seer) Kapil in Kumaun.

(2) *Vishnu*

There are also many temples of Vishnu. Badari Nath or Badari Narayan is esteemed throughout India. It is also called Badari Vishal. This place is also called Vishal Puri (huge town) or Param dham (supreme abode). When Shankaracharya came to Man Ghati (valley), 55 deities were submerged in water. A divine communication was heard—“Those are the deities of Kali Age. Install them here.” So, he built the temple beneath the Gandhmadan mountain. Here too was the hermitage of Nar-Narayan. There was a tree of *badar* (jejube). Here Agni (master of fire) lived in the form of Tapta Kund (hot spring) by the command of Vishnu. There are many temples, ponds and rocks which are deemed sacred. They have been referred to in Kedar Khand. The Vishnu temples are few in Kumaun. Those that are, are very small. There are not many *goonths* (lands presented) attached to them. Some of them are recently built, from which it is known that the worship of Mahadev is old, that of Vishnu started later.

A temple of Murli Manohar is in Almora. There are three temples of Laxmi Narayan in Kumaun. One temple of Mool Narayan is in Pungranu. Satya Narayan is in Manila of Patti Naya. In Karkot of Salam there is a temple named Narayan Devalaya. One temple of Ram is in Patti Giwar and the *padukas* (sandals) of Ram are in Almora. There is a temple in Oligaon also. The Veni Madhav temple in Bageshwar also belongs to Vishnu. One Vishnu temple is in Masi too, which is built over some old temple. About 350 years have elapsed since the Raghunath and Siddha Narsing temples were built in Almora when the capital was shifted to Almora from

Champawat. The Vaishnava temples of Bageshwar are old, but they are not so famous now.

(3) *Worship of Shakti*

Shakti is worshipped by several names, as, Nanda, Uma, Chandika, Parvati, Gauri, Hemwati, Durga, Jwala, Kali, Chandi, Chandika, Jayanti, Mangala, Kali, Bhadrakali etc.

Two or three temples of Uma are in Garhwal. There is none in Kumaun.

Nanda :—The worship of this name of Parvati is preformed both in Kumaun and Garhwal. A high top of Himachal bears the name of Nanda Devi. She is considered to be the form of Parvati or Gauri. It is said that the marriage of Shiva-Parvati was celebrated on Nandashtami. The temples of Nanda are in Almora, in Ranchulakot in Katyur, in Saneti (Nakuri) and in Magar, Malla Danpur. There are others also here and there. A story is also narrated that at the place where presently the courts are, there the temple was located inside the fort. Commissioner, Mr. Traill removed it and when he went to ascend (climb) the Nanda Devi mountain he lost his sight and when on coming back to Almora he built the temple of Nanda Devi he regained his sight. Sometimes the eye-sight is impaired by the snows but the people stated it to be the wrath of the goddess. The Chand kings also declare Nanda to be their aunt (sister of father).

Ambika :—The temple of this name is in Almora and in Takula. After her name Ambikeshwar Mahadeo too is located. Here both Shiva and Ambika are worshipped together. The temples of Mallika Devi exists in Gaithana of Patti Mahar and in village Mala of Baurarau. She is said to be the companion of Mallikarjun of Askot. There is a temple of goddess Pushti in Bagishwar, who is a Shakti, but it cannot be ascertained whether she is of Shiva or Vishnu.

Durga :—She is the form of fire and is said to be the daughter of the Sun. She is regarded to be quite gigantic being the consort of Shiva in his Rudra form and herself being in the form of fire. She bears many names. Arjuna had prayed to her with these names :—

“Siddha Senani, Mandara, Kumari, Kali, Kapali, Kapila, Krishna Pingala, Bhadrakali, Mahakali, Chandi, Tarini, Katyayani, Karali, Vijaya, Jaya, Nidra, Kalrupini.”

She has been called as the sister of Krishna also, who is worshipped in some places by the name of Kansmardini (slayer of Kansa), though the names of nine Durgas in *Durga Shaptashati* are :—

(1) Shailputri, (2) Brahmacharini, (3) Chandraghanta, (4) Kooshmanda, (5) Skandmata, (6) Katyayani (7) Kalratri, (8) Maha Gauri, (9) Siddhidatri.

Nevertheless, here worship is performed more by the Sanskrit verse

“जयन्ती मंगला काली भद्रकाली कपालिनी ।
दुर्गा क्षमा शिवा धात्री स्वाहा स्वधा नमोऽस्तुते ॥”

in which her names are Jayanti, Mangala, Kali, Bhadrakali, Kapalini, Durga, Kshama, Shivadhatri, Swaha, Swadha.

The goddesses who protect the different parts of the body are listed in the *Durgashaptashati* (700 verses). Among them many are Vaishnavi and several Shaiva Shaktis, about whom difference of opinion exists. The temples of Durga are in Dunagiri, hillock of Dhura and in village Kholagaon of Lakhanpur.

Tripura Sundari :—The goddess destroyed the three cities of the demons which were built of iron, silver and gold and so she was called Tripura Sundari. The temples of this name are in Almora and Beninag. This word Tripura is the corrupt form of Tipperah of Bengal.

By assuming the form of Bhramar (the large black bee) she was called Bhramari. The temple of this name is in Ranchoola Kot (Katyur).

The temple named after Jaya is in Shailachal hill of Bcl. She is worshipped by the name of Jayanti in Jayatkot of Baurarau. The temple of Jayanti is in Dhvaj hill also.

Kali :—There are many temples of this name, among whom those too are included where she is worshiped by the name of Devi (goddess)—

- (1) The temple of Bhadrakali is in Kamshyar, and
- (2) of Dhaul Kali in Naini.

- (3) The temples of Mahakali are in Devipur Kota and in Darun. The pedestal or altar of Mahakali of Gangolihat is stated to be very terrible. The priests of this place are Rawal Brahmins.
- (4) The goddesses of Kot Kangra are in several places.
- (5) The Kali of Calcutta is in Punyagiri hill.
- (6) In Askot too she is worshipped by the bank of river. Every third year the Rajbar goes for worship with great pomp and show.
- (7) The temples of Ulka Devi are in Almora. Chhakhata, Naula and Chaun.
- (8) The temple of Ugrari Devi is in Giwar and of Shyama in Syahi hill. The temple of Vrinda is in Tikhoon.
- (9) The temples of Naina Devi are in Nainital. Katyur and other places. Two temples of Chandika and Chandi are in Kumaun—one in Gangoli and the other in Jagishwar. These are the terrible forms of Kali, Shyama, Durga, and Chamunda.

The temples of Sheetla Devi too are many: in Almora, Bagishwar, Bel Patti, Dolagaon of Mahar, Syalde in Dwarahat which is a corrupt form of Sheetala Devi.

Some local names are as : Banani Devi near Almora, Chandraghanta in Chhakhata and Sitauli, Akhiltarini, in Khilpati, Khiyal Devi in Hat and Uparade in Koshyan. It is not known which goddesses are the Yakshani and Patreshwari of Almora.

There should be no sacrifice before the Shaktis of Shiva and Vishnu. The custom of sacrifice is correct only in the Shaktis of Agni (fire), but there are only a few temples of goddesses in Kumaun, where there is no sacrifice. It is difficult to say which are the Shaiva and which Vaishnavi Shaktis.

Matri Puja (worship of Mother or goddess). These 8 Shaktis of Gods are called Matri. They too are worshipped like the goddess. They had, gathering together, slain the demons :—

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------|------------|---------|-------|
| (1) The Shakti of | Brahma | Brahmani | Vehicle | Swan |
| (2) „ „ „ | Shiva | Maheshwari | „ | Nandi |

(3)	„	„	„	Kartikeya	Kaumari	„	Peacock
(4)	„	„	„	Vishnu	Vaishnavi	„	Eagle
(5)	„	„	„	Hari	Varahi	„	Buffalo
(6)	„	„	„	Nrisingh	Narsinhi	„	Lion
(7)	„	„	„	Indra	Aindri	„	Airawat (Elephant)
(8)	„	„	„	Devi	Chandika	„	Corpse

This has also been called Aparajita or Chamunda. Some people take the name of Kauberi, the Shakti of Kuber in place of Chandika.

The temple of Vaishnavi is in Seti Patti; of Narayani in Silauti Chhakhata ; of Varahi, one in Devidhura and the other in village Vasan in Salam. The temple of Narsinhi in Almora was built by Raja Devi Chand. The temples of Chamunda have been shown above. The temples of Maheshwari and Brahmani are not here.

(4) *Kartikeya*

He too is worshipped. He is the son of Shiva and is called Shadanana also. He was the family-god of the kings. The town of Kartikeyapur was established after his name. But there is no temple of this god in Kumaun now.

(5) *Ganesha*

He also is the son of Shiva. He is worshipped first of all in all the worships. His temples are in Almora and Sail, as also in other places.

(6) *Surya or Aditya*

His devotees too are found in Kumaun, though they are not different. People mostly are Smartas. Surya has many temples in Kumaun as :—

Belad in Bel—Ramak in Kali Kumaon : Aditya Deva in Mahar, Naini Lakhampur and Jagishwar, Baraditya in Katarmal, which was built by the Katyuri king, Katarmal : Bhaumaditya in Bel. The devotees of Sun observe fast on the Sundays of *Pausha* (December January) and on *sankrantis*.

(7) *Hanuman*

He too is worshipped. One of his temples is in Almora. The priests there too are Vaishnavas.

(8) *Garuda*

He is worshipped in some places only. He is also worshipped for being the enemy of the serpent or Nag family and the vehicle of Lord Vishnu. He has temples dedicated to him in Garhwal, but there is none in Kumaun.

(9) *Dattatreya*

He is also worshipped in Dwara and Jagishwar. He is regarded as the god of the Vaishnavi cult.

(10) *Agastya Muni (ascetic)*

He too is worshipped in some places. This ascetic had gone to stop the deluge of Vindhya-chal. He asked him to remain stationary and himself came to Kumaun. He got fascinated by the charm and beauty of this place and began to wander about here. Since then the proverb goes : न मुनिः पुनरायातिः न चासौ वृद्धते गिरिः ।
“Neither the ascetic returns, nor this hill grows” (translated from Sanskrit).

48. **Local deities**

Besides the Vaishnava, Shaiva gods and those of the Smartas, who have been referred to elsewhere, some local deities are also acknowledged in Kumaun. Barring a few people most of the populace in Kumaun, generally worship these village deities. Even many of the Brahmins and Rajputs worship them. They perform *Jagar* as well. The belief in ghosts and evil spirits is still unshakable, though the increase in education and knowledge is regularly progressing; Vedantism and atheism is gaining ground, even so innumerable people in the village clandestinely worship them, and even in the cities. They cause the gods to incarnate and sacrifice goats. They seem to get their desire fulfilled by satiating these gods.

Satya Nath :—It is possible that he may be related to Satya Narayan. He is also called Satya Nath or Siddha. He is mostly worshipped in Garhwal. This god has a temple in Manila in Kumaun.

Bhola Nath : —is called Bhwal Nath and his consort is Barmi. Some people regard him as a portion of Bhota Nath, and his Burmi that of Shakti but the story of their origin is like this—Raja Udai Chand (Udyot chand ?) had two queens, of whom each had a son—when both had grown up, the elder prince was expatriated for having fallen in evil company. The younger prince sat on the throne with the name Gyan Chand. After some time the elder prince came to Almora in the guise of an ascetic and stayed in Nail Pokhar. He was recognised. Raja Gyan Chand, thinking that he might have come to snatch the throne, got him assassinated along with this pregnant wife by a Baria gardener. The consort of the prince was a brahmin lady. He had done *niyog* (sexual intercourse with elder brother's childless widow) with her. After death, that prince became a ghost with the name Bhola Nath, and his wife was turned likewise. The child in the womb also turned into a ghost. All these three ghosts began to torture the people of Almora, mostly the Barias. Then 8 temples of Bhairav were established in Almora, (1) Kal Bhairav, (2) Batuk Bhairav, (3) Bal Bhairav (4) Shai Bhairav, (5) Garhi Bhairav, (6) Anand Bhairav, (7) Gaur Bhairav and (8) Khootkooniya Bhairav. These still exist and are worshipped.

The other story runs that some ascetic entered the female apartments inspite of the doors being closed, where the king and the queen were sitting. The king got infuriated and killed that ascetic. His ghost clung to the king. He could not sleep and was knocked down from his cot. The cot turned upside down. Then the king constructed these temples with the advice of the *pandits* (learned).

Atkinson says— “He was told that subsequent to the gunths (land grants) being snatched by the Britishers, the worship ceased there. Stones began to be pelted on the tents of the Britishers. When the officers made adequate arrangements for worship, peace prevailed.”

Bhairavs are of 8 kinds. They are said to be the protectors of the abode of Shiva, as :

<i>Name of Bhairav</i>	<i>Complexion</i>	<i>Vehicle</i>	<i>Power (Epithet)</i>
1. Gana Netra	Golden	Swan	Brahmi
2. Chand	Smoky	He Goat	Maheshwari

3. Kap	Crimson Red	Peacock	Kaumari
4. Unmatt	Yellow	Lion	Vaishnavi
5. Nai	Blue	She Buffalo	Varahi
6. Kapati	Sapphire	Elephant	Mahendri
7. Bheeshan	Black	Crow	Chamundi
8. Shankar	Melten gold	Rat	Kali

Ganga Nath : He is the favourite god of the Shudras. The son of the king of Doti, Raja Vaibhav Chand had turned ascetic after quarrelling with his father. Loitering, he fell into the love-snares of the wife of a Joshi brahmin of village Adoli. Joshi was employed in Almora. When he came to know of this, he got his pregnant wife and her prince-turned, ascetic lover killed with the help of Jhaparua, blacksmith. Like Bholanath, all these three beings became ghosts. So he built a temple for them. This cult spread throughout Kumaun from Adoli. His temples are situated in Jakuriya, Lyali and Narai. The Burha Mahendra Singh initiated this worship.

It is alleged that Ganga Nath mostly clings to children and beautiful women. When anyone is harassed by the ghosts and evil spirits or is caught into the clutches of a tyrant, he seeks, shelter in Ganga Nath. Ganga Nath, inevitably protects him and punishes the oppressor. Ganga Nath is offered articles like *patha* (goat-kid), *puri* (unleavened cake) sweets, rosary, cloth or bag, the ear-rings of mendicants etc; and his wife, Bhana gets blouse, bed-sheet and *nath* (ring-shaped nasal ornament); the son, a coat, bangles and ornament for neck. The *gantua* (priest) of Ganga Nath earns a good income.

आड गड़ा बायो, डोटी को उठियो, काली तीर आयो ।
जोगी रे गंगानाथ, काली तीर आयो ।।

The dangaria (dancer on whom the god incarnates) utters these words at the time of worship :

“He sowed the field, starting from Doti he came to the banks of Kali Oh; the ascetic Ganga Nath came to the shores of Kali”. (Translated from the original hill dialect).

Masan, Khabees: They are the ghosts of the cremation-ground, which are generally situated on the confluence of rivers. They have temple in Kakri Ghat and in Patti Kandarkhua near Koshi river. If some one can not trace the reason of the ghost clutching to him, it is presumed he is tormented by Masan or Khabees. He springs out of the ashes of the funeral pyre and chases people. Some die out of panic, some fall sick and some go mad. When the Masan clings to some one, jagar is performed. Many people dance. Horse-bean and rice are thrown with force over the person tormented by the ghost. Bichchu ghas (prickly plant) is splashed and burning ash and embers are also thrown. The persons oppressed by the ghost sometimes die consequent to these terrible measures. The Khabees too is pungent in nature like the Masan. He is found in dark caves and forests. Sometimes he make the sound of a buffalo and at other bleats like sheep and goats or grunts like a wild boar. Sometimes he accompanies travellers in the guise of an ascetic, but his muttering appears distinct. He generally clings in the night.

Gwall—He is called Goril, Gauria, Gwail, Gwall or Gol also. He is the most famous and recognised village-deity of Kumaun, though his temples are found at different places. But the most renowned ones are in Chaur in Patti Baurarau, Garur, Bhanari gaon, village Basot of Uchcha Kot, Tarkhet of Malli Doti, Manila of Patti Naya, Golchaur of Kali Kumaun, village Kumaur of Patti Mahar, Gagargol of Katyur, Thangaon, Hairiagaon, Chhakhata, Chauthan Ranibagh and in Chitai near Almora.

The origin of the Gwall god is described thus—The Katyuri king Jhal Rao of Champawat went for hunting to the banks of river Kali. He could not procure anything in the hunt. Tired and disappointed the king came to village Dubachaur, where two buffaloes were fighting in a field. The king wanted to extricate them but failed. The king was thirsty. He sent his servant in quest of water, but it could not be found. Another servant went in search of water. He heard the sound of water and found himself, in the hermitage and garden of an ascetic. There he saw a beautiful woman engrossed in penance. The servant shouted loudly and thus disturbed the trance of the woman. The lady asked who he was. The lady opened her eyes slowly and asked the servant not to let his shadow fall on her and hence disturb her penance. The servant

introduced himself to the woman and narrated the reason of his coming. He began to fill water from the spring and the sprinkles of the pitcher fell upon the woman. Then the female devotee stood up and said that the king who could not disentangle the fighting buffaloes, what his servants would not do will be less. The servant was astonished at this statement. He asked her to go to the king and extricate the buffaloes. The female devotee consented. Taking the name of god, she caught hold of the horns of the buffaloes and separated them. The king was surprised. He asked the woman as to who she was. She replied that her name was Kali and she was the daughter of the king. She was sitting in penance. The servant came and disturbed her austerity. The king got enamoured of her and wanted to marry her. He went to her uncle and found that he was a leper. But the king was fascinated with the beauty of Kali. He pleased that leper with his servitude and the latter consented to their marriage. The woman married the king with the permission of his uncle. Queen Kali became pregnant. The king had told the queen to ring the bell when she had labour pains. The king would come then. The other queens rang the bell by deceit. The king arrived but the son was not born. The king again went out on tour. The queen gave birth to a handsome son. The other queens hid him out of jealousy. They tied a bandage on the eyes of the queen and placing a pumpkin before her said that she had given birth to it. The other queens shut the boy in a cage full of salt, but it is surprising that this salt turned into sugar and the child consumed it. Then the queens, seeing the child still alive, threw the cage into the river where it got entangled into the net of a fisherman. The fisherman was childless. Thinking it to be a divine gift, he took the handsome prince to his home. The boy grew up and riding on a wooden horse took it for drinking water to the ghat (pier) where those wicked queens used to go to fetch water. Breaking their pots he said that he wanted his horse of wood to drink water from there. They laughed and enquired if a wooden horse could ever drink water. He retorted that if a woman could give birth to a pumpkin, the wooden horse could also drink water. This story reached the ears of the king. The king called for the boy. The boy narrated the stories of the atrocities of the queens. Hearing these, the king ordered the queens to be boiled in a cauldron of oil. Later the prince became king : he was adored even during his life for being adversant with things and events of the past. After his death he came to be known and

honoured throughout Kumaun. That iron-cage had been cast into the Gori-Ganga, hence he was called Gorila or Gwalla.

It is said that his worship had gained currency in Garhwal also. One day when Gol Devata (God) was dancing in the palace of Raja Sudarshan Shah, the king beat the person with a thick bamboo, who had danced in the guise of Golla. Since then, the dance of this god ceased there.

In some places god Golla is worshipped daily, while in others a day is fixed for this purpose. In Hairia Khan formerly a great fair was held. The *Bagwal* (pelting of stone) also is held in Chaud and Siling. People of both sides pelt stones. The diseased people mostly go to the Golla of Thangaon in Katyur. The worship is mostly done in the months of Jeth (May-June) and Mangsir (November-December). When the ghost tortures some person, a copper pice is kept in a piece of cloth besides some horse-beans and rice or sesamum, which is tied and revolved thrice over the head of the diseased person and he is asked, "O God! Tell precisely who you are?" Then that bundle is taken for *poochch* (enquiry) to the Gantua (reckoner) so that he may tell which ghost has clung to the patient. Then he utters some vague or oracular words and lifting the grains of rice in his hands tells that Gwall, Masan, Haru or some other ghost has expressed his anger. Then the jagarias (propitiators) and dangarias (dancers) are summoned. Many persons of the house dance. It is said that the god has descended or incarnated into the body of one of them and he reveals the cause of the clinging of the ghost. His language is indistinct or ambiguous, as "Look, it happened thus" etc. Then sweets are offered and a goat is sacrificed in the temple of that god. The head, and in some places one leg, is taken by the priest; the remaining portion is consumed by other people. Sometimes a temple is erected or the present structure is repaired. If the person survives, the god is favourable, if not, it is said to be the fruit or result of past *karmas* (actions) over which the ghost has no authority. Sometimes in the event of injustice or tyranny by a neighbour or any other person 'ghat' is put in the temple of this god with the request that he may penalise the unjust person or tyrant after entering his house. If some one falls sick, dies or is perturbed (distressed) it is said that the 'ghat' has fructified. Sometimes the propitiator, dancer or the ghost-oppressed person are branded with hot iron, which is considered to

be the panacea for many diseases among the uncivilised races or castes. Sometimes the 'gantua' suggests to take some herbs, as a result of which his fame increases. If the person does not get well, belief in the adage—"None except the creator knows, the result will be as is written in Karma (action)" is upheld.

Kshetrapal or Bhumia : It is a minor god of fields or the boundaries of the village. He is a benevolent god. He does not torture anyone. In every village there is a temple dedicated to him. When the grain is sown or new grain is grown, he is worshipped with that corn, so that at the time of sowing he may protect it from hailstorms or wild animals and when the corn is stored in the grainary he may safeguard it from insects and rats. He is a just god. He rewards the pious and good persons and penalises the cunning or guileful. He desires the welfare of the *roat* (thick unleavened cake) and gifts are offered to him. He is so simple that he is gratified with even bare fruits and flowers. The temple of Kshetrapal is in Jagishwar. There he is supposed to be the protector of the Jhankar area and is called Jhankar Saim. (Saim is probably the corrupt form of swayambhu (self-begotten), which is the name of Buddha in Nepal-Atkinson). Sometimes goats too are slaughtered here. There is a temple in Baurarau also. There is some difference in the duties of Saim and Kshetrapal but he too is in the category of ghosts. Sometimes he clings to people, the sign or symptom of which is that the hair become matted. In Kali Kumaun, the ghost Saimchand is regarded as a follower of Haru.

Aidi or Airi : A caste among the land-owners in Kumaun is Aidi or Airi. One person in this caste was a great wrestler and very powerful man. He was very fond of hunting. When he died, he became a ghost. He began to hold children and women in his clutches. When he began to dance in the victim's body, it was said—"It is Aidi or Airi. Worship him by offering *halwa* (porridge) unleavened cake, goat etc. and he will release the children and women."

So he began to be worshipped by all in this way. Everywhere his temples also were erected. In Kali Kumaun he has many temples. People say that Airi, hunts, riding on a *dandi*, in big and huge hills. The carriers of Airi's *dandi* keep saying 'Sau, Sau' while carrying it. The person who hears the bark of his dog will certainly get some trouble or pain. These dogs accompany Airi and bells are

tied in their necks. Other ghosts also go along with him to encircle animals and they are called Paris. They are known as Anchari Kinchari also. The legs are twisted and face backwards. The Paris dance with him. The arms of the Airi are bow and arrows. Sometimes when an unwounded animal is traced in the forest, it is said to be killed by Airi. It is also said that sometimes the arrow shot by Airi enters the house through a niche or small recess in the wall for extricating the smoke, when it strikes some person he becomes paralysed. His waist is broken, the body becomes sapless, and limbs tremble. There is a proverb in the hills about it.

“डालामुणि से जाणो, जाला मुणि नी सेणो”

“Go beneath a branch, never sleep below a niche.”

Sometimes people also see the procession of Airi. A farmer of village Jhijar had gone out on some business. It was a bright night. Suddenly the sound of the bells round the necks of the dogs and of encircling the animals was heard. The farmer understood that it was Airi. He caught hold of his dandi. He appealed much to leave it, but the brave farmer did not release it. Then he told him to ask for a boon. He said that he wanted the boon that the procession of the god should never enter his village. Airi acceded to it. It is said that if the eyes of Airi fall on some person he dies, but it seldom happens, because the eyes of Airi are over his head. He has four hands which are embellished with arms. If the spittoon of Airi falls on some one, it becomes poison, which is treated or set right by exorcism. Any person looking at Airi face to face dies instantly, or is reduced to ashes by the lustre of his eyes, or his dogs tear him to pieces or the Paris (Anchari, Knchari) consume his heart. If someone survives after seeing Airi, he becomes rich. The temple of Airi is located in the forest. A trident is dug there, besides which are two stones called Auo and Bhao and the Ancharis Keencharis also remain there. They are worshipped for ten days during the *Navratri* (nine nights) of *Chaitra* (February-March). The dancers worshipping him tie a cloth dyed in red ochre on their heads. They bathe twice and take meal only one time. They do not allow anyone to touch them. Milk, sweets, unleavened cake, coconut and goat is offered to them. A red cloth dippel in blood is dug there as a flag. The stones are worshipped after which all persons take their meals. In some place the worship is held in Kunwar or Aswin (October-November) also.

Kalbisht : About 200 years back Kalu Kotyuri, son of Keshav Kotyuri, a Rajput lived in village Kotyura Kot near the Patia village. The name of his mother was Durpata (Dropada) and that of his maternal grandfather was Rama Harar. He was a very brave and jovial youth. He was a farmer, but inspite of being a Rajput did the work of cow-herd. He used to graze his cows in the forests of Binsar. It is said that he used to take his cows to graze in Kathdhara and for bathing in the river to Brahma Ghat (Koshi).

The following articles are stated to be in his possession—*murali, bansuri, mochang, pakhai, ramata, ghungharwalo, datulo, ratana, kamali, jhapuwa, kutto, lakhama, birali, khanwa, lakho, ghumeli, gain, bhaguwa, rango, naguli bhaguli, bhaisi, sunahari datulo, sai lani sai, bhakhudi bhains*. Some people say that he had a herd of 12 she-and 12 he-buffaloes.

Kalbisht used to play dexterously on the fife. He used to supply milk in the house of Siddh Gopali in Binsar, besides he used to often visit the house of Shri Krishna Pande with whom he had friendship. Shri Krishna Pande had quarrel with Naulakhiya Pande. The latter brought a ghost named Bharari from the plains with the intent that he would destroy the family of Shri Krishna Pande, but Kalbisht was a brave fellow. He used to drive away the ghosts. He buried Kalbisht also under a stone in a river (Jhyansi Gar) and used to help Shri Krishna Pande in every way. Later, on an appeal, he released Bharari who went to the house of Naulakhiya. Naulakhiya Pande got angry on being unsuccessful in this way in his work and he played a game by which there would be strife amidst Shri Krishna Pande and Kalbisht. He spread a rumour that Kalbisht had illicit relations with the wife of Shri Krishna Pande. Shri Krishna knew in his heart that his wife was innocent, even then he determined to kill Kalbisht in order to remove public slander. Shri Krishna was the priest to the king. He complained to the king about Kalbisht and asked him to be killed. The king sent letters in all directions and also five seasoned and folded betel leaves to see as to who accepts the challenge to kill Kalbisht.

No one lifted such a betel leaf, only Jai Singh Tamta accepted the challenge. The king called Kalbisht to his court. It was a day in honour of manes : Kalbisht was asked to bring curds and milk. Kalbisht brought such large quantities of curds and milk in large

pots (*thekis and dokas*) that the king was astonished. The king carefully looked at Kalbisht, he had on his forehead a trident and on his foot the lotus flower. He seemed to be a very brave and virtuous person. The king declared that he would not kill him. He showed many miracles to the king. The king, one day, fixed a wrestling bout between him and Jai Singh Tamta. The bout was fixed on the condition of cutting the nose. The bout was held in the presence of the king, queen and the courtiers. Kalbisht defeated Jai Singh and cut off his nose. He held the court in awe. Many people became jealous of Kalbisht and they determined to kill him.

Daya Ram Pachchain (dweller of Pali Pachchaun) said that it would be good if Kalbisht went to Chaurasi Mal (Tarai-Bhavar) along with his herd of buffaloes as there is good place for their grazing. But he had this fraud in mind that he would die in Tarai-Bhavar or would be killed there by the Mughals.

Kalbisht went to Bhavar via Nathua Khan, Ramgarh and Bhimtal. He faced 1600 strong Mangoli army there, of which Sooram and Bhagu Pathan were the commanders. Besides Gajuva Dheenga and Bhaga Koormi also joined hands with the said Pathans. All of them decided to kill him lest that brave man could not kill them. In order to examine his strength, they asked him to lift a huge beam or *Bharana*. His cats and dogs performed the work of C.I.Ds. They informed him that the Kalbisht said in the fair that he would exhibit a hill-dance, he lifted that big beam, circulated it in all directions and killed all of his enemies. Then he went to Chaurasi Mal, where he saw that the entire forest was infested with lions. The lions too got afraid (after seeing his he-buffaloes). Kalbisht slayed all the lions, numbering 84, there. The big *shardool* (*Gaja Kesar*) was killed by Khamuwa Lakha.

Leaving Chaurasi, Kalbisht went to Daya Ram in Pali Pachchaun. He told him that Chaurasi itself is good, but there are many Dharuas' (lion) there. Daya Ram conducted enquiries and found all the lions dead. Kalbisht admonished Daya Ram for sending him to Chaurasi Mal by deceit, but he (was saved) survived. If he is now killed cunningly, he would cling to the people of Pali Pachchaun by becoming a ghost. The fact too is like this. At present, Kalbisht is much worshipped in Kali Kumaun.

Then Kalbisht came to Kapharkhan. He camped there in Kathdhar. There Dosh, a kind of ghost, harassed him. He did not allow him to milch the buffaloes. Throughout the night Kalbisht fought with Dosh. In the morning Dosh was defeated. Kalbisht got assurance from him that he would not trouble anyone, but will show the path to the way-laid persons.

When even on making many artifices, Kalu Kotyuri did not die, Shri Krishna allured or instigated the husband of his sister named Lakhdyorhi to kill him anyhow by subterfuge. Lakhdyorhi hammered a nail in the foot of a buffalo and then went to meet Kalu Kotyuri. Kalu Kotyuri asked him the reason of his visit to which he said that he had come to borrow a buffalo. He replied that Lakhdyorhi could take as many as he wished. But Lakhdyorhi asked as to what had happened to the buffalo's foot. On observing, he found a nail pierced. Kalu Kotyuri wanted to extract the nail with his teeth and Lakhdyorhi cut off both the wings of Kalu Kotyuri with a *khukri* (Nepali scimitar). Kotyuri also killed Lakhdyorhi and cursed him that not a single soul would remain in his family as he had killed him by deception. (one of the dancers of Kalbisht dictated this story to me. The author).

Atkinson writes that Kalbisht lived in Binsar by constructing a cow shed. He used to take clarified butter, curd and milk to the house of a brahmin occasionally. The wife of that brahmin used to go to cow-shed. Friendship was established between Kalbisht and the brahmin lady. But this fact was disapproved on enquiry from the village-folk.

Pt. Rudra Datt Pant writes that the brahmin killed Kalbisht, while Atkinson writes his being killed by Himmat, but the village folk state his being killed by Lakhdyorhi. Whatever may have been the fact, Kalu Kotyuri, on his death became the village deity named, Kalbisht. First of all, he clung to the son of Shri Krishna. When the god was made to dance, he said, "He is Kalbisht, people should construct his temple and worship him, otherwise he will torment them." This event happened in Kapharkhan. The first temple was built there. Kalbisht is regarded to be a benevolent god. He harassed only those people who had killed him to by hatching conspiracy. Even the Kanjyori did not remain in the house of Lakhdyorhi. Now he is worshipped almost in the whole of Kumaun

and Garhwal, but according to the curse much worship is done in Pali Pachchaun. It is alleged that the sweet melody of the fife of Kalbisht and his sound of calling the buffaloes is still heard in Binsar. The people of the Shudra caste regard the oath in the name of Kalbisht to be true. In Kapharkhan the cow-herdmen use the name of Kalbisht to protect their cattle from wild beasts, and the oppressed people run to him for justice. They also put *ghat*. When he started clinging to the tyrants, people started constructing temples after his name by which his name became renowned throughout and almost in entire Kumaun his worship started.

Chaumu : He is a minor deity who, protects and destroys the cattle. His original place is between Reoni and Dwarson. In the middle of the 13th century one Thakur Ranbeer Rana was bringing the *linga* of Narbadeshwar (found in river Nabada) from Champawat to his home near Ranikhet. The 'linga' was tied to the turban of Rana. He took off his turban near the water in the vicinity of Dharighat. When he lifted the turban after washing his hands and mouth, he failed to do so. Then he called the people. All of them with great difficulty, lifted the *linga* and the turban and put in the wreckage of an oak tree so that his temple could be constructed, but the *linga*, unsatisfied with that place, went to another tree above the hill. The first tree was in village Syuni, while the other was on the border of Syuni-Dwarson. So the people of both the villages together built that temple and people of both the villages are authorised to its offerings. Raja Ratna Chand of Almora heard about it and he was about to go to see the *ling* but the lucky moment could not be sought. Then Chaumu said to the king in his dream—"I am the king, you are not, what worship will you perform and how?"

Hundreds of bells are presented in the temple of Chaumu. Hundreds of earthen lamps are lighted in the *Navratris* of *Asoj* (September-October) and *Chaitra* (March-April) and great worship is done. Milk is poured over the *linga* and goats are slain, whose heads the residents of Syuni and Dwarson divide among themselves. Oaths are taken in the court of Chaumu. Now in the Kali Age the old miracle is not to be seen, yet the people whose cows or cattle are lost regain them on offering worship to Chaumu. Those whose cows and buffaloes are pregnant, obtain alive calves by performing worship of Chaumu. Those who offer soiled milk to Chaumu find

that the cattle have died. Those who do not offer it or do not worship the *linga*, their milk does not coagulate into curd. On the birth of a calf, the milk of the cow is not permitted to be offered to Chaumu. Offering of milk in the evening is also prohibited. Those who have presented such milk, their cows have died. Those who take their cows to Bhavar or else-where, they should worship the stakes of cows like Chaumu, otherwise they will suffer the loss of their cattle. In Syuni Dwanson the worship of Chaumu is obligatory for the buyer of the cow. The milk of the cow dedicated to Chaumu is not drunk in the evening but the milk of the cow presented to other gods can be drunk.

Badhan : Like Chaumu he too is the god of the cow. He does not cling to anyone, and in the event of not being worshipped also, he does not embarrass. When the cow delivers a calf, 15 days later she is worshipped. First of all she is cleaned, then milk is poured over her and then oblation of rice, poori (unleavened cake), prasad (food offered to idol) and milk is made. Only then her milk is drunk. There is no sacrifice made here.

Haru : He is a god of good nature and is worshipped in many parts of Kumaun. It is alleged that he was Raja Harish Chandra of Champawat, Kumaun. This king relinquished the throne, went to Haridwar, and became a recluse. It is said that the stair-cases of Hari In Haridwar were made by him. It is said in Haridwar that he made the circumambulation of all the four *dhams* (houses of worship) viz. Badri Nath, Jagannath, Ramnath and Dwarkanath. Returning to Champawat from the four *dhams*, the king spent his life in religious performances and actions and established a *bhratri mandal* (brother hood society) of his own. His brother Latu and his servants Syura, Pyura, Rudha Kathayat, Kholia, Melia, Mangalee and Ujaliya all became his disciples. Saim and Baru all became pupils. The Raja became their guru (tutor) and by virtue of his penance, good conduct, meditation and Yoga he remained venerable everywhere. Wherever he went, all the people came for his *darshan*. By his grace or kindness the issueless begot sons, the poor became rich and happy, the blind got sight, the lames became fit and the cunning turned virtuous. When Harish Chandra expired, he was counted among the benevolent gods and by his worship the desired results were known to be obtained. It is said that where

Haru lives, there pleasure and wealth is present and the devotees obtain the desired fruits. For this reason the proverb is current—

“औन हरू हरपट, जौन हरू खड़पट”

“Haru coming denotes merriment and departing Haru is a symbol of total destruction.” (Translated from the original hill dialect). On the arrival of Haru prosperity and on his going sorrow is experienced.

Fair is held every third year in village Than of Katyur. Latu is worshipped in Badwai village of Valdia and Meia in village Bhatkot of Patti Mahar.

The Katyuri kings : The old Katyuri Rajas too are worshipped here and there in Kumaun. There is an Indra platform in village Tailihat of Bichalla Katyur. There is a shining tree. There is temple of god Gwal and some idols of the Katyuri kings, where a fair is held every third year. The temple of Raja Dhamdev is in Kanda of Patti Salam, and in Pali there are several temples of Raja Brahm and Raja Dharm. These two were the last independent kings of the renowned Katyuri clan. Their father died when they were very young. Their mother, queen Jia, was unsuccessful in teaching them the duties of a sovereign because they turned out to be unjust, tyrant and unchaste or immoral; being unpopular in the subjects they were defeated in battle by Raja Vikram Chand. The Chand king annexed Pali and Katyur in his kingdom. A huge battle was waged in which both the brothers—Dham Dev and Brahm Dev along with their princes (Hari, Bhari Soor, Samgrami, Poor, Pratapi) and their servants (Bhim Kathayat, Kheka Das, Ujaliala etc) were killed. Their dead bodies were thrown in west Ramganga. They all turned into ghosts. As such they are honoured in Pali and Katyur. Hari, being the ghost of the Chand kings, neither goes there where the Katyuri ghosts are, nor the Katyuri ghosts go there, where Haru would be.

Roomian—In the northern *parganas* of Kumaun there is a powerful god (ghost) named Roomian, who wanders from one village to another, riding on big horses of stone. He mostly clings to women. If any woman falls into his snares, she becomes weak, her invisible lover comes to her, she dies and becomes his wife in the land of the ghosts.

In the northern parts, other ghosts and demons who are worshipped as gods, are those :

Balchan : His temple is in Dorgaon of Johar.

Kalchan Booshi : His temple is in Toligoan of Danpur. He is much adored by the people of Danpur and Pothing.

Naulso : His temples are in Jarkhandhar of Askot and in Bhatkot of Mahar.

Chharmall— In Tailihat and Thangaon of Katyur, in some villages of Johar, and in Jarkhandhar of Askot.

Hari : in Munsyari of Johar.

Husker or Hubhiksha : in Dharchula and Jarkhandher of Askot.

Nagthan : in Saur Phatak (Patti Salam)

Chharanj Dev : in Chharaunj (Patti Salam)

Vaidya Nath Siddh : in Chanauti (*Pargana Chhakhata*).

The hill-tops too are considered to be holy. The abode of some god, siddha or ghost is thought to be there. Almost on every top where some trees of deodar pine exist, there would be a temple of the village deity.

In Chhipuldhura which is a 16,000 feet high mountain near Askot there is a temple of Mountain God. There are 9-10 ponds there, where a fair, is held on Anant Chaudas, and people bathe.

In Nitigaon exists the temple of Himalaya mountain. In Bensath Dunagiri, there is a temple of that very name.

On hill-tops and often near two paths, Kathpuria Devi or Kathpati Devi is worshipped with these words :

“साकल्यः स्थापिता देवि याज्ञवल्केन पूजिताः ।
काष्ठ पाषाण भक्षन्ति पथि रक्षां करोतु मे ।।”

“Established with *sakalya* (wood for yajna) : O Goddess! worshipped by Yajnavalkya, devourer of wood and stone, protect me in the way.” (Rendering of Sanskrit verse with the above *mantra* (spell or charm) she is worshipped by lifting stone or wood. Actually these places are sign-boards.

49. Other Ghosts and spirits

When people go to the cremation ground, they tie *chir* (piece of cloth) nearby on a tree. This is an apparel for the ghosts. Lest that ghost may come to the home, a corn is pressed on the way, keeping a stone over it. The close relations of the dead walk over it, so that the evil spirit may not return back.

Most ferocious are those ghosts, who live in rivulets or pits. They are mostly, those who commit suicide, or are killed by some one or die with falling of meteors or disasters. They often keep on loitering. They come again and again to the place where they had died, and cling to whomever that may be found there, and sometimes enter into the homes.

The ghosts of the unmarried are called '*tolas*'. They wander in the night. They are said to be like a lantern or a torch. They ask 'Is there any woman anywhere?'

Ghosts-spirits, Anchari-Kachari : Sometimes people see their marriage procession coming. Sometimes they are seen dancing in the cremation ground. Anchari mostly feels pleased with a person wearing red clothes. Occasionally some ghosts are good and some evil, as this world is.

50. Black arts

It was alleged that some people here were adepts in the black arts, formerly those practising the black arts were the Shaukas and the Boksars of Buksas. It has been said—

“माल के बोक्सा की विद्या मारुँ, पर्वत के शौका की विद्या मारुँ।”

“(I) torment (you) with the knowledge of the Boksa of Mal, (I) apply the knowledge of the Shauka of the hills (on you).” But now on enquiry they refute it, asking they laugh at it. When all the people got perplexed with the magic of the Boksas, once the Raja of Garhwal, Sudershan Shah called the Boksas to his place, tied their arms on their back and threw them into the river along with their books of black art.

'न रहे बाँस, न बजे बाँसुरी'

“Let not the bamboo be, the flute will not be played.” The tantriks were there previously as well. There are some even now. They cheat people by many secret arts. Some people even try to do good or evil by performing a sacrifice or repeating the name of a deity with a fixed aim. But their cleverness does not impress much now. The performer of black arts is determined a criminal now by legislation also.

To be hit by ved : Sometimes one house hits another by *ved* for the redemption of which *dansi* stones are placed on the roof and the medicinal plant *Aloe Perfoliata* is also planted on the roof. The description of this is also found in the *Vastu Shastra* (science of sculpture) and astrology also.

51. Good and unlucky omens

It is believed that these are of many kinds. If while departing to some place one sees a filled pitcher, it is a good portent, but if an empty vessel is met, it is an evil omen. On sneezing also it is an unlucky omen. The poor widow is considered to be visibly a bad omen on every auspicious occasion.

Inauspicious journey to a certain direction on a certain day :

Great attention is paid to this Sanskrit verse—

उत्तरे बुध भौमे च रवि शुक्रे तु पश्चिमे ।
पूर्वे शनि सोमे च दक्षिणे तु वृहस्पतिः ॥

“To the North, Wednesdays and Tuesdays ; to the West, Sundays and Fridays, to the East, Saturdays and Mondays, and to the South, Thursdays “journey is inpropitious.”

On Tuesday, Monday journey to the North; on Sunday and Friday to the West, on Saturday and Monday to the East and on Thursday, journey to the South is prohibited.

Portant and inauspicious days : The thought of this too is much entertained. Purchase of cloth is prohibited on Monday. The preparation of new clothes in Shraddha days is as if the purchasing of the coffin. The people of Kumaun are so enmeshed in traditions, conventions and superstitions that it is difficult even for highly educated persons to get rid of them.

Sacrifice

Sacrifice is made in the temples of many gods. The Vaishnavas do their sacrifice with fruits, flowers, coconut etc. Among the Shaktas, sacrifice entails the slaughter of a he-buffalo or he-goat. It is alleged that previously even human sacrifice was prevalent in Punyagiri, Gangolihat and the Kot Mai temple of Katyur but this custom has now been prohibited by legislation. Turmeric and lime powder is put on the sacrificial goat ; flowers are scattered over it and then water is sprinkled. Then this Sanskrit *mantra* (verse) is read in his ears :—

“अश्वं नैव गजं नैव सिंहं नैव च नैव च ।
अजा पुत्रं वलिं दद्यात् देवो दुर्बल घातकः ॥”

“Neither horse, nor elephant, say, nay, the lion; the sacrifice of the goat-kid should be offered (because) even God is the destroyer of the weak”.

O he-goat! you are neither elephant, nor horse, not even a lion you are only the kid of a goat. I sacrifice you. God ruins the weak.

When the he-goat shakes itself after getting wet with the splashes of water, it is said that the god has accepted the sacrifice. Then he is slain with khukri or any other weapon, his tail is severed and put within his mouth so that he may not speak to God. In certain temples of the goddess he-buffaloes are sacrificed. The untouchables, carry it away and they alone eat it. Now even they have started abstaining from it.

53. Reputed temples of Kumaun

Now a table of the principal temples of Kumaun is being given here :—

(1) *Shaiva Temples*

<i>Place</i>	<i>Name of Temple</i>	<i>Description</i>
1	2	3
Almora	Nagnath	Worship is held daily. Land grants by Katyuris and Chands.
"	Ratneshwar	Daily worship. Two vil-lages of Gorkha times.
"	Bhairav	There are 6 bhairavs—Shankar, Sah, Gaur, Kal, Batuk, Bal. Daily worship.
Almora	Deep Chandeshwar	Daily worship. Built by Raja Deep Chand in 760 A.D. Villages in goonth (land grant).
"	Udyot Chandeshwar	Daily worship. Raja Udyotchand built it in 1680 A.D.
"	Kshetrapal Vishwanath	King Kalyan Chand gave land grants to Shiva dwelling in cremation ground.
Bhatkot Bisaud	Kapileshwar	Fair on Uttarayani. Deep chand made land grants.
Baurarau	Pinakeshwar	Raja Baz Bahadur Chand gave land grants. Fair is held on full moon day of Kartik.
"	Someshwar	Daily worship held, Fair in Holi and Shiva Ratri

(Contd.)

1	2	3
"	Sukheshwar	Land grants have been given by Chand kings.
"	Roopeshwar	Land grants have been given by Chand kings.
Khatyari-Syunara	Baitaleshwar	Fair is held on 14th day of dark fortnight of February-March and solstice of Mesh (ram) 'rashi'.
Bhimtal	Bhimeshwar	Land grants by Chands. Fair on Mithun solstice and Bagwal (stone pelting) in Holi.
Bisung	Risheshwar	Land grants of the times of Chands, fair in Navratris.
Baraun	Patal Bhuvaneshwar	Land grants by Raja Jagat Chand, situated inside a cave. Fair on 14th day of dark fortnight of February.
Baraun	Koteswar	Chand kings made land grants. Mela (fair) on 14th dark night of February.
Bel	Rameshwar	Land grants by Raja Udyot chand. Fairs held in April-May. October-November, solstice of Makar and 14th dark fortnight of February.
Mahar, Sor	Jagannath	There are land grants. Fair on Anant Chatur-dashi.

(Contd.)

1	2	3
Waldia, Sor	Thal Kedar	Land grants awarded. Fair on 13th bright night of August-September.
Sirakot, Sor	Bhagling	Fair on 13th bright night of August-September
Saun Patti	Pancheshwar	Fair on Solstice of Makar.
Thal Baraun	Baleshwar	Land grants by Raja Udyot Chand. Fair on Makar solstice. Industrial fair in April-May.
Dindihat	Pavaneshwar	Award of Land grants. Fairs on 14th bright fortnight of October-November and 14th fortnight of February-March.
Askot	Mallikarjun	Land grants by Rajbar, Askot.
Champawat	Baleshwar	Land grants of Chands. Fair on Solstice of Karka.
"	Nagnath	Land grants by Raja Deep Chand. Fair on 8th day of each fortnight in March-April. He is the and priest of the pierced ascetics.
Chauki Char Aul	Ghatkoo	Land grants by Raja Kalyan Chand. Fair held on 8th bright fortnight of June-July

(Contd.)

1	2	3
Maloli, Nayan	Neeleshwar	Land grants by the Gorkhalis. Fairs Held on Shiv Ratri.
Chandkot	Vridhh Kedar	Land grants by Raja Rudra Chand. Fairs held on full moon day in October-November and April-May.
Kuna, Dwara	Vibhandeshwar	Fairs on 14th dark night in February-March and the solstice of Mesh.
Dwara	Nagarjun	Land grants by Raja Udyot chand
Baijnath	Baijnath alias Vaidya Nath	Land grants by Raja Jagat Chand. Fair on 14th dark night of February-March.
Bagehswar	Bagnath	Land grants by Katyuris and Chands. Big fair on Uttarayani (Tropic of Capricorn)
Papoli, Nakuri	Ugra Rudra	Fair on Nag Panchami.
Salam	Ateshwar	Land Grants of the times of Chands. Fair on Shiv Ratri.
Darun	Jageshwar (Tarun) Vridhh Jageshwar)	Biggest land grants attached to this temple in Kumaun, fairs on 14th day of April-May and October-November.

(2) *Temples of Goddesses*

<i>Place</i>	<i>Name of Temple</i>	<i>Description</i>
1	2	3
Almora	Nanda	Land grants of the time of Raja Udyot Chand. Fair from bright 7th to 9th nights of August-September.
Almora	Patreshwari	Land grants of the Katyuris. Fair on 14th dark night of February-March.
Almora	Kot Kalika	Fair is not held.
„	Yakshani	Awarded Land grant. Daily worship held.
„	Ambika	No Fair held.
Tikhoon	Shyama Devi	Land grants by the Gorkhas. Fair is held on 8th bright night of June-July and March-April.
Dunagiri	Durga	Fair held as in Shyama Devi temple (Tikhoon)
Uchyoor	Brinda	Old land grant. Fair on 8th bright night of March-April.
Dhura, Danda	Salam Durga	Fair on 8th day of June-July.
Amel, Koshyan	Upharani	Fair in May-June, Dussehra. It is the other name of Nanda.
Hat, Bel	Kalika	Land grants of the time of Chand kings. Fairs on 8th day of March-April and September-October.

(Contd.)

1	2	3
Mahar	Mallika	Has land grant. Fair is also held.
Saun	Akashbhajini	Fair held in the fag end of March-April.
Askot	Kalika	Land grants, fair on 14th bright night of December-January.
Giwad	Ugrari	Land grant of Gorkhas. Fair held.
Katyur	Bhramari	Land Grant of Raja Jagat Chand. Fair in Navratris of March-April.
Katyur	Nanda	Fair on 8th bright night of June-July.
Pungraon	Kotgari	Fair on 8th bright night of June-July. Fair on full moon night of July-August.
Devidhura	Barahi	Land Grants of Chands. Fair on full moon night of July-August.
Nainital	Naina	Fair on 8th bright night of August-September.

(3) Vaishnava temples

<i>Place</i>	<i>Name of temple</i>	<i>Description</i>
1	2	3
Almora	Siddh Narsing alias Badari Nath	Land grants of the time of Gorkhas. The Acharyas are the priests.

(Contd.)

1	2	3
"	Raghu Nath	Land grants of 1788 A.D. The celebrates are priests.
Almora	Ram Paduka	Fair on 9th bright night of March-April.
Giwari	Ram Chandra	Fair on 8th day of March-April.
Bageshwar	Beni Madhav	Land grants of Chand kings. Fair held.
"	Triyugi Narayan	Land grants of Chand kings. Fair held.
Pungraon	Kali Nag	Fair held. Land grants of the Gorkhas is an old temple.
Dwara	Badari Nath	Is an old temple.
Almora	Murli Manohar	Created by the wife of Kundan Lal Sah.
"	Hanuman temple	Erected during the time of Chand Rajas but has no land grant. Formerly Raghunath temple was included, but is now independent. Renova- ted by Ch. Chet Ram Verma.
"	Ratneshwar temple	Built in the time of the Gorkhas. Gosains are the priests.
"	Tula Rameshwar	Built by L. Tula Ram Sah. He built a water spring also which is called Khazanchi-ka-Naula (spring of treasurer).

54. Fairs of Kumaun

<i>Pargana</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Name of Fair</i>	<i>Named after which God</i>	<i>Average assemblage or public crowd</i>
1	2	3	4	5
Baramandal	Almora	Janmashtami	Birthday of Krishna	3000
"	"	Nandashtami	Nanda Devi	7000
"	Devthal	Shiv Ratri	Shiva	3000
"	Almora	Dussehra	Ram Chandra	6000
"	Gana Nath	4th day of Oct.-Nov.	Shiva	4000
"	Gana Nath	4th day of Holi	"	5000
"	"	15th full moon night	Badari Nath	7000
"	Kuwali Kali Gad	of July-August		
Chaugarkha	Jagishwar	15th full moon April-May	Shiva	5000
"	Jhankar Saim	Jhankar Saim	Local deity	3000
Gangoli	Rameshwar Temple	Uttarayani	Shiva	7000
"	Rameshwar Temple	Full moon of April-May	"	5000
"	Rameshwar Temple		"	5000
"	Dhaulnag	Nag Panchami	Dhaulnag, local deity	3000
"	"	5th Navratri	Dhaulnag, local deity	3000
Sor	Mosht Mano	Nag Panchami	Local Deity	6000
Sira	Baleshwar Thal	Vrish solstice	Shiva	10000
"	Bhagling Devchula	Nag Panchami	Bhagling, local deity	4000

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
Sira	Bhagling Devchula	Anant Chaturdashi	Bhagling, local diety	4000
Kali Kumaun	Narsing Temple, Faraka	Vijaya Dashmi	Narsingh incarnation	5000
"	Chamdeval, Gumdesh	Chamde and Dashami	Local deity	5000
"	Garhmukteshwar	10th day of April-May		
"	Khilpati	Full moon of Oct.-Nov.	Shiva	4000
"	Risheshwar Mahadev	Full moon of June-July	Akhil Tarini Devi	3000
"	Lohaghat	Mahashtami	Shiva	6000
"	Devidhura	Full moon of July-Aug.	Varahi Devi	6000
Danpur	Bageshwar	Uttarayani	Shiva	20000
"	Ranchula Kot	Nandasthami	Nanda	8000
Pali Pachchaun	Somnath Givar	Som Nath	Shiva	8000
"	Shiv Natheshwar	(April-May)		
"	Vibhandedshwar, Dora	Vishvat Sankranti	"	5000
"	Boorha Kedar	Full moon of Oct-Nov.	"	5000
"	Neeleshwar, Bhikiyasain	Shiv Ratri	"	5000
"	(Nauleshwar ?)			
"	Mamla Devi	Vishvat Sankranti	"	4000
"	Kapileshtar Mahadev	Shiv Ratri	Shiva	7000
"	Malla Kaktasaun			
Askot	Jauljibi	In Oct.-Nov.	Trade Fair	6000

(Contd.)

Pargana	Place	Name of Fair	Named after which God	Average assemblage or public crowd
1	2	3	4	5
(2) District Nainital				
Chhakhata	Nainital	Dol	Shri Krishna	5000
"	"	Nandashtami	Nanda Devi	6000
"	Ranibagh Chitrashila	Uttarayani	Mahadev	10000
"	"	Shiv Ratri	Shiva	4000
Dhyani Rau	Kailash	Kailash (Dark half 14th) of Oct.-Nov.	Shiva and Jwala Devi	10000
Kota Pahar	Teerath	Shiv Ratri	Shiva	1000
"	"	Amavasya of January	Secta	6000
"	"	February		
Chhakhata Bhatar	Haldwani	Dussehra	Ram Chandra	6000
"	Haldwani	Janmashtami	Shri Krishna	5000
Kota Bhabar	Kaladhungi	Dussehra	Ram Chandra	6000
Chilkia	Ramnagar	"	"	25000
Kashipur	Kashipur	Chaiti	Bal Sundari Devi	70000
"	"	Bhadon (Aug.-Sept.)	Zahar Aulia Peer	4000 of Musalman
"	"	Gudasi (12th of light)	Burha Baba	5000
"	"	Aug.-Sept.		
"	"	Dussehra	Ram Chandra	30000

(Contd.)

1	2	3	4	5
Kashipur	Tanda Ujjain	Zalar Aulia	Zahar Aulia Pir	5000 (Dark-half 9th Aug.-Sept.)
"	Jaspur	Janmashtami	Shri Krishna	2000
Gadarpur	Gadarpur	Thari Mahadev (Shiv Ratri)	Mahadev	1000
"	"	Sarwar Pir	Sarwar Pir	1000 (Bright half 9th Sept.-Oct.)
Bazpur	Alapur	Ram Leela	Ram Chandra	10000
"	Jharkhandi	Shiv Ratri	Mahadev	3000
"	Rudrapur	Shiv (Jhari Mahadev)	"	1000
Rudrapur	Atariya	Atariya	"	8000 full moon of March-April
"	Kichcha	Janmashtami	Sri Krishna	2000
Kilpuri	Kilpuri	Shiv Ratri (Ghari Mahadev)	Mahadev	3000
"	Ghari	Jhare	"	5000
"	Bijati	Bale Miyan	Bale Miyan	3000 (May-June 1st to 5th)
"	Sisai	Sisala	Mitthan Shah	2000 1st to 5th of Jan-Feb.
"	Sitarganj	Ram Leela	Ram Chandra	5000
Nanakmata	Nanakmata	Deepawali	Nanak Shah	1000
Bilari	Mela Ghat	Ghat Mela	Sharda	40000 Dark half of Oct.-Nov.
"	Chakrapura	Shiv Ratri	Mahadev	4000

55. Festivals and Functions of Kumaun

The dates on which baths, charities and such actions are observed are called functions and those in which there is enjoyment, entertainment and merrys-making are called festivals, as, Holi and Diwali are festivals. Solstice, full moon, Ganga Dussehra etc are functions. Janmashtami, Shiv Ratri etc. are fasts. Functions and fasts are all known as festivals. The following main festivals are observed in Kumaun :—

- (1) **Samvatsar Pratipada (New Year's Day) :—** The first day of the bright half of Chaitra (March-April) falls in the beginning of the year. On this day of idol of Nav Durga is installed in some places. Harela (green grass of wheat, barley and gram etc.) is also sown. The devotees of the goddess observe fast of Nav Ratra (Nine nights). The recitation of the text of Chandi is made. On Samvatsar Pratipada people listen to the good or bad results of the year from the almanac by the learned brahmins.
- (2) **Chaitrashtami—(8th day of Chaitra)—**The devotees of the goddess do or get worship and reading of the holy texts done.
- (3) **Ram Naumi—(9th day of bright half of Chaitra, the birthday of Lord Ram)—**Widows and devotees of Ram observe fast and worship themselves or get it done by priests or brahmins.
- (4) **Dashain or Dashhara—(10th day of bright half of Chaitra) —**On the 10th day of the bright half of Chaitra people offer *harela* to the gods and then put it on their own heads. After completion of the fast of *navratris*, alms and donations are made to the brahmins and they are fed also.
- (5) **Vishuvati alias Bikhauti—**Among the twice-born citizens this festival is observed as the day of solstice. This solstice is called Mesh (ram in form) also; but the brahmins, Kshatriyas and Shilpkars observe a grand festival on this day with victuals fried in clarified butter, sweetmeats, betel-leaves etc.

In many places fairs are also held. Pahari (hill dialect) songs are sung to the accompaniment (playing) of *hurka*

(small drum-like musical instrument) and people dance. This is an old festival of the aboriginals of this place. On this day fish is also caught and small round cakes of ground pulse (*baras*) are also eaten. It has been the practice to smoulder the skin as many times as the number of '*baras*' eaten. But this practice has been considerably reduced now. (The smouldering of the stomach with a red-hot iron rod is called '*tala dalna*'). On this day fairs are held in Dwarahat, Syalde, Chaugar and Lohakhai.

- (6) **Baishakhi Purnima** (Full moon day of April-May)—This is regarded as a festival of bathing and giving alms. Ganga Sapatami (7th day) is also regarded as a pious day.
- (7) **Nrisinha Chaturdashi**—The devotees of Hari (Lord Vishnu) keep this fast on 14th day of the bright half of April-May.
- (8) **Vat-Savitri Amavasya**—Women fast on this day. The story of chaste Savitri and Satyavan is heard on this day. The figures of the dead Satyavan, Yamraj (God of death) and eminent jewel among chaste women Savitri are drawn under a *banyan* tree and they are worshipped. Consecrating the thread of twelve knots (*dor*), women tie it round their necks.
- (9) **Dassehra**—On the 10th day of the bright half of May-June, Ganga Dashehra is observed, which is an India-wide festival. On this day bathing in river Ganga and giving sharbat (Syrup) in charity is done. But in Kumaun three shlokas (verses) beginning with "Agastya and Pulastya also" etc. are written on a piece of paper and are pasted or stuck in every home by the brahmins. A small donation is given in reward to the brahmins. It is surmised that the fear of lightning etc. is removed by sticking these papers of Dassehera.
- (10) **Harela, Hariyala** or the solstice of Karka—10-11 days before the solstice of Shravan (July-August), putting soil in bamboo pots etc. preparing a bed; paddy, maize, horse bean and other grains produced in the rainy season are sown and this is called Hariyala. It is not put in the sun. By doing so the colour of the plants becomes yellow.

- (a) **Harkali, the great festival**—The clay idols of Gauri-Maheshwar, Ganesh and Kartikeya are made and coloured and on the night of the full end of the month they are worshipped in the bed of hariyala with various fruits, flowers, victuals fried in clarified butter and sweet-meats. The next day, the harela of Utraini pooja (later worship) is put on the head. The sisters and daughters place the 'harela', on the head after applying sandal-paste and vermilion mark and the emblem of sect on the forehead. They are given rewards or donations. This is called the '*tika*' of 'harela'.
- (b) This hariyala is sown by people of all castes and creeds down even to the untouchables. On the day of *Sankranti* they present it to their respective gods, then it is put on their own heads. The village people worship Haru, Saim, Goll and other of their village or family deities by offering donations, incense sticks, lamps, oblations and sacrificial animals in the fire of monastery known as Jaga. These Jaga temples are built on the boundary of every village. The *baisi* (22 days) undertaking and the religious ceremony of installing the village deities in Navratri is done. On this day worship is done after offering hariyala. Those taking fast of *baisi* from this day upto 22 days observe *vrat* and bathe thrice, take meals only once, and observe behaviour of an ascetic, leading a chaste life. They do not come to their homes either in the day or throughout the night. They meditate, worship and serve the *dhuni* (altar of fire) in the monastery of Jaga. The god is invocated by Jaga or Jagar (propitiation) in the night. Large number of viewers come for the *darshan* (appearance) of the gods. They seek the benediction of money, son, health and other hearty desires.

This is the old mode of worship of the aboriginals and ancient castes, because this system is not seen anywhere outside Kumaun.

- (11) **Harishayani Ekadasi** This is a famous fast. The women hold the rule of Chatursmasya (The bathing and fasting

for four months beginning on the eve of the rainy season) from this day. The fast ends on Haribodhini (awakening of gods).

- (12) **Shravani Purnima** (Full moon day of Shravan i.e., July-August)—This is called Raksha Bandhan also. On this day the Upakarma of the Yajurvedi dwijas is held. After emission, and taking and offering bath ritualistic oblation of water to the seers, a new sacred thread is worn. Raksha Bandhan too is done on this day. This is regarded as the festival, above all, for the brahmins.

The professional brahmins take remunerative fee from their customers by supplying the sacred and Raksha thread.

- (13) **Simha or Ghrít Sankranti**—The solstice of Simha is also called Olagia. Earlier, during the Chand rule, craftsmen received rewards on this day by showing or exhibiting articles of their craft and handiwork, and the other people too carried flowers, fruits, vegetables. Curd, milk, sweets and several kinds of best things to the royal court or as present for the venerable people. This was known as the rite of 'olag.' This custom resembled the presentation of gifts to the Britishers on Christmas Day. Even now this festival is celebrated in some measure. So this solstice is called olagia also. This is called Ghrít or Ghee (clarified butter) sankranti. On this day there is a wide-spread custom to consume much ghee (clarified butter) with breads prepared from pounded horse-bean. This is also a local festival.

- (14) **Sankasht Chaturthi**—This is the fast and worship of Ganesh on the 4th day of the dark half of Bhadra (August-September). Food is taken on the visibility of the moon after giving charity by libation in honour of the deity, Moon. This fast is generally undertaken by the women.

- (15) **Janmashtami**—This is an India-wide festival. The birthday of Lord Krishna is observed with gaiety. Many people observe fast and prepare the dol (swinging chair). The demeanours of Krishna are illustrated on a piece of paper

and He is worshipped. Some people observe the fast by partaking fruits, while others so without meals. The Smartas (worshippers of several gods) keep fast on the first day and the Vaishnavas do so mostly on the second.

- (16) **Haritali fast**—This fast is kept on the 3rd day of the dark half of August-September. The women-folk observe this fast for prosperity, i.e. the longevity of their husbands. The Samvedis have their 'upakarma' in the Hast asterism.
- (17) **Ganesh Chaturthi**—The fast and worship in honour of Ganesh is held on the 4th day of the bright half of August-September. Lord Shri Krishna was blemished for theft of jewel by looking at the moon on this day. As such the sight of the moon on this day is prohibited.
- (18) **Rishi Panchami**—This is called Nag Panchami or Birur Panchami in the hill dialect. The women keep fast on the 5th day of the bright half of August-September. The seven sages (stars) are worshipped along with Arundhati. Actually, Nag Panchami occurs in the bright half of July-August, but the custom of observing it on this very day has gained currency. The nags (serpents) are worshipped on this day. The womenfolk generally take unripe or uncooked articles on this day and the use of crops produced by plough is also prohibited.
- (19) **Amukta Bharan Saptami**—On the 7th day of the bright half of August-September is the principal fast of the women. Worshipping Uma-Maheshwar with a string having seven knots, the women wear it themselves.
- (20) **Doorvashtami**—This fast is held on the 8th day of the bright half of August-September. Making doorva (*Agrootis linearis*) of gold, silver, silk etc., consecrating and worshipping it, the women wear it themselves. Prayer to Doorba Devi is made for gaining prosperity and progeny. Food cooked in fire is prohibited on this day also.
- (21) **Nandashtami**—Beginning from the 8th day of the bright half of August-September to the 8th day of the dark half of September-October many devotees do the worship of

Lakshmi and observe fast. The worship of Nanda Devi had been continuing in the court of the Chand kings traditionally with great pomp and show. This is one among the tribal festivals of Kumaun. Nanda is the Ran Chandi (Chandi of battle) of Kumaun. The elementary battle incantation here is "Jai to Nanda Devi", "Victory to Her". The sacrifice of the buffaloes and goats is made in Her worship. The worship in Almora is even now made with great splendour and a huge fair is held. The descendants of the Chands do this worship. In Nainital, late Lala Moti Ram had initiated this fair. Fairs are held in Katyur, Ranikhet and Bhowali also. She is reported to be the family deity of the kings of Kumaun.

- (22) Fast of Anant Chaudas—is, held on the 14th day of the bright half of August-September. After consecration, performing the worship of the string, of fourteen knots, men and women put on this 'anant'. The oblation of thick leaf is made. This fast is undertaken by particular persons.
- (23) Khatarwa—Children celebrate this festival by making flags of flowers on the solstice of Kanya (sign of Zodiac). They dance, they burn it as in Holi. They eat cucumber and throw it at others. This festival is observed in memory of the conquest of Garhwal. Sardar Khatar Singh was the commander of Garhwal, who was killed.
- (24) Shraddha—From Ashwin Krishna Pratipada (The 1st day of the dark half of September-October) to Amavasya (lunar conjunction) is called the Shraddha (offering in honour of manes) or Pitri Paksha (fortnight of the ancestors). The Parvan (festival) Shraddha is held in this fortnight concurring to the date of expiry of father. The Shraddha of the mother is held only on Navami (9th day). Amavasya is recognised as the date of Pitri Visarjan (departure of ancestors). Tarpan (libation of water to the manes) is done. The shilpkar Harijans following the traditional religion too perform *shraddha* on this very day. Among the brahmins the custom is prevalent to make offering to manes with rice. The other castes prepare 'pinda' with the flower of barley. Besides feeding

the brahmins, kiths and kins and neighbours also are fed in the *shraddha*. This is regarded as a big festival to commemorate the memory of dead ancestors.

(25) **Durgotsava**—The festival of the worship of Durga is observed beginning from the 1st day of the bright half of September-October. This is called the fast of Navaratra also. The bed of 'hariyala' is sown. The study of Durga Saptshati or 700 verses is done or got done. This study is done daily or on the 8th day in almost every house. Many people keep fast for nine days. This ashtami (8th day) is called Maha (great) Ashtami also. Sacrifice is made in the temple of the goddess on this day. Jagars are held here and there in the villages. In some places he-buffaloes and he-goats are sacrificed in large numbers.

(26) **Vijaya Dashmi**—The 10th day of the bright half of September-October is called Dasain in Kumaun. The departure of the Nav-Durgas is made on this day. Harela is offered to the gods and goddesses, then tilak (emblem of sect) and harela is put by people on their own heads. Sisters and daughters also apply tilak. Ramleelas are held at several places during the Navratris. The fair of Dussehra is held.

This is the principal festival of the Kshatriyas. During the rule of the chands, the worship of horse, elephant, arms, parasol, tail of wild goat for whisking off flies and the crown used to be made.

(27) **Kojagar**—Minor Diwali is observed on the full moon day of September-October. The women keep fast. The worship of Lakshmi is made in the night. Diwali lamps are lit. The oblation of *pakwanna* (pudding) and sweetmeats is made and then taken by people themselves. The beginning of the vice of gambling too starts from this day.

(28) **Deepotsava**—Hari Deep (lamp) is lit on Kartik Krishna Ekadasi i.e., 11th day of the dark half of October-November. Yama Deep on 13th and Shiva Deep on the 14th day. The custom of lighting the *Akash Deep* (heavenly lamp) up to Tularka (seen in the Zodice of Tula) is prevalent.

- (29) **Narak Chaturdashi**—In the dawn of Chaturdashi (14th day) which embraces the rise of the moon, the practice of bathing with hot water after the massage of oil is an old usage. Light soil, the medicinal plants *apamarg* and *katutumbi* (pungent gourd) are moved circularly over the head. Presently young, unconsecrated children are given the Narhar bath and thus the old ritual is observed. The Narak (hell) Chaturdashi bath is taken with the motive of getting salvation or repose from the agony of hell.
- (30) **Depmalika or Diwali**—Amavasya i.e., lunar conjunction of Kartik (October-November) is the India-wide festival of the worship of Mahalakshmi. Deepmalika (diwali or lighting) is made in rows in the evening. This is regarded as the principal festival of the Vaishyas. The fast for Lakshmi, her worship and devotion are main in this. The evil practice of gambling is very much in vogue in Kumaun. This festival is celebrated in the memory of the event when Lord Ram Chandra returned to Ayodhya after defeating Ravan.
- (31) **Govardhan Pratipada**—On the 1st day of the bright half of Kartik (October-November), Lord Krishna had saved Gokul from the wrath of Indra by lifting the Goverdhan mountain. He initiated the worship of Gokul and the cattle wealth in place of the oblation and religious sacrifice in honour of Indra, and since then this festival of the worship of cow is held. Tilak is put on the foreheads of cows and calves after worshipping them. Worship and *arati* (circular movement of lighted lamp around the head) is done after giving the morsel of food to the cow. Oblation of *kheer* (boiled nice-milk), butter, curd and milk is offered. Lord Shri Krishna is also worshipped. On this day, *bagwal* (stone-pelting) function is held in some places, as in Patia.
- (32) **Yam Dwitiya**—is celebrated on 3rd day of bright half of Kartika. It is famous by the name of Teeka or Bhaiya Dooj. Yamraj takes the meal prepared by his sister on this day; such is the Puranic story. As such the rite of taking food at house of sister is relevant. The sister does

teeka also. *Chyuras* are also placed on the head. *Singal*, a special kind of preparation, is made in large quantity during these days.

- (33) Haribodhini Ekadasi—This fast is also observed India-wide. On the Hari Shayani day the Lord sleeps and awakes on Haribodhini. Fast is kept on this day and on the 12th day of the fortnight, the fasts of the Chaturamasya are ceremoniously completed.
- (34) Vaikunth Chaturdashi—This occurs in the bright half of Kartik, mostly widows and devotees of Hari keep fast on this day. A great fair is held in Gananath. The women desiring to have a son remain standing through the night with lamp in both of their hands.
- (35) Kartiki Purnmasi—This is regarded as the festival of taking bath in the Ganga. The efficacy of bath in Ganga and donation of cloth on this day is acknowledged.
- (36) Bhairvashtami—The worship of Kal Bhairva takes place on the 8th day of the dark half of Marg-Shirsha. The value of eating *bara* (small, fried round cake of ground pulse) is efficacious. The worship of Kal Bhairav takes after the preparation of *baras* and they are given to eat to a black dog, the vehicle of Elder Bhairav.
- (37) Makar Sakranti—This is called Uttarayani also. On this day the sun enters into Tropic of Capricorn. In Prayag, this festival is called Magh Mela (The festival of January-February). A great fair is held in Bageshwar, as also the bath in the Ganga is taken in Rameshwar, Chitrashila and other places.

This festival is called Ghugutia also in Kumaun. Flour is kneaded with or molasses, then forming the figures of a particular bird, *ghuguta*, pudding is made and strung into a rosary. Orange and other fruits are also strung in it. These rosaries are put round the necks of children who, rising early and putting the *mala* (rosary) in their necks call the crows by uttering 'Kala-Kale' (black). They take off some pudding from the rosary and give it to the crow to eat. This usage is not seen anywhere else except in Kumaun. It appears to be an old festival of this region.

- (38) The fast of Sankasht Har—On the 4th of the dark half of Magh (January-February) fast and worship of Ganesh is done.
- (39) Basant Panchami—The fifth day of the dark half of January-February is called Shri Panchami also. On this day leaves of barley are taken from the fields and after offering to the gods and goddesses are put on their own head by the people like 'hariyala'. Sisters and daughters do *teeka*. Handkerchiefs and clothes are dyed in yellow colour. The singing of Holi starts from this day. The usage of dance and music is also in vogue.
- (40) Bhishmashtami—Deovrat, royal sage, Bhishma Pitamah (grand-father) lying on the bed of arrows left his mortal coil on *ashtami* (the 8th day) of the bright half of January-February. This is the day of his *shraddha*. His *tarpan* (libation of water) is done on this sacred day. This is called oblation to Bhishma.
- (41) Shiv Ratri—On the 14th day of the dark half of Phalgun (February-March) the fast of Shiv Shankar is kept throughout the whole of India. Fast is taken on this day and men and women go for bath of Ganges to the rivers here and there. In Kumaun, fairs are held in Kailas, Jagishwar, Bagishwar, Someshwar, Vibhandeshwar, Chitreshwar, Rameshwar, Bhikiyasain, Chitra Shila etc.
- (42) Holi—*Cheerbandhan* (tying of rag or strip is done on the 11th day of bright half of February-March. In some places it is tied on *Ashtami* (8th day). Most people keep the fast of *Amalaki Ekadasi*. On this very day, offering colour to the gods and goddesses barring *bhadra* time people, sprinkle this colour and create red farinaceous colour on their clothes. The bustle of colour and '*gula*' continues upto '*chharari*' (1st day of Chaitra or February-March). Singing, playing on musical instruments, dance of prostitutes and fast etc. are held ceremoniously. Khari (standing) Holi songs are sung in the villages. Buffonery and skits are also held. There is no derth of regular Holis and unrestrained prattle too. This festival is celebrated with great pomp and show for 6-7 days in Kumaun. The Holis of Satrali, Patiya, Gangoli, Champawat, Dwarahat

etc. are famous. Sittings are generally held everywhere in the villages also. Sweets and molasses are distributed. The turmoil of hemp and *cannabis sativa*, and in the towns to some extent of liquor, is visible. The burning of Holika is held on Purnima (15th day of bright half) of Phalgun. On the next day, the Holi of Pratipada is observed. After observing Holi by moving round every house, coloured clothes are changed in the after-noon. Contributions of money is also made from which *bhandara* (mass feast) is held in the villages.

- (43) *Teeka Dwitiya*—On 2nd day of Chaitra Krishna (dark half) the *teeka* of husband and wife is held. Just as the *teeka* of brother and sister is held on Basant, Harela, Dasain and Bagwali, similarly the *teeka* of the couple is held on this day : *Teeka-bhaint* (gift of money) is given to the sister-in-laws also (brother's wife and wife's sister).

Besides these fasts, the fast of Ekadasi (11th day of moon) is kept every fortnight. Most people observe fast on these ekadasis or the ekadasis of Chaturmasya. The women keep awake in the night and listen to religious anecdotes. Fast of both kinds, with or without food, are held. Some people partake of pudding. Rice is prohibited on Ekadasi.

The fasts of days—The fast of Sun is kept on Sunday. In the month of Pausha, most people keep fast on Sundays and worship the sun. They take meals without salt, women observe fast of Shiva on Monday. This is much prevalent in Shravan, Magh and Vaishakh. The meals of unleavened cake, bread or fruits is taken. *Mangal vrata* (fast) is observed on Tuesday. The practice of taking saltless food is in vogue.

These fasts are completed ceremoniously also. No need is felt of keeping fast after *udyapan* (completion ceremony). Besides this, women occasionally take regular bath in Shravan, perform *Lakshvartika* (offering of a hundred thousand wicks) and *Tulsi vivah* (marriage of the holy basil plant) etc also.

56. Congegrations and Festivities

Birth, naming (baptism), tying sacred thread and marriage ceremonies etc. are called *sanskar* (obsequies), and the day after

birthday function, learning of alphabets or beginning of letters etc. are *utsavs* (festivities). The mode of performing them is incorporated in *Dash Karma Paddhati* (Manner of observing these actions). There is much bigotry in Kumaun. For this reason, these events are mostly acknowledged. The name of the 16 *Sanskars* (sacraments) are these:—

(1) Garbhadhan (conception), (2) Punsavan (milk-ceremony), third month after conception, (3) Seemantonayan (Vedic rite performed in sixth, fourth or eighth month of pregnancy), (4) Jatkarma (ceremony of birth of child), (5) Namkarma (naming ceremony, on 11th day after birth. (6) Nishkraman (ceremony of taking out the child for the first time when it is four months old), (7) Annaprashan (ceremony of giving the child rice cooked in milk for the first time, when it is six months old), (8) Chudakarma (tonsure ceremony), (9) Upanayan (initiation or investiture of twice-born with the sacred thread), (10) Vedarambh (beginning of the study of the Vedas), (11) Samavartan (return of the disciple to his household after finishing studies at the preceptor's residence), (12) Vivah (marriage ceremony), (13) Agnyadhan (ceremony of offering oblations to the consecrated fire), (14) Deeksha (initiation of the disciple), (15) Maha Vrata (fast lasting for twelve years and Sanyas (asceticism or abandonment of worldly ties).

(1) Garbhadhan Sanskar—For the attainment of an issue or child, worship of God after appearance of menstrual excretion and fixing or determining a particular time, sexual intercourse was made. Now this Sanskar is generally not held. Now the worship of Ganesh which is held after the first appearance of the menstrual flow, may probably be a changed form of this.

(2) Punsavan (3) Seemantonayan—The practice of Punsavan about the third month after conception and Seemantonayan in the eighth months may have prevailed earlier, but these *sanskars* are not observed now.

(4) Jatkarma :- There was the custom of some worship after the birth of a child and bath with garments on, but this custom too has almost ceased.

(5) **Shashthi Mahotsava :-** This festivity is observed on the sixth night after the birth of the child. The rites of Shashthi poojan (worship) and Rahu Vedhan (perforation) are done, but generally the sixth day ceremony of the child is held. This ceremony of a girl is performed rarely by some wealthy persons. It is not any sanskar, but only a festivity. The brahmin, friends, well-wishers, kith and kin are feasted after songs, playing on musical instruments, blissful songs, chanting of *mantra* (incantations) and *tilak*. This festivity is celebrated with great rejoicing in Kumaun.

(6) **Namkarma or Namkaran :-** The child is given a name on the 11th day after birth. The lying-in-chamber is purified with the urine of the cow and *panch gavya* (five articles yielded by cow, namely, milk, curd, clarified butter, dung and urine) after the morning bath of the woman giving birth to the child. Later her impurity is removed by performing *havan* (sacrificial ladle) and other ceremonies. Determining the name in accordance with the asterism at the time of birth and writing it on a piece of cloth and consecrating it, the father recites the name in the ears of the child with the conch-shell covered with that cloth. The sight of the sun too is given to the child on this very day. The ceremony of naming the child is completed by feasting the brahmins, the next of kin and the brethren.

(7) **Annaprashan :-** This sanskar is held in propitious and favourable moment in the sixth or eighth month in the case of the son, and in the fifth or seventh for the girl. Clothes, arms, books pen, gold, silver and several sundry articles are placed before the child. There is possibility of gain to the child in future by the thing it touches, as by touching the book it will be learned, earning his livelihood by wisdom, by pen, an author; with the touch of arm a soldier and by gold, a rich trader and so on.

(8) **Janmotsava :-** This is called birth-ceremony also. It is observed every year on the date of birth. Mostly the birthday of the son is celebrated, of the daughter seldom. Besides Brahma, Vishnu, Surya, Ganesh, the worship of Markandeya, Bali, Vyasa, Parshuram, Ashwatthama, Kripacharya, Prahlad, Hanuman, Vibhishan etc, is performed. Women sing and dance both times, in the morning and evening *puas* are also cooked. The kith and kin and the neighbours are also feasted.

(9) Karnavedh :- There is the custom of piercing the ears also in the third or fifth year, but in Kurmachal now only a few people perform this. Mostly, the ears are pierced on the day of Upnayan Sanskar.

(10) Chudakaran :- The main time for this is the third year, but here churakasan is performed with *vratbandh* (taking of vow or sacred thread) ceremony. Long hair are kept upto the time of Upnayan and much filth or dross is accumulated in them.

(11) Akshararambh :- The akshararambh karma is held on the eve of the child attaining the fifth year, after seeking an auspicious moment. First worship is made. Now this is done in rare cases.

(12) Upnayan Sanskar :- This is called *Vratbandh* and *Janeu sanskar* also. The child is called *Dwij* (twice-born) from this very day. This *sanskar* is called *vratbandh* because of taking (a vow) and being restricted by or confined to it. It is called *upnayan sanskar* for being *upneet* (brought near or initiated near the guru or preceptor). Every such child becomes authorised to keep *chutia* (lock of hair on crown), wearing the sacred thread and performing Sandhya (three prayers). This ceremony is the appropriate time for the start of education and the study of the Vedas.

This *sanskar* is performed for two days with great ostentation in Kumaun. The ceremonies of *Grahyag* (domestic sacrifice) is held on the fast day; while upnayan (initiation with sacred thread) and several other ceremonies are performed on the next day. The ceremonies normally done from the 8th to the 25th years are completed or accomplished within two days. A lot of money is expended in this work. In some places this ceremony is performed in the goth (ground floor) and in some in the altar place. The *guru diksha* (preceptor's initiation) too is given on this day. A few (two or three) *mantras* of the Veda are also taught, the child is sent to Kashi for studies but is called back soon after. This is just an imitation of the old practice or custom.

(13) Vivah Sanskar :- Marriages are performed according to the tallying of horoscopes with astrological calculations and fixing the date for this ceremony. The marriage is arranged by the parents. The marriage is fixed with a girl of one's own creed or caste but of

another gotra and Kula (family). The marriage is performed with a girl of another family than the mothers, the uncollateral family of deified ancestors and of a different gotra (clan or lineage). The brahmin adept in astrological science fixes the auspicious moment in the months opportune for marriage, on the rise of the Shukra and Guru (sage Shukdeva and Jupiter planets respectively) by seeking an auspicious moment. Some days before this, Ganesh is worshipped and ladu (ball-shaped sweetmeat made from the ground rice mixed with molasses), *maha-laddu* (bigger ones) and *sualas* (a kind of dried *puri*) are prepared. On the marriage day, worship etc. is performed on both the sides, that of the bride and the groom. Generally the marriage procession starts at the hour of dusk. Sometimes it arrives in the morning also. The *nishans* (flags) are not carried in the marriages of Brahmins and Vaishyas. The marriage party is accommodated at *Janawasa* (a place arranged by the bride's party) after the solemn promises betrothal. The bridegroom is given kaccha food (rice, pulse etc) and the members of his party are fed with pucca meals, as unleavened cake, vegetable etc.

When the auspicious moment of the marriage arrives, the *acharya* (priest), and the people of the bride and groom's side, sit in the marriage hall after putting an *antarpāt* (curtain or screen) in between. The women sing propitious songs. After stating the genealogy of the family of both the parties, the solemn promise of giving away the girl is made and the matrimonial alliance becomes irremovable after receiving blessings from the gods and brahmins. Later bestowal of bed, *saptapadi* (making seven circumambulations around the sacred fire), auspicious *havan* (oblation), *Laja hom* (oblation of parched rice) is performed. Other minor worships are also performed. After finishing the process of marriage; the marriage party is given breakfast and food, *tilak* is put on their foreheads and they are bid a farewell along with the bride and groom. The *Chaturthi Karma* (ceremony of the 4th day after marriage) is performed in the night. Again, the rite of *dwiragaman* (coming of bride to her husband's house second time after marriage) is performed within 16 days or in uneven years.

Generally marriage is performed in this way, but in other groups there are other customs also, a brief description of which will be made elsewhere in the chapter on caste.

Agniyadhan :- This is the manner of performing *havan* (oblation) every morning and evening along with one's consort in the *autagni* or *Smartagni*. The custom has become extinct. In Kurmachal a family of Agnihotri Tripathis in Almora has been doing so since the time of the Chand rule. This family still exists and maintains this custom.

(14) **Dceksha :-** This is an old sanskar of being engaged in the manner enjoined by the scriptures in the chapter on devotion of the vedas, after receiving initiation in the incantation of the *Vedas*, but this has become obsolete now. A selected few take initiation in mantra (incantation) in the solar eclipse from a capable pandit (brahmin) and accept him as their guru (preceptor). The women take jap (muttering of prayer). This alone is the skeletal remnant of this sanskar.

(15) **Mahavrat :-** This was the old custom of abandoning the domestic life and entering into the Banprastha ashram (third grade in the life of a twice-born) by being included in the nivratti marg (path of repose or renunciation). This sanskar is also seldom followed by the people now.

(16) **Sanyas :-** It was the custom after Vanprasth Ashram to take initiation from a preceptor according to the prescribed injunctions to achieve the complete title of 'Kutichar (dweller of hut), hans (swan), param hans (supreme swan)'. The rule was to spend the whole time in the service of God after totally relinquishing all the lusts of the world in the form of Maya (illusion) and moha (infatuation). But this too is now done by only a selected few. Apparently many people become ascetics and recluses, but they all are seltish. The ascetics who have denounced or renounced the world and are harbingers of public or common weal are seldom to be seen.

57. The rites of Mritak Karma (obsequies or funeral rites)

On attaining old age those having sons, family and disposition took to *Kashivas* (habitation in Kashi), or living by the banks of Ganga where they constantly prayed to God. But these days people think it necessary to remain with their sons etc. It is considered to be the bestower of Swarga (heaven) to listen to the recitation of the Gita or Shrimad Bhagwat and chant the name of Ram. After giving

the charity of cow and the *Dasdanas* (ten charities of land, gold etc) made, the dying person was lifted from the cot while still in his senses and laid on the floor. The water of the Ganges is while he is still alive. On cessation of breath, particles of gold are inserted into the holes of mouth, ears etc. Then giving the dead a bath, sandal is pasted and a new sacred thread is placed on his left shoulder. The friends of the city and village, kinsmen and neighbours collect at the house of the dead to carry him to the cremation ground. The elder son, and in the case of his absence the younger son, brothers, nephews, kinsmen and brethren have to perform the burning and other sanskars of the dead. Oblation has to be made with the flour of barley. The corpse is put in a cover of new cloth. Then a cloth is put on the bier, the corpse, is put over it and in the end a small, emboidered wrapper and other clothes are put over it. Another pinda (oblation) is given in mid-way. Reaching the ghat, the corpse is given a bath and then put over the pyre. The cremation grounds are generally situated on the confluence of two rivers. The son and other performers of the last rites assign the dead to flames. After performing *kapalkriya* (ceremony of breaking the skull of a burning corpse), reduce it to ashes instantly. They do not extinguish the funeral pyre on the third day, as is done in the plains. They extinguish it on the same day and purify it by splashing with water. The remaining flesh of the dead (similar to a pigeon) is wrapped in a cloth and submerged in water. The preformer of last rites has to tie a towel of new cloth on the head like a turban. This is called *chhopa* (cover). All the persons who have gone to burn the corpse have to take a bath. Formerly clothes also were washed. Now no-one washes clothes in the cities. Some people do so in the rural areas. All become pure with the sprinkling of cow's urine. In the villages, the burners of the dead body, are fed under the name of *Kathotar* (redemption of giving wood) or are given *seedha* (uncooked grains). In the city or town sweets, tea or fruits are given at the same time. People return to their home, keeping the bereaved in front. All persons place their feet on a stone put under a thorny branch on the way. The fire is touched and some sour thing eaten on return from the cremation ground.

The bereaved has to take *havishyanna* (food taken at the time of sacrifice or pure food) only once and live a life of celibracy. *Anjali* (two handfuls of water) is given to the *preta* (spirit of the

dead) from the first, third, fifth, seven or ninth day (uneven days) till the tenth day and *shraddha* is performed.

A room in the house is smudged, a low enclosure is raised with cow-dung and an earthen lamp is lit. The bereaved has to live within it. He can not touch anybody. After bath and offer of the oblation of sesamum and *pinda-dan*, a bored small earthen pot is tied to a tree wherein a fibrous twig of cleaning of teeth in milk mixed with water, with the chanting of a *mantra* which purports to say. "The bearer of conch-shell, disc and mace Narayan may grant salvation to the deceased. This milk mixed in water may be received by the spirit who is in the skies in the form of a shelterless or forlorn being. The spirit which has been burnt in the pyre and abandoned by the kinsmen may attain gratification or contentment and peace, and being relieved from the condition of being a ghost he may attain the supreme regions." The kinsmen within seven generations have to offer *anjali* after being shaven. Those kinsmen whose parents are alive do not get their head shaved, they only get their moustaches or beard shaved. On the tenth day all the kinsmen have to smudge their houses, purify them, wash all the clothes and dry their beddings. Then they have to go to bathing place for taking bath and offering *anjali*. On the tenth day the performer of last rites breaks the small earthen pot, and also staff and the oven and puts the earthen lamp in the pond. The funeral rites of ten days are completed thus. Some people hear the recitation of Garud Purana daily for ten days.

The karma of 11th day is called *Ekadashah* and that of the 12th day *Dwadashah*.

On the 11th day going to another *ghat* (bathing place), taking bath afresh and completing the injunction or process of *Shayyadan* or *Vrishotsarga* (release of an uncastrated bull) is done, or the hind part of a bullock is scorched or branded. If the bullock is not available, one of flour is made. In lieu of this some amount is given to the priest. *Kapila-dan* (charity of a milch cow) is made, 365 earthen lamps are lit and 365 pitchers filled with water are kept. Later there is provision of monthly and *adya* (first) *shraddha*.

On the day of *dwadashah sapindi shraddha* (joining the dead with the manes) is performed. By this the departed soul gets removed from the *preta mandal* (the region of the ghosts) and

joining the dead ancestors in the *Pitri Mandal* (region of the manes) is supposed to assume the form of a *vasu* (the eight demi-gods). Without this the departed soul can not be released from the wretched form; such is the belief of the majority of the Hindus. Following this, the *peepul* (holy fig) tree is worshipped, water is poured over it and then *havan* (oblation), *godan* or *tiipatra-dan* have to be observed. After this the processes of the 13th day, viz, pleasure and peace in house, feeding of brahmins etc. is done on this day very day in Kurmachal. This is done on the 13th day in the plains.

Shraddha :- The monthly shraddha of the dead is performed every month on the date of his death. These monthly shraddhas are completed in totality before the performance of any auspicious occasion and this is called the 'disbursement of the monthlies.' The son of the dead person has to perform the annual rules or restrictions upto a year by self-cooking and living a chaste life. There is the injunction of not eating or using many things. The first shraddha in the year is called *varshi*.

Every year the *Ekodishta shraddha* (for the sake of one individual only) is performed on the day of death. In Ashvin Krishna Paksha (dark half of September-October) every year *Parvan shraddha* (performed on a pious day) is done. The *Teerth shraddha* (done in place of pilgrimage) is done in sacred places like Kashi, Prayag, Haridwar etc, and in Gaya Dham the custom of *Gaya Shraddha* is prevalent. If the *shraddha* is not even performed after doing so in Gaya, no harm is considered. The *Abhyudayik Nandi Shraddha* has to be performed in every *sanskar* and propitious occasions. Then worship of ancestors must also be done with that of the gods. Assiduous or active people perform *tarpan* (oblation with water) daily and some people also perform even *shraddha* every day. There is the usage of doing *tarpan* on every *amavasya* (lunar conjunction) too. The eldest member of the family generally performs all these activities.

The Shilpkar Harijans who follow the traditional religion perform the last without *mantras* and get shaved, and perform the *shraddha* mostly on *amavasya* of Ashwin Krishna (dark half of September-October). The son-in-law or sister's son only are their priests.

58. The Kurmachali Dialect

We have seen that people from distant places have migrated to Kurmachal. As such the dialect here is an admixture of different dialects, otherwise the dialect of this region is called Kurmachali and Pahari also. It has no grammar. In this way one Kumauni speaks to the other in the hill dialect, but the script here is Nagari and the court and education language is Hindi. The Kurmachali dialect, which has been stated to be the mid-Pahari dialect is corrupt form of Hindi. Though the dialect of this place is made with the inter-mixture of ancient Dasyu, Khas, Shaka, Hun, Arya i.e. all the dialects, there is no doubt if there may be the prominence of Khas dialect in the Kumauni dialect because of the predominance of the Khas caste. But so far no linguist has thrown any light on the philology of this dialect. The Aryans continued the propagation of their script and of Sanskrit and Hindi, but owing to the predominance of the Khas dialect they too had to take recourse to this very dialect. There has been very much propagation of Sanskrit in this area. The currency of Hindi too is noticeable every where, yet the dialect of this region differs from that of the plains. Though Nepali (Gorkhali), Kurmachali and Garhwali dialects have much mutual affinity and all of these are hill dialects the ascent of the Kurmachali dialect is quite different from the Garhwali and Nepali. The proper Kumauni dialect too is spoken in a different way in the *Parganas* mentioned below :- Almora town, Sor, Kali Kumaun, Pali Pachchaun, Danpur, Johar and Bhoj. I quote hereunder some portion of the examples of samples of the dialects as given by the late Pt. Ganga Datt Upreti :—

(1) Hindi language :- Ek samaya mein do vikhyat shoorveer the, ek purva disha ke kone mein, doosra paschim disha kee kone mein rahta tha. Ek ka nam sun kar doosra jal-bhun jata tha. Ek ke ghar say doosre ke ghar jane main bara vaisha ka mare chalna parta tha.

(2) Almorā dialect :- Kai samaya main dwi nami paik chhiya, ek pooral disha ka kun main dohra pachchon ka kun main raunchhiya. Yak ko nam suni ber dohra rees main bhariya raun chhiyo, haur eka ka ghar bati dohra ke ghar bat barah ko bato tad chhiyo.

(3) The dialect of Kali Kumaun :- Kai wagt main dwi jan bara veer chhaya. Ek jan purva ka kuna main, dusro pachhion ka kun main raun chho, Ek ko nam suni ber dosra bhari rees ko jal chho. Ek ra ghar hai dosra ka ghar bar varsh ka bata dun chhau. (In their dialect, the words khan, gyan are also used). Hamari mauk mal khan nashi gyana. It sounds very sweet when spoken.

(4) The dialect of Shor :- Kai bakhat main dwi bara jodha chhya, ek purva ka kon main dusara pachchim ka kon main raunchhya. Ek ko nam suni ber dusara jal chhyo. Ek ko ghar dusra ka ghar bati bar varsh ko bato chhyo.

(5) Pali Pacchaun :- Quai dina main dvi ghain paik chhiya. Yek purva ka koonna main ranh chhiyo, dusar, pachchim ka koonna main ranh chhiyo. Yak yekak na suni ber jal chhiyo. Yekak dhyal dusarak dhyal har ber bar varsh ka bat main chhi.

(6) Johar-Bhot :- Kai dinan ya dwi bara hamdar bhaar chhiya. Ek purva ka quana ma duharo pachchim ka quana ma raun thee. Ek ka nau suni ber duharo jalor thee. Haru ek no kuro bati duhara ko kuro bar varsh tar thee.

(7) The dialect of Danpur :- Painl bakhat ma ei do dekhyan bhar chhilo. Yek hare purv dishak chhor ma dusaro pachchimak dishak chhor ma renilo. Yaka nam sun ber laun dusaro aag jhai legi jani hari yaka ka ghar to dusarak ghar bati bar varsh ka bato chhilo.

(8) Gorkhali dialect :- Kasai din man dwivata baliya jodha chhe. Ye bata purva disha man akon pachchim disha man rahanthya. Ek ko nam suni akon rishi garthyo. Yevata ka ghar akon ka ghar bat bar varsh man pugthyo.

(9) Dotyali :- Koi ek jug mai duye paikela naun chalyaka thya. Ek purab disha ka kona thyo. Doosaro paikyalo paschim disha ka kona ma rahan thyo. Ek ka nau suni ber dusaro bahutai rees aranth yo kya. Ek ko ghar hai ber doosara ko ghar bar baras ko bato thyo kya.

(10) The dialect of the Shilpkars of Almora :- Kai jamana maji dwi nambar paik janu theeni bhar kauni chhiya. Ek purva disha ka koonna maji dunharo pashehim disha ka koonna maji raun chhiyo. Ek ko nam suni ber duharo reesh ka mara jalan chhiyo. Ek ko ghar bati duharo ko ghar bar varsh ka bata door maji chhiyo.

(11) The dialect of Shri Nagar-Garhwal :- Pahla jamana ma deri nami veer chaya. Ek purva ka disha ka kona, dusaro paschim disha ka kona ma rahando chhayo. Ek ko nam sooneek dushoo jaldo chhayo. Ek ko ghar dusra ka ghar te bara varsh ko bato chhayo.

(12) The dialect of Tehri-Garhwal :- Pala ek jamana ma dwi khyat bhar thaya. Ek poorab ka disha ka kon ma aur doosara pachhim disha ka kon ma rahando thayo. Ek ko naun sunnek doosara jaldo thayo. Ek ko ghar doosara ka ghar te bar varsh ka rasta door thaya.

(13) The dialect of Lohawa-Garhwal, *Pargana Chandpur* :- Kai jamana ma dui adami bara nami bhar chhya. Ek purva disha ka kona ma ran chhyo. Dosharo paschim disha ka kona ma ran chhyo. Yekako nau suni kin doshar jal chhyo. Yeka dera te dosharo dero bar barash ka rasta pachchyo.

(14) Bogsa (Terai) dialect :- Kishhee jamani main do yasha har paik main agani veer the. Yek purab deesa ke kone main dusra pachcham deesa ka kone main rah the. Yeka nam seem kar dusar jar he. Yek ke ghar sai dusra ka ghar bar baras raho dure par tha.

(15) Tharu dialect :- Ek samaya main do nami devata hai. Ek (sasur) agar ki disha ke kone main rahat ho our ek pachhar ki disha ke kone mein rather ho. Ek ko nam sun ke doosaro gusa hewai jal rahai. Ek ke ghar se doosare ko ghar bar varsh ki rah main ho.

(16) The dialect of Bhabar Kumaun :- Yak takam dwri parkhyat paik chchin. Ek poorab ka kungnam, doosaro pachchim ka kungam ran chhiya. Ek ko naun suni doosaro jali pake ren chhiyo. Ek ka ghar whai doorase ko kuro bar barsh ko bato chhiyo.

Almost one single dialect is thus spoken in new accents in the hilly area. It is so said that the dialects change at every 12 miles but in Almora there is slight or more difference in the dialects of (1) mohallas, (2) bazaar (3) shilpkars. Some people call Ravan as Ravand in pronunciation and Hanuman as Handooman etc. Though dialect of Sor, Gangoli is one and the same, the word 'Hala' is added in Gangoli which is indicative of the vocative case. If in Gangoli, Koonan, Karnan, Janan will be spoken in Sor koonan, Karnan and Janan will be entered. In the dialect of Pali Pachchaun and the boundary of Garhwal will have the mixture of both the Kumayyan and Garhwali dialects, as "Bhalsho whasa nee karo, hyas

karo". Likewise in portions of Sor and Kumaun, which are juxtaposed to Nepal, some mixture of the Gorkha dialect is traced. Writing apart, but some people speak such a dialect which suddenly is difficult to comprehend or grasp. The people from Darma side speak the corrupt form of Tibetan language.

The dialect of the Tharus and Boksas is rural Rohilkhadni. Some words of Pahari also occur in it.

In the dialect of the town-dwellers and Kumaunis now some Persian, Arabic and English words are also included. Some people reproach or despise the Kumaoni dialect by calling it uncouth and barbarious dialect but the reality is not so. The Kurmachal dialect is very sweet. The poems composed in it are very charming.

59. The qualities, nature and actions of the Kumaunis

Whereas the inhabitants of towns and cities are cunning, shrewd and freakish in nature, those of the rural areas are simple, honest and upright, but in Kurmachal, the ordinary public despite having received average education is sufficiently intelligent or wise. The inhabitants of Almora town are wealthy, learned and talented but the amount of ego is ordinarily much in them. If were not so, they would have not been inferior in any respect to any nation of the world. This is the only reason that inspite of being accomplished in every way there have been a very few people here, who would have reached the pinnacle of all-India fame or say provincial renown, not to speak Kumaunese. The aim of the unlettered has been farming, of the very little educated, paltry or contemptuous service and of much educated has been to aspire for highest posts. Every race or nation acquires prosperity by trades, commerce or dexterity in arts, but there is paucity of these here upto now. There have been a few writers, poets, politicians, some loyal officials and ordinary businessmen or traders, but such have been very few whose name would be current or known in entire India. The Kurmachalis have accomplished all sorts of works, but within a small circle. At present, the Kumaunese are spread almost everywhere. They are holding high governmental posts honourably or respectably in many provinces of India especially United Provinces, but at the same time it must be admitted that so far they have not been renowned like

their elder hill-brothers, the Kashmiris. The Kashmiris have earned name by coming out of Kashmir. Wherever the Kashmiris are, they are famed for literacy, governmental or administrative, and social service and now they are renowned for their patriotism.

When in 1906, (now late) Pt. Bhola Nath Pande went for foreign travel, it must be said that since then their backwardness or limited experience of the world was mitigated or removed. The person, who has brought radiance or given brilliance to the name of Kurmachal in the field of service to the nation is, Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant. He is the only Kurmachali who has achieved India-wide fame in the field of politics with his erudition, abnegation, self magnanimity Dr. Nilambar Chintamani, Joshi the renowned surgeon, has made known the name of the Kurmachalis throughout India. The persons earning name in the Hindi world are Dr. Hem Chandra Joshi and the doyen of poets, Sumitra Nandan Pant. Dr. Laxmi Datt Joshi has raised the honour of Kurmachal by acquiring high legal education. Out of 60 lakh people there would be barely 8-10 Kumayyans who have achieved eminence or celebrity, in the whole of India. As such, till now the Kurmachalis can be ranked as mediocre in almost all matters, though they should have been of the highest category by reason of living in excellent climate. Some people have achieved local significance by governmental service and loyalty, but in the race for patriotism, literature and competition the Kumaunis have lagged far behind. For namesake, there are many *vakils* (lawyers), doctors, editors, judges, barristers, poets, literatteurs, able businessmen there is not barely one, but many; but in the vast and extensive firmament the sun and the moon are far, people shining like stars are yet very few. So to say, who counts himself as reliable, but despite the prosperous land, salibruous climate and the land full of natural beauty in which the Kurmachalis live, they have not produced such lofty atmosphere compatible to it so that generous, virtuous, educated, civilized and world-renowned persons may be produced by this land who may astonish the world with their talent.

Not 95, but 97-98 per cent people live in the villages. There may be many promising children among them, but there is sufficient lack of education there till now. Their almost and only care is how to fill their bellies and to pass time or live anyhow. They are quite

ignorant about such ideas as social service. The feeling of patriotism, devotion to literature or knowledge pertaining to arts and crafts. Those who are educated, have been mostly experts or engaged in exhibiting their age and prestige. As such there seems to be a total lack of organisational powers in a beautiful and divine land like Kumaun. People are sovereigns of the empire of their own homes or every body considers himself to be a supreme leader. The Kurmachali is very proud or egoistic. He is called selfish also. He is not of a gregarious nature. He is very fond of clothes. The Kurmachali has such infirmity or mania for wearing serge that he would not hesitate to even borrow for it. He would ever or the moment his family pride is even slightly hit, turn into a foe from a friend at once.

Scant attention is paid towards education, cleanliness and health in the villages. Their circle is very limited. The atmosphere is narrow. Bribery is rampant there. Even children and kids, see the patwari, peshkar or government officers taking bribe in court cases. The minor officials are supreme there. The children are over-awed by them. Even the education department feels humiliated in the presence of these officials. Children too, imitating the patwari, peshkar, patraul or ahalmad try to exact and amass money by torturing their fellow brethren. This money then is spent to fill the coffers of lawyers and government officials. This calumniated cycle has been going round for a very long time. It has not been broken as yet even by the world wide movement or agitation of Mahatma Gandhi. It is desirable that the feeling of service, organisation or amity, education, and cleanliness may be inculcated in people in respect of villages. Besides this, filth and garbage may be kept away there by good arrangement of storing manners and some village industries may flourish. Such resources are badly wanting eg. a panchayat may solve petty disputes, schools be established in the villages, news papers be circulated and reading rooms may prosper with the help of modern science and education. So far the attention of a very few people has been drawn in this direction.

The Hindu religion has laid special emphasis on inner cleanliness and purity, but it is a matter of great regret that our Hindu brethren have fallen below this lofty ideal. These days the cleanliness of house, courtyard and the boundary or enclosure is left apart, most people do not wash their clothes even. They spend

hundred rupees or an enormous amount on long pilgrimages, but are idle in washing clothes. The Bhotias and Shaukas live in such arduous or infavourable climate that they seldom get a chance of daily bath. Though people take bath in the cold countries during the winters, but it cannot be surmised why people remain unclean in the plains and abstain from taking bath. From this it is explicit why the efficacy of bath has been described at many places in the Manas Khand. The attainment of heaven has been stated even by bathing in every stream and small ditches or ponds. The old scholars would have advocated so many baths in the Ganga so that people may realise the exaltation of daily bath and cleanliness and remain neat and clean. Some people say that they can not wear clean clothes as they are poor, but many rich and prosperous persons also wear dirty clothes, then the fault lies not in poverty but in bad habit. Even the poorest person can be clean by a bath and wash, and keep his clothes tidy with any or some herb, but they do not do so. The people here are mostly honest and truthful. They do not know any duplicity or artifice. However, now by going here and there they are becoming clever and crafty. Yet the people are many degrees amiable and honest as compared to the people of many provinces of India.

They would necessarily have been brave at some time, because they exhibited extra-ordinary bravery in many battles during the Mughal time and in the European world war also. The Kumaoni army had showed formidable prowess and phenomenal bravery in Turkey. But it can not be said precisely whether they would or would not accomplish this feat in the absence of proper leadership, because at present bravery is seldom seen in India devoid of arms and ammunitions and subject to foreign domination. There is freedom in the hills, such is the imagination of poets, but this is not seen in these days. The love pertaining to the country which is found in the hillmen of the north west frontier province, is nowhere discernible in the people of the Kurmachal hills. The material is present, but some one is required to stimulate, encourage and organise them. Not to speak of individual gallantry, but at present it would be a matter of boldness to state that the whole Kumauni community is brave, daring and lover of freedom. The frailty of stinginess has crept into them by several years of subjection. May the Almighty bring that day soon when this hill community may

shake off and break these shackles of subjectivity and live freely and with the feeling of self-esteem.

The people of Darma and Byans-Chaudans in the north are expert traders. It is the work of these people alone to take sheep, goats and jhupuas in the inaccessible valleys of Tibet. The people of Johar are more civilized, educated and sensible. The people of Danpur are brave, courageous and have such forbearance against tribulations. They enlist in the British army and are very renowned soldiers, but being deprived of education they do not possess high degree of feeling for their country, religion and community, as is wont in superior hill people. Those who are conversant with this feeling are not enlisted in the army. The people of many regions are great litigants as those of Pali Pachchaun, Chaugarkha etc. There is lack of education in Chaugarkha, but the people of Pali Pachchaun are engaged in litigation day in and day out, inspite of being well-educated and sensible. The people of Almora and its vicinity are very clever, but at the same time very selfish as well. The residents of Kali Kumaun are supporters or a partisans of a particular group, but at the same time they prove to be very true friends and terrible foes.

The inhabitants of Kurmachal are mostly not assiduous. They are stated to be idle. The shilpkars and Brahmins do little work.

The landlords are more dexterous. Almost every person owns land sufficient to support and subsist him. Barring the towns, the division of property too is based on the principles of socialism in the rural areas. There are few big land-owners here; mostly they are small share-holders. The farmers do little of other works than ploughing and erecting the walls of their fields. The poor women exert very much. Men do not do, as much the women do of agriculture and domestic work. In spite of this, it is regrettable that the behaviour of men towards their women folk is not good. This is the reason why many women flee from their house at times :-

There are very few occupations and industries. The Kurmachalis have not been successful in joint enterprises as yet. The people are lazy. They sit idle for months at a stretch. People here like very much to idle, smoke and gossip or play cards in shops and other places. Their attention has not been so far drawn to proper utilization of time. This region still lags behind in literary accomplishment, social service and patriotism.

The people here used to abstain from drinking because of much religiosity here, but now the army soldiers, educated people and the labour class in the towns have started drinking largely. The Kumaunis smoke *bidi*, cigarette and tobacco too much. They may possibly be consuming hemp also in a large measure. The condition of the people enmeshed in the coils of village deities and superstitions. They see '*devata*' in every matter and in every place. There would always be some *devata* (ghost or evil spirit) in every forest, every hill top, every river and every path somewhere or the other, whose pacification is the duty of every man. Birth, death, marriage, thread-ceremony, sickness and distress - every time the village deity has to be satisfied.

A large portion of their time is elapsed in solving these very problems. The time which ought to be expended in industries, occupations, reading, writing and the procuring of worldly knowledge is wasted in the completion of these false religious beliefs. It is for this reason that the people have no knowledge of true religion.

Despite the passage of the Sharda Act, marriages of very small children are performed even upto now, as a result of which the progeny of this healthy region is not so brave and strong as it ought to be. There are many quarrels of eating, drinking, caste, low, high, and untouchability here. Kumaun is a fortress of bigotry. People are slaves of traditions or the followers of the beaten track or superstitious to the core. As such even great scholars do not dare to undertake the work of social reform in their hands. It is really very difficult to incorporate or bring in the reforms without political power and in the absence of administrative fear.

It is not merely a frolic or pastime to make so many people educated, civilised, sensible and to teach them the lesson of self-reliance. There should be compulsory and free education everywhere. Along with it training in industries, arts and crafts should also be imparted. People should be engaged in various occupations, so that no one would be sitting idle, none remain illiterate, not a soul should be perplexed or troubled without food or clothing and every person be filled with the love for his country, religion and creed and be inflamed with the passion for fulfilling his own duties. All persons should aspire to bring tranquillity of Mother India with

identical views, one language and one dress or uniform. All patriots pray with folded hands for the advent of such time. For this exercise and military training is also needed. It is the prime duty of all patriots, social servants and nation-lovers to accumulate resources for the achievement of the above-mentioned targets.

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Almora Akhabar

Index

A

- Abdulla, 218
Abhayankar, 456
Abhaya Chand, 527
Abhaypal, 23, 81
Abhay Singh of Jodhpur, 282
Abhir, 487
Achham, 19, 343, 344,
Adhai, 529
Adhidhaj, 159
Adhikari, 526, 579
Adhikari, Kashinath, 40, 47, 526
Adhikari, Krishnanand, 354
Adhikari, Parmanand, 280
Adhikari, Shivnath, 141
Adhikari, Srinath, 262, 263, 265
Adhikari, Sumer, 303, 304
Adhikari, Vinayak, 253
Adhikari, Zabar, 380
Adityas, 172
Aeresy, 360, 367
Afghanistan, 482
Afzalgarh, 6
Agar, 78, 474
Agarkar, Gopal Ganesh, 455
Agarwal, 529, 568
Agastya Muni, 618, 619
Aghor Panthi, 588
Agniyadhan ceremony, 662
Agni, 132
Agnitirth, 139
Agra, 423
Ahar, 572
Ahir, 572
Ahmad Ali Khan, 348
Ahmad Shah, 302
Aidayo, 425
Aidi or Airi temple, 625
Aidi, Sur Singh, 266
Aike Tribe, 488
Airavat, 141
Airkhan, Haide, 435
Aiyar, Subrahmanya, 455
Aja, 481
Ajab Singh, 551
Ajab Singh Khavas, 387
Ajamatullah Khan, 271
Ajay Pal, 334
Aject Chand, 586
Ajit Chand, 274-77
Ajmergarh, 257, 258
Akbar, 39, 44-46, 151, 224, 225
Akhilanand, 181
Akhiltarini, 14
Akshararambh ceremony, 660
Alaknanda, 264, 266, 391, 484
Alamnagar, 220
Alay, 526
Alberuni, 491
Alexander, 152, 153
Ali, Muhammad Khan, 284, 286-88, 295
Alkapuri, 127
Allahabad, 195, 407
Alma, 31
Almora, 3, 4, 6, 7, 12, 19, 66-73, 92,
206, 220, 225, 235, 236, 240, 249,
254, 271, 272-75, 282-83, 287-88,
292-93, 295, 298-99, 302-03, 308-
13, 320, 322, 325, 334, 346-47, 349-
51, 355, 366, 369, 373, 375-79, 387,
393, 396-98, 411-13, 424, 429, 431-
32, 43-36, 443, 447-50, 493, 516-23,
528, 548, 598, 601, 603-05, 673
Aedi Devata, 70
Baurarau and Kaidarau Patti, 70
Bisaut patti, 71
Boundaries, 5
Dialect of 667
Diseases at, 9
Educational institutions at, 69
Establishment of 66-67
Forests, 69
Geography of 4, 67
Gorkha platoon at, 68, 72
Hiradungari peak, 72
Katyuri rulers of, 64, 71
Khagmara, 71
Khasparja patti, 71
Kings of, 71
Market at, 67
Mountains at, 67, 72
Places at, 67
Post offices at, 111-13

- Press at, 121
 Rainfall at, 8
 Revenue at, 68-69
 Riuni-dvarson patti, 71
 Rivers of, 5
 Roads, 104-06
 Selifat, 67
 Syunara patti, 70
 Tailifat, 67
 Temples at, 72-73
 Tikhaun patti, 70
 Uchhur patti, 71
 Villages under, 87
 Water-parting, 5-6, 68-69
 Altila, 480
 Amaravati, 159
 Amar Nath Sah, 97
 Amarvan, 127, 469, 474, 487
 Ambapalika, 158
 Ambika, 606, 615
 Amel, 372
 Amichand, 396
 Amir Khan, 398
 Amkhad, 374
 Amlabad, 521
 Amoli, 517
 Amsot, 371
 Amlat, 20
 Amrit Rao, 292
 Amukta Bharan Saptami, 651
 Anand Kunvak, 314
 Anand Singh, 248, 399, 400, 407, 413, 497, 544
 Anant, 131, 142
 Anant Chaudas, 632, 652
 Andhra, 157
 Anga, 130
 Angad Sardar, 353, 372, 378, 380
 Angari Kursam, 57, 58
 Angira, 130, 511
 Annaprashan Ceremony, 659-60
 Antachara, 487
 Antarang, 171
 Anupshahar, 181, 514, 516
 Anusuya Prasad, 451
 Anvala, 280, 287
 Apte, Vaman Sadashiva, 455
 Aradhya, 587-88
 Argia, 509
 Argia, 509
 Arjuna, 126, 136, 485
 Arjundeo, 216
 Arjuneshvar, 17
 Arjun Singh Gusain, 253
 Arnold, 30
 Arrakan river, 474
 Arundhati, 132
 Arunsahi, 183
 Arya dharma, 168
 Aryans, 467-71, 484, 491
 Arya Samaj, 453, 602-603
 Asaf Ali, 456
 Asafuddaula, 349
 Asanti Deo, 154, 187
 Vasanti Deo, 76
 Ashok, 40, 474, 487, 88, 489
 Ashok edict in Kalsi, 484
 Ashokvanika, 138
 Askot, 4, 5, 16, 18, 19-24, 54, 57, 86, 87, 97, 150-52, 154, 156, 177-78, 181, 207, 229, 249, 470, 474-76, 526, 632
 History of 23
 Management, 22-23
 Mountains of 21
 Occupations of 22
 People of 21-22
 Rivers of 21
 Asni, 520
 Assam, 485
 Assi, 13
 Assi Kots of Askot, 23
 Asur, 136
 Asurchul, 17
 Asureshvar, 17
 Aswa Kunwar, 494
 Aswal, Bartwal Rajpur, 548
 Atang, 172
 Atanrang, 162
 Atasi, 51, 52
 Athaguli, 65, 261
 Athbisi, 19
 Athgulinag, 62, 484
 Athigaon patti, 62
 Atkinson, 17, 54, 74, 93, 151, 154, 174, 181, 185, 190, 193-94, 210, 216, 218, 238, 265, 269, 270, 279, 295-96, 302, 308-09, 318, 332, 344, 348, 364, 390, 395, 405-07, 468-69, 474, 479, 479-80, 487-88, 490, 498-99, 513-15, 519, 525, 527, 542, 544-47, 550, 552, 570, 580, 599, 620, 624, 628, 629
 Atma Cahnd II, 208
 Atm Chand, 198
 Atri, 130, 605
 Aughar, 588

Aurangzeb, 246, 247, 254, 486
 Autachar, 482
 Avalokiteshwar, 484
 Awadh, 48, 286, 287, 292, 293, 308,
 310-12, 315, 349, 389, 397
 Awasthi or Osti, 526
 Awasthi Vidyapati, 526
 Awnakheda, 413, 99
 Ayanratoli, 99
 Ayarpata, 31
 Ayodhya, 138, 141, 143, 149-50, 152,
 156, 181, 492, 542
 Ayodhyanath, 455
 Ayonia, 485
 Ayyar, Hemchandra, 458

B

Babar, 222, 492
 Babecan, Ardeshir, 153
 Baburam, 38
 Babadar, 381
 Badaditya, 66, 138
 Badahat, 528
 Badakheda, 247, 289, 345
 Badakhedi, 183, 515
 Badauni, 28, 62, 284
 Badawayak, 293, 501
 Badet, 16
 Badhan, 264, 266, 630
 Badhangarh, 248, 257
 Badhan Kot, 227
 Badhan, Patal, 6
 Bhadhan tola, 6
 Badhapur, 232, 240, 323, 399, 435
 Badi, 575
 Badi Pandekhola, 234
 Badkhvad, 28
 Badnagar, 521
 Badri, 514
 Badrikasshram, 171, 608
 Badri Narayan, 155, 520
 Badrinath, 33, 57, 66, 73, 74, 86, 251,
 265, 527, 544, 590, 613, 630
 Bafad, 522
 Bagadihat, 528
 Bagadwal, 528
 Bageswhar, 76, 84, 85, 91, 92, 139-40,
 151, 152, 161, 170, 234-37, 266,
 302, 380, 526, 568, 595
 Baghnath, 127, 474
 Bagish, 142, 177, 215
 Bagvalipokhar, 317, 442
 Bahadur Negi, 579
 Bahadurpal, 24
 Bahadur, Rai Pati Ram, 494
 Bahadur Shah, 344, 352, 374
 Baharsyun., 217
 Bahedi, 414, 449
 Baichaldeo, 66, 71
 Baidyanath, 136, 142
 Baigul, 34
 Baijal deo, 71
 Baijnath, 142, 152, 153, 221, 231, 454
 Bailarkot, 17
 Bairati, 575
 Baishakhi Purnima, 648
 Bajaj, Jamna Lal, 721, 473
 Bajang, 211, 212, 302
 Baj Bahadur Chand, 39, 47, 58, 239
 Baj Bazpur, 35
 Bajel, 396, 517
 Bajeti, 212
 Baj Gusai alias Baj Bahadur Chand,
 244-28
 Bajpai, Shiv Prasad, 525
 Bajpur, 39, 247, 295, 298
 Bajyoli, 25
 Bakcharia, 575
 Bakh, 316
 Bakkhar, 490
 Balameer, 480
 Balanti river, 19, 51, 52
 Bal Bahadur Chand, 245,
 Balbhadra, 512
 Balchan deity, 632
 Baldhanti, 69, 426
 Baleshvar, 15, 135, 161, 206, 223, 613
 Balgaunia, 581
 Bali, 19, 142
 Baliagaon, 518
 Balibard, 172
 Balighat, 302, 395
 Balishvar Mahadeo, 19
 Balishvar Ramganga, 19
 Balishvar Shiva temple, 259
 Bal Krishna, 283
 Balo Kalyan Chand, 278, 522
 Balrampur, 10
 Balsundari Devi of Kashipur, 508
 Baltad, 20
 Baltistan, 482
 Baluchistan, 509
 Baluvakot, 21
 Balyod gaon of patti Chhabbisumola,
 27

- Bamangad, 20, 228
 Bamanjal, 582
 Bamauri, 371
 Bam Kings, 17, 18, 212, 222, 524
 Bam Shah, 353-55, 368, 369, 375, 387-89, 391
 Bamuvakot, 17
 Banani, 33
 Banakotal, 126
 Banakottar, 5
 Banaras, 195, 249, 267, 350, 354, 523, 527
 Banasur, 14, 129, 606
 Banbasa, 6, 34, 39, 368, 501, 507
 Banerji, Kali Charan, 455
 Banerji, Surendra Nath, 455
 Bangarhi, 291
 Bangladesh, 152
 Banjag, 19, 210
 Banjha, 4
 Bankali, 280
 Bankatiya, 53
 Bankubinda, 526
 Bannerji, umesh Chandra, 455
 Bansbareilly, 44
 Bansbhida, 514
 Bansulisera, 301
 Bantgal, 516
 Barabizi patti, 19
 Barah, 172
 Barakhoda, 371, 375
 Barakot, 578
 Baralgaon, 75
 Baramandal, 4, 6, 64, 65, 66, 86, 206, 216, 219, 305, 346, 352
 Barar, 482
 Barauli, 399
 Barb, 131
 Barcill, 6
 Bardari, 583
 Bare, 574
 Bareilly, 34, 49, 93, 94, 302, 308, 315, 327, 344, 348-49, 363, 367, 407, 413, 314, 431, 439, 516, 522
 Brahmkundi alias Bhakundi or Bhakuni Rajputs, 549-50
 Bariyal, 172
 Barji kang, 53
 Barkhora, 515
 Barpur, 34
 Baron, 28, 441
 Barton, 30, 31, 127, 157, 169, 174, 195
 Bartwal, 494
 Baruri, 574
 Barya, 584
 Basant Panchami, 656
 Basarudi, 17
 Baseda, 227
 Baseda Rajputs, 547
 Bashtiya, 476
 Basnal Rajputs, 548
 Basnat, 494
 Bastadi, 484
 Basu, Anand Mohan, 455
 Basu, Bhupandra Nath, 455
 Bataula, 529
 Batokhard, 287
 Batokhari, 515
 Battha, 501
 Battle of Plassey, 452
 Batton, 69, 97, 177, 309, 316, 327, 328, 405, 409-11, 507, 595
 Baunkat, 14
 Bauri, 36
 Baunkat, 14
 Baur, 36
 Baurarau, 16, 65, 170, 261, 546
 Bauras of Phungar Chowk, 557
 Baz Bahadur Chand, 397, 518, 519, 522, 542, 548, 571, 584, 586, 604
 Belai, 529
 Belwal, Prem Ballabh, 450
 Benagi, 510
 Benapa, 343
 Beni Nag, 60, 62, 98, 99, 484
 Bensath Dunagiri, 632
 Berinag, 8, 441, 442, 484
 Besant, Anni, 454
 Bhaat, 526
 Bhabar, 488
 Bhabar-Kumaun dialects, 668
 Bhadra, 169-170
 Bhadra Ganga, 140
 Bhadra Kali, 62, 127, 614
 Bhadravat, 139
 Bhadubudha, 58
 Bhagalpur copper plate, 169, 170, 173
 Bhagauti, 516
 Bhagigad river, 18
 Bhagirath, 135, 217
 Bhagirathi Ganga, 203
 Bhaiva of Chaugarkha, 529
 Bhainsodi, 516, 520
 Bhairav, 24, 127, 157, 530, 606-08, 613, 619-20
 Bhairav Ashtami, 655

- Bhisoda, 229.
 Bhakada River, 34, 36
 Bhakhaval, 351
 Bhandarakar, Ramkrishna, 454
 Bhanari Rajputs, 494, 550-51, 580
 Bhandari, Chamu, 355
 Bhandari, Jaswant, Singh, 352
 Bhandari, Kazi, 380
 Bhandari, Sundar, 252
 Bhangi, 572
 Bharamal Khatri, 391
 Bharati Chand, 209-11, 599
 Bharadwaj, 511, 605
 Bharatpur, 485
 Bharkol, 516
 Bharkot, 516
 Bharosik, 172
 Bhatkot, 17, 73, 425, 515
 Bhatt, 512, 523, 527
 Bhattacharya, Achyut Bhadra Sharma, 523
 Bhatt afaurav, 170
 Bhattgaon, 343, 542
 Bhatt, Gopal Datt, 459
 Bhatt, Harisharma, 161
 Bhatt, Jagannath, 211
 Bhatt, Narayan, 590
 Bhatt, Narayan Datt, 96
 Bhatt, Purushottam, 590
 Bhatt, Vinayak, 239, 241
 Bhavakulatiya, V 375
 Bhavan, Singh, 184
 Bhavar, 12, 15, 32, 273, 348, 363, 407, 412, 413, 424, 425, 431, 468
 Bhavar Chhakhata, 26
 Bhavar Kota, 34
 Bhavati, 32, 93
 Bhavdas, 512
 Bhawali, 7, 436, 568
 Bhawanand, 518
 Bhwanibaks, 380
 Bbeta, 516, 520
 Bbeta Sari, 172
 Bhikka, 522
 Bhikhal Nag, 484
 Bhikiyasaina, 6, 73, 76
 Bhikhiyasaina, 436, 441
 Bhima Sarovari, 139
 Bhimeshwar temple, Bhimtal, 26, 32, 251, 612
 Bhimsen, 494
 Bhim Singh, 263, 398
 Bhimtal, 26-28, 32, 96, 99, 251, 287, 375, 436, 444
 Bhisham Chand, 28, 78, 219, 523, 527
 Bhisham Ashtami, 656
 Bhogprastha, 469
 Bhol Nath, 619, 620
 Bhopal Singh, 399
 Bhooteswar temple, 612
 Bhot, 50-54, 92, 249, 433, 472, 480, 491, 572, 592-93
 Bhotiyas, 22, 59, 80, 248, 250, 469, 480
 Bhotu, 489, 491
 Bhringui, 142
 Bhudeo, 158-60
 Bhujan, 24
 Bhuladei ka Danda, 24
 Bhumiyandhar, 32
 Bhupal Singh, 544
 Bhupendrapal, 24
 Bhurja or Bharbhujiya, 573
 Bhuteshwar temple, 40
 Bhwal 574
 Bichhural Brahman, 227
 Bihaandok, 172
 Bihar, 363
 Bijana, 291
 Bijauri, 515
 Bijaur, 33, 60, 155, 399, 450, 515
 Bikaner, 490
 Bickett, 22, 409, 416
 Bilahari, 293
 Bilari, 34, 47, 48, 286, 315, 37, 435, 501
 Bilaspur, 6
 Bilveshwar, 24
 Bilwals, 590
 Bilkini, 92
 Bilkot, 514
 Biltai Keshav, 455
 Bilvavati, 137, 186
 Binan, 73
 Bindabhadra, 170
 Bindra, 522
 Binkot, 372
 Binsar, 5, 8, 64, 72, 78, 96, 294, 412, 413, 425, 628
 Birbal, 224
 Birbhatt, 32
 Bird, 409
 Birderva, 23
 Birgal, 345
 Bisan Singh, 324
 Bisan Singh Karayat, 413
 Bisaut, 65, 207, 215, 216, 521, 532

- Bisaudkot, 207, 216
 Bishad, 523
 Bishtalia alias Bisht, 518, 578
 Bisht, 494, 543
 Bisht, Dan Singh, 99, 108
 Bisht, Daya, 524
 Bisht, Gaida, 268
 Bisht, Jang Bahadur Singh, 450
 Bisht, Manik., 268
 Bisht, Parmanand, 308, 310, 313
 Bisht, Puranmal, 268
 Bishts of Sawali, 542, 543
 Bogsa dialect, 668
 Boksa, 469-79, 507-09
 Boksar, 633
 Bombay, 400, 425
 Booth, 455
 Bora, 196, 546
 Bor river, 34
 Bose, Subash Chandra, 456
 Botchhyogal, 57
 Black Act, 633-64
 Bradlaw, Charles, 455
 Brahma, 2, 130, 131, 133, 141-43, 171, 312
 Brahmadeo Mandi, 250, 257
 Brahma Des, 28, 196
 Brahmadev, 23
 Brahmadwar Cave, 142
 Brahmakapali, 136
 Brahm alias Ban Rajputs, 544
 Brahmlok, 140
 Brahmaputra, 126, 474
 Brahma Sarovar, 136
 Brahma Samaj in Bengal, 453
 Brahmdeo, 335, 435
 Brahmeshvar Bhattarak, 162
 Brahmin Caste groups, 510
 Brahm Pande, 514
 Brahmparvat, 137
 Brahmipur, 41, 43, 153, 154, 351, 469, 487
 Brahmipuri, 125, 126
 Briddha Bhuvaneshwar, 143
 Briddhaganga, 136
 Briddhkedar, 73
 Bright, John, 455
 Brihaspati, 141, 511
 Brishal, 470, 498
 British Empire, 363, 387, 392-93, 400-435
 British rule, 387-463
 Administrative system of 400-03
 Commissioners, 405
 Division of Garhwal, 391
 Education policy of 441-45
 Excise department of 431-33
 Forest policy, 423-31
 Income from, 429-31
 Stages of 425-29
 Formation of councils, 45-51
 Gorkhas back, 387-91
 Indian administration under, 403-04
 Judiciary and executive of, 439-40
 Land settlement, 414-21
 Facts about, 415-17
 List of words used, 417-21
 Nainital dist, 421-23
 Last king of Chand family, 397-99
 Licensing policy, 434
 Mutiny of 1857, 413-14
 Nationalism wave during, 451-63
 In Kurmachal, 457-63
 Police, 434-38
 Prisoners, 438-39
 Provincial administration, 403, 404-05
 Remaing part of, 399-400
 State ministers of Chands made
 Kanungos, 396-97
 Will of Pt Harshdeo, 391-96
 Bryne, A, 492
 Buaridwar, 264
 Budden, 604
 Buddha, 129, 159, 481, 484, 608
 Buddha in Nepal, 624
 Buddhisen Tadagi, 194
 Buddhism, 153-55, 160, 474, 608
 Buddhist religion, 606
 Budha Bamshah Chauntaria, 59
 Budhachari, 59
 Budhahaura, 335
 Budhalakot, 25
 Budhanins, 529
 Budha Patal, 6
 Budharath, 590
 Bui Patun, 58
 Buksad, 261
 Bulet, 583
 Bundelkhand, 177
 Burlal Jangpangi, 57
 Burha Mahandra Singh, 620
 Burma, 608
 Burn, 408
 Bushahar, 399
 Butaula, Rawat, Bagdi Rajputs, 548
 Butaul Singh, 57

Butler, Harcourt, 29, 604
 Butwal, 363, 364, 381, 389
 Byans, 474, 595-98, 673

C

Calcutta, 400, 441
 Campbell, John, 405, 426
 Canning, 34
 Castes People and religion, 467-75
 Aryan race, 509-10
 Arya Samaj in 602-03
 Black arts, 633-34
 Brahmin, caste groups, 510-42
 Atkinson research on, 529-31
 Ganga Datt Upreti on, 534-31
 Rudra Datt classification of 531-34
 Buddhist religion, 608
 Byans-Chaudans, 594
 Byans-customs, 594-98
 Birth and marriages, 595-96
 Cutting the thread, 596
 Dhorang, 597
 Dialect of, 597-898
 Rang Pang, 594-95
 Smearing and intestines, 596-97
 Castes of, 472-509
 Castes of Terai Bhabar, 572-73
 Christian faith, 604
 Festivals and Congregations, 658
 Festivals and functions of, 647-58
 Funeral rites, 663-66
 Ghosts and spirits, 633
 Good and unlucky omens, 634-35
 Inhabitants, 467-68
 Jogi Jangam in, 586-89
 Kshatriya and Rajput class, 542-68
 Gangadatt, classification of 555-67
 Other Rajputs, 546-52
 Rajputs of category III, 567-68
 Rajputs of category IV, 568
 Rajputs of Lunar clan, 544-46
 Rajputs of Solar clan, 542-44
 Still other Rajputs, 552-55
 Kurmachali dialect, 666-69
 Local deities, 619-33
 Musلمان community, 604-05
 Nayak Community, 598-602
 Origin of 599-600
 Reforms of 600-02
 Settlement of 598-99
 Other Community, 571
 Qualities, nature and actions of 669-75

Religions and sects, 605-08
 Family deities, 607
 Prayers, 608
 Worship and devotion, 607
 Reputed temples, 635-46
 Godesses, 639-41
 Shaiva, 635-39
 Vaishnava, 641-46
 Scheduled castes, 573-86
 Categories of 573-76
 Marriages in, 576-77
 Shraddha, 577
 Scriptures on, 467-71
 Sects of, 510
 Shuka and Kiranti castes, 589-94
 Smarta deities, 610-19
 Shakti worship, 6114-19
 Shiva, 610-13
 Vishnu, 613-14
 Vaishya Community, 568-77
 Vedas and Purans, 609-10
 Caucasius, 489, 509
 Central Asia, 366
 Cesi Hills, 487
 Ceylon, 487, 507
 Chacharauti, 542
 Chadalekh, 320, 380
 Chahaji, 528
 Chahal, river, 36
 Chanair Singh, 602
 Chakana Harnwal, 586
 Chaklekar, Teju Gaud, 48
 Chakrachudamani, Vasudeo
 Giriraj, 155
 Chaukadayats of Balyuti, 28
 Chakudayats of Shitalahat, 28
 Chakuwa, 582
 Chalasi, 3, 13, 517
 Chalasia, 584
 Chamar, 575
 Chami, 515
 Chamidyal, 529
 Champnaula, 515
 Champata, 228
 Champavat, 14, 87, 196, 205, 206,
 211, 216, 219, 258, 374-76, 441,
 524, 543, 550, 551, 569, 571,
 630, 631
 Champavati, 3, 14, 15, 334
 Champavatpur, 194
 Chamu Bhandari, 378, 379, 381
 Chanachahat, 349
 Chananiyan, 583

- Chanchat, 399
 Chandak, 17
 Chandalgarh, 150
 Chandals, 468
 Chandani, 501
 Chandausi, 522
 Chandawarkar, N.C. 453
 Chandela Rajput, 544
 Chanderi 544
 Chandika, 614
 Chandi, 319, 614
 Chandghat, 17
 Chandish, 139
 Chandikot, 14, 197, 215
 Chandmund goddess, 61,62
 Chandnanda, 159
 Chandpur, 264, 272, 507
 Chandragiri, 74
 Chandragupta, 171
 Chandra Lal Shah, 458
 Chandra Shekhar V 138, 142
 Chandrashvar, 142
 Chand Kings, 3-4, 15, 23, 33, 36, 37, 49, 66, 67, 510
 Chands rule, 700-721 AD, 193-340
 Administration of eastern region, 250-55
 Administration of kingdom, 249
 Agni-Pariksha or ordeal of fire, 236-38
 Ajit Chand, 274
 Atm Chand, 198
 Atma Chand II, 208
 Attack on Badhangarh, 230-32
 Aurangzeb's threat to, 246
 Baj Gausai alias Bajbahadur Chand, 244-46
 Balo Kalyan Chand, 220
 Bam Kings, of Sor, 212-13
 Battle with Garhwai, 320-21
 Bharti Chand, 209
 Change of King in Garhwal, 321-22
 Conquest of Danpur, 222-23
 Conquest of Doti, 210
 Conquest of Sor, 226-29
 Court customs of 247-28
 Daroga of kitchen, 242
 Deep Chand, 267-72, 294-99
 Killed, 313-14
 Devi Chand, 267-72
 Dilip Chand, 238-39
 Expenditure on trip to Delhi, 255-57
 Faldakot, battle, 217
 Gaidagardi, 274-78
 Garhwal conquered, 317-18
 Gyan Chand, 263-65
 Hamir Chand alias Hari Chand, 200
 Hari Chand (2), 208
 Harihar Chand alias Hari Chand, 206
 Harshdeopuri account, 272-74
 Honouring poets, 263
 Hussain Khan Tukudiya, 223-24
 Incidence in Garhwal and Pali Puchhaun, 249-50
 Indra Chand rule, 198
 Invasion of Rohilas, 286-94
 Jagat Chand, 265-67
 Jnana Chand alias Garud Gyan Chand, 203-04
 Journey to Tibet, 248-49
 Kaidarau and Baurarau annexed to, 216
 Kalyan Chand III, 218
 Kalyan Chand (5), 278-86
 Khas Kings, 200-01
 Lal Singh, 325-26
 Laxmi Chand, 233-36
 Mahendra Chand, 326-28
 Management of Terai, 246-47
 Manik Chand, 218
 Mankoti Kings of Gangoli, 221
 Mohan Chand, 314-16, 323-25
 Mohan Chand brings Nagas, 319-20
 Mohan Chand Conspiracy, 322-23
 Not Sira but Sor, 222
 Origin of Naiks, 210
 Pali-conquest by 216-17
 Party system of govt, 335-40
 Patrangvali (rumour), 199-200
 Pradyumn Shah alias Pradyumn Chand, 318-19
 Pratap Chand, 217
 Puni Chand alias Purna Chand, 219
 Purn Chand, 198
 Ratan Chand, 210
 Rebellion of Udyot Chand, 249
 Recapture of Tarai, 224-26
 Revolt of Fartyals, 299-305
 Riddhigiri, 261-63
 Rudra Chand, 223
 Rules for Maid Servants, 244
 Rules regarding the kitchen, 243-44
 Sansar Chand, 200

- Sanskrit learning, 230
 Sardar Nilu Kathayat, 204-06
 Shiva deo killed, 306
 Silk factory, 199
 Som Chand, 193-98
 Forts built by, 197
 Origin of, 194-95
 Panchayat Govt, 197
 Period of 193094
 Sri Jaidan Kiral, 213-14
 Sudha Chand, 200
 Tara Chand, 218
 Taxation policy, 328-34
 Kotal and Pahari, 331-32
 Padhan, 331
 Sayana, budha and thokdar, 330-31
 Trilok Chand, 203
 Trimal Chand, 241-42
 Udyan Chand, 206-08
 Udyot Chand, 257-61
 Veer Chand, 201-03
 Vijay Chand, 239-41
 Vikramchand, 208-209
 Vina Chand, 200
 War with Doti, 211-12
 Chandvir Kunvar, 370
 Chankot, 279
 Chanuvankhal, 99
 Chapad, 311
 Chartl, 13
 Charckhmiyan Jangpangi, 58
 Charitrashtaru, 647
 Charlu, Anand, 455
 Charma river, 21
 Chaturdanshtra, 135
 Chatur Singh, 601
 Chaubes, 530
 Chaubes of Mathura, 530
 Chaubey, Sudha nidhi, 516
 Chaubhainsi, 15, 16, 34, 435
 Chaubhensi Bhavar, 34, 38
 Chaud, 80
 Chauda, 579
 Chaudans, 19, 51, 474
 Chaudans of Byans, 594
 Chaudasi Chahaji, 528
 Chaudhari, 196, 569
 Chaudhari, Ana, 304
 Chaudhari, Chinta, 570
 Chaudhari, Mona, 396
 Chaudhari, Narayan, 396
 Chaudhari, or Sau, 586
 Chaudharis of Dwarahat, 570
 Chaugarh, 6
 Chaugarkha, 3, 6, 64, 65, 86, 97, 207, 252, 519, 529, 673
 Chaughanapata, 28
 Chauhan Rajput, 548, 549
 Chaukanni, 583
 Chaukodi, 8, 98, 99, 199
 Chaukot Paragana, 184
 Chaumahala, 6
 Chaumudevi, 372, 629-30
 Chaunals, 530
 Chaungaun, 24
 Chaunsal, 15, 528
 Chauntara, 258, 352
 Chauntara Bam Shah, 376, 379, 380
 Chaupakhiya, 442
 Chaupur, 522
 Chaura, 583
 Chausal, 528
 Chausar, 245, 251
 Chauthani, 523, 586
 Cheen, 469, 474
 Cheenakhan, 522
 Chery, 349, 350, 370
 Chhachar, 514
 Chhakhata, 16, 25, 26-28, 34, 203, 287, 290, 474, 476, 477, 480, 484, 520, 569, 570, 571
 Chhakhata Bhavar, 34
 Chhakhata gari, 375
 Chhakhata Pahad, 34
 Chhakhota, 523
 Chhana, 514
 Chhangaru, 389
 Chhranj Dev deity, 632
 Chharmall deity, 632
 Chhathot, 14
 Chhatiya, 99
 Chhavangaru, 50
 Chhechhala, 135
 Chhidapani, 98
 Chhideshvar, 26, 61, 74
 Chhimwal, Narayan Datt, 450
 Chhipaladhura, 21
 Chhipildhura, 5
 Chhipula, 21, 52
 Chhipuldhura, 632
 Chhota Nagpur of Orissa, 490
 Chhyal, 476
 Chilal, 229
 Childha, 79
 Chilkiya, 34, 262, 312, 349, 371, 373

China, 58, 97, 199, 344, 345, 366, 481, 482, 608
 Chinakhan, 220
 Chinalla,, 529
 China Pahada, 6, 31
 Chinariya, 514
 Chiral Rajput, 547
 Chiranji Lal, 84, 96, 458
 Chitai of Chaugarkha, 522
 Chitali, 75
 Chitgal, 513
 Chitral, 491, 494
 Chitragupta, 510
 Chitrashila, 139
 Chitreshvar, 73
 Chittor, 501
 Chittorgarh, 77, 88, 507
 Chimpala, 21
 Chittorgarhi, 156, 157
 Chobdar, Naggarchi, 586
 Chokhaetlal Murlidhar, 38
 Chorgaliya, 35
 Chor Mandaliya, 583
 Chowkigaon, 518
 Christian faith, 604
 Chudiyagarh, 6
 Chukam, 325, 372
 Chumal Kot, 14
 Churakaran ceremony, 660
 Church, 67
 Chyawan, 605
 Chyuri Chauthan, 25
 Clay, 45
 Clutterbuck Ganj, 426
 Colebridge, 369
 Cooper, George, 29
 Copper plate of Pandes of Palyun, 514
 Craft, Muir, 59
 Craw, 98
 Crindle, 482, 492
 Croke, 472, 484, 492, 493, 501, 507
 Crosthwaite, Chaules, 29
 Crowsswell, W. 49
 Cunningham, 41, 149, 151, 469, 483
 Curtis, 447

D

Debaka, 36
 Dabka river, 34
 Dadamval, Mohan Singh, 96, 458

Dadhichi, 171
 Dadhimal Karki, 283
 Dadya Bisht, 578
 Dagi, 586
 Dagi Joshi, 579
 Dahait, 501
 Daishatadeo, 157, 160-62, 169-71
 Daityas, 165
 Daksha, 132, 488
 Dalkot, 248
 Dalkoti, 252
 Dalhausie, 411
 Dalimulak, 172
 Daljit Singh, 551
 Dakshaprajapati, 2, 610
 Damayanti, 27, 487
 Danavas, 469
 Dandishvar Shiva temple, 64
 Daud Khan, 270, 271
 Dangara alias Dangra, 584
 Dangi, 248
 Danpur, 6, 19, 53, 79-83, 86, 87, 91, 140, 177, 222, 278, 469, 484, 550, 605, 612
 Danpur dialect, 667
 Danya, 99, 266, 280, 302, 303, 358, 518, 519
 Darad, 469, 487
 Dara Shikoh, 246
 Darchula, 21
 Darjeeling, 98, 126, 201, 363
 Darma, 5, 11, 19, 51, 58, 86, 87, 91, 229-31, 351, 441, 442, 474, 483, 673
 Darma Johar, 207
 Darma Vyas 470
 Daru, 140
 Daru (Daruk) Vana, 469, 487
 Darukvan, 139
 Darun, 6, 64, 65, 135, 136
 Dar, Vishan Nayaran, 455
 Darzi, 575
 Dasavli, 525
 Das, C.R., 456, 457
 Dashhara festival, 260 64, 648
 Dashrath, 514
 Dasila of Mahasari, 229
 Dasnami Dandi Swami, 586, 587
 Dasyus, 468, 469, 471
 Dattatreya, 134, 135
 Datt, Ramesh Chandra, 455
 Datwali, 528
 Daud Khan, 286
 Dauli, 50

- Daunik, 228
 Daunkot, 14, 15, 547
 Dava, 57, 59
 Devidatt Chaudhari, 237
 Dayana, 396
 Dayanand, 453, 602
 Debu Budha, 59
 Deccan, 523
 Dechauri, 37, 92
 Decksha ceremony, 662
 Deep Chand, 293, 299-301, 305, 307-110, 313, 317, 318, 327, 366, 380, 517, 518, 611, 612
 Deepotsava, 654
 Degauli, 518
 Deghat,, 217, 218, 441
 Dehradun, 3, 265, 268, 356-67, 370, 391, 407, 507
 Delhi, 47, 153, 155, 199, 218, 224, 252, 266, 270, 271, 280, 281, 290, 292, 294-96, 302, 451, 548
 Delmar, 426
 Deochula Bhagaling Mahadeo, 19
 Deopal, 257
 Deopal Deo, 169
 Deopa Rajput, 547
 Deo Singh, 99, 108
 Deepmalika or Diwali, 654
 Deriyas, 96
 Desai, Bhulabhai, 456
 Deshalata, 517
 Dev, 335, 337
 Devadarkot, 17
 Devadaru, 132
 Deva Dunduk, 281
 Devaki Nandan, 514
 Deval, 21
 Devaldhar, 96, 321
 Devatikhan, 220
 Devaliya Pandes, 513
 Devalthan, 442
 Deva river, 34
 Devatia, 583
 Devayal, 258
 Devcheli alias Dyaucheli, 584, 585
 Devchula, 19
 Devdar, 78
 Devdatt, 416
 Devi Chand, 37, 40, 47, 267, 274, 278, 518, 543
 Devidas, 120, 602
 Devi Datt, 260, 515
 Devidhura, 14, 15
 Devipura, 37, 47, 272, 273
 Devis, 405
 Devi Singh, 98, 601
 Devnidhi, 524
 Devpata, 31
 Devpatan, 353
 Dhaj mountain, 17, 21, 135
 Dhakudi, 79
 Dhamabudha, 58, 59
 Dhamaun, 441
 Dham Deo, 28, 175, 181
 Dhampur, 181
 Dhamsakta, 590
 Dham Singh, 57, 58, 194, 590
 Dhamus, 380
 Dhanak, 572
 Dhanvantari, 134
 Dhaner, 48
 Dhaniyankot, 25-26, 34, 215
 Dhan Singh, 414
 Dhanushman, 469
 Dhapa, 58
 Dharal deo, 222
 Dharam Chand, 202
 Dharamdhar, 299
 Dharanaula, 265, 522
 Dhar, Chandra, 524, 525
 Dharchula, 21, 433
 Dhari, 574
 Dharighat, 629
 Dharma Nand, 459
 Dhar-men-ka-naunla, 212
 Dharmpal, 169
 Dharm Singh, 184
 Dharwal, 528
 Dhatea alias Dharaiji, 583
 Dhauri, 171
 Dhauling, 60, 62, 484
 Dhauni, Ramsingh, 443
 Dhaunkal Singh, Bazanyat, 353, 354
 Dhaura river, 34
 Dhek, 335
 Dhek, Jamansingh, 331, 413
 Dhela river, 34
 Dhernath temple, 613
 Dhikuli, 36, 151-52, 154, 371, 605
 Dhimari, 26, 34
 Dhingtad, 20
 Dhobi, 571
 Dholigaon, 515
 Dhritrashtra, 233
 Dhuna, 575
 Dhupwal, 590

- Dhuraphat, 24
 Dhurandhar, 514
 Dhurjats, 165
 Dhurkot, 80
 Dhvajeshvar, 17
 Dhyani Ram, 608
 Dhyaniirau, 3, 15-16, 34, 197, 204, 474
 Diari, 62
 Didda, 489
 Didihat, 526
 Digali, 268, 289, 302, 358, 518
 Digali Chanda, 375
 Digtad, 19, 20
 Dilip Chand, 238
 Dillu, 152
 Dinath, 251
 Dindeshvar river, 19
 Dindihat, 19, 20
 Dinkar Rao, 452
 Din, Sayyed Muhammed, 44
 Dip Chand, 20, 48, 58, 64, 224
 Dipte shvar, 15
 Divadiya, 523
 Divalikhal, 264
 Diwan Singh, 602
 Dixit, Surya, 523
 Diyari, 60
 Dobhals, 530
 Doke rivers, 19
 Dokhot, 57
 Dola ka Danda, 37
 Doms, 468-69, 471-72, 498
 Dongapu, 57
 Dongpu, 58
 Doorvashtami, 652
 Doti, 2, 11, 17, 18, 20, 22, 154, 157, 182,
 197, 207, 210, 214, 226, 257, 264,
 272, 277, 286, 302, 34, 333, 343,
 344, 355, 366, 373, 387-89, 395,
 513, 519, 524-26, 544, 547, 551-52,
 575
 Dotyali dialect, 668
 Dravida desh, 523
 Dravingas, 160
 Drona, 127, 137, 172
 Dronacharya, 40
 Dronagiri, 73, 126
 Drona giridevi, 73,
 Dronasagar, 40
 Droni river, 137
 Drumati, 162
 Drummond, 29, 92
 Dubagiri, 75, 98, 136, 137, 288
 Dubey, Pacharad, 520
 Dubkiya, 522
 Dubtad, 20
 Duddapani, 60
 Dudhali, 264
 Dufferin, 453, 454
 Dugal/Durgapal, 526-27
 Duhshasan, 137
 Duhshasaneshwar, 137
 Dujjan, 172
 Duke of Argil, 455
 Dularai Singh, 230
 Duli Chand, 280
 Dulu, 157, 343
 Dum Jogi, 576
 Dumka Brahmins, 529
 Dunkoti, 177
 Dumlot, 98, 99
 Dundi Khan, 291, 298, 309
 Dungrakot, 517
 Dungara Baseda, 227
 Dungara koti, 17
 Dungari, 197, 257-58
 Dungrau patti, 484
 Dungsila, 28
 Dunggudiyar, 55
 Dunikot, 17
 Dunka, 528
 Durga, 127, 527, 606, 614, 615, 616
 Durgabhatta, 172
 Durgadhi, 159
 Durgotsava, 653
 Duryodhana, 486
 Dvarsaun, 65
 Dwara, 288, 317
 Dwarahat, 74, 75, 177, 257, 441, 442
 527, 528, 604, 613
 Dwarika, 238
 Dwarkanath, 630
 Dwarson, 629
 Dwivedi, Shri Niwas, 518
 Dyauliya Pandes, 608
 Dyodiyakheda in Unnao, 517
 Dyol, 514
- E**
- Earl, 98
 Earl of Warwick of Kumaun, 369
 East India Company, 391, 400, 408, 445
 Ekeshwar temple, 612
 Ekkarna (Nepal), 469

Ekpad Khas Desh, 487
 Elbert, 452
 Elliot, 501, 507
 Elliot, George, 871
 Elliot, Henry, 491, 492
 Elliot, John, 391

F

Faizabad, 291
 Faiz-villa Khan of Rampur, 318-19
 Fallapur Mountain, 380
 Faridnagar, 281, 291
 Farrukhabad, 281, 439
 Fartyal, 299, 302-04, 323, 335-39, 346, 352, 369, 375, 395, 519
 Fartyal, Anand Singh, 413
 Faset, Henry, 455
 Fatah Khan 291
 Fatechanda, 348
 Fatehgarh, 115, 348
 Fatehpur, 270, 476, 554
 Faulkner, 97
 Fazal, Abul, 45
 Beninag, 62
 Ferista, 44, 152, 155, 190
 Fernhill, 99
 Fika river, 6, 33, 34
 Firoz, 481
 Firoz Tughlaq, 44
 Fizher, 405
 Forti, 15
 Fortune, 97
 Frazer, William, 391-93, 395
 Fulari-ka-Bangala, 259
 Funeral rites, 663

G

Gadadhar, 325
 Gadarias, 572
 Gadarpur, 398, 399, 665
 Gadi, 75
 Gagar, 8, 25, 26, 33, 36, 127, 219, 425, 426
 Gahtoris, 530
 Gahtyadi, 528
 Gaidagardi, 274
 Gairola, Taradatt, 447, 450
 Gajendrapal, 24
 Gajuwathinga, 219
 Galachhya, 50
 Galagad, 50

Galaua, 140
 Galiya Kala, 50
 Galli, 266, 358, 519
 Gampon, 199
 Ganai, 73, 257, 270, 436, 441
 Gananath, 66, 72, 922, 127, 133, 136, 142, 377, 380, 391, 395, 396, 607, 613
 Gandaki river, 14
 Gand., Bachi, 38
 Gandhamadan, 126
 Gandhara, 468, 469
 Gandharvas, 468, 484
 Gandhi, Mahatma, 85, 86, 433, 451, 456, 458-60, 468, 473, 573
 Gandhodharik, 172
 Ganesh, 134, 142, 282, 606
 Ganesh Chaturthi, 651
 Ganesh temple, 325, 618
 Gangabhadra, 161, 169
 Gangadas, 3
 Gangadatt, 396
 Ganga Nath, 620, 621
 Ganga Prasad, 457
 Gangarak, 172
 Ganga Ram, 459
 Ganga river, 6, 73, 126-29, 301, 396, 473, 482, 507, 510
 Ganga Sagar, 6, 142
 Gangavali, 60, 63
 Ganga Vishnu, 248, 579
 Gangeshvar, 26, 138
 Gangola, 569
 Gangola Katuli, 305
 Gangoli, 3, 6, 13, 18, 19, 60, 64, 86, 87, 96, 207, 221, 232, 249, 51, 257, 318, 334, 344, 346, 358, 512-13, 519-20, 525, 546, 601
 Gangolihat, 61, 231, 441, 528
 Gangoli Mankoti, 23
 Gangola, Kundan Lal Mathura Shah, 96
 Gangotri, 40
 Gaonhat, 528
 Gankot, 519
 Ganpati Nag, 485
 Ganpati Padhya, 353
 Garokha Negis, 267
 Garampani, 32
 Garbhadhan ceremonies, 658, 659
 Gardner, E. 59, 365-68, 375-76, 378-81, 387, 393, 395, 400, 405, 406
 Garg, 27, 127, 138, 605

- Gargachal, 27, 139
 Gargadri, 27
 Gargeshwar Shivaling, 137
 Garg Giri, 27
 Gargi, 137-39
 Garhadesh, 387
 Garhgaon, 363
 Garh Kings, 317
 Garhmukteshvar, 291, 292
 Garhwal, 35, 47, 53, 73, 83, 134, 144, 152, 236, 245, 249-50, 257, 261, 264-66, 268, 282, 288, 290, 299, 301-02, 304, 314, 317-18, 320-22, 348, 349, 354, 356, 363, 376-77, 383, 387, 391, 393, 396, 408, 409, 413, 431, 439-40, 450, 491, 494, 499, 510, 519, 529, 601
 Garhwal Bhawar, 33
 Garud, 61, 134
 Garudganga, 83, 86, Garuda temple, 618
 Garud, Gyan Chand, 193, 203, 206, 209
 Garwala, 530
 Gauda, 157
 Gaula river, 16, 26, 27, 34, 93
 Gaul Paladi, 85, 98
 Gauri, 135, 614
 Gauriphat, 136
 Gaut, 400
 Gautoda, 345
 Gayakwad, 452
 Germany, 509
 Ghanteshvar Mahadeo, 19
 Gharats, 494
 Ghanag, 172
 Ghasamengak, 172
 Ghatchal, 248
 Ghatgad, 25
 Ghatotkach, 13
 Ghose, Lal Mohan, 455
 Ghose, Man Mohan, 455
 Ghugha river, 34
 Ghuradi, 6
 Ghydyali, 579
 Ghysila, 527
 Gindak, 15, 135
 Girgaon, 59
 Giridih, 474
 Giriraj, 125, 126
 Giriraj Chakrachudamani, 182
 Giriraj Kishari, 126
 Girvanyuddha Vikram Shah, 350-51, 353, 356, 357
 Givad, 75, 76, 264
 Givaar, 140
 Glen, 408
 Gobaras mountain, 21
 Gochintagak, 172
 Ghuradi, 6
 Ghydyali, 579
 Ghysila, 527
 Godavari, 138, 142, 152
 Godhodh, 172
 Gokarneshvar, 17
 Gokhale, Gopal Krishna, 455
 Golanti Kheti river, 21
 Golla of Thangaon, 623-24
 Golma 58
 Gomti river, 21, 83, 134, 139, 234, 264
 Goddess temples of Kumaun, 639-41
 Gopal, 170, 173
 Gopal Kot, 75, 83
 Gopeshvar, 64
 Gorakhnath temple, 613
 Gorakhpur, 363
 Goral Chand, 205
 Gorang, 18
 Gordon, 442
 Goriganga, 18, 54, 60, 61
 Goril, 24, 25
 Gori river, 5, 21, 135, 154
 Goriphat, 53
 Gorkaneshwar temple, 612
 Gorkhali dialect, 667
 Gorkha rule, 21, 23-24, 28, 48, 59, 75, 77, 343, 83, 388-90
 Anglo-Nepal war, 363-73
 Encounter with China and Tibet, 345-46
 English army towards Kali Kumaun, 373-79
 Garhwal conquest by, 354-55
 Gorkha invasion, 344-45
 Groups in Nepal, 352-53
 Harshdeo imprisoned, 346-47, 356
 High handedness of 356-60
 Justice system of 360-62
 Narashahi ka Mangal, 352
 Nepal-early history, 343
 Punishment system of 362-63
 Rohila war, 347-51
 Settlement, 352
 Subba Bam Shah Chauntariya, 355
 Taxation policy of, 382-83
 Tax on Brahmins, 353-54

Gorunnaasari, 16, 162
 Gosyudis, 530
 Got Montan, 528
 Govardhan pratipada, 654-55
 Govishan, 15, 43
 Goyan, 405, 408-09
 Gladastone, W. 455
 Greece, 509
 Gregg, 405
 Gudila, 19
 Gufdhura, 53
 Guffla, 165
 Gujar and Jat, 572
 Gujarati, 263
 Gujdugarhi, 77
 Guj lala, 396
 Gujrati, Gauri Shankar, 603
 Gujudanda, 77
 Gulam Muhammed Khan, 347-49, 351
 Gularbhoj, 509
 Gumani, 67, 278
 Guman Singh, 398
 Gumdes, 3, 13, 14, 547
 Gupta dynasty, 484
 Gural, 524
 Gurela Pande, 524
 Guru Govind Singh, 456
 Guru Gusain, 229
 Guru Ram Rai of Dehradun, 588
 Gururani, Madhu Sudan, 458
 Gusain, 494, 586
 Gushi, 15
 Gvad, 58
 Gvalda, 98
 Gwalior, 519
 Gwall temple, 621-23
 Gyan Chand, 258, 263-64, 266, 274, 521, 619

H

Haha, 3
 Haidar Beg Khan, 348
 Haidikhan, 21, 73
 Haidiya Khan, 96
 Haig, Harry, 29
 Haimvat, 125
 Hairia Khan, 622
 Hajari Mansur Ali Khan, 290
 Halabanj, 18
 Halia, 516
 Haldura, 312

Haldwani, 7, 8, 35, 37, 38, 93, 94, 121, 326, 412, 414, 430, 439, 445, 570, 603, 605
 Hamilton, Francis, 115, 296, 324, 494
 Hamir Bohra, 546
 Hamir Chand, 200
 Hamirdeo, 221, 222
 Haneti, 519
 Hanibanj, 53
 Hans Tirth, 135
 Hanuman temple, 75, 618
 Hapur, 373
 Harchanauli Kalugad, 25
 Hardeval, 53
 Hardinge, 38
 Har-do-ka-danda, 19
 Hardwick, 354
 Hardayal, 52
 Harelal (Hariyana Festival), 648-50
 Hareshvar, 15
 Hargovind, 41, 311, 315
 Hartali festival, 651
 Harmall, 20, 226-29, 263
 Harshpur, 172
 Harnwal 1585
 Harpati Ka Danda, 24
 Harshdeo, 73, 194, 356, 369-71, 373, 376
 Harshdeopuri, 272, 274
 Har Singh, Gusain, 280, 309
 Haribodhini Ekadashi, 655
 Haribola, 248, 579
 Hari Chand II, 208
 Hari Datt, 515
 Haridwar, 10, 350, 356, 469, 630
 Hari in Munsyari, 632
 Harijans, 468, 471-73
 Hari Raj Singh, 399
 Hari Shayani Ekadasi, 650
 Harish Chandra, 181, 206, 630
 Hari Singh, 44
 Haru deity, 630-31
 Hastamalak, 586
 Hastidal, 72, 366, 368, 379-82, 380, 381
 Hastidal Chauntariya, 354, 357, 359-60, 365-67
 Hastings, Warren, 348, 363, 365, 369, 376, 400
 Hat, 28, 542
 Hatakesh, 142
 Hathichhina, 170, 176
 Hathras, 522

- Hatwal Pant, 512
 Haulambari, 35
 Hauskins, 99
 Havishka, 483
 Hawalbag, 97, 99, 110, 269, 270, 345
 Hebar, 40
 Hedi, 247
 Hemadri, 125
 Hemavant, 125
 Hemwati, 614
 Henderson, 98
 Hensy, 99
 Hera Devi, 602
 Heresy, 369, 371, 373-76, 379, 381, 388, 400
 Herman, 509
 Hewett, John, 29
 Hidimba, 14
 Hieun-Tsang, 40, 41, 43, 153, 154, 190, 487
 Himachal, 125, 126, 128, 134, 137, 138, 480, 605
 Himalaya, 134
 Himgiri, 125
 Himmat Gusain, 286
 Hinapani, 17
 Hindi dialect, 667
 Hindu Kush, 468, 489, 500, 510
 Hingna,, 15
 Hinguladevi, 15
 Hinvan, 469
 Hiradungari, 72, 378, 380, 439
 Hira Singh, 429, 459.
 Hirat, 509
 History of Kumaun, 1-121
 Aquatic animals, 13
 Animals at, 10-12
 Birds, 12
 Cattle-houses, 111
 Climate of 7-8
 Dak-bungalows at, 99-100
 Diseases at 9-10
 District Almora, 4-6
 District Nainital, 6-7
 Expansion and area of 4
 Farming at, 88-89
 Flowers at, 90
 Fruit business at,, 96-97
 Fruits at, 90-91
 Greens and vegetables, 90
 Hilly villages, 88
 History of Parganes of. 13-86
 Hospitals, 108-11
 Leperhouses, 109-10
 T.B. 111
 How region named, 3-4
 Industries at, 91-96
 Catechu, 94
 Grasses, 9495
 Lisa, 93-94
 Mines, 92-93
 Sugar, 94
 Journey to Kailash, 1007-08
 Parganas and Pattis in Chand and Gorkha reigns, 80-87
 Population of 115-19
 Post-offices at, 111
 Press and newspapers, 119-21
 Protected old buildings, 111
 Rainfall at, 8-9
 Roads in, 100-06
 Railway, 100-01
 Roads, 101-102
 Unmetalled roads, 102
 SDOS at, 87-88
 Tea gardens at, 97
 Tehsils in, 87
 Temperature of, 8
 Holi festival, 656-57
 Holkar, Jaswant Rao, 351
 Home Rule League, 458, 462
 Hrishpal, 590
 Fudeti, 526
 Huge, 490
 Huhu, 3
 Hume, A.O., 454, 455
 Hunadesh, 4, 50, 52, 54, 58, 468-69, 471, 473, 480-81, 595
 Hungarian, 481
 Huniyas, 250, 469, 480-81
 Hunias dialect, 590-92
 Hurkia, 579
 Husker or Hubhiksha, deity, 632
 Hussain Khan, 224

I

 Ibbetson, 406
 Ibrahim, 44
 Ichchhatadeo, 162, 171
 Ida, 75
 Ihang, 172
 Ijar, 172
 Iliyar, 198
 Inayat Khan, 295
 Indra, 133, 141

Indra chand, 198, 200, 570
 Indradeo Rajvar, 101
 Indra Lal Shah, 458
 Indra Laxami, 343
 Indraprastha, 483
 Indra Singh, 602
 Insaina Balir, 377
 Ira Gyan Jung, 5
 Ireland, 509
 Irwin, 460
 Ishal, 171
 Ishtangana Deva, 160
 Ishtang deo, 170, 159, 160, 161, 170
 Islam Shah, 218
 Islana, 396

J

Jabalpur, 487
 Jabit Khan, 310
 Jad, 500
 Jadar, 151
 Jagannath, 630
 Jagat Chand, 265-68, 270, 518
 Jagat Singh, 47, 269
 Jagat Singh of Udaipur, 282
 Jag Bahadur, 602
 Jagbudha, 34
 Jageshwar, 127, 131-33, 157, 173, 211,
 232, 236, 237, 470, 474
 Jagi, 501
 Jagishwar, 607, 611
 Jagjit of Dharanagar, 507
 Jagjit Shah, 374
 Jaag Mohan Singh, 451
 Jagthanadura, 83
 Jahanabad, 6
 Jahangir, 237
 Jai Chand, 195, 396, 544
 Jaidan, Kird, 213-14
 Jai deo, 517
 Jaikirti Shah, 319, 321
 Jaikul Bhukti, 158, 159
 Jaipur, 271, 279
 Jai Raj, Makau, 518
 Jai Raka, 380
 Jai Ram, 579
 Jai Singh of Jaipur, 282
 Jai Singh Rai, 291
 Jaithak, 365, 380, 388, 390
 Jajada, 151
 Jajut, 520
 Jakati or Jagali, 569
 Jakh, 522
 Jalian wala Bagh, 459
 Jambals, 298
 Jamradi, 545
 Jamtadi, 21
 Jamuna, 127
 Jamuna Hills, 481
 Janamejay, 129, 483
 Jangams, 587, 588
 Jang Bahadur, Singh, 601
 Jangpangi, 590
 Jangpangi, Charakh Miyan, 58
 Jankandia, 528
 Janmashtami, 651
 Janmatsava ceremony, 660
 Jaunsar, 468
 Januradi, 545
 Japan, 608
 Jaspal, 59
 Jaspal Budha, 59
 Jaspur, 217, 299, 435, 444, 518, 570,
 572, 603
 Jassa Kamleghi, 204-06
 Jaswant Singh, 263
 Jateshwar, 133, 136
 Jatipotok, 172
 Jatiya Khan, 19
 Jauna, 99
 Jaunpur, 195
 Jaunsar, 363, 487
 Jaunsar Bhabar, 151
 Jaurasi, 73, 76
 Jayakar, 461
 Jayanarayan, 355
 Jayanti, 17, 127
 Jayrakha, 377
 Jha or Ojha, 526
 Jhal Rao of Champawat, 622
 Jhaltola, 60, 98, 99
 Jhankar, 131, 135, 139
 Jhankar Saim, 64, 132
 Jhansi, 340, 544
 Jhighad, 358
 Jhijhad, 220, 249, 266, 280, 283, 396,
 517
 Jhijhar, 514, 518, 526
 Jhinkan, 494
 Jhulade, 24
 Jhulaghat, 18, 387
 Jhuling, 135
 Jhunsi, 193, 194, 200, 390, 544
 Jilam 484
 Jina caste, 33

- Jiruwa, 575
 Jivi of Sor, 366
 Jiwi, 545
 Jiyarani garden, 28
 Jnanchand Garud, 44, 203
 Jogi Kanphate, 587
 Jogyuda, 513
 Johar, 11, 18, 19, 51, 54-60, 86, 87, 91,
 229, 250, 330, 346, 350, 433, 483,
 590, 592, 593, 595
 Johar Bhot dialect, 667
 Johari dialect, 593-94
 Joharpani, 80
 Johar Singh, 282
 Jootak, 586
 Joshi, 512
 Joshi, Badridatt, 69, 396, 457, 517, 518
 Joshi, Bakhat Ram, 282
 Joshi, Bakhat Ram, 282
 Joshi, Bansidhar, 459
 Joshi, Bhavanand, 268, 275
 Joshi, Bhavdeo, 253, 263
 Joshi, Chandra Mani, 521
 Joshi, Devidatt, 38
 Joshi, Dharmanand, 69, 494
 Joshi, Dinkar, 242, 519
 Joshi, Gadadhar, 318
 Joshi, Gauridatt, 518
 Joshi, Haradatta, 94
 Joshi, Haramani, 253
 Joshi, Hari Ram, 41, 289, 295, 299-301,
 307, 311, 578, 579
 Joshi, Harnidhi, 306
 Joshi, Harshdeo, 193, 298, 307, 310,
 311, 313, 316, 325-27, 344-51, 387,
 391, 393, 395-96, 517
 Joshi, Hem Chandra 458, 670
 Joshi, Heramb, 517, 578
 Joshi, Ishwaridatt, 108
 Joshi, Jaideo, 306
 Joshi, Jai Dev, 518
 Joshi, Jai Krishna, 295, 299-302, 306-
 08, 310-13, 517
 Joshi, Jai Narayan, 349-51
 Joshi, Jai Ram, 301
 Joshi, Jaya Nand, 301, 317, 318
 Joshi, Jwaladatt, 234, 457
 Joshi, Kantu, 301
 Joshi, Krishna Deo, 518
 Joshi, Krishna Nand, 520
 Joshi, Lataula, 283
 Joshi, Laxmidatt, 99, 126, 495, 599, 670
 Joshi, Laxmi Kant, 518
 Joshi, Laxmipati, 283, 311
 Joshi, Mahadeo, 238
 Joshi, Manorath, 253, 258, 311, 315,
 517, 519
 Joshimath, 127, 149, 152, 154, 157, 171,
 491, 520, 608
 Joshi Mohan, 85, 120, 458, 459
 Joshi, Mukundram, 411
 Joshi, Narottam, 242, 253, 517, 518
 Joshi, Nathu Ray, 519
 Joshi, Nilambar Chintamani, 670
 Joshi, Padmanidhi, 579
 Joshi, Prithvi Raj, 520
 Joshi, Ramapati, 285
 Joshi, Ram Datt, 458
 Joshi, Ram Krishna, 396, 518, 519
 Joshi, Ram Narayan, 351
 Joshi, Rashikesh, 519
 Joshi, Ratanpati, 396
 Joshi, Rudradatt, 311, 348
 Joshi, Rudradeo 519
 Joshi, Rughunath, 518
 Joshi, Selval, 397
 Joshi, Shiv Datt, 459, 518
 Joshi, Shivdeo, 47, 48, 283, 286, 289-91,
 292, 295, 299, 300-04, 306-09, 316-
 17, 395, 517
 Joshi, Shivnath, 41
 Joshi, Shri Bharat, 518
 Joshi, Shri Krishna, 457
 Joshi, Shiromani, 258
 Joshis of Bherang, 519, 520
 Joshis of Cheenakhan, 521
 Joshis of Daniya, 518-19
 Joshis of Galli, 519
 Joshis of Jhijad, 516
 Joshis of Makidi and Kherd, 520
 Joshis of Sainj, 520
 Joshi, Trilochan, 396, 518
 Joshi Veer Bhadra, 518
 Joshi, Vijaykrishna, 308
 Joshi, Vijay Raj, 519
 Joshi, Virbhadra, 275
 Joshi, Yashodhar, 518
 Josyuda, 16
 Judang, 19
 Juhar, 5
 Jukandia, 528
 Jumala, 207, 210, 211, 229, 283, 302-03,
 306, 343-44
 Junagarh, 248
 Juniyagadhi, 76, 264, 299
 Jvaladevi, 40, 41

Jwala, 614
 Jwalagi, 608
 Jwalamukhi, 136, 226, 514, 526
 Jyoli, 522, 525
 Jyolikot, 32, 436
 Jyotirlings, 64
 Jyotirmath, 6, 8, 127
 Jyotirvid, Ram Datt, 38, 208, 520, 523,
 25, 529, 594
 Jyulo, 233
 Jyunti, 50

K

Kabil Rai, 291
 Kabul, 149, 155, 156, 491-93
 Kachchi and Kehar, 572
 Kadru, 485
 Kafini, 79
 Kagadia, 528
 Kagatni, 525
 Kagda, 516
 Kahedgoan, 542
 Kaidakot, 16
 Kaidarau, 16, 65, 73, 216, 288, 546-47
 Kaida Rajputs, 546-47
 Kaikeya, 469
 Kaila ghati, 374
 Kailash, 16, 26, 34, 58, 107-08, 125, 127,
 129, 131-31, 134-35, 228, 469, 488
 Kailashpur, 127
 Kakadighat, 24, 272-74
 Kakkdali river, 19
 Kakkkad, 111
 Kaklasaun, 543
 Kaksh, 344
 Kalachhap, 53
 Kaladhungi, 35, 37, 414
 Kalagarh, 430
 Kalaghat, 250
 Kalakoti, 543
 Kalanga, 364, 390
 Kalar, 156, 491
 Kalaun, 358, 5118
 Kalbisht, deity, 626-29
 Kalchan Booshi, 632
 Kalchhin, 18
 Kaldhar, 353, 514
 Kali Chand, 27
 Kalidas, 127, 481
 Kaligad, 33, 36, 65, 304
 Kaligad ka Danda, 33
 Kaliganga, 50

Kalika temple, 61
 Kali Kumaun, 3, 4, 6, 13-15, 16, 19, 23,
 26, 33, 64, 86, 87, 136, 157, 161,
 177, 196-97, 201-02, 220, 289, 293,
 334, 345, 371, 373, 375, 413, 435,
 513, 518, 520, 523, 526, 548, 551,
 554, 598, 599, 673
 Dialect, 667
 Kalimati Hill, 515
 Kalimul, 135
 Kalinag, 60, 62, 157, 484
 Kalinjar, 194
 Kalipani, 50, 51
 Kalirau, 75
 Kali river, 3, 5, 16, 18, 21, 51, 135, 214,
 374-75, 379, 381, 388-89, 524, 526
 Kali Sharan Rai, 526
 Kali temple, 344, 614, 616, 617
 Kaliver, 572
 Kalivisht deity, 24
 Kaliya Ki Bag, 26
 Kalka, 36
 Kal matia, 77, 138, 377-78, 428,
 Kal muni, 5
 Kalshila, 513
 Kalsi, 469, 487
 Kalu Mahara, 413
 Kalu Tadagi, 3
 Kalyan Chand, 7, 66, 72, 78, 22, 232,
 277, 278, 282, 287, 293, 299, 301,
 307, 366, 514, 517-18
 Kalyan Chand III, 218
 Kalyan Chand (5), 278-79
 Kalyan Kunvri, 281
 Kalyanpur, 435
 Kalyan Singh, 277
 Kamadhenu, 130, 137, 140, 142
 Kamala pati, 162
 Kamaruddin Khan, 290-92
 Kamboj, 469
 Kamdeo, 134
 Kamdeva, 612
 Kamdhenu, 485, 486
 Kamlakar, 525
 Kamlekh, 204, 206
 Kamthana, 582
 Kanak, 491, 492
 Kanakdeva, 149
 Kanali Chhina, 21
 Kanar, 22

- Kanaudia, 529
 Kanauj, 195, 200, 514, 515, 519, 544
 Kanaujia, 525
 Kanda, 519
 Kandadeva, 135
 Kandali Chhina, 16, 18
 Kandar, Khuva 24
 Kandayik, 172
 Kande, 156
 Kandeo Hill, 15, 374
 Kandeva, 3, 136
 Kandiwal, 582
 Kandiwal, 583
 Kangara, 59, 348, 351, 356, 363, 514, 530
 Kanhaiya Lal, 603
 Kanishka, 483
 Kankadeshvar, 24
 Kankhal, 369-70, 391
 Kannauj, 263, 267, 270, 340
 Kantli, 516
 Kantipur, 343
 Kanva, 127
 Kanyakubjas, 607
 Kanya Kumari, 169
 Kanyas, 371
 Kaphar Khan, 628
 Kapil, 127, 141
 Kapilesh, 142
 Kapina, 234
 Kapkot, 519
 Kapranli, 204-06
 Karabir, 125
 Karakotis, 543
 Karala, 525
 Karbirpur, 83, 334, 542
 Karan Singh, 399
 Karas, 522
 Karayat, 335
 Kardamkot, 281
 Karki 196, 494
 Karki Rajputs, 544
 Karkotak, 26, 484
 Karkotak Nag, 484
 Karkotathal, 172
 Karm Chand, 202, 221
 Karm Kathayat, 242
 Karna, 487, 492
 Karnali, 126
 Karnavedh ceremony, 660
 Kartika Pauradmals, 655
 Kartikeya, 132, 156, 618
 Kartikeyapur, 83, 85, 125, 149, 152, 155-57, 160-62, 166, 170-71, 175, 177, 215, 519, 542, 608
 Kartiyagad river, 33
 Karvirpur, 126, 156
 Kasani, 19
 Kasoon, 576
 Kashar, 139
 Kashaya, 138
 Kashayaeshvar Mahadeo temple, 72
 Kashar, 482, 491, 492
 Kash giri, 482, 486, 495
 Kashi, 5-7, 12-13, 24-25, 518
 Kashipur, 8, 34, 40-42, 47, 49, 91, 121, 129, 194, 262, 271, 280, 291, 283, 295, 298-99, 301, 03, 306, 308, 310-12, 315, 319, 322-23, 328, 348, 366-70, 375, 408, 435, 439, 444-45, 458, 497, 509, 522-23, 526, 544, 570, 572, 603, 615
 Kashiram, Bisht, 283
 Kashiru, 490
 Kashi Vishwanath, 139
 Kashiya, 492
 Kashkara, 489
 Kashmir, 92, 127-28, 156, 201, 469, 481, 483, 489-90, 492-94, 510, 670
 Kashyap, 181, 485, 488, 490
 Katansil, 172
 Katarmal, 251, 288, 373, 378, 380, 436, 598
 Kathlalekha, 372
 Kathayat, Nilu, 44
 Kathayat Rajputs, 548
 Kathed, 246, 274-76, 280-81, 289, 292
 Kathed, Jodh Singh, 308, 313
 Kathediya Rajputs, 281, 291
 Kafhei as, 74, 245-46
 Katheria, Narpati Singh, 44
 Kathghar, 224
 Kathgodam, 7, 8, 28, 34, 35, 94, 104, 371, 515, 605
 Kath-ki-Nawa, 372
 Kathmandu, 343, 355, 364, 383, 389, 484
 Kath puria Devi, 632
 Kator dynasty, 491
 Katyanis, 530
 Katyayani, 26
 Katyayini devi, 138
 Katyur, 6, 23, 64-65, 73, 83-86, 265
 Katyuri, Brahmadeo, 39

- Katyuri Kings, 24, 37, 43, 64, 74, 383,
 474, 491-92, 510, 519, 521, 542-43
 Worshipped, 631-32
 Katyuri rule, 2500-BC to 700 AD, 149-
 90
 Bageshwar inscriptions on, 158-60
 Capital of, 149, 153-54
 Comparison with other
 inscriptions, 166-73
 Decline of, 175-78
 Dhikuli township, 151-54
 Digvijay of, 173-75
 Fall of, 185
 Feristha on, 152-53
 From Joshinath to Katyur, 154-56
 Genealogy, 178-84, 190
 of Doti, 182-83
 of Pali-Pachhaun, 183-84
 of Rajbar Askot, 178-80
 Rudradatt Pant on, 180-82
 Gift of land, 171-73
 Karti keyapur, 156-57
 Khasa tribe, 149-51
 Kingdom of, 149
 Period of, 150
 Ramdatt Tripathi on, 186-89
 Solar dynasty of, 190
 Kausani, 5, 8, 98, 170
 Kaushiki river, 129, 131, 132
 Kautela, 79
 Kauthlad, 75
 Kautolgarh, 14
 Kavalekh, 17
 Kayalkot, 16
 Kayastha, 570
 Kayo Ramandan, 491
 Kedar, 73, 127, 142-43, 173, 494
 Kedaranath, 33, 73, 127, 155, 169, 174,
 603, 610
 KedarKhand, 482
 Kelakhan, 46, 414
 Keral, 135
 Keshav Ram Kavi, 282
 Ketuman, 136
 Khadaun, 396
 Khadayat, 16
 Khadayat Rajput, 551
 Khadga Singh, 43, 44, 193, 211, 236
 Khadag Singh Pal, 24
 Khadi, 516, 519
 Khadkas, 494
 Khagmarkot, 207, 216, 219, 521
 Khairagarh, 250, 527
 Khai Rani, 78
 Khairna, 6, 25, 436, 522
 Khakara river, 34
 Khaknoti, 519
 Khaliulla Khan, 246
 Khal muni, 80
 Khampa, 469
 Khan, Abdul Gaffar, 456
 Khandadhura, 19
 Khandava Vana, 483
 Khan, Khizra, 44
 Khan, Mansur Ali, 47
 Kharayat Patti of Sor Paragana, 545
 Khargoli, 515
 Kharhari Nag, 62
 Kharhi, 64, 65, 85
 Kharkot, 522
 Khakus, 543
 Kharku Rautela Gusains, 546
 Kharpur deo, 159
 Kharsa, 53
 Khas, 23, 33, 78
 Khasa king, 149
 Khasalaya, 439
 Khasas, 468, 469, 471, 483
 Khasa tribe, 149-151, 153
 Khas Desh, 488
 Khasia, 201
 Khasira, 487
 Khasiyas, 490, 494-95, 498, 499
 Khas Rajputs, 554
 of Danpur, 554
 of Talla Danpur, 554
 Khas tribe, 469-73, 483, 486-500
 Khataruwa festival, 652
 Khati, 24, 25, 207
 Khatiki, 572
 Khatiki, 572
 Khatima, 444
 Khati Rajput, 547
 Khatsar, 75
 Khattri, 570
 Khatye, 529
 Khaukia, 580
 Khavas khan, 218
 Khechar tirth, 136
 Khede, 326
 Khedagaon, 27
 Kheti, 59
 Khetidhura, 525
 Khetigaon, 523
 Kheti khan, 161, 442
 Khilagagi, 14

- Khilphati, 3, 376
 Khima Nand, 459
 Khing lung, 57, 58
 Khoaspes, 489
 Khokin, 489
 Kholbhiteria shah, 569
 Kholi, 569
 Kholia, 248
 Kholta, 97, 522
 Khonia, 528
 Khor, 575
 Khosas, 489
 Khotima, 39, 49, 501
 Khudbuda, 355
 Khudbuda, 355
 Khulbe, Bhagirath, 459
 Khuniyan Dhura, 53
 Khurasan, 509
 Khushal Singh Julal, 413
 Khushat Jat, 313
 Khushniwaz, 481
 Khyber pass, 510
 Kichak, 494
 Kichcha, 501
 Kichhaha, (Kilpuri), 34, 39, 49
 Kilpuri, 8, 48, 315, 345, 348, 349, 397, 398, 501
 Kimukhat, 15
 Kintop, 79
 Kinnaras, 468, 475
 Kirada, 396
 Kiradia, 474
 Kiranti, 343, 474, 480
 Kirat, 22, 23, 127, 469, 471, 473-75, 483, 494, 500, 524
 Kiratas, 132, 159
 Kirat Singh, 399
 Kirk, 70
 Kirkpatrick, 493
 Kirodehi, 474
 Kirti Bageshvar Mahadeo, 61
 Kirtichand, 44, 157, 214, 216, 217, 219, 250, 546
 Kirtipur, 44, 217, 343
 Kisandeo Bist, 280
 Kishan Singh, 310, 311, 589
 Kishori Lal, 459
 Kisia country, 459
 Klaingain, 482
 Kojagar, 653, 654
 Kol, 500
 Koli, 573
 Kolkang, Dhura, 53
 Konkan, 482, 511, 524
 Kori, 573
 Kartikeyपुरी, 333
 Koshi, 61, 134, 273, 289, 320
 Koshyan, 24
 Koshyari Bada, 58
 Kosi, 378
 Kota, 25, 26, 28, 34, 35, 47, 73, 207, 215, 262, 263, 272, 278, 289, 291, 345, 347, 366, 372, 435, 516, 569
 Kota Bhavar, 36-39, 258, 287, 414
 Kotagarhi, 372, 375
 Kotalgaon, 516, 518
 Kotalgarh, 345, 546
 Kotal gaon, 58
 Kotali Chhakhata, 215
 Kotali Sujan Bunga, 18
 Kotauli, 25, 33, 34, 78, 529
 Kota pahad, 34
 Kotavi, 17
 Kotdwar, 435
 Koteshtar, 61
 Kothar City, 523
 Kothari, 523-24
 Kothyali, 580
 Kothyara, 523
 Kot Kangra, 85, 201, 469
 Kotwal Chabutara, 14, 197
 Kots, 475
 Kotyuda of Givad, 75
 Krachalla Deo, 157, 208
 Kratu, 130
 Krishna, 13, 128
 Kristodas, 30
 Kronch, 469
 Ksham Gupta, 489
 Kshatriya and Rajput class, 542
 Kshetrapal or Bhumia, 607, 624, 625
 Kubera, 127, 488
 Kuhadiyatal, 26
 Kuinthe, 59
 Kuleta, 524
 Kuleta Pande, 524
 Kuli Utar movemnt, 174-86
 Kumalta, 516
 Kumaniyan river, 6
 Kumareshtar Mahadeo, 33
 Kumargupta, 481
 Kumarswamy, 248
 Kumaun, 1
 Kumaun Bhawar, 33
 Kumaun-in Vedic and Pauranic period, 125-46

- Appearance of Shivaling, 133
 Aryan tribe in, 125
 Bageshvar, 139-40
 Bhagavat on, 125-26
 Buddhism in, 127
 Charak Samhita on, 128
 Danpur, 140
 Dronagiri alias Dunagiri, 137
 Gods and goddesses at, 126
 Himachal's greatness, 134-35
 King Venu and Prithu Singh, 131-33
 Koshi river, 137-38
 Mahadeo and Parvati marriage, 134
 Manaskhand of Skanda Purana on, 129-30, 144
 Names of, 125
 Naths at, 127
 Patal-Bhuvaneshwar, 140-44
 Purans on, 126-27
 Rig veda on, 125
 Route to Mansarovar, 135
 Return route from, 136
 Shashti khata on, 138-39
 Shiva's penance at Jageshvar, 131-33
 Sitavani, 138
 Tribes of, 127
 Vayu Purana and Skanda Purana on, 127-28
 Western Ramganga, 136
- Kumayyan Sahs, 569
 Kumbhkaran, 14
 Kumkhet, 313
 Kumpur ka Danda, 24
 Kumupur, 372, 373
 Kunaits, 468
 of Kulu, 490
 Kundanlal Shah, 66
 Kundiya, 582
 Kundyali, 582
 Kungadkhola, 522
 Kungaon, 525
 Kunjeshvar, 208
 Kunjgad river, 24
 Kunjru, Hriday Nath, 473, 600, 602
 Kunti, 389
 Kuri Pali, 65
 Kurmachal, 13, 18
 Kurma chali dialect, 666
 Kurma mountain, 3
 Kurma shila, 135
 Kurm Chand, 202
- Kurmu and Lodh, 573
 Kuru, 151, 510
 Kuru caste, 489
 Kurukshetra, 396, 525
 Kushma, 483
 Kutaulgarh, 336
 Kutauli, 65, 219
 Kuthaliya Bora Rajputs, 546
 Kutharis, 530
 Kutpur Neel Kapal, 474
 Lachhampur, 516
 Lachhiram Sah, 99
 Ladhia river, 13, 15
 Ladhiya-Valley, 374
 Ladiya kanta, 31
 Lahachhu, 53
 Lahariya sect, 291
 Lajpat Rai, 455, 456, 473
 Lake, 351, 370
 Lakham Singh, 602
 Lakhanpur, 43, 44, 64, 65, 76, 153, 177, 207, 216, 288
 Lakhadyokhi, 628, 629
 Lakhpatt Gusain, 298
 Lakshman, 75, 138
 Lalbhadhe, 357
 Lal Chand, 41
 Laldhang, 33, 232
 Ladhang chauki, 157
 Lalitabura deva, 165
 Lalit Patan, 343
 Lalitpur, 354
 Lalit Shah, 317-19
 Lalit Sur, 169
 Lalit Sur Deo, 76, 159-61, 170, 181
 Lal Kuan, 94, 293
 Lal Mandi, 261, 375, 377-80
 Lal Singh, 48, 308-10, 313-14, 317, 322-26, 344-45, 347-49, 366-67, 369, 397-96, 520
 Lama, 469, 480, 481
 Lamachhada, 374
 Lamachhada Valas, 369
 Lama, Shakiya, 54-56
 Lamas, Tashi, 345-46
 Lamjung, 283
 Langa, 50
 Langurgarh, 345, 354
 Lanka, 98
 Lasardhura, 53
 Lataula, 284, 520
 Lataula Joshis, 520
 Latauli, 520

- Latouche, James, 29
 Latwals, 543
 Lautara, 79
 Laxmanendra, 514
 Laxmeshvar Mahdeo, 285
 Laxmi Chand, 202, 225, 232-36, 238,
 241-45, 366, 517, 611
 Laminarayan, 236, 396
 Laxminarayan temple, 614
 Laxmishvar, 97, 234
 Lebangdhura, 126
 Lee, 377
 Leela Nand, 521
 Lekh mountain, 21
 Likhtad, 20
 Lilu, 18
 Limboo, 474
 Lingaraj deo, 222
 Linklan, Swidenham, 96
 Lindsay, Robert, 495
 Lipa Sangudi, 350
 Lipu, 50
 Lipudhura, 51, 126
 Lodh, 98
 Lodhra, 137
 Lohaba, 265-66, 287
 Lohaba Garh 248
 Lohaba Garhi, 75
 Lohaba Garhwal, 381
 Lohaghat, 14, 16, 98, 99, 135, 433, 436
 Lohakham, 16
 Lohali, 25, 444
 Lohana, 516
 Lohandeo Nag, 484
 Lohar, 514
 Lohar river, 14
 Lohavati river, 15
 Lohema Garhwal dialect, 668
 Lohia river, 34
 Lohitya river, 474
 Lohsyal, 522
 Lomus, 120
 Lool in bhabhar, 474
 Looltyure, 476
 Loru Biljval, 58
 Loyall, Alfred, 29
 Lucknow, 258, 298, 311, 315, 318, 348-
 50
 Lumjung, 344
 Lunar dynasty, 63
 Lunisdon, 69
 Lushington, 300, 405, 409
 Luther, Martin, 602
 Luva thald kura, 60
 Lvani, 57
 Lwanl, 590
 Lytton, 452
- M**
- Macaulay, 453
 Macdonell, Antony, 29, 48, 49
 Machhiyad, 15
 Macklaud, 98
 Madh Rajputs, 552
 Madhu Singh, 413
 Madhyandini, 511
 Madhyadesh Mol, 204
 Madra, 157
 Madras, 400, 425
 Madua-ki-Mal, 204
 Maduval Boras, 204
 Mafidar, Chintamani, 254
 Magadh, 483
 Magh Pande, 514
 Magyars, 481
 Mahabharata, 132, 481, 485-86, 488,
 510, 587, 600, 610
 Mahadeo, 17, 37, 134, 142, 156, 234
 Mahadeo Lipish, 51
 Mahadeva, 126, 134, 135, 140-43
 Mahadevs, 610-611
 Mahaka, 14, 127, 142
 Mahameru, 2
 Mahanjaila, 53
 Mahapantha, 143
 Mahar, 16, 299, 302, 304, 323, 335-37,
 339, 369, 543, 546
 Maharana Pratap, 456
 Maharashtra, 292, 483, 512
 Mahar patti, 484
 Maharudra, 24, 251, 612
 Mahavrat ceremony, 662
 Mahendra, 170, 324
 Mahendra Chand, 326, 327, 344, 345,
 347, 49, 518
 Mahendra Singh, 282, 347, 397-98
 Mahesh, 130, 141, 312
 Mahesh Chand, 315
 Maheshvari, 208
 Mahinari, 519
 Mahishamardini, 137
 Mahishasur, 61
 Mahra alias Mer, 581
 Mahra Rajputs, 549
 Mahrudi, 26, 33, 34, 65, 207, 248
 Mahto, 501

- Mahto Rajput, 548
 Mainoli, 530
 Maisi Sadh, 257
 Mana, 58
 Manaji, 513
 Manali Village, 513
 Manar, 516
 Manaskhand, 134, 136, 144
 Manauli, 528
 Manda, 195
 Mandaliya Pande, 513
 Maneshvar, 15
 Mangala, 127, 614
 Mangal-Lekha, 15
 Man Ghati Valley, 614
 Mangiri, 223
 Mani, 98
 Manihargaon, 605
 Manik Gaida, 272-74, 277-78, 543
 Manila, 73, 216, 217
 Manili, 515
 Mankot, 63
 Mankoti, 194, 207, 221-22, 511-13, 519-20, 523, 525, 607
 Mankunya, 529
 Manoli, 529
 Mansal Singh, 601, 602
 Mansarovar, 12, 58, 126-28, 134, 135, 143, 248
 Man Singh, 194
 Mansora, 229
 Mansur Ai Khan, 286, 291, 292, 347
 Mantaniya, 528
 Manu, 414, 488, 498
 Manural, 77
 Manurals of Udaipur, 542-44
 Mapa, 58
 Mapwals, 590
 Marathas, 295, 298, 311
 Margaon, 484
 Marichi, 130, 181
 Markandey, 26, 127, 140, 142, 605
 Marmandhura, 50
 Marriage ceremoney, 661-62
 Marris, William, 29
 Martindel, 375
 Martoli, 58, 79, 80
 Marbolia, 590
 Masani, Khabees, 621
 Masantand geo, 158
 Masi, 73, 76
 Masurdeo ka Dhura, 19
 Mathpal Madhpal, 527
 Mathura, 483, 485
 Matoli, 529
 Matyani, 584
 Maxwell, 424
 Mayavati, 15
 Mechhi river, 389
 Meerkan sarai, 474
 Meerut, 516
 Meghan Narayan, 396
 Mehrotra, Ram Sharan Singh, 459
 Mehta, Firoz shah, 455
 Mehta, Govind Singh, 99
 Meragdana, 60
 Meru, 2, 125, 469
 Meston, James, 29, 447
 Mihirgul, 481
 Mihirkul, 489
 Mikila, 80
 Milam, 57, 60
 Mill, John Stuart, 454
 Milmwai, 350, 589-90
 Minto, 448
 Miral Gusain, 77
 Miral Rajpur, 548, 549
 Mir Mannu, 291
 Mirzapur, 195
 Mishra, Bandhu, 282
 Mishra, Gajraj, 389
 Mishra Laximdhara, 282
 Mishra or Vaidya, 523
 Mitak shari Hindus, 496-98
 Mithila, 526
 Mithun Daj Kayastha, 355
 Mitra, Rajendralal, 162
 Miyan Rajputs, 551
 Mlechcha, 470, 483, 485
 Mohan Chand, 20, 48, 58, 314-24, 326-27, 356
 Mohan Lal Shah, 450
 Mohan Singh, 296, 311-12, 314, 317, 322, 459
 Mohan Singh Gusain, 308-16
 Moira, 67
 Moni Ram, 263
 Montague, 455
 Montague-Chelmsford Report, 447
 Mool Narayan temple, 614
 Moon, 133
 Moorcraft, 480
 Mora, 426
 Moradabad, 6, 34, 44, 47, 246, 298, 302, 311, 368, 398, 408, 414, 439

- Morley, 364, 448
 Mornaula, 64
 Mota Haldy, 37
 Motiram, 31, 69, 110, 263, 570
 Mount Varaha, 137
 Moyara, 379
 Mrityunjaya, 152
 Mrityunjay Mahadeo temple, 64, 613
 Muddiman, Alexander, 29
 Mudholkar, Raghunath Nar Singh, 455
 Muhammadpur, 291
 Muhammad Shah, 265, 280, 289, 294, 302
 Muhammad Tughlaq, 203
 Muircraft, 400
 Muir, William, 29, 119
 Mukhtar, Ramprasad, 38
 Mukteshwar, 618, 32-33, 40, 78, 94, 96
 Mukundi Lal, 450
 Mullin, 32
 Mulya Ki Nau ka Danda, 24
 Mumtaj Hussain, 96
 Mungali, 529, 530
 Munghyr inscription, 169, 170, 173
 Munsyari, 93
 Murad, 44
 Muralidhar, 455
 Murali Manohar temple, 473, 614
 Murchdanda, 53
 Musalman community, 604
 Musmauli, 519
 Musmoli or Mali, 20
 Musyoli Ka Danda, 24
 Mutiny of 1857 AD, 413-14
 Naberana, 348
 Nabhi, 389
 Nadi Gaon, 220
 Nadir Shah, 298
 Nadiya, 235
 Naga, 140, 319, 320, 468, 473, 483-86
 Nagarjun, 73, 77, 136, 137
 Nagarkot, 311, 318, 319, 324, 352
 Naghrud, 484
 Nagina, 232, 250, 271
 Nagmall, 211
 Nagnath, 40, 484
 Nagnath Siddh, 214-15
 Nagpur (Nakuri), 97, 136, 140, 469, 484, 485
 Nag temples, 144
 Negthan in Saur Phatka, 632
 Nagvanshi, 58
 Nainal, 36
 Nahan, 281, 363, 365, 381, 383, 389, 515
 Nai, 571
 Niks of Chaupakhia, 600
 Naiks of Ramgar, 600
 Naillgaon, 518
 Nailpokhar, 220, 619
 Naini, 18
 Nainital, 3, 4, 6, 7, 26, 28-32, 49, 96, 99, 126, 139, 409, 413-14, 417, 421, 425-26, 429, 431-32, 436, 439, 441, 501, 568, 570, 598, 601-02, 604-05
 Naithana, 299, 387
 Naithanigarhi, 322
 Najbuddanla, 295
 Najibabad, 298, 302
 Najil Khan, 289
 Najurkot, 21
 Nakot, 21
 Nala Kings, 26, 487
 Nalapani, 364
 Nal-Damayanti Tal, 26
 Namkarma ceremony, 659
 Nanakmata, 34, 39, 315, 501, 507
 Nanda, 126, 136, 165, 614, 615
 Nandabhadra, 162, 170
 Nandadevi, 5, 28, 31, 53, 60, 79, 126, 136, 248, 264, 266, 380, 398, 458, 473, 582, 615
 Nandaditya, 161
 Nandakot, 5, 79
 Nandan, 159
 Nandashtami, 652
 Nandaur, 38
 Nand Bist, 280
 Nandi, 134, 162, 456
 Nandigram of Chhakhata, 522
 Nand Ram, 41, 48, 311-13, 315-16, 322
 Nand Singh, 260, 398
 Nan Lakhe Mal, 314
 Naoroji, Dadabhai, 455, 457
 Nara, 26
 Narad, 3, 127, 141
 Naradeshwar, 133
 Narak Chaturdashi, 654
 Narayan, 2, 165
 Narayan Bhattarak, 161, 162, 171
 Narayan Chand, 222, 240, 241
 Narayan Datt, 99
 Narayani, 26
 Narayanpal, 189
 Narayan Singh Bahadur, 450
 Narayan Swami, 32, 603

- Narayan Varman, 171
 Narbhupal Singh, 343
 Narendra Singh, 550
 Nargul river, 60
 Nariman, Gopalcharya, 456
 Narishyant, 482
 Nari Singh Badi, 234
 Narmada, 177
 Narottam, 249
 Narpati Singh, 300
 Narpat Singh Kathediya, 274
 Narpat Singh of Pipali, 277
 Narpur, 489
 Narshah, 352
 Narshah Chauntara, 380
 Nar Singh, 28, 187, 459, 481
 Nar Singh Latwal, 413
 Nartam, 455
 Nasu devi, 165
 Nath cult, 589
 Nathu, 512
 Nathu devi, 161
 Nathu Lal Shah, 459
 Nats and Kanjars, 573
 Natthavali river, 34
 Naulso temple, 632
 Naulukhiy Pandes of Patia, 46
 Nawal Rai, 291
 Nayabad, 420
 Nayakana, 18
 Nayak Community, 598-602
 Nayal, 514-529
 Nayal, Indra Singh, 450
 Nayar Rajputs, 551
 Nayyar, Shankar, 455
 Neel, 139, 140
 Neeleshwar temple, 612
 Negi, 494, 543, 549, 579
 Negi, Birbal, 295
 Negi, Birbal, 295
 Negi, Kishan Singh, 303
 Nehru Jawaharlal, 456
 Nehru, Motilal, 456, 457, 460
 Nelson, 447
 Nepal, 6, 18, 33, 39, 59, 149, 177, 193,
 199, 207, 229, 327, 343, 345-46,
 349-51, 388-91, 400, 473-77, 484,
 487-88, 490, 492, 494-95, 499-500,
 505, 510, 515, 518, 526, 544, 551
 Neuli, 528
 Nevdhura, 126
 Newton, 32, 99
 Nichols, 387-89, 604
 Niglat, 426
 Nihar river, 34
 Niketar, Selukas, 163
 Nila Gusain, 239, 244, 309
 Nilam, 350
 Nileshtar Mahadeva, 137
 Nilkantha, 142
 Nimbara, 165
 Nimbart Deo, 160, 161, 170
 Niraj, 441
 Niranjan Pal, 216
 Nirbat, 159
 Nirgunand, 354
 Nirmal giri, 223
 Nirpaniyan, 50
 Nishad, 476, 482, 487
 Nishani, 522
 Nishumbh, 606
 Niti, 58
 Nizamuddaula, 291
 Noakat, 343
 Northbrook, 455
 Northern Kulu, 469
 North Pole, 509
 Nrishimha, 141, 155, 156
 Nri Singh, 175, 590
 Nri Singh temple, 15
 Nrisinha Chatirdashi festival, 648
 Nuvakot, 343
 Nyaulam, 50
 Nyave, 52
 Nyuovali, 233
- O
- Oakley, 110, 144, 469, 493, 499, 650
 Oar, 574
 Octerloney, 399, 400
 Oda, 98
 Ojha, Dharmidhar, 300
 Ojha, Gopi, 23
 Ojha, Hardatt Singh, 355
 Ojha, Ram, 526
 Okali, Harikrishna, Pande, 459, 516
 Oleott, 454
 Oliagaon, 358
 Olis of Kumaun, 506
 Operetis of Doti, 530
 Over, 364
 Owen, 406
 Oxus river, 489, 492
 Pachar, 515
 Pachchain, Daya Ram, 627

- Pachhu Naka, 58
 Padasyun, 15
 Paderu Rajput, 547
 Padmagil, 484
 Padmamal devi, 162
 Padmapal, 586
 Padma Singh, 347
 Padmatdeo, 161, 170, 171
 Padyarkot, 65
 Padyars, 230, 231
 Padyars of Chugarkha, 544
 Palhu, 54
 Pagari, 99
 Pahad, Chhakhata, 26
 Pahad Singh, 254, 263, 266, 309, 327
 Pahari alias Jallad, 575-76
 Paida, Khan, 291
 Paidulasyun Patti, 326
 Painsa Khan, 287
 Paladi, 93
 Palamjung, 50
 Pala river, 19
 Pal Bilaun, 13
 Pal, Bipin Chandra, 455, 456
 Pal Copper Plate, 170
 Pali, 4, 65, 87, 135, 154, 216, 217, 249,
 250, 322, 334 346, 352, 525
 Palibhutika, 165
 Paliyunog, 50
 Pali Pachchauri, 629
 Pali Pachhaun, 6, 8, 16, 73-78, 83, 154,
 178, 181, 183, 529
 Daileet, 667
 Paliyagada, 355
 Pallavas, 486
 Pals, 174
 Palwa, 571
 Palya, 363, 364, 389
 Palyani alias Pajain, 582
 Palyun, 514, 523
 Panaiwalo, 582
 Panar river, 6
 Panchchuli, 5, 50, 51, 126, 129, 136
 Pancheshvar, 15, 17
 Panchpurviya Rajputs, 547
 Panchu, 249
 Pandas of Jageshvar, 527-28
 Pandavas, 483
 Pande, 512-16, 577-78
 Pande, Bal Raj, 514
 Pande, Baniram, 38, 108
 Pande, Bhavanidatt, 279
 Pande, Bholanath, 670
 Pande, Brahma deo, 283
 Pande, Chandra Datt, 459
 Pande, Chaturbhuj, 513
 Pande, Gajkeshar, 354
 Pandeghon, 484, 515
 Pande, Hariballabh, 115, 193, 333, 369
 Pande, Harihar, 514
 Pande, Hari Ram, 457
 Pande, Jagjit, 344, 345
 Pande, Kalu, 352
 Pande, Kholia, 260, 378, 514, 523
 Pande, Krishna, 627
 Pande, Kulomani, 209
 Pande, Madhav, 241
 Pande, Madhusudan, 306, 314, 318
 Pande, Mahati, 515
 Pande, Manorath, 153
 Pande, Naulakhiya, 318, 319
 Pande, Pauranik Mandaliya, 196
 Pande, Prem Ballabh, 458
 Pande, Rudrdeo, 253
 Panderu, Aniruddh, 314
 Pandes, Devaliya, 196
 Pande Sharma, Jayanti Dev, 513, 514
 Pande Sharma, Mool Deo, 513
 Pande Sharma, Shri Dhar, 514
 Pandes of Bharadwaj gotra, 515
 Pandes of Kashyap gotra, 515
 Pandes of Vatsa Bhargave gotra, 514
 Pande, Srinivas, 253
 Pande, Shivaram, 290, 291
 Pande, Shimaltia, 196
 Pande, Virbhanjan, 355
 Pande, Vishvarup, 246, 253
 Pandey, Harikrishan, 73
 Pandit, Kalhan, 489
 Panit, Nain Singh, 57
 Pandukeshwar, 157, 160, 162, 167, 170,
 484
 Panduwala, 157
 Panergaon, 516
 Paneru, Ganesh, 528
 Pangti, 590
 Panini, 486
 Panipat, 295, 298
 Paniudyar, 522
 Panna Lal, 496, 497, 588
 Pant, Badridatt, 84, 120, 400, 401, 458,
 459, 601
 Pant, Buddhu Ballabh, 119, 442, 453
 Pant, D., 46, 95
 Pant, Dinker Rao, 513

- Pant, Govind Vallabh, 41, 99, 405, 450, 451, 456, 458, 473, 601, 602, 670
 Pant, Gumani, 42, 409
 Pant, Hargovind, 84, 450, 458
 Pant, Hari Datt, 457
 Pant, Harihar, 292
 Pant, Jaideo, 511, 513
 Pant, Jainta, 238
 Pant, Mahadev, 571
 Pant, Prayaf Datt, 459
 Pant, Purush, 227, 228, 230, 231
 Pant, Ramavallabh, 279, 280
 Pant, Rudradatt, 17, 25, 54, 180, 194, 217, 236, 238, 252, 263, 265, 266, 270-71, 279, 295, 302, 309, 311, 315, 317, 319, 320, 324, 326, 357, 370, 513, 574, 520, 525, 526, 528, 551, 554, 577, 599, 629
 Pants, 512
 Pant, Shastri Kedar Datt, 459
 Pantulu, Subba Rao, 455
 Pant, Vachaspati, 30, 457
 Pant, Vasudeo, 237
 Panuvakhal, 264
 Panwar Rajputs, 507, 508, 550
 Panwar Rajputs of Dhara Negri, 470
 Panwars of Dahrana gari, 502
 Papnai, 528, 530
 Patni Brahmin, 524
 Parakram Shah, 321-23, 325-27, 346, 354
 Paramashah, Shival Lal, 96
 Parashari Pants, 513
 Parashuram, 5, 126, 490
 Paraulia, 581
 Parbal Rana, 352
 Parewa, 545
 Pargad river, 19
 Pari Kahan, 19
 Parkabhanu Ungak, 172
 Parkot, 36, 514, 517
 Parmes cara, 165
 Paropanishad, 482
 Parsujia, 583
 Parthevya, 482
 Parvati, 61, 126, 132, 134, 137, 139, 143-44, 614
 Parvati Devi, 261
 Paravateshvar Mahadeo, 261
 Parvat Singh Gusain, 246
 Pashan devi, 31
 Pashupat, 127
 Pashupati Nath, 610
 Pasi, 573
 Patak, 135
 Patal Bhuwaneshwar, 61, 135, 140-44, 485, 613
 Patal Devi, 383
 Patal Ganga river, 60, 61
 Patatiputra, 489
 Patan/Patana, 524
 Patani, 524, 578
 Pataria, 579
 Patel, Ballabh Bhai, 456
 Patelkhet, 516
 Pathak, 512, 578
 Pathak Brahmin, 525
 Pathak, Shiromani, 96
 Pathans of Darav, 605
 Pathans of Rampur, 605
 Pathrai, 26
 Pathykuda, 525
 Patia, 525, 526
 Patiya, 318, 319, 514, 520, 525, 526
 Paton, 136
 Patora, 582
 Patten, 377
 Patthargarhi, 6
 Patti Chabbis Damaula, 242
 Patti Talla Salli, 14
 Peepaltanada, 515
 Pentepolis city, 474
 Persia, 481, 509
 Peti, 525
 Phadka, 13, 206
 Phaldakot, 526
 Phanswan, 494
 Pharkundia, 581
 Pheni Nag, 484
 Phod Kota, 399
 Phulara, 580
 Phula river, 21
 Pili, 482
 Pilibhit, 6, 34, 349, 367, 373, 374, 413, 437, 447, 507
 Pilikh, 576
 Pinakeshwar temple, 613
 Pinakisha, 137
 Pinath, 127
 Pindari, 249, 264, 265
 Pindari glacier, 5
 Pingelnag, 60, 62, 484
 Pingnath, 66
 Piperson, 425
 Pipilika, 488
 Piplet, 513

Pirasammal, 27, 242
 Pirs of Kaya, 588
 Pirsujiva, 248
 Piru Gusain, 239, 241
 Pithrad, 396
 Pithoragarh, 18, 87, 107, 239, 433, 436,
 441, 598, 604
 Plincy, 487, 489
 Pohilakhand, 291
 Pokhari, 62, 142, 519
 Pokharkhali, 522
 Porus, 152, 153
 Pot, 99
 Pradhani, Chetram, 72
 Pradipt Shah, 288, 304, 317
 Prdyumn Shah, 345, 347, 348, 354, 355
 Pratap Chand, 398
 Prajapati, 1, 131
 Pratapaditya, Gusain, 263
 Prathu, 476
 Prithvinarayan, 343
 Pratishhanpur, 194
 Prayag, 268, 270, 485, 544
 Prayagaraj, 257, 319, 523
 Prayagi, 194, 241
 Pray of Dogi, 249
 Prem Lata Devi, 602
 Prempati Khanduri, 317
 Pritam Singh, 354
 Prithvi, 130, 162, 170
 Prithivi Gusain, 18
 Prithvipati Shah, 344, 371, 373
 Prithvi Raj, 396, 544
 Ptolomy, 474, 482, 489, 492
 Pug, 172
 Pujari, Chhedi Lal, 38
 Pujyali, 583, 584
 Pulah, 130
 Pulastya, 130
 Puloman, 135
 Pungeshvar temple, 61
 Pungraun, 62
 Puni Chand alias Purma Chand, 219
 Punjab, 492, 510
 Punsavan Ceremoney, 659
 Punyagiri of Chaugarkha, 607
 Puran Mal Gaida, 272-84, 543
 Puran giri, 198
 Puran pur, 6
 Purn Chand, 198, 550
 Purniya, 363
 Puruchuda Rajput, 547
 Purushottam, 227, 232

Purush Pant, 20
 Pushkar Nag, 484
 Pushkarpal, 24
 Pyuda, 287

R

Rachi, 22
 Radish of Kalarbvan, 15
 Raghavacharya, Vijaya, 455
 Rahmat Khan, 287, 295, 296, 298, 301,
 309, 310
 Rahmat Khan Rohila, 308, 310
 Rahu caste, 492
 Rahul, 16
 Rai Raj Khan, 62
 Raigni, 528
 Raika Kings, 19, 62, 211, 214, 228, 229,
 547
 Raikal Rajputs, 544
 Raika Mall, 544
 Rai Kot, 324
 Raimall Bora, 302, 303
 Raimall Budha, 302
 Rai Singh Chand, 497
 Raitis river, 19
 Rajai, 542
 Rajapur, 67
 Rajbar, 21, 22, 23, 498, 526
 Rajbars of Askot, 542
 Rajbars of Chauksi, 542
 Rajbars of Jaspur, 542
 Rajbunga festival, 14, 16, 196, 197, 202,
 211
 Rajcheli alias Racheli, 585
 Rajcheli, Saruli, 585
 Rajchelis of Sheuk, 585, 586
 Rajendra Prasad, 456
 Rajhansa, 134, 135
 Raji, 22
 Rajab Khan, 47
 Raji or Rajya Kirat Caste, 468, 470,
 474-75
 Raji Rajputs, 555
 Raji Rawats Rajputs, 554
 Rajis of Askote, 475-80
 Raj Kunvari, 281, 308
 Rajpal, 23, 152, 153
 Rajputana, 201, 493, 548
 Rajputs, 494, 498
 Rajputs of Lunar clan, 544
 Rajputs of Sun clan, 542
 Rajtarangini, 128

- Rajwars, 180, 181
 Rajya-Kirat, 469-71
 Rakhmi, 522
 Raktavirya, 61
 Ralamdhura, 60
 Ralamval, 57
 Rama, 500
 Ramanak, 62
 Ramanand, 38
 Rama of Chittorgarh, 544, 548
 Ramapati, 253
 Ramayana, 473, 510, 587
 Rambha, 138
 Ram Bhadra god, 542
 Ram Chandra, 36, 61, 128
 Ramdatt, 223, 459
 Ramdatt Shah, 352
 Rameshvar, 133, 142, 212, 568
 Rameshvar Mahadeo, 61, 136
 Ramgad, 25, 78, 92, 96, 207, 219, 603
 Ram Ganga river, 5-7, 12, 13, 16-18, 19,
 60-62, 73-74, 76-78, 126, 135-136,
 140, 153, 221, 240, 264, 387
 Ramgarh, 32, 365, 371
 Ram Kanth Khletha, 210
 Ram Krishna Mission, 15
 Ram Nagar, 8, 35-36, 94, 151, 348, 351,
 412, 430, 532
 Ramnath, 127, 630
 Ram Naumi 647
 Rampal Singh, 455
 Ram Patani, 208
 Ram Prasad Mukhtar, 602, 603
 Rampur 6, 10, 34, 75, 301, 302, 208,
 219, 325, 414, 501, 522
 Ram Rai, 361
 Ramsay, Henrey, 35, 40, 49, 97, 98,
 109-10, 162, 405, 509, 511-14, 424,
 434, 436, 437, 442, 453, 508
 Ram temple, 614
 Rana, 494
 Ranachula, 83
 Ranade, Mahadev Govind, 454
 Ranjor Singh, 380
 Ranapali, 162
 Rana Pratap, 507
 Rana Rajput, 548
 Ranas of Chittorgarh, 470
 Ranbahadur, 353, 354, 356, 357
 Ranbahadur Shah, 350
 Randhir, 187
 Rangaiya Nayadu, P., 453
 Rangelu, 380
 Rangod, 64, 65, 198
 Ranibaj, 28, 570
 Rani Jhansi, 456
 Rani Khet, 18, 36, 78, 87, 96, 121, 426,
 436, 439, 603, 605
 Ranjit Singh, 351
 Ranpat Rai, 290, 291
 Ransur Karki, 380
 Rantgol, 226, 526
 Rant goli, 252, 579
 Raos, 490
 Rasyara, 524, 578
 Rat gaon, 484
 Rathor, Ramdeo, 153
 Ratanchand, 183, 210-12, 214, 216, 547
 Ratu, 231, 232
 Rau, 34
 Raulkhet, 24
 Raulmi, 486
 Raul patti, 212
 Raute kot, 545
 Rautela, Amar Singh, 299
 Rautelas, 222-23, 240, 293, 309, 543,
 545-46
 Rautela, Himmat Singh, 280, 284
 Rautis river, 21
 Rauts, 542
 Rauts (Rawat), 250
 Rauts of Talla Desh, 474
 Ravanhrud, 136
 Ravat, 22
 Ravat, Dhan Singh, 58
 Ravati, Hiru, 57
 Ravat Kings, 197
 Ravin, 391
 Rawat, 474, 493, 501, 502
 Rawat, Durga Singh, 99
 Rawat, Nain Singh, 489, 590
 Rawat Rajputs, 547
 Rawats of Dungrakot, 548
 Regadu, 3, 13
 Rehmat Khan, 288
 Relagad river, 21
 Reoni, 629
 Revant, 360
 Richards, 30
 Richchda, 6
 Riddhipuri Gusain, 612
 Raikhari, 511
 Rilkotias, 590
 Rinmochan, 136
 Rippon, 452, 453
 Risheshvar, 15

Rishikesh, 517
 Rishi Panchami, 651
 Rithagad, 36, 64
 Rituparna, 141, 144
 Riuni, 65
 Riwari, 570
 Roberts, D.T., 405
 Rogas, 53
 Rohilas, 27, 280, 286-91, 295, 298, 302, 309, 349
 Rohila, Ali Mohammad Khan, 280
 Rohila, Daud Khan, 280
 Rohilkhand, 43-45, 155, 177, 190, 203, 211, 259, 290, 300, 349-50, 359, 367, 383, 408, 429, 439-40, 490, 509
 Rohila Marnasu, 290
 Roomian diety, 632
 Roorkee Mangru, 520
 Rora, 581
 Ross, 405
 Rowan, 396
 Royal, 97
 Roy, Ram Mohan, 453
 Rudra, 514, 610
 Rudra Chand, 12, 23, 39, 44, 46, 223-28, 229, 231-34, 236, 279, 287, 334, 531
 Rudra god, 473
 Rudra Nath, 610
 Rudra pal, 23, 24
 Rudrapur, 7, 8, 34, 39, 44, 47, 48, 225, 271, 272, 281, 293, 295, 298, 301-02, 311, 315, 345, 348, 368, 371, 375, 390-99, 435
 Rudravir, 353-54
 Rullath, 172
 Rup Chand, 202
 Rustambay, 291
 Rustam Khan, 47, 246
 Rutherford, 367
 Ruttledge, 79

S

Saadat Ali Khan, 281, 350
 Saadh, 588
 Sabali, 264
 Sabana, 283
 Sabir Shah, 270, 271
 Sadiyatal, 26
 Safdarjang, 48
 Sagar, 482, 488
 Sagia, 584

Sahaj Kot, 17
 Saharanpur, 295, 356, 365
 Sahas of Dhungsil, 570
 Sahu Maharaj of Satargarh, 263
 Sahu Maharaj of Sitagarh, 292
 Sai, 60
 Saicholia Parvat, 6
 Sainjhar, 264
 Sainmanur, 542
 Sajwan, 494
 Sakaldeo, 230
 Saktauli, 520
 Saktis river 136
 Salam, 4, 6, 92, 197, 215, 484, 575
 Salang danda, 53
 Salkram, 15
 Salaunaditya, 162
 Salimgarhia, 569
 Salli Gaon, 547
 Salmora, 545
 Salt, 542
 Sambel, 44
 Sambhal, 204, 290, 291
 Sammal, 27
 Samudragupta, 485
 Samvatsar Pratipada festival, 647
 Sanaran Pali Village, 525
 Sanda, 414
 Sangaki river, 21
 Sangal Nag, 484
 Sangrauli, 514
 Saniudyar, 61, 95
 Sanjas ceremoney, 662-63
 Sanka, 581
 Sankasht Chaturthi, 650-51
 Sankasht Har, 656
 Sankhdura, 53
 Sankaracharya, 586, 587, 606, 608, 611-612
 Sansar Chand, 200, 201, 348, 350-51, 354, 355, 514
 Sansiyas, 573
 Sanvali, 249, 250
 Sanwalia (Sammal), 555
 Sanwal, Sadanand, 119, 457
 Sanyasi, 588
 Sapru, Tej Bahadur, 461
 Saptarshi, 130, 132, 133
 Saptarshi Tal, 26
 Sarada, 10, 368
 Saran, 363, 364
 Sarangdeo, 84
 Saraswati, 136, 137, 142

- Sarat Kumar, 142
 Sarayu river 5, 6, 13, 16, 17, 23, 60, 62, 64, 83, 126, 129, 135, 139-41, 221, 234
 Sarbana, 286, 288, 292-93, 315
 Sarbang, 47, 48
 Sardar Khan, 287
 Sardar Nilu Kathayar, 204, 205
 Sarguja, 490
 Sarthis, 530
 Sarkar, Jadu Nath, 246, 247
 Sarna, 78, 582
 Sarp, 519
 Satarganj, 39, 501
 Satbunga, 78
 Satik Tok, 172
 Satishwar, 142
 Satluj river, 363, 364
 Sahasra dhara, 137
 Satrak, 172
 Satrali, 234-35, 441, 516
 Satriya, 16
 Sat shastri, Hari Datt, 518
 Sat silangi, 16
 Satya Deo, 457-58
 Satya Narayan temple, 614
 Satya Nath, 124, 619
 Satyavrata, 138
 Sauberry, 92
 Saujyal, Bisht, Raghupati, 283
 Saun, 16
 Saun Agari, 571
 Saunjyal Bisht, 578
 Saun Kathayat, 204
 Saureshvar, 142
 Saurjyal, 524, 525
 Saurjyal Bisht of Saurjay, 524-25
 Sawaliya Bisht, 542
 Sayyad Mohammed Bahadur, 455
 Scandinavia, 509
 Scheduled castes, 573
 Scythian Clan, 484
 Sedhyal Joshis, 519
 Seemantonayan ceremony, 659
 Sehrai, 490
 Sejistan, 482
 Selakhola, 220, 226, 249, 517, 518, 521
 Selakhoti, 528
 Selihat, 156, 518
 Selkhania, 581
 Seloni village, 519
 Sel river, 258
 Semjyali, 580
 Sen, Danu Kumar, 186
 Sen Gupta, Deshpriya, 456
 Sen, Narendra Nath, 455
 Sens, 174
 Seti, 16
 Setubandha Rameshwar, 142
 Sewa Das, 527
 Shabari, 500
 Shahabuddin, 568
 Shah Alam Bahadur Shah, 266
 Shah, Anti Ram, 96
 Shakar Bangala, 293
 Shah Bhairon or Sai Bhairav, 261
 Shahjadpur, 291
 Shahjahan, 43, 47, 247
 Shahjahanpur, 43, 244
 Shahpur, 237
 Shahvati Hills, 368
 Shail, 522
 Shaimali, 59
 Shaira, 606
 Shaka, 469, 471, 484-85
 Shakaditya, 15, 16, 153, 483
 Shakadwip, 483
 Shakai, 482
 Shakespear, 435
 Shakia Lama, 483
 Shakram Karki, 239, 240
 Shakas, 468, 481-83
 Shaktas, 546
 Shakti Singh Gusain, 226, 233-34, 248
 Shali, 138
 Shaileshwari, 126
 Shalivahan, 152
 Shalivahan Deo, 65, 181
 Shalmali river, 137
 Shal vanshi, 482
 Shamasher Mall, 179
 Shambhu Dev, 515
 Shambhunath, 349
 Shankar, 127, 155
 Shankaracharya, 61, 64, 73, 144, 156, 272, 527
 Shankara Rao, 292
 Shanka river, 348
 Sharda Act, 674
 Sharda river, 6, 33-34, 39, 507
 Sharma Hari, 519
 Sharma, Jai, 522
 Sharma, Janardan, 525
 Sharma, Shambhu, 525
 Sharma, Shashi, 520
 Sharma, Sri Kunj, 208

- Sharma, Vishwa, 523
 Sharma, Pants, 512
 Shashti Khata, 26
 Shasthi Mahotsava, 569
 Shastri, Ganga Ram, 522
 Shastri, Laxmi Datt, 458
 Shastri, Manorath, 514
 Shatadru, 135
 Shaud Karayat, 209
 Shauks, 480
 Sheikh, 316
 Sheikh Manulla, 457
 Sher Bahadur, 356
 Sher ka Danda, 14, 31
 Sherkot, 605
 Sherring, 125, 155, 493
 Shesha, 138
 Sheshachal, 134
 Sheshang, 141-43, 484
 Shibu, 52
 Shikarpur, 490
 Shikhar, 5
 Shillgaon, 520, 521
 Shilpkars of Almora-dialect, 668
 Shilwal Joshis, 520
 Shimla, 126, 356, 389
 Shiromani Das 215, 310, 311
 Shish Ram, 459
 Shitala, 26, 28, 73
 Shitalahat, 28
 Shitala ki Bal, 267
 Shiva, 12, 130, 132-37, 139, 140, 143-44, 232
 Shiva Deo, 288
 Shivaji, 456, 486
 Shiva kunda, 142
 Shiv Ram Pandit, 292
 Shiva temples of Kumaun, 635-39
 Shiv Lal, 41, 315, 348
 Shivanai, 528
 Shivraj Singh, 42, 398, 451
 Shivratri, 656
 Shiv Singh alias Shiv Chand, 325
 Shiv Singh Rautela, 545
 Shobha Mall, 227
 Shor Dialect, 667
 Shraddha, 652, 653
 Shravani Purnima, 650
 Shresthmandali Pandes, 515
 Shri Ballavh, 515
 Shrimad Bhagvat, 500
 Shri Manraj Faujdar, 364
 Shri Muhammad Ali, 456
 Shrinagar Garhwal dialect, 668
 Shripachava Doral, 77
 Shronitpur, 14
 Shrutis, 609
 Shubhakot of Baurarau, 170
 Shubhkarn Singh, 313
 Shudras, 470, 472-73
 Shukadatta, 153
 Shukadhura, 53
 Shuka Mughal castes, 589
 Shukdeo, 206
 Shukeshvar, 66
 Shukeshvar Mahadeo, 24
 Shunibh, 606
 Shyali, 99
 Shyama Devi, 138
 Shyam Lal Shah, 459
 Shyama Kund, 51
 Siam, 608
 Sidara, 172
 Siddh, 155
 Siddha Nanli temple, 262
 Siddha Narsingh temple, 262
 Sihar, 97
 Sikandar (Alexander), 485
 Sikandarpur, 291
 Sikkim, 85, 149, 389, 474, 475
 Sila, 172
 Silankaniya, 248
 Silauti, 515
 Simhali Khan, 21
 Simalta, 515
 Simaltiya Pandes, 514, 515, 578
 Simalkha, 309
 Simtola, 381
 Sinchand, 18
 Sindh,, 468
 Sindhu river, 125, 126, 128
 Singar Chabutara, 14
 Singarpur, 19
 Singh Pratap Shah, 343
 Sinha, or Ghrt Sankranti, 650
 Sinha, Sachchidanand, 455
 Sipti, 13
 Sira, 4, 5, 16, 18, 20, 86, 87, 170-71, 207, 212, 222, 226-29, 524, 547, 568
 Siragarh, 232
 Sirakot, 19, 20, 228-29, 312-13
 Sirakot Mall Kings, 23
 Sirant river, 24
 Sirati, 233
 Sirauli, 75
 Sirhali, 21

- Sirmauli Mahar, 205
 Sirmaur, 302
 Sirmaur Mahar, 205
 Sirtham, 19
 Sita 36, 138
 Sitalahat, 528
 Sita river, 138
 Sitauli, 324, 378, 380
 Sitauli Khan, 220
 Sita vani, 138
 Siteshvar, 36, 37, 613
 Sitoli, 428
 Sittak, 172
 Siva, 61, 165, 530, 606, 608, 610
 Sivalik Hills of Dehradun, 6
 Smith, George, 412
 Smritis, 609
 Solar dynasty, 14, 23, 85, 144, 147
 Somati, 221
 Som Chand, 14, 23, 98, 193-97, 333-36,
 338, 513, 514, 520, 524-25, 543,
 544, 547, 551, 577, 578
 Someshwar, 66, 441
 Someshwar temple, 41, 261, 613
 Soni Chand, 194
 Soop, 522
 Sor, 415, 13, 16-19, 60, 86, 87, 96, 207,
 212, 222, 239, 257, 352, 519, 523,
 525
 Sor Sira, 544
 Soshvi Jivak, 172
 Sri Badrishwar, 473
 Sribhaga Kunvari, 282
 Srimadbhagvat, 26
 Sri Manika Gaida alias Bishts, 286, 270
 Srinagar, 247, 264, 265, 268-70, 272,
 288, 300, 321, 322, 326, 345, 347,
 354, 387
 Sringar Manjari, 307, 309, 310
 Srinath, 512
 Srinathpur, 262
 Sriyantra, 266
 Stanley, 455
 Sthal Kedar, 17
 Stiffe, 406, 423, 428, 429, 602
 Stowell, 496
 Strachey, John, 29
 Straibo, 489
 Straungjang, 199
 Stubbs, 406
 Styke, 601
 Sual river, 6, 287, 320
 Suar, 6
 Subama, 136
 Subba Narshah, 352
 Subhadra, 122, 602
 Subhattak, 172
 Subhikshapur, 160, 162, 170
 Subhiksha Raj Deo, 160-62, 170-72
 Supakot, 526
 Sudarshan Shah, 391, 409
 Sudershan Singh, 622
 Sudha Chand, 200
 Sudhanidhi, Chaube Sardar, 194, 196
 Sui, 13, 14, 15, 177
 Sui Kot, 14
 Sujan Singh Darbari, 263
 Sujan Singh Gusain, 312
 Sukal deo, 231, 232
 Sukhatal, 26
 Sukhawanti, 137, 153
 Sukh Ram Kharku, 546
 Suki, 126
 Sulaiman Sikoh, 246
 Sumeru, 125, 143
 Sun, 133, 606
 Sunal, 529
 Sunar, 580
 Sundaram, K, 454
 Sundar Dhunga, 79
 Sankarshan, 155
 Sankiya, 473
 Supai, 522
 Supakat, 525
 Surabhai, 137
 Surat, 400
 Suathsai, 283
 Sureshwar, 586
 Sur Singh Bisht, 280
 Suring Mohar, 211
 Surya or Aditya temple, 618
 Surya Kunda, 139
 Susa, 489
 Sutara, 581
 Sawai Jai Singh, 279
 Swarajya movement, 403, 436-37
 Swarna Bhumi (Tibet), 469, 487, 488
 Swayambhu, 139
 Syahidevi, 8, 96, 98, 373, 380
 Syalde, 441, 442
 Syangbill, 53
 Syaniniya Rajputs, 554
 Syria, 483

Syunarakot, 358
 Syuni village, 629

T

- Tabelia, 582
 Tadagi, 196, 369
 Tadakeshvar, 15
 Tadaki alias Tadagi Rajputs, 547
 Tadikhet, 24, 78
 Tailihat, 156, 528
 Taiple, 378
 Takalakh of Tibet, 50, 58, 248
 Takalakh, 58
 Takshak, 483
 Takula, 576
 Talak, 99
 Talia, 26
 Talia, 26
 Talla Askot, 22
 Talla Bhaimskot, 59
 Talladesh, 13, 204
 Talla Johar, 53
 Tallakot, 25
 Talladesh Bhavar, 6, 7
 Talli Chausar, 522
 Tallirau, 15
 Tallital, 32
 Taylor, 484
 Tamadhaun, 154, 300, 542
 Tamali pass, 371, 374
 Tambakhan, 61
 Tamboli, 570
 Tamta, 573
 Tamta, Jai Singh, 627
 Tamta, Ramprasad, 450
 Tana, 78
 Tanakpur, 33, 35, 39, 107, 161, 162, 171, 318
 Tangudaghat, 372
 Tanhan, 344
 Tapada Kholi 528
 Tapovan, 171
 Tara, 50, 51
 Tara Chand, 218, 219, 221
 Taradhura, 51
 Tarai, 10, 26, 35, 49, 349, 389, 397, 407, 408, 500-01
 Tarai Bhavar, 33-35, 48-49, 94, 97, 177-78, 198, 201, 203, 224-25, 245, 246, 262, 265, 292-93, 297-99, 305, 307, 316, 323, 405, 412, 416-17, 470, 572, 573
 Tarak, 135
 Tara Nath, 489
 Tarani, 135
 Tarlasat, 172
 Tatail, 25
 Tataria, 582
 Taxila, 485
 Tayyabji, Badaruddin, 455
 Teeka Dwitiya, 657
 Teehri Garhwal dialect, 668
 Tej Singh, 459
 Tej Singh Kathediya, 281
 Teju Gaud, 292
 Telang Desh, 523
 Teli Mavajat, 58
 Teluji, 354
 Tewari, 512
 Tewari, Dharmakar, 239, 244
 Tewari, Jaideo, 193
 Tewari, Kanaknidhi, 333
 Tewari, Narayan, 69, 251, 528
 Tewari, Pratinidhi, 333
 Tewari, Premmidhi, 193
 Tewari, Sajand, 521
 Tewari, Shri Chand, 206, 207, 216, 251, 521-22, 528
 Tewari, Sukhdeo, 216, 521, 522
 Thakurs, 292
 Thal, 211
 Thal Kedar, 17
 Thaneshwar, 525
 Thapa, 494
 Thapa, Amar Singh, 344-46, 348, 353-55, 380, 388-89, 494
 Thapa, Balbhadra Singh, 365
 Thapa, Bhakti, 351, 353
 Thapa, Bhimsen, 351
 Thapa, Jaikrishna, 353
 Thapa, Jasmendan, 379, 384
 Thapa, Mastram, 380
 Thapa, Party, 353, 388, 389
 Thapa, Prabal Rana, 353
 Thapa, Ranjor, 354, 355
 Thapa, Ritudhvaj, 355
 Thapa, Shreshtha, 344
 Thapa, Sur Singh, 344
 Thapalia Sau, 171
 Thapla, 516
 Tharli, 264
 Tharu, 469, 470, 500-07
 Thathaula, 581
 Thathera, 571
 Thopar Chand, 193, 194, 513, 508

- Thokdar of Jivi Sor, 497
 Thomas, 491
 Thornton, 441
 Thulgharia, Chetram Sah, 30
 Thulgharia Sahs, 568, 569
 Tibet, 10, 21, 51, 58, 126, 248, 249, 345, 346, 471, 474, 480, 482, 484, 488, 592, 595, 605, 608
 Tikait Rai, 348, 397
 Tikhaun, 65
 Tilak, Bal Gangadhar, 400, 455-56, 458
 Tilari, 520
 Timur, 270
 Tinkar, 50, 389
 Tiplay, 69, 70
 Tirhut, 363, 481, 526
 Tiring, 172
 Tirsul, 53
 Tista river, 389
 Tit, 36
 Todd, 490
 Todar Mal, 225
 Toksan, 474
 Tola Sahs, 561
 Tolia, 590
 Tolla Mahal, 269, 260, 278, 335, 513
 Tola Sahs, 561
 Torman, 481
 Tortoke, 3
 Traill, G.W., 28, 37, 79, 95, 101, 115, 248, 296, 322, 361-62, 381, 396, 405-09, 415, 424-25, 431, 435, 438, 441, 605, 615
 Tringarta, 49
 Trilok Chand, 202
 Trilokpal, 179
 Trimal Chand, 240-42, 244-46, 517, 537, 585, 612
 Trimukheshwar temple, 612
 Trinetra, 133
 Trinetra temple of Lakhanpur, 612
 Tripathi/Tawari/Trivedi, 521-23
 Tripathi, Devanand, 522
 Tripathi, Ganga, 522
 Tripathi, Jagannath, 522
 Tripathi, Jai Deo, 333
 Tripathi, Laxmipati, 522
 Tripathi, Maghi, 522
 Tripathi, Motiram, 459
 Tripathi, Padma Datt, 459
 Tripathi, Ramdatt, 101, 186, 189, 193, 438, 602
 Tripathi, Shri Chand, 520
 Tripathis of Timali, 523
 Tripuradevi, 260
 Tripura Sundari temples, 616
 Trishi Sarovar, 139
 Trishring, 125, 126
 Trishul, 5, 126, 129
 Tritsu, 125
 Triveni Devi, 38
 Troope, Norman, 78, 98
 Tukudiya, Hussain Khan, 223-24
 Tukaria, Hussain Khan, 44
 Tula Ram Sah, 24, 611
 Tulsidas, 475, 500
 Tukadiya, 34
 Turap Khan, 435
 Turks, 480
 Turukash, 156
 Tusharaj, 482
 Tyadikhan, 220
- U
- Uchakot, 17, 25, 215
 Uchang, 281
 Uchchaihshrava, 141
 Uchchab Kunvari, 281
 Uchhal Pal, 526
 Uchhava Pal, 213
 Udai Chand, 312, 619
 Udai Jeet, 507
 Udaipur, 17, 542
 Udaipur kot, 212
 Udaka Srota, 143
 Udamavala, 291
 Udai Raj Singh, 399, 544
 Udasi, 588
 Uday Singh, 602
 Udkhodi, 99
 Udyan Chand, 206-08, 216, 521, 527
 Udyot Chand, 47, 249, 263, 277, 325, 518, 519, 570, 611
 Udyot Chandeshvar, 260
 Ugrasen of Agroha, 568
 Ujjain, 142, 485, 550
 Ujjani Devi, 40
 Ukhal Dhunga, 372
 Ulomi, 485
 Uma, 614
 Umapatti, 614
 Untadhura pass, 5, 53, 126
 Upadhyay, Ballabh, 73
 Upadhyay, Brahmin, 526
 Upadhyay, Dharmdas, 283

Upadhyay, Govind Singh, 353
 Upadhyay of Koli, 525
 Upadhyay, Shri Ballabh Pande, 515-16
 Upanayan Sankar, 660-61
 Upaniyandunga, 25
 Upreti, 221, 222, 238, 239, 511-12, 525-26
 Upreti, Ganga Datt, 526, 534-35, 555-56, 568, 599, 666
 Upreti, Jai Krishma, 526
 Upreti, Krishna Nand, 601
 Upreti, Valley, 511, 525
 Urg, 520
 Urgam, 484
 Usha, 488

V

Vacha, Dinshaw, 455
 Vachatak, 172
 Vachchtak, 172
 Vageshwar temple, 613
 Vahnimati, 137
 Vaibhav Chand, 620
 Vaidyanath, 134
 Vaidya Nath, Siddh, 632
 Vaikatangar, 151
 Vaikunth Chaturdashi, 655
 Vailali, 136
 Vairagi, 588
 Vairatapattan, 15, 153
 Vaishmani, 75
 Vaishnaa, 527
 Vaishnava cult, 606, 607
 Vaishnava temple, 641-46
 Vaishna Bandhu, 459
 Vaishnavi, 17
 Vaishnav Motiram, 459
 Vaishya Community, 568
 Vaishya Kings of Doti, 545
 Vajjala, 98, 99
 Vakrataps, 481
 Valdiya, 16
 Valmiki, 36
 Vanan Nag, 484
 Vamleshvar, 36
 Vanakatia, 79
 Vanalekh., 15
 Vanpa Nag, 484
 Vana Rashtra, 469, 487
 Varahamihir, 481
 Varahi, goddess, 14, 16
 Varahi Devi, 608

Varanasi, 139
 Vasantideo, 154-56
 Vasatis, 488
 Vashishta, 2, 127, 129-31, 135, 140, 141, 485, 486, 488
 Vashisth Gatri Pants, 513
 Vasideo, 185, 239
 Vasudeo, 149, 155, 156, 491, 492
 Vasudeva, 608
 Vasuki Nag, 484
 Vasumangiri, 469
 Vat-Savitri Amavasya, 648
 Vayu Purana, 482
 Vedas and Puranas, 609-10
 Vedpathi, Narottam, 525
 Veer Chand, 513, 514
 Verr Shaiva, 587
 Veer Singh, 547
 Ven, 476
 Venapa, 343
 Venayak, 172
 Venu, 130
 Verma, Devi Lal, 459
 Verma, Ganga Prasad, 455
 Verma, Kundan Lal, 38
 Verma, Prem Lal, 459
 Verma, Ram Lal, 459
 Vernacular Press Act, 452
 Vetravati, 131
 Vibhadeshwar, 73, 137
 Vichhilaka Birkham, 18
 Victoria, 445, 451
 Videha, 481
 Vidhimalake, 172
 Vidmalake, 162
 Vidraun, 137
 Vidyanath temple, 264
 Vidyarthi, Ganesh Shankar, 456
 Vijat 172
 Vijaya Dashmi, 613
 Vijayeshwar, 171
 Vijayeshwar Mahadeo, 157
 Vijay Prakesh of Sirmaur, 281
 Vijay pur, 127, 287
 Vijay Singh, 59
 Vijay Singh Shah, 355
 Vikram, 58
 Vikrama Chand, 157, 208, 209
 Vikramaditya, 58, 269-70, 482, 483, 610
 Vikramark Gusian, 263
 Vikram Bahadur Pal, 24
 Vikram Singh, 194
 Vimal Chand, 27, 240

Vina Chand, 200
 Vinayakdhura, 6
 Vinayakthal, 317
 Vindhychal, 201, 490
 Vipravar, 546
 Viranarayan Shahi, 283
 Vir Chand, 201, 202
 Vir Deo, 175, 198
 Vir Raghavacharyya, 455
 Vir Singh Deo, 216
 Vir Singh Rajput, 547
 Visharad, 96
 Vishewashwar, 134, 141
 Vishnu, 2, 3, 14, 64, 130, 132, 133, 139,
 141, 143, 155, 171, 250, 260, 312,
 355, 484, 530, 606
 Vishnu Das, 271, 517
 Vishnu Madhav temple, 614
 Vishnuprayag, 156
 Vishnu temples, 613-14
 Vishnu Vati festival, 647-48
 Vishram Khatri, 353
 Vishwa Karma, 26, 139
 Vishwamitra, 486
 Vishwarup, 512
 Vislata, 489
 Visung, 13, 413
 Vithal Gusain, 24
 Vivekanand, 15, 16
 Vridha Kedar, 240
 Vrittiya, 501
 Vyaghreshwar, 140, 158, 159
 Vyans, 19, 58, 135, 207, 250, 389
 Vyan Sashiti, 135
 Vyas, 11, 51, 127, 135, 140

W

Wah, 30
 Wahan, 468

Wajid Ali Shah, 413
 Walam, 581
 Waldi Rajputs, 548
 Walton, 423, 521
 Wazilkot, 551
 Wazir of Awadh, 347-48
 Wazir Sardar Hasan Raza Khan, 348
 Wedderburn, William, 455
 Wellesley, 400
 Wheeler, 96
 Wilford, 489
 Willingdon, 461
 Wilson, 480
 Wyndham, 94
 Wood, 364
 Wright, 473
 Wyndham, P., 406, 427, 430

Y

Yachchasadda, 172
 Yagishwar, 132, 133
 Yakshas, 127, 488, 605, 606
 Yam Dwitiya festival, 655
 Yamuna 62, 126, 355, 363-64, 469, 484,
 488
 Yamuna Valley, 473
 Yashoverman, 481
 Yavanacharya, 486
 Yavanani, 486
 Yavans, (Moslems), 468-70, 473, 483,
 485-86, 500
 Yibhisani, 316
 Yudhishtir, 2, 26, 149, 487, 488

Z

Zend Avesta, 492